

# THE COMMONWEAL

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WEEKLY; ONE PENNY.

## NOTES ON NEWS.

THE hocus-pocus by which the debate on the gross jury-packing in the Irish State trials was set aside, seems to have pleased the Tory mind; and it ought to please us Socialists also, because so far as it goes it is a sign of the growing decrepitude of our great enemy, or rather the great instrument of our enemies, the middle-class Parliament. In short, the disgrace of such a scene as that of the 17th is so clear, that one is really driven to wonder that it could be cheered even by the greatest idiots of the idiotic party of the most idiotic assembly in the world.

The release of the 23,000 odd prisoners in India as a compliment to the Jubilee flunkeyism has a queer mediæval smack about it, and of itself disposes of our pretensions so often put forward to governing India on modern principles of "Justice." Indeed, to some people it will reveal depths of tyranny undreamed of before. Here is a dilemma for our Jubileists: "If it was dangerous to the public that these men should be at large, why do you release them for the danger of the public? If you can safely release this host of poor miserable tortured people, why did you torture them with your infernal prison?" There is no answer but one: "Because we are unjust, tyrannical, muddling fools!"

The Lake railway scheme has scored a success at last, but one may hope that the bill will yet be thrown out, as such misfortunes must be averted by any means possible, as they are lasting and irremediable.

It would be hardly worth while noticing Mr. Labouchere's bad arguments in favour of the railway if they did not illustrate the anti-social temper of the ordinary bourgeois so-called Radical. Because, of course, Mr. Labouchere is always playing a part, and he is no more the brutal and stupid bagman which he posed as being the other night, than he is the virtuously indignant democrat which he plays on other occasions. He is a very smart and handy person, who has chosen the democratic side of the political game, and is determined to play his part thoroughly and without flinching. So that we can see that his conception of the democratic bourgeois involves a grovelling and sordid utilitarianism, and it is to be feared that he scarcely overdid his contemptible part in speaking as he did on the 17th.

Meanwhile, I would appeal to all Socialists to do their best to preserve the beauty and interest of the country. It is true that it is a part of that wealth in which the workers under our present system are not allowed to share. But when we have abolished the artificial famine caused by capital, we shall not be so pinched and poor that we cannot afford ourselves the pleasure of a beautiful landscape because it doesn't produce ironstone, or of a beautiful building because it won't do for a cotton-mill, and that pleasure will not then be confined to a few well-to-do people, but will be there to be enjoyed by all. Of course, as things go now, the Lake railway is not a question of the convenience of the Amblesiders, or the pleasure of the world in general, but the profit of a knot of persons leagued together against the public in general under the name of a railway company. W. M.

"Respectable" papers are exceeding lachrymose over the "incipient civil war" in Ireland and the beginnings of a rebellion that show themselves occasionally. It is so wrong of the bear to defend himself after his skin has been sold!

An emergency-man has met with his death at the hands of the enraged people against whom his loathsome services had been directed; whereupon the *Spectator* waxes wroth, and says: "Justice is dead in Ireland."

Justice never lived there save when it has been wrought by the people for themselves.

Dr. Croke, Archbishop of Cashel, has published a letter begging Irishmen no longer to pay their taxes:—"Payment is suicidal; and, in the presence of the actual state of things in Ireland just now, it is inconsistent besides. We run the 'Plan of Campaign' against bad landlords, and stop what they call their rent; and we make no move whatever against the Government that pays 'horse, foot, and dragoons' for protecting them and enforcing their outrageous exactions. Our money goes to fee and feed a gang of needy and voracious lawyers, to

purchase bludgeons for policemen to be used in smashing the skulls of our people, and generally for the support of a foreign garrison or native slaves, who hate and despise everything Irish and every genuine Irishman."

"Who follows in his train?"

The presumptuous arrogance of the conventional bourgeois Christian came out well a little while ago at the consecration of All Saint's Church at Allahabad, when the Bishop of Calcutta quoted "Unto thy seed have I given this land," as applicable to the divine disposal of India as a British plunder-ground.

When prelates paint the deity as a glorified carpet-bagger, or missionaries couple their creed with Manchester cottons, it makes the unregenerate smile, and brings home to a Socialist how everything whether "carnal" or "spiritual," is the direct outcome of and moulded by the economic condition of society. S.

## NATIONAL BURDENS IN RELATION TO NATIONAL INCOMES.

To the thoughtful of every country the present state of Europe is most alarming. Everywhere there are rumours of wars, and everywhere there are preparations for war, and that, too, on the most gigantic scale. The European Continent is one vast military camp, adding every day to the heavy burdens the toiling millions have to bear. But there undoubtedly will be wars of the most terrible character. In all probability these will be followed by repudiations in many countries. They will also be followed by revolutions in most of the European States.

We complain in England of the enormous weight of our taxation. We complain, and very justly too, that more than two-thirds goes for war debts and war purposes. Nor can we be certain that our war expenditure will not increase. Indeed, an increase is certain to take place. But while we complain of our heavy taxation, we seldom think of the still heavier burdens that have to be borne by the peoples of the Continent. And here it must be observed that taxation must always be viewed in its relation to annual income. In 1840, it would have been impossible for England then to have borne £90,000,000 of taxation. Not only because the population was less than at present, but because our annual income was relatively still smaller as compared with the present day. It is quite true that taxation has increased faster than population, but our annual income has increased faster than both. It is true that many people think but little of the question of taxation, yet if we view the matter as we really should view it, as so much taken from labour, and from labour alone, we find it amount to a considerable sum. Thus in 1883 our total expenditure, national and local, amounted to £156,709,535, and dividing that among the working-classes, it was equal to £34 13s. 4d. for every working-class family.

But we must look at this question of taxation from another standpoint. In 1840, our taxation was only about forty-six millions, and at the present day about ninety millions. At the former period our annual income was only equal to about £19 per head of the population, while to-day it is over £35. The total at the former period being £514,000,000, and in 1883, £1,265,000,000. Our taxation, then is only about the thirteenth part of our annual income. Bearing this in mind, let us look at the case of the leading Continental States.

In 1882, France had an annual income of £965,000,000, and a Governmental expenditure of £142,000,000, being over one-seventh of her annual income. Germany in 1882 had an annual income of £851,000,000, with a total taxation of £103,753,000. Her taxation then was less than one-eighth of her yearly income. Her income was only equal to £18 7s. per head of population, her taxation £2 5s. 10d., leaving a balance per head of £16 1s. 2d. If we take Austria-Hungary, her total income the same year was only £602,000,000, equal to £16 3s. per head. Her expenditure was £76,478,000. As in the case of Germany, the taxation was nearly one-eighth of her total income. In 1882, the total income of Italy was only £292,000,000, equal to only £10 7s. per head of the population. But her taxation was over £61,480,000, being equal to £2 2s. per head, and more than one-fifth of the national income. What a condition for a country to be in, and especially Italy, for whose unity and independence so many

thousands laid down their lives. If we take Russia her annual income is less in proportion to her population than of any of the European States. In 1882, her total income was £760,000,000, only equal to £9 9s. per head of population. But her taxation, £106,322,000, was nearly one-seventh of her income.

Let us take another view of the matter. In England, with an income equal to £35 2s. 6d. per head, and taxation £2 10s. 4d. per head, it leaves £32 11s. 8d. per head for all other purposes. But see how the matter stands in the other States referred to above. In France it is £21 16s. 10d., in Germany £16 1s. 2d., in Austria-Hungary £14 2s. 7d., in Italy £8 5s., and in Russia £8 6s. If taxation is heavy in England, what must it be in the States of the Continent?

Look, too, at the enormous increase of taxation as compared to the increase of population, taking the years 1840 to 1882. This is a matter that should always be kept in view. In England, the increase was from £2 to £2 10s. 4d.; in France, £1 14s. to £3 10s. 2d.; in Germany, 15s. to £2 5s. 10d.; in Austria, £1 to £2 0s. 5d.; in Russia, 10s. to £1 2s. 2d.; and in Italy, £1 to £2 2s. Taking the whole of the European States, the increase was from an average of from £1 to £2 0s. 6d.

Returning to the subject of the coming wars, and taking the five great Powers—Russia, Austria, Germany, France, and Italy, we find the total cost of their peace establishments in 1882 was £109,879,000. The annual average cost per soldier was, Russia, £35; Austria, £51; Germany, £43; France, £46; and Italy, £40. Placing their armies on a war footing, without the recent augmentations, and taking as the basis of expenditure the cost per man on a peace footing, it would raise the total cost to £312,000,000. To which must be added the cost of their fleets, also the destruction of stores, of fortifications, of property of almost every kind, the loss of trade and of commerce, to say nothing of the loss of men. We hear a great deal at times of the horrors and massacres during revolutionary periods, but while the revolutionary movements of 1848 only caused a loss of £10,000,000 and 60,000 lives, the wars between England and France, 1793 to 1815, cost £1,250,000,000, with the lives of 1,900,000 men. The Crimean War cost £305,000,000, and the slaughter of 485,000 men. And taking the thirteen wars from 1793 to 1878, we have a total cost of £3,037,000,000, and a loss of 4,410,000 men. These items represent only the direct cost and the direct slaughter. If we take the waste and the destruction of property of every kind, with the loss of trade and of production generally in those countries which were the seats of those wars, and if we add the loss to the nations by the slaughter of men in the prime of life, it is too fearful to contemplate.

