

THE COMMONWEALTH

The Official Journal of the Socialist League.

VOL. 4.—No. 109.

SATURDAY, FEBRUARY 11, 1888.

WEEKLY; ONE PENNY.

NOTES ON NEWS.

WITHIN two or three days of each other, Lord Salisbury has received two deputations, one asking him to consider the state of the London poor, and one to consider that of the Irish landlords. At first sight this would seem like a practical joke played upon the Most Noble by people with a sense of grim humour. However, that does not seem to have been the case, and both deputations put forward their cases with great gravity—even that sent by the Irish landlords.

The contrast between the reception of the two was, however, remarkable. The parliamentary sovereign of Britain let the first deputation see that, to his mind, the condition of the poor had nothing to do with him, whereas there was an air of cordial and affectionate sympathy in his address to the delegates of the landlords which must have warmed their hearts and made them think it the next best thing to a Bill passed by both houses to make the whole public compensate them to the full for their falling off in rents. In fact, his enthusiasm for the useless class quite carried him away, and made him optimistic as to the future of these poor sufferers; whereas he was pessimistic to the last degree as to the possibility of the "Society" which he represented finding work for those willing to work, whom competition has thrust out of the labour market.

It must be said that he was right in his pessimism, and wrong in his optimism. It would be preposterous for the head of a bourgeois government to pretend to be able even to consider any scheme for benefitting the classes on whom his class—the class whose servant he is—lives; and scarcely less preposterous for any set of persons to ask him to consider it; unless, indeed, they were Socialists wanting to show him up for what he is. Yet on the other hand he cannot do much for his dear landlords, seeking rent where there is no rent. Even they in the long-run must come on the Socialists for "compensation"; only the "compensation" will not mean giving them back again the ownership of the natural resources of the country which has been so ruinous to us all, and which is beginning to slip through their fingers, but assuring to them a position in which they will be able to exercise their capacities and earn themselves a non-precarious livelihood.

Meantime it is instructive to note the irresistible instinct which forces Lord Salisbury to exhibit himself in his real position, the head of a committee governing the country for the welfare of the proprietary classes. To Lord Salisbury, as to all who are not either consciously or unconsciously Socialists, it is only the members of these latter classes who are men and women with feelings to be considered and real lives to live: all others are only parts of the great machine, to be thought of only as a general thinks about his army: food for profit instead of food for powder: beings without property, of whom no account need be taken but as occasion calls on you to manipulate their votes.

The debate in the German Reichstag on the new anti-Socialist Bill, produced a remarkable exposure, from our friends Singer and Bebel, of the secret police system of Bismark. It is good that not only the German public but the public of England also should know what the cost of suppression is and must be; and that a part of it must necessarily be the keeping up a system of espionage and provocation to deeds of violence which is absolutely sickening to think of, is a disgrace to human nature—even absolutist human nature.

One thing is clear, that in spite of Herr Puttkammer's rage and indignant denials, the statements of the Socialist deputies are believed by everybody. It is a common middle class trick in this country to pooh-poooh all statements of this kind, and to assume that everything is managed in "respectable" modern Governments if in a stiff and business-like, yet in an open and above-board manner. The reception even by the English public of these revelations of the "frankness" of Herr Bismark, show how conventional this way of taking the subject is. The road of repression is a foul one, Bismark has doubtless long been callous to its worst quagmires; but our own rulers seem to have a taste for dirt, and if they go on as they have begun they will doubtless before long rival the "Great Chancellor" in his disgraces.

He has been speaking once more to listening Europe, and people can make pretty much what they please of his speech as to the hopes

of peace and war; but whatever he wanted various sets of people to think he meant by it, one thing is certain and may console those who are afraid of a coming war, and that is that war is the last thing he wants, and that he will go any lengths to avoid it. The German army is too useful an instrument for the repression of the German people to be wasted in foreign wars if they can be avoided.

I can imagine some of our friends grinning rather bitterly at the title of an article in the current number of the *Nineteenth Century*, "How to live on £700 a-year," and thinking that they would like to try the experiment. It should be explained that the title ought to run, "How to live in the upper ranks of the shabby-genteel on £700 a-year." This is a different problem, and a sufficiently tough one to those who are compelled to live in this group of curs. The receipt for it is much as follows: give away nothing; let your hospitality be merely conventional; take no pleasure except for the sake of gentility; never buy a book; look very sharp after your servants; in short, repress every instinct towards kindness and generosity, and you may cut quite a good figure in the ranks of gentility, and be in fact a fine specimen of the genus "snob." W. M.

Mr. J. R. Cox, M.P., was furnished on Thursday, February 2nd, by the governor of Limerick prison with a new suit of jail clothes, and he offered no objection to attiring himself in them. Mr. Cox had expressed disapproval of the resistance offered by Mr. O'Brien and others to the jail authorities, and so it was expected that he would not indulge in the "heroic" resistance that has, one is compelled to say, just a taste of the snob about it. He was engaged in chopping wood with the ordinary prisoners in the jail-yard the same day, and in all ways conforming to the treatment accorded the "ordinary criminals" made by law.

Very cheering also was the blunt, bold way in which the sailor Mayor of Waterford spoke out before Lord Ripon and Mr. Morley at Dublin. "Rebels we are born," said he, "rebels we remain, and rebels we shall die, if we must, against the infernal despotism of Dublin Castle!" Here, at least, is one man who can say what he means without hiding it in the frippery of affected reverence for the tender ears of Mrs. Grundy.

Was the verdict of the Edinburgh jury in the trial of crofters last week different from the one before rendered by reason of less challenging of the jury by the defence? Or was it the natural "pawkiness" of Scotchmen, intensified by their being tradesmen, that made this jury see so clearly that sheep were property while deer were not? Or the craven legality of the bourgeois mind that blindly followed the mere law?

They may also have been influenced by the natural class-feeling that would regard sheep as worthy of protection as matter for trading and appertaining to their own class, while deer are objects of "sport" and appendages of aristocratic privilege.

Of course, they forgot that it was for the sake of sheep that the Highlands have been cleared and so much land laid waste. But then one hardly expects a bourgeois jury to give weight to such a consideration.

How proud the law-abiding Englishman must be this week! After careful and long deliberation, the great financial council at the Vatican has decided that the Bank of England is the one secure place in the world for the deposit of Peter's pence, and so the gigantic monopoly which controls the whole machinery of exchange in this country is to have another large sum to make interest on.