Look, too, at the enormous increase of the war debts of the above Powers from 1852 to 1882. That of Russia rose from £95,000,000 to £553,000,000. That of Austria-Hungary from £118,000,000 to £458,000,000. German States from £82,000,000 to £271,000,000. The French debt rose from £221,000,000 to £912,000,000, and the Italian from £68,000,000 to £353,000,000. The debts of these five Powers rose in 31 years from £584,000,000 to £2,547,000,000. In 1882, the total European debts had risen to £4,223,416,000, with a yearly charge of £220,000,000. Add the cost of the peace establishments, £260,000,000, and the interest on capital sunk in fortifications, £50,000,000, and we have a total dead weight of £510,000,000 for war debts and war purposes. And since 1882 all these burdens have increased enormously. And what will they be at the end of the coming wars? For the people to bear these burdens will be impossible. From those burdens the people must be freed, and the revolution alone can accomplish that.

But cannot these wars be prevented? Cannot the peoples meet in their tens of thousands and protest? Yes, the peoples can meet in numbers as large as they please, and they can protest and protest again and again and as loud as they please, and still the wars will take place. Because the peoples are powerless,—powerless in every European State; powerless against a mere handful of princes and statesmen, because powerless against the organised legions of trained cut-throats; because the peoples are not yet freed from national prejudices and national hatreds; and because the peoples have yet to learn the principle of human solidarity, the brotherhood of the human race.

Yes, while the peoples tolerate princes, peers, and statesmen; while they are content to be divided into empires, kingdoms, and municipalities, they must ever remain powerless, the victims of a thousand tyrannies, crushed to the earth by a thousand oppressions. The wars we cannot prevent, but we can prepare for the revolutions which are sure to follow. We can prepare to aid them, not only by our words, but by our deeds. Let us remember the words of St. Just: "That those who make half revolutions but dig their own graves;" and let us remember also that if the revolution is to be successful it must be universal. We see the reaction everywhere triumphant, despotism everywhere in the ascendant, the tyrant exalted, the worker degraded, and this in the year of grace 1887. After more than eighteen hundred years of preaching and praying under the Christian dispensation, behold Christian Europe one vast military camp. In the midst of all our grand achievements in the arts and sciences, behold the degradation and pauperism of our toiling millions. Yes, the revolution must be universal. Neither Germany, France, or Russia can accomplish a successful revolution. A mere political change may be accomplished, but the revolution that shall ensure the supremacy of labour, that shall place the destinies of the people in the hands of the people; the revolution that shall sweep away both the Church and the State; that shall free Society from tyranny through all its ramifications,

and man from oppression in all the relations of life,—that revolution must be universal if it is to be successful. Let emperors, kings, and princes have their wars, but let the peoples be prepared for the revolution that will follow.

J. SKETCHLEY.

## SOCIALISM FROM THE ROOT UP.

### CHAPTER XV.—SCIENTIFIC SOCIALISM—KARL MARX.

THE foregoing chapters on modern Socialists may be regarded as leading up to the full development of the complete Socialist theory, or as it is sometimes called, "scientific" Socialism. The great exponent of this theory, and the author of the most thorough criticism of the capitalistic system of production, is the late Dr. Karl Marx.

He was born in 1818 at Treves, his father being a baptised Jew holding an official position in that city. He studied for the law in the University of Bonn, passing his examination with high honours in 1840. In 1843 he married Jenny von Westphalen, sister of the well-known Prussian statesman of that name. Philosophy and political economy, with especial reference to the great social problems of the age, were his special studies on leaving the university. These studies led him towards Socialism, the result of which was that he felt compelled to decline the offer of an important government post. About this time he left Treves for Paris, where he became co-editor with Arnold Ruge of the *Deutsch-Französische Jahrbücher*; and he also edited the Socialist journal *Vorwärts*; but in less than a twelvemonth he was compelled to leave France for Brussels. In March 1848 he was driven from Belgium and fled to Cologne, where the revolutionary ferment was at its height. He at once undertook the editorship of the *Rheinische Zeitung*, the leading revolutionary journal, which was suppressed on the collapse of the revolutionary movement in 1849.

We should mention that in 1847, in conjunction with his life-long friend, Frederic Engels, he put forward the celebrated 'Communist Manifesto,' which subsequently served as the basis of the International Association.

After 1849 he went to Paris again, where he remained but a short time, and then left France for London, remaining there with brief intermissions till his death, which took place in the spring of 1883.

The principal part he took in political action during his sojourn in England was the organization of the International Association.

The most important among his works besides 'Das Kapital' are 'Die Heilige Familie,' written in conjunction with Frederic Engels; the 'Misere de la Philosophie,' the answer to Proudhon mentioned in our last article; '18 Brumaire,' an anti-Napoleonic pamphlet; and 'Zur Kritik der Politischer Economic,' which laid the foundation for his great work 'Das Kapital.'

The importance of this latter work makes it necessary for us to indicate the contents of the principal chapters, so as to form a brief sketch of the Socialist economy.<sup>1</sup>

Part I. deals with Commodities and Money. The first chapter defines a commodity. A commodity according to Marx is briefly expressed as a socially useful product of labour which stands in relation to other similar useful products of labour. The *value* of such a commodity is primarily the amount of necessary social labour contained in it: that is to say, the average amount of labour carried through a certain portion of time necessary to its production in a given state of society. The young student must take special note that when Marx uses the word *value* by itself it is always used in this sense; *i.e.*, to put it in a shorter form, as embodied average human labour. The term Use-value explains itself. Exchange-value means the relation of one commodity to another or to all others. The ultimate issue of the various expressions of Value is the money form: but in the words of Marx, the step to the money-form "consists in this alone, that the character of direct and universal exchangeability—in other words, that the universal equivalent form—has now by social custom become identified with the substance gold."

The second chapter deals with Exchange. Exchange, says Marx, presupposes guardians or owners of commodities, since these cannot go to market of themselves. A commodity possesses for the owner no use-value where he seeks to exchange it: if it did, he would not seek to exchange it. "All commodities," says Marx, "are non-use values for their owners and use values for their non-owners. Consequently they must all change hands. But this change of hands is what constitutes their exchange, and the latter puts them in relation with each other as *values*, and realises them as *values*. Hence commodities must be realised as *values* before they can be realised as use-values."

Commodities, then, find their universal value represented by one commodity from among them, which has in itself no use-value unless it be that of representing or of symbolising the abstract quality of value.

Chapter III. deals with the circulation of commodities under the money form. Here Marx very justly observes: "It is because all commodities as values are realised human labour, and therefore commensurable, that their values can be measured by one and the same special commodity, and the latter be converted into the common measure of their values—*i.e.*, into money. Money as a measure of value is the phenomenal form that must of necessity be assumed by that measure of *value* which is immanent in commodities, labour time."

<sup>1</sup> We must remind the reader that we do not profess to offer more than some hints to the student of Marx. Anything approaching to an abstract of 'Das Kapital' would take up space far beyond the limits of the present little work.

This long and important chapter proceeds to discuss the theory of circulating money or of currency at considerable length and in great detail. The subject is one of such importance and with respect to which so many fallacies are afloat, that we propose to devote our next article to an exposition of its leading features.

E. BELFORD BAX AND WILLIAM MORRIS.

## THE CRIMINAL CLASSES OF THE FUTURE.

A RETROSPECT AND A PROSPECT.

(Concluded from p. 58).

It was ludicrous in the extreme to witness the impotent rage of the "respectables" as they were one after the other passed from the Court on to scenes of really useful labour or condemned to the same penal discipline that in the hour of their triumph they had inflicted upon their fellow-creatures. One or two languid swells whose speech had hitherto been made up of painfully aspirated "aitches," said that, "weally you know," it was quite a change. And in time they became Men instead of the vapid prigs they had previously been. It was also curious to see the unbounded indignation of titled and untitled persons whose precious dignity was infringed upon by the "low fellows" who had charge of them. Scandalous! infamous! they exclaimed. There was in truth wailing and weeping over the tasks they had sentenced others to but now had to perform themselves.

Outrageous as this treatment seemed to be to these handlers of other people's rights and possessions, yet it had been mercifully adopted as an alternative to a policy of extirpation advocated by the more enraged of the revolutionists.

The true spirit of the revolution was not displayed in these acts, but was a policy imposed upon it as a matter of self-preservation. It had however, the effect of softening many who with loud-mouthed persistency had under the old régime advocated these forms of punishment for the poor. The fellow-feeling which Shakspeare has said makes us wondrous kind, was born of the actual experience of the lot to which so many thousands of the now emancipated labourers had been condemned.

Many gave in their adhesion to the new order, and were at once set free to take part in the reorganisation going on outside. A large number were obliged to commence life *de novo*, for none of their previous nefarious occupations were left to them. All forms of usury and profit-mongering were abolished. The land had long since been declared common property, and was being cultivated by the free communities established in the smiling shires of old England, Scotland, Wales, and Ireland. These *ci-devant* stockjobbers, landlords, rent-mongers, and usurers, formed, in short, the army of useless mouths in the new order of things.