Ever since the *Star* began to throw light upon the hidden places of the London vestries, there has been a mighty squealing in the dark recesses where corruption reigned supreme. A great deal of good is done by such exposures—for the time—but after a while, even if the glare of publicity is not allowed to die out, new ways of evading discovery will be found. Full reform will never be achieved but by Socialism.

Everybody just now seems to be in danger of allowing the great services rendered by the *Pall Mall Gazette* to be eclipsed by the newer light of the *Star*. This latter is doing good work, although it is hardly as advanced as it gave promise of being; but even in view of all it is

doing, it is hardly fair to talk, as some are doing, as though there were "great men before Agamemnon."

In speaking of papers, one might also put in a word for our friends. It is to be hoped that none of our members and friends will be on their efforts on behalf of the *Commonweal* for sake of the *Link*. I am anxious that the *Link* should have all done for it that is possible, but to me at least, if to none other, the *Commonweal* is the paper, and must be considered and worked for first over all.

S.

THE NEW ETHIC.

(Continued from p 36.)

LET us now take the theologico-metaphysical hypothesis that the *telos*, end, or purpose of the self, the individual, or the personality, is realisable not *per se*, but in the Divinity between whom and his personality there is a mystical connection. It is recognised here that the form of the personality is inadequate to its content. Morality, duty, religion, are the expression of this inadequacy of form to content. But the theologian or the dogmatic metaphysician seeks to attain the adequacy *per saltum*. The *saltum* proves a *saltum mortale*, since it removes him altogether from the sphere of the real world. He creates an ideal sphere in which the soul shall find its satisfaction, in which that element within him which proclaims himself inadequate to himself, and therefore with his entire personality, shall reach its completion and perfection. But in this theory the principle of Individualism, while *formally* surrendered is *really* maintained. It is felt that there is a permanent contradiction involved in the individual when viewed abstractly, or as a thing existing by itself. So far, so good. But how is the contradiction dealt with? By the attempted suppression of one of its terms. Speculatively, the natural personality is absorbed as its end and object in a supernatural being. Practically, the natural personality as such is repressed. But, meanwhile, it has passed unnoticed that the contradiction is not only not resolved, but that the term which was thought to be suppressed is not suppressed, but stands more firmly than ever. The personality is on these grounds, as "the air invulnerable, and our vain blows malicious mocking." The attention of the individual is now more firmly than ever rivetted on self. The attempt of Mysticism to transcend Individualism at a stroke has recoiled upon itself. The individual and his God, though *formally* and *professedly* distinct, are really one and the same. That this is so as regards the actual world is obvious, since it is admitted by the theologian that all that goes on is in the "heart" of the individual, and relates to a spiritual world *revealed* to his own soul. The renunciation of the theologian or mystic is therefore a double-dyed egoism. His personality continued, under higher conditions, and on a higher plane. The moral basis or principle of Supernaturalism is an Individualism screwed up, so to speak, a degree higher than that of the ordinary worldly theory. To the worldly selfishness of the one it opposes an other-worldly selfishness. From the point of view of the natural or real world, the divine nature in which the imperfect natural individual fancied he was realising his higher perfection has shown itself but as the reflex of his own nature with its natural tendencies, in some cases inverted, in others exaggerated.

We have as yet dealt with the two current fundamental ethical theories, so to speak, statically. It now remains to show their origin, meaning, and connection in the Dynamic side of Human Evolution. The particular view of the moral relation obtaining is, as we said before, conditioned by the social forms of which it is the outcome. The empirical Utilitarian theory of the English school, it is quite clear, is but the speculative formulation of the principle obtaining under the competitive capitalistic system, which reached its earliest development in the Anglo-Saxon race, but the basis of which (*viz.*, property), and consequently the tendency towards which, has been more or less present since the dawn of civilisation. The theologico-metaphysical theory, though not so obviously the outcome of social conditions having this same basis, is none the less really so. But to understand this clearly we must consider the original nature, object, and meaning of the ethical consciousness; its meaning, that is, in those earliest forms of society wherein its manifestations were so different to what they are in the world of to-day. We have first of all to remember, then, that morality affirmed itself in the ancient world or society as the solidarity of the individual with his kin, his gens, his tribe, his "people." Illustration is needless, since this is a fact universally admitted in the present day. There was then no opposing interest between individual and community, the interest of the individual was absolutely identified with that of the race; he had not as yet drawn the distinction between himself and the society to which he belonged; his personal *telos* was identified with that of the social whole into which he entered.

But at the same time that he had no interests independent of his race, yet neither had he any duties outside that race. Society and therefore ethics existed on the basis of *kinship*, and of kinship alone. Within the charmed circle all was sacred, without it all was profane. The primitive society of kinship was a self-contained organism, apart from which the constituent units, the individuals composing it, had no significance. The individual, the personality, therefore, unconsciously recognised his *telos* in the society. The incompatibility of the form of the individual to the content of individuality had not as yet become explicit, since the individual had not as yet been thrown back upon himself. His life was an objective one; objectivised in the society. But now mark the gradual change which took place a change of the process, of which the typical illustrations are

to be found in the early annals of Greece and Rome. The *society* by the very fact of its own development merged into the *state*. With the growth of the state, *property* tended more and more to supplant *kinship* as the basis of things. For a long time the two principles continued to exist side by side; but it was long before the personal nature of property was fully realised. But no sooner was this the case, no sooner had personal property become the basis of social order, than the naive ethical sentiment of early society was at an end, and an individualistic ethic took its place. This individualistic ethic was of a two-fold kind. On the one side it was an attempt to realise happiness or the end of individuality within the limits of the natural individual, on the other it was an attempt to realise the end of individuality on a supernatural plane. In the one as in the other the individual becomes, so to speak, the centre of attention. Man awoke to a consciousness of himself as *formally* distinct from the society. It was not long before this formal distinction became converted into a real separation, consequent on which the society came to be regarded as a mere appendage to the individual life or soul. The problem of morality henceforth becomes how to reconcile individual interest with the exigencies of a social existence. In the later classical period we find the Stoics, Epicureans, and Sceptics, all attempting to solve this problem of the greatest possible happiness for the individual on an empirical basis, that is, within the limits of the life of the individual. Duty was by these sought to be explained by some abstract formulæ, or by the "enlightened self-interest" assumption of our modern Empiricists, *viz.*, by the somewhat daring assumption that morality in the long run coincided with self-interest as such. These schools assumed that the individual was self-sufficient, that he was an independent *entity*, having only casual relations with the community; in other words, that the meaning of personality and therewith of morality was exhausted within the bounds of the individual's epidermis.