No recruits came from this quarter to the literary, cultured class; but from the ranks of labour, freed from the benumbing process of their rent and profit getting, were reverent students of the knowledge thrown free and open to all. The brain-worker, no longer forced to sell his work in a commercial market, met with full recognition at the hands of the communities to whose refinement and pleasure he contributed; and in no instance was there a desire shown to exact excessive tribute from the communes because of varied or singular capacity.

Inventions from practical workmen were also applied to the most laborious and repugnant tasks; and this class of labour, whilst being equally rewarded, was reduced to a minimum.

The marvellous changes wrought in the capital completely transformed it. Its hideous suburbs, the houses of the smug legal cheats, disappeared and gave place to pleasure resorts. In the centre, the monuments of cant and greed, the monstrous barracks erected by five-per-cent. philanthropists in which to herd a landless, rack-rented population, were levelled amid general acclamation. It is reported that an old, very old man, by name Alderman Lowwater, stood by and wrung his hands at the overthrow of his pet schemes for regenerating mankind and pocketing a profit as well.

The monuments of nonentities and scoundrels that obstructed and disfigured the public places were removed, with other road rubbish, and in their stead arose monuments to the heroes and heroines whose labours in science, art, and letters had liberalised thought and paved the way for the glorious and beneficial change. Applied mechanical science reduced the working day for necessities to the limit assigned it by Hoyle some years before—viz., 1½ hours per diem. Labour rendered attractive by free selection and pleasant environment, with utility as its sole impetus, produced marvellous results, that stood out in bold contrast to the shoddy goods thrown upon the markets by half-starved workers driven by the twin scourges of greed and fear to exhausting toil. No less remarkable was the change wrought in the features and comportment of the people. Freed from cankering care and the fear of starvation and punishment, their manners and looks became more in accord with their happy and free state, but the marks of the fell system so recently destroyed would take a long time to finally obliterate. And as time went on, the younger children came into the colleges and academies; they listened with wonder to the record of how in the past times idlers were rewarded with wealth and honours, whilst the producers endured cold, hunger, and insult; how they had rattled their own chains and been pleased with the music, and echoed the shibboleths of their masters; how wholesale butchers of their kind were belauded and decorated, whilst merit and invention served only to increase the

gains of low cunning commercial gamblers, and moreover allowed that every additional power over the forces of nature tended but to increase their misery. With the aid of models and diagrams the filth, squalor, and crime of the past was illustrated to their amazed gaze; and whilst they uttered joyful thanks that their lot was cast on pleasant lines, where neither thief, pauper, idler, or prostitute existed, they gave a mental tribute of praise to the memories of those who had laboured for the Cause "ere the toil of strife and battle overthrew the curse of Gold."

F. KITZ.

## LITERARY NOTICES.

'Anarchy' (Eau Claire Book Co., Eau Claire, Wis., U.S., post paid 25 cents) is an admirable pamphlet, by C. L. James, the "Socialist Alderman", son of G. P. R. James the novelist. It shows wide reading and intelligent appreciation of the subject, and is worth careful perusal.

In the *Bombay Gazette* of Jan. 21, our comrade D. Gostling has an admirable letter on "the growth of Socialism," with an account, also, of the Henry George contest in New York. This is a concession by an important journal to the growing interest taken in our cause in India.

Articles of interest to Socialists:—*Nineteenth Century*: "Notes and Queries on the Irish Question," W. E. Gladstone; "Scientific and Pseudo-Scientific Realism," Professor Huxley; "The Scientific Bases of Anarchy," Peter Kropotkin.

'The Irish National League Leaflets' (Irish Parliamentary Offices, Palace Chambers, S.W.; 4d. per 100, post free) are a well-written and instructive series, well worthy of circulation among people who are ignorant of the "reasoned enthusiasm" that animates the Irish people in their struggle for freedom.

'An Irish Judge on the Irish Question' (Irish Press Agency, 25, Parliament Street, Id.) is a reprint of Mr. Baron Fletcher's charge to the County Wexford grand jury in 1814, with introduction by John J. Clancy, M.A., M.P. Coming from a judge of Baron Fletcher's standing, who, it is needless to say was neither a Catholic nor a Nationalist, the deliverance will be found to be one of the most remarkable exposures on record of the infamous oppression to which the mass of the people of Ireland have been subjected under the Union, by the propertied class and the partisans of "law and order." From the same Agency may be procured also the following pamphlets at 1d. each, all of which are worth perusal: 'The Home Rule Question,' by Mr. Sexton, M.P.; 'Facts for Mr. Parnell's Bill,' by John Dillon, M.P.; 'The Treatment of Minorities in Ireland,' by Charles Dawson, Ex-Lord Mayor of Dublin; 'The Orange Bogey,' by John J. Clancy, M.A., M.P.

'The Economic Problem of the Unemployed' is a pamphlet by William Westgarth, Member of the Council of the London Chamber of Commerce, which traces the whole of the evils, such as depression of trade and want of employment, to the "appreciation" of gold, and also lays down a plan of municipal improvements to be carried out with the wealth arising from "natural" or "unearned" increment. If Mr. Westgarth will examine the subject further he will find that, be the medium what it may, commercial competitive exchange can but fulfil its inevitable conditions, and that social use of "natural" increment would swiftly lead to social use of much else, were his suggestion capable of being carried out under the present system—which it is not!—S.

To those who read French and are interested in the genuine Anarchist view of the future Society, we should recommend a series of articles by Peter Kropotkin, which have appeared more or less regularly in the *Révolte* for the past year. These papers, which deal with questions which will arise after the Revolution, must be highly interesting to all Socialists, although many may not agree with the writer's point of view or his suggestions for meeting the economic difficulties which will face us (or our descendants) in the future. Still these suggestions, according to him, resolve themselves into a simple form enough, the revolutionists, namely, taking to themselves all goods, all dwellings, factories, and so forth, and taking care that no works for the manufacture of life-necessaries are suspended, and that circulation of goods is maintained throughout all countries. As he says, our adversaries will discuss these difficulties of the future, being much more fearful about them than we ourselves; we, standing so far without the threshold, can but inadequately deal with the same, and it is unwise therefore to enter too much into details, but that these difficulties will be met successfully in the time to come, there is no reason to doubt. As the writer says: "We are persuaded that when the people put themselves to the work, they will find out how to organise themselves infinitely better than we can now predict of them." Among the articles, I may mention especially those on "Les Prisons" and those on "Les Denrées" (Victuals). In short, we hope that these series will be re-published in pamphlet form (perhaps translated); for the discussion of the conduct of the Revolutionists "the day after" cannot fail to be interesting and useful.—M. M.

Bread-and-water Beecher auctioned off his church pews Sunday for 27,000 dols. Beecher hates an eight-hour man, and thinks the standing army should be brought back from the Indian frontier and used to shoot working-men who cannot buy pews in his church.—*Knights of Labor*.

In reply to a question in the House of Commons the other day as to whether the British Government had sent any expression of sympathy to the Italian Government on account of "the disaster which had fallen on the Italian arms at Massowah," Sir J. Ferguson said: "It would be unsuitable to offer to a great military Power an expression of sympathy on account of such an accident. We ourselves should not like, in similar circumstances, to have the loss of a detachment, which can easily be replaced, treated as a considerable disaster. The Italian Government, with whom we have so many interests in common, are well aware that they may count upon the friendly offices of her Majesty's Government." Mark the cold-blooded way in which Sir J. Ferguson speaks of the slaughter of 500 human beings. They can so easily be replaced by 500 more Italian slaves, and should these get their throats cut, or die of disease, they can as easily be replaced by 500 more. The only inconvenience to the Italian Government is the cost of transport and the loss of kit and war materials, as unfortunately, these poor devils who were killed, and who can so easily be replaced, had their uniforms and accoutrements on at the time of their death. It costs money to replace these. Compare the indifferent way that our politicians speak of the death of 500 men with the maudlin stuff that is spoken when they have to announce the death of one of their own political cronies.—H S.



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

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

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

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### TO CORRESPONDENTS.

**NOTICE TO ALL SOCIALISTIC NEWSPAPERS.**—The *Commonweal* will be regularly sent to all Socialistic Contemporaries throughout the world, and it is hoped that they on their side will regularly provide the Socialist League with their papers.

CH. BAGGIO (Carvin, Pas de Calais).—We thank you for pamphlet to hand, and shall be glad to receive following numbers as they appear.