The other school spoken of, on the other hand, of which the later Stoics, the Neo-Platonists, Gnostics, and other theosophic sects, are the classical types, recognised the fact that the empirical self implied something more than it expressed—that its content was not exhausted in its form. The old feeling of duty, of the *ought*, still survived, but without its old social object, and without its old basis. It wandered through dry places seeking rest and finding none. By-and-by, as man came to reflect, and distinguish his being from the universe, and his thinking self from his corporeal self, a solution of the enigma and an object for the moral consciousness seemed to offer itself. Was not the material universe, like his body, the outward manifestation of a soul or self? Assuredly, as he thought, nothing could be more obvious. Further, was not the personality of the universe the immeasurably higher counterpart of his own personality, his source and end? No less assuredly, as he thought. He, the feeble reflection of the Divinity had as his chief end the fulfilment of the Divine Will, preparatory to his ultimate union with the Divinity. Morality, duty towards his fellow men, was a part of the divine system of things, and conscience, the moral impulse, was a spark of the Divine flame. Still, mere morality, duty to man, was only a means to an end. The only sanction of morality was the will of God. His chief end was not to be found in any relation between his individual self and society, which was only incidental and by the way, but in a relation between this self and the divinity. It was by careful searching of his own heart, by careful self-introspection and solitary musing, that the divine will might be discovered. The great end of all morality was to purify his highest self from the gross taint of material desires. He must negate and subdue his inferior part, his body, which was only an unimportant part of himself, and of which he was really independent, just as the deity was independent of the created physical universe. The result was that the great aim of moral action became the negation of bodily desire—asceticism.¹

It is to this moment or stage in the evolution of the moral consciousness that the conceptions of Sin and Holiness, with the derivative ones of chastity, purity, etc., belong. The highest and most complete expression of this phase is to be found in Christianity, though it is embodied also in its essential features in all the great ethical religions, as well as in the later philosophies of the Pagan world. The way of the ancient morality was broad and clear; duty had not to be sought for in the mysterious depths of the individual's conscience. But this broad highway to moral justification did not satisfy the new individualist Ethic. The broad way led to destruction. Now, it was the task of every man as Christian to search out by the narrow, tortuous labyrinthine paths of personal introspection his moral goal. In the same way Gautama, the Buddha, had proclaimed the eight-fold path of duty, and enjoined his followers to walk therein. The great negative characteristic of this movement was the definitive abolition of racial morality. The moral relation being a personal one between the individual soul and the Divinity revealing himself thereto, it is quite clear that the notions of "Greek, Barbarian, bond or free" had lost all meaning. The Barbarian and the slave must as a personality be equal before God with the man of nobler race or with the free citizen, provided he "walked humbly with his God." All men were equal in the sight of God so far as race or lineage was concerned, since every case rested on its individual merits alone. The test of a man was no longer one of kinship or of blood, but of personality. The Supreme Power of the universe could take no account of the tribal distinctions among men,

¹ It may perhaps be said that the Cynics evolved an ascetic Ethic out of an empirical basis. This is quite true. The mere egoism which delights to show power of course tends to asceticism. But this does not alter the fact that ascetic ethic is in the main the offspring of a mystical attitude of mind.

but only of the spiritual element in each individual, which was above all such distinctions.

At last, then, in the notion of a transcendent yet immanent God, Morality seemed to have the basis it so long lacked. The end of Man—that is, of the individual man, the only aspect of man which was considered—was God. In God the individual found the completeness he lacked, considered as an independent being. Duty, in the worldly sense, was in the last resort merely a condition prescribed by God for attaining personal holiness.

ERNEST BELFORD BAX.

(To be continued.)

SUGGESTIONS ON DECENTRALISATION.

Now that popular interest is being aroused in the question of the reform of local government, we see the strange spectacle of Whigs, Tories, and Radicals alike for once unanimous that "something must be done" in this direction; and already a number of projects have been brought forward, some of them reactionary, and some really democratic, even from quarters where on ordinary politics the most high and dry Tory sentiments are entertained.

As a youthful amateur in these matters, I do not expect to satisfy the expectations of older and more experienced thinkers in dealing with a question of such importance. In excuse I may say that I am simply actuated by a desire to break the silence that has hitherto been observed by Socialists on this important question, and to ask for some expression of sentiment and opinion as to the Socialist ideal of a thorough reconstruction of local administration on a purely democratic and communal basis.

The original unit of government in all German countries was the land-owning village community, as described in the writings of Caesar and Tacitus, and, in common with other Teutonic countries, this form of government at one time prevailed in England. Federation amongst these ancient communities seems to have existed only for the purpose of mutual defence in time of war. Sometime before the reign of Alfred the country became divided for purposes of local government into its three oldest divisions—the shire or county, the hundred, and the parish—and these, to my mind, were sufficiently consistent with method and simplicity of arrangement. The hundred is now obsolete, but in its place we have a net-work of Poor Law Unions, which have existed since the Poor Law Amendment Act of 1834. These Unions, 649 in number, consist on an average of 23 parishes or townships grouped round the chief market town, but there are 25 of these Unions which consist of single parishes under separate Boards. With regard to the parishes, the greatest anomalies exist. Their number is very excessive, there being in England and Wales no less than 14,926 civil parishes, as given by one authority, and 15,400 according to another. They are of all sizes and of all populations. There are 50 parishes with no population at all, and 919 with less than 50 inhabitants. Some parishes lie in more counties than one, and hundreds of parishes are broken up into isolated fragments. The ancient parish was probably the most convenient municipal unit, but circumstances have so changed through alterations in the conditions of life, and through the making of roads and railways, that the old parish boundaries have entirely lost their importance. In the north great subdivisions have taken place—64 ancient parishes in Northumberland having become no less than 510 new parishes. The ruthless hand of modern bourgeois development has removed the ancient landmarks and destroyed the value of the parish as the unit of local administration.

It is essential to a proper consideration of this question that we should briefly examine the existing institutions; and when we turn to these creations of modern times we find such a multitude of areas and authorities, the latter variously constituted and exhibiting such vast diversity in methods of election, that it is no wonder so many reformers turn away in disgust from such an apparently hopeless task. In 1834 the Poor Law Unions were established with their Boards of Guardians of the Poor, partly elected in the several parishes by means of open voting-papers (a system liable to great abuse) and partly of magistrates sitting *ex officio*.

In some localities, to meet the need of public light and vigilance, inspectors of lighting and watching are still appointed under an Act of William IV.