*Periodicals received during the week ending Wednesday February 23.*

ENGLAND	
Justice	John Swinton's Paper
Fus	Truthseeker
Norwich—Daylight	Boston—Woman's Journal
Londner Arbeiter-Zeitung	Denver (Col.) Labor Inquirer
Cotton Factory Times	Springfield (Ill.)—Voice of Labor
Glasgow—Pioneer	Chicago (Ill.)—Vorbote
Worker's Friend	Knights of Labor
Croydon Echo	New Haven (Conn.)—Work-
Financial Reformer	men's Advocate
Nottingham Evening News	Philadelphia (Pa.)—Carpenter
INDIA	Cincinnati (O.) Unionist
Bankipore—Behar Herald	Milwaukee (Wis.)—Volksblatt
Allahabad—People's Budget	Detroit (Mich.)—Labor Leaf
Bombay—Times of India	St. Louis (Mo.)—American Celt
Voice of India	FRANCE
Bombay Gazette	Paris—Cri du Peuple (daily)
SOUTH AUSTRALIA	La Revue Socialiste
Adelaide—Our Commonweal	Le Revolte
CANADA	Guise—Le Devoir
Toronto—Labor Reformer	Lille—Le Travailleur
UNITED STATES	HOLLAND
New York—Volkszeitung	Hague—Recht voor Allen
Der Sozialist	BELGIUM
	Brussels—L'Avant-Garde
	LIEGE—L'Avenir
	Antwerp—De Werker
	SWITZERLAND
	Zurich—Sozial Demokrat
	ITALY
	Milan—Il Fascio Operaio
	Turin—Il Muratore
	SPAIN
	Madrid—El Socialista
	Barcelona—Acracia
	PORTUGAL
	Voz do Operario
	Oporto—A Ferola
	ROMANIAA
	Jassy—Lupta
	DENMARK
	Social-Demokraten
	SWEDEN
	Stockholm—Social-Demokraten
	NORWAY
	Kristiania—Social-Democraten
	GREECE
	Athens—Ardin

### FIGHTING FOR PEACE.

OUR contemporary, the *Cotton Factory Times*, has an article on the Lanarkshire riots and the position of the men there which is worth noting, as showing the kind of prejudices and superstitions which will have to be removed from the minds of the workers before they can attain to that complete union and perception of the interests of labour by which alone they can meet the organization of capital on equal terms: and this is the more worth noting, as the *Cotton Factory Times* is an excellent paper, and really devoted, according to its lights, to the interests of labour.

Our contemporary does not seem to have understood the meaning of these riots, or the necessities of the men who made them. They were distinctly hunger-riots, that is to say the expression of the despair of men driven into a corner, dying by inches of starvation: and we may be sure that such events will, at the rate we are now going, become common and increase in misery and terror, unless the workers become conscious of their present position and its remedy: their position being to speak plainly that they have to pay the piper in the game of cut-throat competition played by their masters, who are themselves forced by the rules of the game to force their men to accept the very lowest wages possible. The result of this famine-test of wages (for that is what it is) must be such misery as we now see in Lanarkshire coupled from time to time with the incident of open revolt: the riots of the other day are a hint to the masters that the wages they now offer are impossible of acceptance.

Surely our contemporary if it had known all the circumstance would scarcely have blamed the miners for not making provision for a rainy day. Alas! it is always a rainy day with these poor people, unless when it is worse; a life of days like the three in the ballad:

"The first day it was wind and weat,  
The nexten day it was fire and sleet;  
The third day it was birley-banes,  
Knocked the little birds' nebs against the stanes."

But what provision can be made against "birley-banes" when even the better days are so bitter?

Here are some questions for our contemporary: How much is it possible to save out of a (precarious) income of 12s. 6d. a week? If it be possible to save anything out of such a pittance without being

actually starved to death, why should a man be put to such torture and degradation as this saving involves, when we all know that he actually produces more than enough to keep him in comfort, unless his labour be utterly wasted? Again, can the getting of coal be carried on gainfully in Lanarkshire? If it cannot, why is it carried on? And if there is a due gain in it, why are the getters starved?

These are the kind of questions which the working-men who profess to be organised must ask and have answered if their organisation is to be of any use: they must not fight against capitalism blindly, as they mostly do now, but be conscious of the nature of the fight, and especially must have a definite aim to end it. Our contemporary is very far from this. He says, e.g.: "A fair stand-up fight between capital and labour with no striking below the belt frightens no one. The best men win, after which both sides can be as friendly as before, with no bitter memories to cherish."

Well, well, if I had but 12s. 6d. a week as the "reward" of hard and repulsive labour, I think I might be bitter without drawing on the resources of "memory." But in fact the fight between capital and labour on the Lanarkshire terms i.e., the capitalist with his money resources to stand by on, and the miner with the three choices of 12s. 6d. a week, death, and the workhouse, is about as fair (if we are to keep up the metaphor of the ring) as the champion against a London errand boy. And again, the writer speaks cheerfully of these "fair" fights; can he possibly think that a condition of industry to which they are necessary (and frequent) incidents can be a stable one? These "fair fights" are but incidents, skirmishes, or battles in the continuous war on which all industrial society is founded at present. Like all other wars it must one day come to an end by the exhaustion of one or other of the combatants: either the workman must be subjugated into a hopeless slave, receiving such housing, clothing, and rations as it may be convenient for his master to give him (and for that matter it could not be less than the "reward" of a Lanarkshire miner), or the capitalist must disappear altogether, and his privilege of usury be a thing of the past; and that whether he be the boss of a big business, or a small shareholder in a "co-operative" store.

Now I will ask our trades' union friends which of the two results of the struggle they are fighting for? They have no choice, it must be one or the other, or indeed is there a choice even between those two results? Is not the final subjugation of the workman impossible? Even now, even when the strikers are least conscious of it, their limited and local fight is really, as I have said, a part of the great labour war: but when they do become conscious of what the end of that war is, to wit, the abolition of private property in the means of production, the inequality between the two combatants will be no longer against them, but against their masters, and the war will soon be over. On the other hand, although the end must come, yet if the workers remain unconscious of what they are striving for, it will probably be long delayed through a period fertile of misery and degradation to the workman, and terror and degradation to the master, and will be brought about at last by the mere break up and ruin of our capitalistic system involving inconceivable horrors of starvation, aimless violence, repression, and revenge.

The choice of these two alternatives gives the reason why sober, thoughtful, and peaceable men, even when they themselves are not pinched by the present system, when they have once learned the economic truths of Socialism are so eager in the Revolutionist propaganda: it is for peace they are working, not war.

WILLIAM MORRIS.

### SOCIALISM IN THE PROVINCES.

THE chainmakers of Walsall and Cradley Heath are about the hardest worked and the poorest paid slaves in this country. A strong man, working 10 to 12 hours a day, may average ten shillings a week, and out of this he must buy fuel for his little forge. The development of machinery has scarcely affected this trade at all. Chains are still made by hand, and it is unlikely that machinery will be introduced. When human machines are so cheap and so servile, it will not pay the capitalist to hire an inventor. The work is monotonous and disagreeable, and in a social system organised in the interests of the people, efforts would be made to design machinery, but as under the present system machines are brought out not to do away with disagreeable or degrading labour, but simply to cheapen the cost of production to the capitalists, there is no early likelihood of such attempts being made. Then women and children can help and compete in various ways, and hence the smallness of the husband and father's wage.

There was no time to call a large meeting, so a few of the leaders of the chainmakers got together and I explained Socialism to them. There was no difficulty in getting them to understand it. They were very quick-witted, and what was more surprising and satisfactory, very broad in their sympathies. They are now trying to start a co-operative productive society, which will be as near to genuine as can be under the present system. I advised them to carry out the project if it would better their position in the present society, but I also pointed out the difficulties which would crop up even after they had beaten the immediate employers. Their employers are really only agents or dealers. They furnish the iron, while the tools and coal are furnished by each worker. The employers in their case therefore are the smallest difficulty in the way. It is the innumerable rings of dealers through whose hands the wares pass before reaching the user that are the greatest burden to the chainmakers. It was very encouraging to see how readily these men (who might surely have been excused had they

been narrow minded) grasped the truth that no one section trade of workers can gain much in struggling for its own particular interests, and that all must unite in the effort for their common emancipation.

At Nottingham the Socialist agitation is not in a very satisfactory condition. At one time there were three branches of a Socialist party there, with a heavy membership, and the town was spasmodically agitated for a few months. When this spirit of propaganda died away the place was quite neglected and the local organisations dwindled down in consequence. There is plenty of Socialist feeling in the town, but the disorganised and dilatory way in which the propaganda has been conducted, has estranged this feeling from the Socialist bodies. The cause of this state of affairs is, in my opinion, that from the first the movement had too much politics and too little Socialism in it. The social and economic aspect of the propaganda was over-shadowed by the political: the result being that a very superficial and spurious kind of Socialism was spread abroad, that died out when the election heat cooled off.

From Nottingham I went to Sheffield, where a crowded and successful meeting was held. Next week I shall give an account of the Sheffield Socialists, as it will come appropriately with a report of the opening of their new premises which takes place to-night.

Clay Cross is a slaves den of the most deplorable kind, and there, as to all the mining districts the message of Socialism is most needed. Mr. Haslam, Secretary of the Derbyshire Miners' Association, kindly arranged the meeting, which was addressed by Edward Carpenter and myself. The room was crowded with men whose appearance spoke plainly of hard working and poor faring. Although this was the first Socialist meeting held at Clay Cross the men were very attentive and eager, and seemed to grasp the points very quickly. After the meeting the general expression was that the Socialists had just been saying what they for a long time had been thinking. Arrangements have been made for carrying on a series of meetings at Clay Cross. Comrades Carpenter, Peach, and Besant, are expected to deliver Socialist lectures there in the course of the next few weeks.