The modern demand for healthier conditions of life has led to the formation of urban sanitary authorities, and in rural districts the existing Boards of Guardians have been charged with the work of sanitary authorities. Burial Boards have been elected by the parish vestry in places where the existing churchyard has proved inadequate and the necessity of providing a new burial-ground has arisen. School Boards deal with education in districts which may be single parishes or groups of parishes, the ratepayers electing its members by ballot with a cumulative vote. The Boards of Guardians enforce compulsory attendance at school in some places where no School Board exists. In some parts of the country the highways are looked after by Highway Boards composed of *ex officio* magistrates and of waywardens elected by the parishes within the highway district.

In short, it appears that there are no less than thirty-five species of local authority in England and Wales, with an aggregate of more than 28,000 individual authorities. To my mind it is high time that this shapeless mass was for ever swept away and a more consistent and coherent system established, under which we might expect to see rural England develop some of that corporate life and energy of interest in local affairs which already distinguishes those municipalities enjoying a reformed local government.

In order to give uniform simplicity to the areas of local administration, I would establish throughout the whole country only two general areas—(1) the county, and (2) the commune. There would thus be two classes of major divisions—(1) parliamentary municipal cities and boroughs, which are counties in themselves; (2) communes, divided into two classes of communes: *urban communes*, to consist of boroughs which are not self-governing counties, and of the districts of existing local boards; *rural communes*, to be generally equivalent to those Poor Law Unions which are not included in the former divisions. As previously mentioned, there are at present 649 of these Unions in England and Wales, but, as 200 of these are situated partly in one county and partly in another, the boundaries would have to be rectified in order to bring them within the areas of single counties.

I now come to discuss the style of the authorities to which would be confided the administration of the communes and of the counties. In both urban and rural communes a body of councillors should be elected by adult suffrage, to whom should be entrusted the whole of the powers at present wielded by the multitudinous and conflicting authorities I have previously mentioned.

The care of the public health, the relief of the distressed poor, the working of the system of popular education—in short, the care of everything that most deeply affects the welfare of the community—would devolve upon the council of the commune. School Boards, Burial Boards, inspectors of lighting, surveyors of highways, and other parochial authorities, would lapse and merge in the communal council, as also the duties of Local Boards in urban sanitary districts. The provision of a public water supply, of public baths and wash-houses, the duty to pave and light towns and villages, the further extension of the Free Libraries Act (without any limit in respect to population), the licensing of public houses and theatres, and slaughter-houses, should vest in communal councils. To this council, also, should be relegated the functions now exercised by magistrates in Petty Sessions. Formerly the rural police were appointed by the parishes, under the style of parish constable. The abolition of this parochial right has led to gross abuses. The county police in most rural districts are entirely at the beck and call of the landed proprietors, who use them as gamekeepers and night watchers on rivers. Some landlords in my neighbourhood have gone so far as to build a lodge for the accommodation of policemen kindly lent them by the obliging chief of police! Yet the deluded farmer or labourer pays his police rates to keep up this sort of thing, and merely contents himself with grumbling. The control of the local police must in future be in the hands of the urban and rural communes.

The county had formerly its ancient court, in which the people had some direct voice. It has lost this privilege, and its government has been handed over to officials who are chosen by representatives of the central Government generally on political grounds, or on account of territorial importance. The Lord-Lieutenant and the High Sheriff recommend persons whom they consider as suitable for the office of county magistrate, and these are then nominated by the Lord Chancellor. These examples of non-representative authority will have to be abolished as a matter of course, and the powers exercised by the Courts of Quarter Sessions in the jurisdiction of criminal offences must be transferred to the general council of the county, such council to be composed of delegates sent by each commune within the boundary of the county. The control of the local volunteer forces, of the gaols, lunatic asylums, and county buildings, and the maintenance of main roads, and county bridges, would fall to the general council as also the appointment of coroners. The duties of the sheriff should be discharged by the principal executive officer of the general council. The valuation of rateable property, and the imposition of uniform poor, police, school, and other rates throughout the country would have to be undertaken by the county authority.

Provincial life is generally unbearable to most men of intelligence, because it affords no object of interest or scope for action. So mysterious in their workings are the various local bodies by whom we are ruled and taxed, that the most practised man of business is often unable to tell us their names, what they do, or where they reside. Such a clumsy and divided local administration is sure to dishearten many who are desirous of serving their countrymen. Let us then restore to rural communities the idea of common rights and common duties, and so help to diffuse amongst their various members a sense of local responsibility, now almost confined to a selfish landlord or trading class.

In the foregoing paragraphs I have endeavoured to state what ought to be the present action of such a new system of local administration, but as Socialists we feel confident that communal duties could not long remain stationary at this point. The ownership and control of the land, mines, and machinery, by the various communes would speedily follow such a clearance of feudal obstructions. The railways, or at any rate, the main lines, and the postal and telegraph service might have to remain in the hands of a central authority, but at any rate the State as a central governing body would have its functions gradually restricted—a federation of free autonomic communes taking its place. After the withdrawal of all purely local business from the jurisdiction of Parliament, its duties would also be greatly limited.

TOM MUSE.

[We print the foregoing communication as containing interesting information and suggestions; but Socialists will be apt to doubt whether it would be worth while elaborating a new machinery for dealing with the present conditions of Society. The demand for decentralisation must spring from the same source as, and be put forward simultaneously with, the demand for the freeing of labour from the monopolist rule. A system of "local self-government" might, it is clear, become a very dangerous instrument of oppression in the hands of our present rulers and the proprietary class which they represent.—Ed.]



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

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

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

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

Business communications to be addressed to Manager of the COMMONWEAL, 13 Farringdon Road, E.C. Remittances in Postal Orders or halfpenny stamps.

B. S.—The quotation you speak of was popular during the Window-tax excitement, and runs:

"God made the light, and saw that it was good;
Pitt put a tax on it—God damn his blood!"

Periodicals received during the week ending Wednesday February 8.

ENGLAND	Boston—Woman's Journal	BELGIUM
Christian Socialist	Liberty	Ghent—Vooruit
Church Reformer	Denver (Col.) Labor Enquirer	Antwerp—De Werker
Jus	Fort Worth (Tex.)—South West	Brussels—L'Avant-Garde
Justice	Milwaukee (Wis.)—Volksblatt	Liege—L'Avenir
London—Freie Presse	N Haven—Workmen's Advocate	ITALY
Labour Tribune	Providence (R.I.)—The People	Milan—Il Fascio Operaio
Norwich—Daylight	St. Louis (Mo.)—Die Parole	Marsala—La Nuova Eta
Personal Rights Journal	San Francisco (Cal.) The People	SPAIN
Radical	Coast Seamen's Journal	Madrid—El Socialista
Railway Review	San Francisco Arbeiter-Zeitung	GERMANY
Worker's Friend	FRANCE	Berlin—Volks Tribune
INDIA	Paris—Cri du Peuple (dally)	ROUMANIA
Bankipore—Behar Herald	Le Socialiste	Municipiorul
Madras—People's Friend	Lille—Le Travailleur	SWEDEN
UNITED STATES	Guise—Le Devoir	Stockholm, Social-Demokraten
New York—Frelheit	HOLLAND	Malmö—Arbetet
Truthseeker	Hague—Recht voor Allen	
Volkzeitung	Amsterdam—Voorwaarts	

WASTED LABOUR.

In a society which is organised solely in the interest of the few who, having a monopoly of the means of life, are thereby able to live idly and force others to provide them with every imaginable luxury, it is inevitable that a great amount of the labour of the many should be compelled into utterly useless channels. This statement may sound like a platitude to most Socialists, but I doubt if many of us really realise the enormity of wasted labour to-day, or fully conceive of how great a labour force there is locked up in useless methods of working, which might be set free and utilised in real production, and, by thus spreading out the burden of needful work over a greater area, lessen the labour hours of each individual, and give to everyone more leisure and chance for enjoyment.

First there is the labour-power of the actual idlers. Their very existence, their education, their physical abilities they owe to the society round them. There is no such thing as a self-educated or self-made man. All that any man is or has is due to society. From his birth he is surrounded by conditions none of which could have existed but for the labour of society. He is the product of that labour which supplied him with food, shelter and clothing for his body, with books and teachers for his mental development. In order to produce the labour-power that is in him, what a vast amount of work had to be done! For him in past ages learned men gathered knowledge; for him workers of all kinds produce the necessities of life; it has taken the combined labour of a host of men to produce him; and he, the finished article, endowed by others' labour with every capability he possesses, is turned out fit to be useful and to take his share of the common burden of the society that has done everything for him. But society finds that, although it has cost so much to produce him, he is absolutely useless, inasmuch as he refuses to spend his labour-power in anything useful. In short for all the good that comes of it, the labour spent in producing him might just as well have been devoted to the task of blowing soap-bubbles. His labour-power, indeed! No man belongs to himself; his powers belong to the community that produced them, and are wasted unless spent in the service of that community.

Not only is the labour force of the actual idler wasted, but all the work spent about making him what he is is wasted too. We should count that man very foolish indeed who, possessing valuable water-power, set it the task of turning a wheel simply to grind the air; the motion of the wheel, like the labour-power in the body of an idler, represents the ability to do some useful work; and if no useful work is done by it, then not only is its own motion wasted, but the water-power that produced the motion, like the labour-power that endowed

the idler with his capabilities, is wasted too; and he who thus allows the force of the stream to run away useless is no more foolish than the society that allows a great part of its energy to be spent in producing and maintaining an idler class—in turning a wheel that grinds nothing, excepting, of course, the lives of the poor who must spend their force in keeping it going.

The above would hold true if the idlers in society were supplied only with the necessities of life. Even then, a huge army of workers would be needed to keep them. But the necessities of life do not satisfy them; they must have its luxuries as well, not only real luxuries, but many things for which no one but an unreasonable and unmanly being would crave. Here, then, is another vast array of workers required to produce these things, and their labour is entirely wasted; flunkies and domestics, too, must attend the pleasure of the idler, who thus imposes upon the worker not only the support of himself, but of a whole group of useless persons of which he is the centre.

Again, there is another very large class whose labour-power is completely wasted—those who are occupied simply in upholding the existing order of things, lawyers, policemen, soldiers, bailiffs, priests, and to a very large extent pressmen. Under a reasonable system, the labour spent in these pursuits might be turned into really useful channels. The lawyer's trade it is to cheat and lie, and he only exists so long as monopoly with all its complications lasts. The priest would not be needed by an enlightened community whose economic freedom had given to all its members large opportunities for mental cultivation. The policeman and soldier might make excellent butchers (unless our vegetarian friends convert us all in the meantime). Newspapers would, of course, be useful; but our capitalist press of to-day is purely a class affair. Its object is not to give us a daily knowledge of facts occurring, but to manipulate those facts, if possible, in the interest of the idle class; or, if it is not possible to distort them, to suppress them altogether. Far from educating the public, it devotes itself to fooling and misleading us; and the great number of men employed upon it really waste their labour, seeing that the product of that labour is not a useful nor pleasant thing.

A system of production and distribution worked in a competitive way naturally implies waste of labour in the mere effort of competition. In the field of production let any reader take his native town, and see the waste there is in any industry he may single out. In my own city the boot and shoe trade employs a very large number of men. A dozen different firms competing with each other must have a dozen different factory buildings and sets of machinery, when in all likelihood half the amount of machinery would suffice for the production of quite as many boots as are turned out of all these factories. In agriculture, again, if the land were farmed by the community instead of by a number of competing farmers, not one half of the machinery and implements at present in use would be needed, and the labour spent in producing them would be set free, not, of course, to find itself in the position of "unemployed," as we understand it to-day, but free in the sense that hours of labour would be reduced, and men would have more chance for pleasure and refinement.

But the waste of labour in society as at present constituted is shown most glaringly in our distributive industries. Everything is done blindly and without method. For every distributor that is really needed there are fifty to-day. In the same street there are five or six stores where the same articles are sold. The street wherein I reside contains only about fifty houses, and to supply them there come eight different milkmen, five bakers, and hawkers innumerable; and these have to travel all over the city to supply their scattered customers.

"If each letter-carrier, on going to the post-office in the morning, were to fill his bag out of a heap of unsorted letters, and start out to deliver them all over the city to their proper addresses, it would take him a whole day to deliver fifty or one hundred letters, which he can do now in an hour or less with greater promptness and certainty, to say nothing of the saving in time, labour, and material. By proper organisation and co-operation a similar saving might be made in every department of distribution."¹

One distributive store might supply the needs of a neighbourhood equally as well as, or rather far better than, they are supplied, under our chaotic method of working; by fifty or sixty little establishments; and the number of warehousemen, shop assistants, clerks, and managers might be greatly diminished.