What have I done to gain Mr. Bradlaugh's special good-will? He grants my sanity—a favour extended to few of the people from whom he differs. The extract which Mr. Bradlaugh quotes, and which seems to have aroused his patriotic ire, is a correct report of what I said, and is, after all, a well-known commonplace of the Socialist movement. Mr. Bradlaugh is a very careful man, and if he is going to defend the Empire as well as the "rights of property," I hope he will distinguish clearly between his Patriotism and Jingoism. Mr. Bradlaugh's habit of quoting part of what his opponents say leads to misunderstanding. I did not say merely that Mr. Bradlaugh was losing his popularity. I said that, in my opinion, he was losing popularity among the working-class. On the whole I should say Mr. Bradlaugh is getting more popular than ever, and that what he loses in the opinion of the working-class he gains ten times over in that of the middle-class. Since Mr. Bradlaugh became the capitalists' advocate, the bourgeois breast is filled with gratitude to him, and all manner of well-to-do-people—from shop-keepers to Whig Statesmen—yearn to do him honour. The English middle-class, well known for its meanness and want of backbone, is a bit surprised (as most people are) to find such a defender from among the Democrats, and is perhaps a little suspicious that he will not stick to them—let us hope there is reason for the suspicion. I don't, in the least, wish to say that Mr. Bradlaugh is consciously going against the people, but that his fierce and enthusiastic defence of the propertied class, which at present is overshadowing his work for the people, is rapidly getting him the reputation of a respectable Whig.

February 21.

## SOCIALISM IN SCOTLAND.

It is gratifying to be able to state that the adherents of Socialism are increasing even more rapidly in Scotland than in England. It has long been the custom of our journalists to praise the superior intelligence of the Scotch and their great caution, and in this I believe them right, and can see no stronger proof of the truth of the statement than in the striking progress of the Socialist movement there. Four years ago there existed a considerable number of Socialists in Edinburgh and Glasgow, but all of them isolated, not knowing one another, or even being aware that they had any comrades in their neighbourhood; now some of the strongest branches of the Socialist League and of the S. D. F. are to be found in Scotland.

In Edinburgh, which is the most bourgeois town perhaps in Britain, we are able to get our halls filled Sunday after Sunday by the very best class of workmen. You have simply to look at the faces of the audiences and it becomes apparent that these men are not to be trifled with. They mean business, and now that they are convinced of the necessity of expropriating their exploiters, no power on earth will turn them from their purpose. The rapid spread of our doctrines has resulted in a number of men being put up by the exploiters to defend their case. Mr. Flint, a professor in the faculty of Theology in Edinburgh, is the latest opponent of progressive ideas. Mr. Flint is a learned man, but unfortunately his studies do not seem to have quickened his apprehension. The ludicrous blunders he makes when describing what he supposes to be Socialism drive us to the conclusion that much learning has made him mad. Mr. Flint has still another lecture to deliver, and I would advise him to postpone its

delivery for six months. He might take a month's holiday to draw his wits together, and devote the other five months to the study of Socialistic literature. He might then be able to make a more intelligent appearance and so retrieve his position.

We learn that the Scotch branches are about to start a monthly journal to deal more effectively with local matters.

In Glasgow our branch has been particularly active. It has not confined itself to the city, but has gone into the country and distributed literature and delivered addresses. The adherents in the country districts around Glasgow are to be counted by the thousand. In the city the regular course of lectures is well attended by audiences composed of workmen and many of the middle-classes. Glasgow is not so prosperous now as it was a few years ago, and the middle-classes are beginning to see that there is truth in the statement that wealth is becoming more and more concentrated into the hands of the few. In Glasgow University we have many adherents to the cause. The intellectual proletariat is greater in Scotland than in any country outside of Germany, and they are becoming keenly alive to the fact that their position is practically identical with that of the artisans and labourers, and that therefore they should make common cause with them. At present the attention of the Scotch people is directed to the revolt of the miners; and it is satisfactory to know that the present agitation and revolt is due largely to the Socialist propaganda.

As will be seen from the reports under the head of "The Labour Struggle" in another column, the Scottish miner, after various deductions have been made, has only about 10s. a-week to feed and clothe himself and family. He gets on the average 9d. for each ton of cheap coal and 13d. per ton for best coal. Where does the difference go between the 13d. a ton the miner gets and the 16s. to 18s. the people pay in Glasgow for it? Allow 2s. per ton for cost of transport to the people's doors, and you still find about 13s. per ton of plunder to be divided amongst royalty owner, mining company, railway shareholders, commission-agents, etc. Is not the miner justified in doing all in his power to alter this state of affairs? Let us do all in our power to help them in their struggle. There are at present 41,000 miners idle in the west of Scotland alone. The east coast miners have also resolved to come out. The advance demanded is 6d. a day, a mere fleabite to the coal-owners; but these greedy vampires have pretty large stocks of rubbish on hand, which they want cleared out, and this they are now able to do at a handsome profit. The hunger-riots of the poor men and women, goaded into madness by the misery of their condition and the insult and oppression to which they have been subjected, are commented on elsewhere. What the police call "order" is now restored, which means that the miners are now starving quietly in the midst of plenty. This quiet starvation is liable at any moment to break into more riot, and so the military are still on the spot, with orders if necessary to shoot down those brave miners whose lives are daily risked in procuring the means by which their very swords and bayonets are fashioned, as well as the fire that cooks their daily rations. There is little doubt, however, that even the soldiers and police are beginning to see that the social question concerns them no less than their brothers in the field, the factory, and the mine. Meanwhile at any rate the workers throughout the country should sustain and encourage their comrades in Lanarkshire in their struggle. Their cause is our cause. An injury to one is the concern of all.

A. K. DONALD.

### Scotch Miners' Fund.

Collected on Feb. 20, at Hyde Park, St. Pancras Arches, Hammersmith Club, and Regent's Park (per comrade Cantwell), £1 17s. 4d. Further subscriptions will be received by A. K. Donald, 122, Mercers Road, N., or J. Bruce Glasier, 84, John Street, Glasgow.

## FROM THE HOUSE OF BONDAGE.

House of Commons, Feb. 18, 1877.

"Weep with me, all ye that read this little story, and know for those for whom I bleed death's self is sorry." That is to say, that after the able speech of Mr. Arthur O'Connor on the Amendment, that the condition of the Poor needed enquiry, the People's House of Commons promptly negated the wicked proposal by two hundred and fifty or so to twenty. Surely it is time for Hob the miller to be getting his mill into order to "grind small, small." But in the meantime let every one throw his cap into the air and shout "Thank God we have a High Court of Parliament." M.P.

### STRIKE COMMITTEE.

P. Webb, 2s.; E. Pope, 6d.; W. M., 1s.

T. BINNING, Treasurer.

### "COMMONWEAL" PRINTING FUND.

Bloomsbury Branch (weekly), 5s.; Hammersmith Branch (weekly), 10s.; E. B. B. (two weeks), 2s.; W. B. (two weeks), 1s.

PH. W., Treasurer, Feb. 22.

### THE NORWICH PRISONERS' AID FUND.

Already acknowledged, £13, 2s. 4d. Fabian Society (weekly) per Annie Besant, for Feb. 12th, 10s.; Miss Emily Guest, 5s.; Walkden, 10s.; Arthur, 6d.; Carruthers, £5; Glasgow Branch (weekly), for Feb. 5th, 12th, 19th, 6s.; C. P., 5s.; S. D. F., Edinburgh Branch, 10s. 9d.; Fabian Society, per Annie Besant, for Feb. 19, 10s.; G. D. Lawie, 2s. 6d.; Bradford Branch S. L., 5s.; J. R. W., 10s.; H. H. B., 10s.; S. G. F., 2s.; C. F., 1s.; C. W. J., 2s.; Walham Green, 2s. 6d.—Total, £22, 14s. 7d.

J. LANS, Treasurer.

**A Provincial Propagandist Tour.**—Comrade Mahon's engagements in the provinces are: Feb. 27, 28, and March 1, Hull; 2, Newcastle. Mahon will be glad to hear from any persons willing to arrange meetings at York, Middlesex, Shields, or Yarmouth.

## THE LABOUR STRUGGLE.

This department is under the direction of the Strike Committee. Labour News and Contributions to the Fund should be sent to T. BINSING, at the Offices.

**NORTHUMBERLAND MINERS.**—There are no signs as yet of the termination of the miners' strike, the men being resolved upon holding out. The comrade who was sent down by the Strike Committee has interviewed most of the local secretaries and other prominent men in the labour movement. He reports a very cordial appreciation of the League's efforts on behalf of the workers and ready assistance in obtaining information. Several meetings have been addressed by him, and he has found a ready acceptance of our doctrines by the men. Much bitterness of feeling exists between the contending parties, as the men are becoming increasingly conscious of the injustice of their exploiters, who in their turn are enraged and alarmed at the growing insubordination of their "hands." Agitation both from without and within has produced an enormous effect, of which a curious proof has been furnished by Mr. Burt's recent action.