Another enormous waste in our competitive distribution is that of the labour of those engaged in advertising and the puffing of useless things. The object of the store proprietor is not to supply the public with useful things, but to induce them to buy from him; he does not aim at supplying a need because it is a public need, but solely for his individual profit; and in order to draw custom he, by means of the monopoly that he holds over the means of life, is able to force the labour of many people into the utterly unproductive (save of profit to himself) channel of advertising, commercial travelling, and the like. That all this labour power is wasted must be very evident when we consider that one half of it is exercised for the simple purpose of thwarting the other half. Two persons engaged in commercial travelling for rival firms are mainly occupied in neutralising each other's efforts. Society gets no benefit whatever from their labour; the profit of the individual capitalist is the only thing increased, and that by the diminution of another's profit, for clearly, since these two individuals produce nothing, they can only realise gain for their masters by shift-

¹ "Socialism." By A. G. Starkweather and R. Wilson. Page 47.

ing wealth from the possession of someone else. It is true that they work, very often hard enough, but the community gets nothing more from their labour than it would if they were engaged in pulling one another's hair—which, by-the-bye, is what their work practically comes to.

Truly it is most monstrous waste, all this effort to place commodities in the hands of those who want them. When the search for consumers is over, and the commercial traveller has found his customer, another huge waste comes in by reason of the labour spent in carrying goods from one end of the country to another, which might equally as well be produced at the place where they are wanted. After the finished article leaves the hands of the real producer, and before it reaches the consumer, what a number of men take their share out of it!—the capitalist, his clerks, the railway shareholders, the newspapers and other advertising mediums, the retail merchant, and very often smaller tradesmen who buy from the merchant—all of whose labour adds not a farthing to the wealth of the community. Have we not here so great a labour-force that, if it were spent in useful labour, no man's share of the productive burden need be excessive?

It is well-nigh impossible to conceive of the height to which human happiness might rise if this wasted labour-power were used to give to every individual leisure and comfortable surroundings. Science and art could then live again, being freed from the grip of commercialism; they would become the possession of all instead of the lazy amusement of the empty lives of a few; the pleasure of learning and the delight of beautiful things would be open to everyone; and the freedom from excessive toil would awaken a desire for them in the minds of a truly educated people, such as they might be who looked upon life not as a time to make bargains in, but as a period to be filled with happiness for all.

FRED HENDERSON.

SOCIALISM IN NOTTINGHAM AND SHEFFIELD.

ON Jan. 21, I reached Nottingham from Leicester, and was met by Messrs. Dolman, Proctor, etc. On the Sunday, Jan. 22, we had two very agreeable meetings, the subjects of my lectures being "The Income of the Working and other Classes," etc., etc.; and in the evening, "Socialism, what it is and what it is not." Unfortunately, there was little opposition.

On the Tuesday, some members of the Cobden Club expressed a wish that I would give a lecture at the club on the following Saturday evening. I agreed to do so. On the Wednesday night a special meeting of the committee was held, and on the Thursday I received from the secretary an invitation to give a lecture on Socialism, being assured by some of the members that I should meet with a good opposition. I may just say that the club has some 300 members, all belonging more or less to the professional and commercial classes. On the Saturday evening, I went with a number of friends of the S.L. and S.D.F. There was a large attendance of members present. The president occupied the chair, and in his opening remarks, while guaranteeing me a fair and impartial hearing, assured me there would be a good discussion at the close of my lecture. But the chairman was mistaken, for there was no opposition worth speaking of. On the contrary it was proposed and seconded, and virtually agreed to, that copies of all the Socialist works I had with me should be purchased (13s. worth) for the use of the club. This was done at once by the chairman. It was also agreed that I should lecture again for the club on the last Saturday in February, when opposition is to be specially provided.

On Sunday the 29th, I was to lecture in the large room, Swan's Buildings, near the centre of the town, but at 3 o'clock, the time for the afternoon lecture, admittance to the room was refused. Ultimately, the proprietor agreed that the evening lecture should take place. He stayed during the lecture, listened attentively, expressed his pleasure at the same, and declined to take the 10s. 6d. agreed to be paid for the use of the room. I have great pleasure in adding that the members of the S.D.F. joined with the members of S.L. to make the Sunday lectures a success. Mr. Peacock, of the S.D.F., occupied the chair.

On Monday, Jan. 30th, I reached Sheffield, and was asked to preside at a meeting the following evening, when the Rev. Charles Peach would give a lecture on "The Path to Socialism." The rev. gentleman is comparatively a young man, and was looked upon as one of the coming local men who would accomplish a great deal in the future. But his lecture might very appropriately have been termed "Suggestions how to get rid of Socialism." It forcibly called to my mind the struggles of the past, even in the Chartist movement, the moral and physical force Chartists, and the complete suffragists, who professed Chartism in everything but in name. To-day we have men professing to be Socialists, who repudiate the principles of Socialism as too revolutionary and dangerous. The Rev. Mr. Peach recommended an agitation for manhood suffrage with payment of members. He then recommended the nationalisation of the land on the scheme of Mr. Wallace, which would be accomplished in about two generations. That question settled, the time might then be ripe for the nationalisation of the railways, and I suppose the nationalisation of the instruments of production and the organisation of labour, etc., etc., would come a few generations later on. He condemned the use of the word revolution, and assured his audience that its use prevented many kind-hearted persons joining in the movement. In the Chartist movement the cry was give up the name and we accept the principle; but to-day we are asked to give up the principle, all that is essential and distinctive, and then they will be Socialists. These are phases not to be lost sight of.

In conclusion, allow me to say that Leicester, Nottingham, and Sheffield played a very important part in the Chartist movement. They ought to play an equally important part in the Socialist movement. I hope they will.

J. SKERCOULEY.

It will be pleasant news to readers of the *Commonweal* to know that another Socialist branch has been formed in Leeds, composed of our Jewish comrades. We are sadly in want of Socialist pamphlets in German and Russian. If anyone can send us something of the sort, or directions where such can be purchased, we shall be glad. With a little assistance of the above nature, we feel confident of a branch fifty strong in six months.—T. P., Sec.

LAISSEZ FAIRE.

"All we ask is to be let alone."

"An interference with personal liberty."—Charles Bradlaugh, M.P., on the Early Closing Bill.

As vonce I walked by a dismal swamp,
There sot an old cove in the dark and damp,
And at everybody as passed that rosd
A stick or a stone this old cove throwed,
And venever he flung his stick or his stone,
He'd set up a song of "Let me alone!"

"Let me alone, for I loves to shy
These bits o' things at the passers-by;
Let me alone, for I've got your tin,
And lots of other traps snugly in;
Let me alone—I am rigging a fake
To grab votever you're able to make;
In a veek or so I expects to come,
And turn you out o' your 'ouse and 'ome;
I'm a quiet old cove," says he, with a groan,
"All I axes is, Let me alone!"