**NOTTINGHAM—STRIKE OF ENGINEERS AND MOULDERS AT BLOOMSGROVE.**—Two or three weeks ago Messrs. Manlove, Alliott, and Co., Nottingham, intimated through their foremen to their men employed at the Blooms Grove Works that they desired them to accede to a reduction of 2s. on their weekly earning of 34s., the reason assigned being the depression in trade and keen competition. The committee of workmen met to consider the question, and sent a deputation to the head manager (Mr. Paton) for the purpose of talking the matter over with him. The deputation was courteously received, and the matter was fully discussed, but with the result that the firm could not see its way to make any concession, neither could the men accept any reduction, as the wage they were receiving was not more than the average wage paid throughout the district. As a result the firm did not enforce the reduction, but twenty-four men were discharged, all of them society men. The reason alleged for the dismissal was slackness of work. The men raised the question why, if the reduction of hands was only owing to slackness of work, only society men should have been selected for discharge. The executives of the trades' unions interested (the Amalgamated Society of Engineers, the Steam Engine Makers' Society, and the Moulders' Society) took the matter up, and after a full and careful inquiry into the whole matter, resolved to withdraw the remaining members of their societies from the workshops of the firm. A committee has been formed to look after the interests of the men, who have the sympathy and support of their fellow unionists. A hand-bill setting forth the circumstances of the case has been issued, and subscriptions can be sent to the committee at the "George and Dragon," Chapel Bar, where the committee will attend each Saturday from 6 to 8 p.m.

### THE SCOTTISH MINERS' STRIKE.

The strike in Lanarkshire enters its fifth week, and there is every sign of its continuation. In some collieries the advance demanded has been conceded, the miners returning to work. These collieries are those not connected with the Mine Owners' Association. It has been resolved that the Fife and Ayrshire miners should come out and join issue with the Lanarkshire and Stirlingshire men. The miners of the Irvine district also intend to join the movement unless an advance is made. The utmost unanimity prevails.

At the Summary Court at Lanark, about a dozen men have been fined from £2 to £5 for breach of the Conspiracy and Protection of Property Act. The offence was "picketing."

Forty-nine men have been committed for trial for the riots at Blantyre.

The *Glasgow Mail* of the 19th says: "Again and again the coalmasters have been called upon to justify their refusal to give the moderate advance of sixpence a day, which the men demanded. This advance did not amount on an average to more than twopence a ton on the coal raised, and yet, short as has been the stoppage placed upon the output, the price of coal on the market has advanced six and seven shillings a ton."

The following shows what the miner goes underground for:—"Working five days in the week, at 3s. per day, his gross earnings amounted per week to 15s. From this the following deductions were made: Rent, 2s.; coal, 1s. 2d.; powder, 6d.; lamps, 5d.; pick sharpening, 3d.; check weighman, 3d.; doctor, 3d.; tools, 3d.; funeral society, 3d.; sick society, 3d.; school fees, 2d.; union, 2d.; total, 5s. 11d.; net earnings, 9s. 1d."

The *Glasgow Mail* is not a Socialist newspaper, and only asks in "common justice" that the demands of the miners shall be granted. It continues: "What is this pittance, we would ask, upon which a working-man is expected to maintain himself, and probably a wife and children? Granting that food is cheap, how can body and soul be kept together, and the men expected to toil in the bowels of the earth at one of the most laborious and dangerous of occupations? The mere statement of the case is sufficient to condemn the employers." Speaking of the shifts and tricks adopted by the masters to wring more profit out of the men, the editor says: "Some employers, for example, are in the habit of insisting upon 22½ cwt. of coal from their miners instead of 20 cwt. when reckoning their wages by the ton. . . . Again, scandalous injustice is sometimes dealt out to a miner under a system of forfeiture for dirt or foreign material sent up in a hutch. A man may work hard an entire day under this system, and at the end of it find that his labour has been nearly all forfeited." This rejected coal, which is absolutely stolen from the miners, is now being sold at a good price. Yet, while the coal-winners wear out their lives in the unwholesome mine for the miserable pittance of 12s. or 15s. per week, the Duke of Hamilton is permitted to levy black-mail in rents and royalties to the tune of £122,000. But the day of deliverance is drawing near. These men and women having once grasped the truths of Socialism will not be satisfied with a rise of 6d. a day on their wages, or even with the abolition of royalties, but will make common cause with all the workers in getting rid of all the idlers and extortionate so-called "organisers of labour."

The Fife and Clackmannan coalmasters and miners held a conference at Dunfermline last Saturday, the men having threatened to strike unless an advance of 15 per cent. was granted. The discussion lasted five hours, the masters first offering an advance of 7½ per cent., then of 10 per cent., and finally of 12 per cent., which the men accepted, it being further agreed that work should not be stopped on Monday as threatened. At two large collieries in the Hamilton district the men will to-day (Monday) start work on the understanding that 6d. is to be conceded, they in return giving way on the question of restricting their labour to ten days a fortnight instead of eleven. This is looked upon as likely to lead to the termination of the strike.

The news of this concession has raised the spirits of the Lanarkshire men, and it is certain that if they can hold out a little longer the advance will be given them also. Whatever the immediate result of the present conflict may be, one thing is evident, that the agitation has given quite a new complexion to the labour struggle in Lanarkshire. Subjoined is the substance of a speech delivered a few days ago by our comrade Small, at a mass meeting of the miners, which we feel sure will prove interesting to readers of the *Commonweal*:—"Mr. Small, in supporting the third resolution, said the struggle was not for a paltry 1s. or 6d. per day. It involved far higher and deeper considerations. It was a question as to the right of the men to live, and capital had got the military and police to combine to try to crush the new ideas of the miners. The rising thought of the generation was how did their forefathers work for years and years and died paupers in the workhouse, and yet the men they were working for stole millions and millions of money. The men before him thought their fathers were fools, and were not going to keep by their example. They were determined to share a part of the world's wealth as share for their labours. They had truth, righteousness, and justice on their side, and against these three all the powers of earth would not prevail. Let them continue the struggle, because without doubt before long the victory would be theirs, and instead of being run down by mounted soldiers and battened by policemen, they would be able to take their position in the barracks and apprehend the employers and the landlords, and drive them off the face of the earth. He wanted to bring back to the miners of Scotland the law of Scotland, which was that the private owners of land were thieves and robbers. The Duke of Hamilton, with his £122,000 a year, was simply taking £11 a year from every miner in the Hamilton district. In the name of God, is that justice? Rise, men, in your strength, and demand that the country give justice to the men that make the wealth. Disperse quietly, men; but until you make up your mind courageously and determine to defy the law, the law will not make any respect for you. The law-makers were the first law-breakers. He was anxious to see the time when soldiers and policemen would obey the democracy of the country rather than the voices of the rotting aristocracy. Agitate, agitate; educate, educate, until they turn the tables of the country, and made the working-men rulers, and put those who robbed them in jail." The speeches of Mr. Small, miners' agent, have of themselves done incalculable good. No more vigorous and truly Socialist speeches have ever yet emanated in this country from the official of a trades' society.

Socialism has taken root in the minds of thousands, and it will be strange if the Lanarkshire miners do not play an important part in the coming great battle between labour and capital, between the rich and the poor, the plunderers and the plundered.

### AMERICA.

A union of hod carriers has been formed at Wichita, Kansas. It is reckoned the membership will be 500 strong by March 1.

The switchmen's strike in Chicago lasted ten hours, and was a complete victory for the men.

St. Louis, Feb. 4.—The employés of Liggett and Myers', and Butler's tobacco factories are pushing the boycott against those firms vigorously. A large amount of their tobacco has already been returned to this city—boycotted.

NEWARK, N. J.—At a meeting of the jewellers' association here, it was decided to join the Knights of Labour in a body, forming a separate district assembly. It will be composed of jewellers, silversmiths and engravers, chain-smiths, watch case makers, and all workers in fancy metals. The association has a membership of about 6,000 persons in the United States.

Lorillard and Co., tobacco manufacturers, of New Jersey, have thought it well to make terms with their employés. It is really a victory for the workers. There will be no reduction in wages in any department, a five per cent. increase in others, and certain minor grievances will be rectified. The 3,500 employés, 3,000 of whom are girls, stood well together for three weeks.

ATLANTA, GA.—The Knights of Labour here are rejoicing over the victory by the two Sisters Muller. They were saleswomen in Max Katz's dry-goods establishment, who, after being engaged for a year by Katz, were dismissed upon a false pretext. They sued for the year's wages, and their case was taken up by the Knights. The jury gave a verdict for their wages in full, with costs, against Katz. The Knights propose to present a testimonial to the two plucky young sisters, who have rendered a service to a thousand other saleswomen in Atlanta.

NEW YORK, Feb. 21.—An attempt to run the street cars in Cambridge, Massachusetts, yesterday resulted in a riot. A crowd of about two thousand men assembled along the track and wrecked several cars. The police, on attempting to restore order, were stoned and otherwise maltreated. Several arrests, however, were effected. It is stated that the roof of a tenement along the tramway line on the South Boston Road has been converted into a regular arsenal of stones with which the rioters will attack the cars should running by night be recommenced.