Just then came along, on the selfsame vay,
Another old cove and began for to say:—
"Let you alone! that's coming it strong!
You've ben let alone—a darned sight tight too long!
Of all the sarce that ever I heard!
Put down that stick (you may well look skeered!)
Let go that stone—If you once show fight,
I'll knock you higher than any kite!"

"You must have a lesson to cure your tricks,
And cure you of shyin' them stones and sticks,
And I'll have my hardware back and my cash,
And knock your tricks into 'tarnal smash;
And if ever I ketches you round my shop,
You'll think the sky's a-beginnin' to drop.
The best you can do is to go to bed,
And keep a decent tongue in your head;
For I reckon before you and I are done,
You'll wish you'd let honest folks alone!"

The old cove stopped, and the other old cove
He sot quite still in his dismal grove,
And he looked at his stick, revolvin' slow
Vether 'twere safe to shy it or no;
And he grumbled on, in an injured tone,
"All that I axed vos, Let me alone!"

[The above idyll of individualism is adapted from an anti-secession song by H. H. Brownell, quoted p. 29 of Moore's 'Anecdotes, etc., of the War.'—S.]

LOUIS LINGG.

LOUIS LINGG was born in Mannheim, Germany, on September 9, 1864. His father worked as a lumberman; his mother did laundry-work. Young Louis received his education in the common schools in Mannheim. How the first shadows of life began to darken the boy's horizon, and to have a decisive influence upon him, he relates thus: "My earliest youth was a happy one indeed, until a fatal accident which befel my father brought about such a change in our situation that not very seldom want and hunger were guests in our family. Only the utmost efforts of my mother prevented their visits becoming daily ones. My father, one day, endeavoured to replace a heavy log of oak which had slipped from the banks upon the frozen surface of the river. The icy coast gave way, father disappeared in the icy waters, and was rescued only with great difficulty. This event destroyed his health and reduced his working capacity. In consequence thereof the noble boss saw the necessity of reducing the wage-slave's salary, although my father had worked for him faithfully for twelve years, and finally to discharge him with the flimsy excuse that business had decreased. When thirteen I received the first impressions of the prevailing unjust social institutions—i.e., the exploitation of man by man. The main circumstances which caused these reflections in my youthful mind were the experiences of our own family. It did not escape my observation that the former employer of my father, the lumber-dealer, grew continually richer, despite the extravagant life he and his family were leading, whilst on the other hand my father, who had performed his respective part in creating the wealth the boss possessed, and who had sacrificed his health, was cast aside like a worn-out tool. All this implanted into my mind the seed of bitter hatred of the existing society, which feeling grew still more intense with my entrance into the industrial arena."

Lingg learned the trade of a carpenter, and after serving according to the German custom a three years' apprenticeship, he travelled in Southern Germany and afterwards in Switzerland, working wherever there was a chance. Soon he learned the doctrines of Socialism, which he eagerly espoused.

In 1885 he went to America. He did not wish to enter the military service in Germany, and consequently could no longer safely stay in Switzerland. He went to Chicago, and secured work as a carpenter. Soon he joined the union of his trade. Here he became so active and prominent that he was appointed an organiser. Lingg pointed with pride to the fact that his union came out of the ill-fated eight-hour movement in May 1886 with undiminished strength.

The *Christian Socialist* this month is even above the average in its outspokenness and bright readability. One of the emissaries of the "London City Mission" has taken it as part of his work to oppose Socialism, and is taken to task by the *Christian Socialist* in a way that should make him quail, if he be not, as most of his kind, incapable of anything like thought.

J. L. Joynts has in the press a volume of translations of poems by German writers of the 1848 period, including Freiligrath, Heine, Herwegh, as well as many others not so well known to English readers. The volume will shortly be published by Messrs. Foulger and Co. of Paternoster Row, under the title of 'Songs of a Revolutionary Epoch.'

THE LABOUR STRUGGLE.

BRITAIN.

THE WALSALL LOCK-MAKERS have directed a levy upon the trade in support of forty workmen who are on strike against the new regulations which have been introduced by Messrs. Lowe and Frankes, disallowing draws on account of work in hand.

AYRSHIRE MINERS.—At a meeting of the executive of the Ayrshire Miners' Union, held at Kilmarnock last Friday, it was resolved to urge the men to perfect their organisation, so as to be able on an early date to make an effective demand for an advance of wages.

SHARPEN YOUR OWN PICKS.—The colliery-owners in Dregghorn district having refused to sharpen the men's picks at less than fourpence per week, the men, with the assistance of the Ayrshire Miners' Union, have leased a small piece of ground, and propose building a smithy, which is to be opened shortly.

FIFESHIRE MINERS.—At a conference on Tuesday of the Fife and Clackmannan coal masters and miners, the owners refused to withdraw the reduction of wages by 10 per cent. enforced last week, and expressed their indignation at the resolution of the men to stop work for two weeks, a policy which they state they were prepared to resist to the utmost. We understand that the coal masters intend to lock out the entire body of men.

WELSH MINERS.—A general meeting of colliery delegates has been held at Aberdare, for the consideration of a committee's draft of the proposed rules of the South Wales Federation of Miners. Over 35,000 colliers were represented. The name of the institution is to be the South Wales and Monmouthshire Colliery Workmen's Federation, and its objects are to raise funds to protect the interests of the colliery workmen, to reduce the hours of daily labour in the mines, and to assist in federating the whole of the workmen of the civilised world.

YORKSHIRE MINERS.—Mr. B. Pickard, M.P., secretary of the Yorkshire Miners' Association, has announced that the result of the ballot of the miners of Yorkshire, taken last week, on the question of giving a notice to leave work in order to force an advance of wages, was in favour of giving such notice. Forty thousand ballot papers were issued, and most of these have been returned. The men have from the first had full control over what has been done, the duty of the officials in this matter having been purely ministerial; and to the men the last decision as to the course to be adopted is also committed. A large number of the men are still of opinion that trade has so far improved that they are entitled to a return of the 10 per cent. advance which they lost three years ago.

MR. CRAWFORD'S BOYCOTT.—For acting up to the recommendations contained in Mr. Crawford's last circular, thirty miners have been fined at Bishop Auckland. Rather than ride in the same cage with a non-unionist, they left off work. The *Newcastle Chronicle* says: "Their action is regulated by the treat-him-as-a-leper code—the code which commands the hate to be carried to and maintained before the footstool of the Almighty. There is nothing new in it, as we lately explained. It is one way of carrying on a social war. It is 'trades unionism'; it is boycotting." It might also be added that it is the recognition of the fact that the present condition of labour and capital means social war, and nothing short of it. Every expedient has been tried to hide the robbery of the workers by greedy capitalists. The "declaration of war" on non-unionists is only one phase of the beginning of the struggle which shall free the worker.