NEW YORK.—THE GREAT STRIKE.—Never in the history of industry, of labour organisations of whatever name they may bear, has there been a strike just like the present, and, whatever may be thought of some of the moves, no one, at least no unionist, can help admiring the fraternity which has prompted so many thousands of men to throw away their only chance of earning their daily bread in order that their fellow-labourers, whom they have never seen and of whom they know so little, should receive a few cents more and the organisation of which they are members be recognised. This grand spectacle, let it be remembered, is not participated in only by Knights of Labour. There are thousands who do not belong to that Order that have quit work, and there are hundreds, too, who belonged to no organisation. It may not be wise,—the end will solve that question (and whatever others say we believe it to have been a good thing), this sympathetic striking, which can have no end of possibilities, but it demonstrates to the world that the working-men are ready to sacrifice much for their fellows, that the obligation they have taken is binding and that money cannot induce them to forswear themselves.—*John Swinton's Paper.*

During the present miner's strike in the West of Scotland, and accompanying destitution, a request to come to the worker's terms as to wages was met with the reply, "You have not yet eaten your children." "Grass" for the workers, it will be remembered, was the advice of a certain Frenchman. But this other man is not a miserable vegetarian. On the contrary, he would have the workers increase their standard of comfort by the practice of a sort of new Malthusianism.—G.

## TRAMPS.

(ANONYMOUS. Translated by J. L. JOYNES.)

WITH a child on her arm—and in rags—and the trace  
Of her tears and her trouble deep-scored on her face—  
A woman is standing to beg in the street ;  
Sore-distressed is her heart, and sore-weary her feet.

She totters along to the rich man's door ;  
He stands on his own soft-carpeted floor ;—  
"See, lounging about, as they love to do,  
The rascally, idle, beggarly crew !"

"Kind sir, have compassion, and give us bread ;  
On a shutter my husband came home to me dead ;  
For the terrible cog-wheel had caught him fast,  
And his ribs were smashed, and he breathed his last.

"When still he was living, no happier life  
Than our's could be found for a man and his wife.  
O then we had clothes ; yes, and then we had bread ; }  
But the terrible cog-wheel—and now he is dead.

"Three little ones fatherless, helpless, forlorn,  
And the fourth that ere long will an orphan be born,  
All unfriended must struggle with hunger and woe,  
And it may be with infamy—what can I know ?

"He was careless, the coroner's jurymen state ;  
But the man in your factory met with his fate.  
I am helpless and poor, and my husband is dead.  
Have compassion, kind sir ; give his little ones bread.

"O think of the winter—'tis now at our door—  
And pity the children. You surely have more  
Than millions of money, so rich must you be ;  
O do not be angry ; take pity on me."

See, the heart of the rich man is touched by her woe ;  
To the drawer where his cash-box he keeps does he go,  
Gives the woe-begone woman—a guinea !—nay,  
He gives her a farthing, and sends her away.

## Free Speech in Danger—A Month's Imprisonment.

J. P. Allman, a member of the Socialist League, was charged on Monday before Mr. Hannay at Worship Street Police Court with causing an obstruction by placing a form on Sunday 20th inst. at 8 p.m., at the corner of Andrey Street, Goldsmith Row, Hackney, and addressing a meeting therefrom. The police-constable said that he saw the prisoner standing on a form addressing a "mob o' pipples" of about 150 or 200. Mr. Hannay : "He wasn't preaching from the Gospel ?" P. C. : "No, your washup, he was talking Socialism." He went on to say that a neighbour, Mr. White, of the "Goldsmith Arms," had complained of the annoyance. Allman asked him whether he would swear that he was standing on a form or on a small four legged stool. Mr. Hannay : "It does not matter what you were standing on. Do you admit standing on a stool in the roadway ?" Allman : "Yes." Hannay : "That's sufficient ; that was an obstruction." P. C. said he asked prisoner twice to get down and he refused to do so, saying that he intended to do his duty ; he was then taken into custody. The road was twenty feet wide. Allman asked him if he saw any carts or passengers obstruct the way. P. C. : "There was no carts, but some passengers found it difficult to pass." Allman : "Are there any present ?" P. C. : "None." Allman : "Why didn't you take some names ? You failed to do your duty in not doing so." Mr. Hannay, interrupting Allman, who wanted to call witnesses : "There is a law which I can put into force to prevent you calling witnesses. I have the power to decide the case forthwith." Ultimately he allowed H. Graham to be called for the defence—the chairman of the meeting at which the obstruction was caused—who stated that he called on Allman to address the meeting previous to their usual indoor meeting, and that Allman had only spoken two or three minutes when he was arrested. The usher here told Graham that he had said enough. An inspector then interrupted : "This person [Graham] was selling the *Freethinker*." Mr. Hannay said he could not waste the time of the court, and was about to close the case, when Allman pleaded for permission to say a few words in defence. Mr. Hannay : "Oh, you can say what you like, so long as you don't waste the time of the court." Allman pointed out the injustice of the police attacking only Socialists and no one else ; and that it was only when a few working men bound themselves together to point out to their fellows how they were robbed that the ruling class put this old law into force. There were hundreds of meetings held every evening, not by Socialists, that really did cause obstruction, that were never interfered with, which showed the partiality of the police. Meetings were held three times a-week by a ranter five yards from where he was arrested for speaking, but the police only looked on. Mr. Hannay, who had several times interrupted, said that he only had to deal with the case before him and not those of other persons who hold meetings, and that a person placing a birdcage on the pathway was causing an obstruction. He here asked the usher whether Allman had offended before. Usher : "Yes, your worship ; he was fined 40s. at Dod Street and fined at Stratford—constables are in attendance from both places to prove the previous convictions." Mr. Hannay said under those circumstances he would inflict the full penalty of 40s. or a month. As our comrade Allman specially requested that the fine should not be paid, he is now in Holloway Jail expiating his heinous offence. Before being sent away, some members sent him in a good dinner ; and the amount that would otherwise have been paid into the hands of the police will be given to him on his release. The Hackney Branch intend to hold a meeting on Sunday, probably in the Broadway, in order to call attention to this and other difficulties under which Socialists labour in carrying on their propaganda.

JULES VALLES.—The anniversary of the death of Jules Vallès was celebrated at Pere-Lachaise on the 17th inst. Séverine and all the staff and friends of the *Cri du Peuple*, together with representatives of other Socialist groups, assembling in considerable numbers round the tomb of the founder of that journal. Several addresses were delivered over his grave, which was covered with offerings of immortelles and natural flowers.

## THE SOCIALIST LEAGUE.

OFFICES : 13 FARRINGDON ROAD, E.C.

**Closing of Library.**—All members of the Socialist League and others who have borrowed books prior to Monday, February 21st, are earnestly requested to return same to Librarians on or before Monday, March 7th. Members are notified that unless this be complied with, Rule III. (relating to fines) must be enforced, and defaulting members suspended from Library privileges. The Library will be re-opened on Monday, March 21st. (The Librarians will be pleased to acknowledge presents of Socialist books lately published).—LENA WARDLE and WM. BLUNDELL, Librarians.

**Lessons in French.**—It has been thought advisable to start a class in the French language. Comrade Victor Dave has kindly volunteered his services as teacher. The first lesson will be given on Tuesday, March 1, at 8 p.m. All those desirous of joining the class are requested to send their names to the secretary, H. A. Barker, 13, Farringdon Road, E.C.

## Branch Subscriptions Paid.

Birmingham, Hackney, Hull, Leeds, North London, to August 31. Manchester, Merton, Norwich, to October 31. Bradford, to November 30. Croydon, Hammersmith, Leicester, South London, to Dec. 31, 1886. Bloomsbury, Clerkenwell, Lancaster, to January 31. Hoxton (Labour Emancipation League), Oxford, to March 31, 1887.

## BRANCH REPORTS.

**BLOOMSBURY.**—At our business meeting on Friday, Feb. 18th, W. Utley was proposed and seconded to fill the vacant place on the Council caused by the resignation of W. Chambers. A new secretary will be appointed next business meeting.—L. W.

**CLERKENWELL.**—On Wednesday, Feb. 16, Wm. Morris spoke on "Medieval England." He maintained that the feudal serf produced but little to his lord, whereas the modern workman produces for his master a state of luxury of which the old lord of the manor never even dreamed ; that the coming change will mean the end of mastery and the triumph of fellowship. A very interesting discussion followed. On Sunday, Feb. 20th, D. Nicoll lectured on "The Charms of Civilisation." Other meetings have been attended during the week by members of this Branch. Literature has sold fairly well.—W. B. and T. E. W., secs.

**CROYDON.**—On Sunday, February 20th, J. Macdonald lectured on "Socialism from a Workman's Standpoint." He pointed out that although art, literature, music, etc., were good things in themselves, they all sprung from, and were secondary to material well-being. Socialism shows working-men why they are badly off, and indicates the only means whereby they can become better clothed, better housed, etc. For this reason alone, apart from any idealism, Socialism should obtain the allegiance of all workers. The speakers logical exposition and humour were greatly appreciated. Sale of literature and collection good.—A. T.

**GARRETT AND SUMMERSTOWN.**—On Tuesday the 15th inst., T. E. Wardle spoke on "Socialism" to a fairly good audience, and was well received. Several questions were satisfactorily answered. Harrison and Gregory carried on the discussion. Several members have been enrolled, but unfortunately we are at present homeless, the police having persistently threatened the publican till he has been forced to deny us meeting any more.—H. HILL, sec.

**HACKNEY.**—On Saturday last we had a social evening, a large number of members and comrades of the S.D.F. being present. On Sunday morning, at the "Salmon and Ball," H. Davis succeeded in keeping an interested audience together, inclement weather notwithstanding. The evening arrangements were upset by the arrest of our comrade Allman, reported in another column. Received with thanks 1s. 6d. from H. Charles for benefit of Club. The sale of *Commonweal* is increasing. On Wednesday next we open our station in the Broadway, London Fields, and should be glad of speakers to assist.—H. M., sec.

**MITCHAM.**—At an open-air meeting on Sunday morning at Mitcham Fair Green, comrade Harrison stated result of deputation to Croydon Board of Guardians. They have ordered soup and bread for the men forced by the system around them to pay the penalty of breaking stones, so we have done some good. In the evening in our club-room, comrade Morris lectured to a very large audience on "Monopoly," and met with an enthusiastic reception. Eden, Harrison, Gregory, and others took part in the discussion. We closed as usual with singing. Four new members made.—S. G., sec.

**BRADFORD.**—On Sunday evening, Feb. 20, J. Mitchell read a paper on "The Basis of Capitalism" at the Royal Oak, Shipley. Two Radical opponents were replied to by T. Maguire and the lecturer. Mahon, who came in from Bingley towards the close, also addressed the meeting.—C. H., sec.

**EDINBURGH.**—On Sunday morning, Robertson, Baillie, and Rodgers, of the S.D.F., and Tuke walked out to Niddrie. After distributing bills advertising the miners' demonstration to be held next Sunday, and some Socialistic literature, we held a meeting of miners and made a good impression, our audience promising that they would make every effort that the demonstration would be a success.—C. W. T.

**GLASGOW.**—On Saturday, with the assistance of Hamilton Branch, a meeting of miners was held at the Low Quarries, Hamilton. On Sunday evening, in our Hall, Carlton Place, Glasier lectured on "Socialism in Scottish Song." He showed that the conception of life reflected in our older lyrics was a truly social one, healthy and joyous, and that sentiments of social equality were frequently expressed in them.—J. B. G.

**HAMILTON.**—A very successful meeting was held on Feb. 17th, in Patons Hall, Chapel Street. Comrade Glasier and Mr. John Barlas, and McCulloch of the S.D.F., delivered stirring addresses, urging the miners present to stand firm and not to rest content with the trivial concession of a 6d. advance on their wages, but to organise for the complete emancipation of labour. On Saturday afternoon, an open-air meeting was held at Low Quarry, when about 1,000 miners were addressed by J. B. Glasier. Little groups of miners afterwards continued to discuss Socialism. A great many handbills have been distributed.—W. M.

**HULL.**—On Sunday, Feb. 20th, R. Muir lectured on "Land Nationalisation." In the discussion, Teesdale and other speakers showed that the lessening of taxation under the present system did not benefit the workers, but simply enabled the masters to compete more favourably with foreign countries. Nationalisation of the land without the machinery, etc., would still leave us slaves of the capitalists.—J. D., sec.

**IPSWICH.**—We took the opportunity of a visit from comrade Kitz to hold two outdoor meetings on Sunday, which were well attended. Our comrade gave two very interesting addresses, which were much appreciated. The secretary announced that Annie Besant would lecture in Ipswich on March 9th under the auspices of the Branch, the subject being, "What Socialism is." A lot of literature was distributed.—C. R.

**NORWICH.**—On Sunday, Tochatti delivered three addresses in the open. In the Market Place at 3, between 2,000 and 3,000 persons were present, and cheers were given for our comrades Mowbray and Henderson, also for Mr. Cunningham Graham, M.P., for his Socialistic speech in the House of Commons. 10s. was collected for the Defence Fund. At 3 p.m., Tochatti lectured at the Branch offices on "Radicalism and Socialism," and was listened to with marked attention. A good discussion followed, in which comrade Councillor Crotch took part. We intend during Tochatti's stay, to push our work forward in various directions. Tochatti will visit Lowestoft on Thursday. Three new members made.—T. M., sec.

## LECTURE DIARY.

## London Branches.

**Bloomsbury.**—Communist Club, 49 Tottenham Street. Friday, March 4, at 8.30., Eleanor Marx-Aveling.

**Clerkenwell.**—Hall of the Socialist League, 13 Farringdon Road, E.C. Sunday Feb. 27, at 8.30., W. B. Robertson, "Wherein Socialists fall Short of their Teachings." Wednesday 30, at 8.30., A Lecture.—Members' Business Meeting first Sunday in the month, 7 p.m.

**Croydon.**—Royal County House, West Croydon Station Yard. Sunday February 27, H. Davis on "The Modern Trinity: Land, Labour, and Capital."—Committee Meeting every Friday at 8 p.m. sharp, at Parker Road.

**Hackney.**—23 Audrey Street, Goldsmith Row. Club Room open every evening from 8 till 11. Business Meeting every Tuesday at 8.30. Discussion Class Thursday evenings. On Sunday Feb. 27, at 8.30., A. K. Donald will lecture.

**Hammersmith.**—Kelmescott House, Upper Mall, W. Sunday February 27, at 8, Charlotte M. Wilson, "Authority and Revolt."

**Hoxton (L.E.L.).**—New premises, 2 Crondel Street, New North Road, will be opened on Sunday, March 6, with a lecture by Wm. Morris, at 8 p.m. Committee meet next Sunday at 8 p.m.

**Merton.**—11 Merton Terrace, High Street. Club Room open every evening. Committee every Thursday. Discussions held every Sunday morning at 11.

**Mitcham.**—Corner of Merton Lane and Fountain Place. Club Room open every evening from 7.30 till 11.

## Country Branches.

**Bingley.**—Coffee Tavern. Every Monday at 7.30 p.m.

**Birmingham.**—Carr's Lane Coffee House. Every Monday evening, at 8.

**Bradford.**—Morris's Dining Rooms, 114 City Road. Wednesdays, at 8.

**Edinburgh (Scottish Section).**—4 Park Street. Meets every Thursday at 8 p.m. Reading Room and Library open every Wednesday evening, 8 till 10.—On Sunday, February 27, a Monster Meeting will be held in Edinburgh to express sympathy with the Miners, on Monday, Feb. 28, E. Carpenter.—Treasurer will receive Subscriptions for Prisoners' Aid Fund.

**Fulham.**—Address Sec., 34 May Street.

**Glasgow.**—Reading-room of the Branch, 84 John St., open from 10 a.m. till 10 p.m. daily.—On Sunday, open-air meetings on Jail's Square at 1 and 5 o'clock; members requested to turn up to sell literature. In the evening, at 6.30, in Hall, No. 2 Carlton Place, Clyde Side, R. F. Muirhead will lecture on "Silly versus Sensible Socialism" (a reply to Prof. Flint's recent lectures).

**Hamilton.**—Branch meets every Thursday at 7.30 in Paton's Hall, Chapel Street.

**Hull.**—11 Princess Street, Sykes Street. Club Room open every evening. Lectures every Thursday and Sunday at 7 p.m.

**Lancaster.**—Market Hall Coffee Tavern Lecture Room. Friday evenings at 8.

**Leicester.**—Spiritualist Hall, Silver Street. Sunday Afternoon, at 2.45 p.m., George Robson will lecture on "Commercial Competition."

**Manchester.**—145 Grey Mare Lane, Bradford, Manchester. Club and Reading Room open every evening 6 to 10 p.m. Lecture and discussion every Wednesday at 8 p.m.

**Norwich.**—No. 6 St. Benedict St. Lecture and discussion every Sunday and Monday at 8 p.m. Reading-room open every day from 8.30 a.m. to 10 p.m.

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

## Open-air Propaganda—Sunday 27.

11.30...Hackney—"Salmon and Ball" ..... The Branch  
11.30...Hammersmith—Beadon Rd. .... The Branch  
11.30...Hoxton Church, Pitfield Street ... The Branch  
11.30...Regent's Park ..... The Branch  
11.30...St. Pancras Arches..... The Branch  
11.30...Waltham Green—Station ..... The Branch  
3.30...Hyde Park (near Marble Arch)..... The Branch

## PROVINCES.—SUNDAY.

**Norwich.**—St. Mary's Plain, 11; Market Place, 3.  
**Leeds.**—Hunslet Moor, 11 a.m.; Vicar's Croft, 7 p.m.

## Paris Commune.

An International Celebration of the Paris Commune will be held at SOUTH PLACE CHAPEL on THURSDAY MARCH 17.

CLEVELAND HALL, 54 Cleveland Street (near Portland Road Station).—Sundays at 11.30 a.m. Feb. 27. C. J. Faulkner, "Law and War."

"THREE KINGS." Clerkenwell Close.—Sunday Feb. 27, at 8.30 p.m. Thomas E. Wardle will lecture.

**Free Lectures on Socialism**, in reply to recent Criticism, will be held in Farringdon Hall, 13 Farringdon Road, on Sunday mornings in February.—Sunday February 27, at 11.15 a.m., H. A. Barker, "The Social Revolution."

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