STRIKE OF SHIPBUILDERS.—A strike occurred at the extensive iron ship-building yard of Messrs. Raylton, Dixon, and Co., Middlesbrough, on Monday morning. A dispute has been pending respecting piece prices, and as the masters refuse to concede the demands of the men, upwards of 1000 platers and riveters have turned out on strike.

FRASERBURGH FISHERMEN AND STATE EMIGRATION.—A petition signed by 700 Fraserburgh fisherman has been forwarded to Lord Lothian asking the assistance of the State to enable them to emigrate. The fisherman emphasise the losses they have recently sustained in their industry, and select British Columbia as the most likely field for their labour.

SHORT TIME IN DUNDEE JUTE WORKS.—Last Thursday a meeting of jute spinners and manufacturers was held in Dundee to consider the propriety of running their works on short time until trade improves. There was a large attendance, the greater number of the firms being represented. After consultation it was unanimously resolved to stop the spinning and weaving departments on Saturdays for a period of three months, commencing on the first Saturday of March. This will restrict the working hours from fifty-six to fifty per week.

EDINBURGH JOINERS' STRIKE.—The situation remains unchanged, and the stolid determination of the men to continue resistance is daily becoming more intense. The funds in hand are amply sufficient to meet all requirements, while the men conduct their weekly business meetings, held every Saturday, in the best of spirits. It is stated that two of the firms have given in to the men's demands, and granted 7d. per hour to their workers.

SHALE-MINING INDUSTRY.—The shale miners of Broxburn, West Calder, etc., have made application to their employers, through Mr. John Wilson, their able secretary, for the further concession of 2d. per ton on the output of shale. They suffered a reduction of 4d. per ton last July, but half of this was conceded them at the beginning of January. The current prices of the shale products warrant the full reduction returned, as the sum conceded would only be one-twentieth of the profits made by the oil companies over and above prices obtained in January, 1886, when the trade was considered in a good condition.

VINDICTIVE SENTENCES ON SCOTCH CROFTERS.—In the first batch, comprising Donald MacKenzie, Alexander Macleod, and John MacKay, the sentences imposed were much heavier than had been expected, the first two men receiving fifteen months' imprisonment and the third twelve months. The sentences caused considerable sensation in court. Subsequently five other Aighish prisoners were sentenced to twelve months' imprisonment, three to nine months, and one to six months. In the Clashmore case two of the accused were women. These were sentenced to nine months' imprisonment each, and their male companion to twelve months. There was hissing in court and loud dissatisfaction expressed, especially in the case of the women.

The Local Government Board have suggested to the boards of guardians throughout the country that tramps, especially when apparently willing to work, instead of being detained in the workhouse until eleven o'clock in the morning after their admission, as is the rule now, should be allowed to leave directly they have completed their task and breakfast, so that they may

have a better chance of obtaining work outside. It would be quite silly to know how the casual taskmasters judge those who are apparently willing to work. The very suggestion shows what a farce all this poor-law arrangement is. Some stupid, pig-headed nigger-driver, who must necessarily be a stony-hearted, callous man, has the power to permit those to depart whom he thinks are "willing to work." Why not make him a magistrate at once?

MEETING OF EDINBURGH BAKERS.—At a crowded meeting of the operative bakers of Edinburgh, held in the Trades' Hall, High Street, Mr. William Henry presiding, with the object of having their hours of labour reduced and their wages increased, it was proposed by Mr. William Turnbull, seconded by Mr. John Gilmour, "That we, the operative bakers of Edinburgh, view with regret the silent but sure encroachments that are being made upon our recognised hours and rate of pay by many employers, and therefore resolve to do all in our power by united and individual effort to regain the position which we have lost, and maintain that which we ought to enjoy." A second resolution, proposed by Mr. William Mitchell and seconded by Mr. James Nicol, was, "That we, the operative bakers of Edinburgh, are of the opinion that the only way whereby we can improve our position is by uniting ourselves together and becoming members of the Edinburgh branch of the Federal Union of Scotland." The resolutions, which were respectively spoken to by Mr. Mallinson and Mr. Blaikie of the Trades' Council, were unanimously carried.

BLUNDELL MAPLE, M.P., v. W. PARNELL.—An appeal is being made to trades unionists and others interested in putting a stop to the "sweating system" for funds to aid W. Parnell, secretary of the West-end Branch of the Alliance Cabinet Makers' Society, to defend an action for slander brought against him by Mr. J. Blundell Maple, M.P. for Dulwich, for certain statements alleged to have been made by him about Mr. Maple and the "sweating system" existing in the cabinet trade. W. Monk, hon. sec., 14 Caroline St., S.W.; H. Ham, gen. sec. Alliance Cabinet Makers, hon. treasurer, 64 Finsbury Pavement, E.C.; H. H. Champion, hon. sec. National Labour Party Metropolitan Section, 13 Paternoster Row, E.C., will receive subscriptions. This is a very worthy cause; but it says little for London workmen or that very peculiar body the London Trades Council that there should be such a difficulty in finding the necessary means. The Cabinet Makers say their funds are not available for the purpose. Why? It seems to me that to fight unfair employers is the object above all others for which trades unions are necessary. At any rate if the members of the various societies had any grit in them at all they would tax themselves to defend a comrade who has brought himself into trouble by fighting in their interests.

THE SKYE CROFTERS.—Amidst the turmoil of the Irish agitation, the great revolt of the Scottish crofters passes almost unnoticed, except for an occasional lying report in the London press. The *Glasgow Mail*, however, not only pleads the cause of the crofters, but gathers subscriptions. It gives an account of "the largest crofter meeting for the last four years, held recently at Valto, Skye." The cottars and crofters of the whole district turned out almost to a man. The object of the meeting was to consider the best means of getting possession of the lands of which they were deprived. Mr. Murdo MacLean presided. After a good deal of strong speaking, the following resolution was ultimately agreed to: "That the Legislature be called upon to immediately pass a measure restoring to the people their just rights, and that they no longer starve while the land of their fathers goes to fatten deer." The resolution gave but partial satisfaction to the meeting, the feeling being that the time for asking had passed, and that the time for taking had come. Several speakers declared they would never get their rights while they kept within the law, while one asked, when the landlords had broken every law of the creator, why should they fear to break the landlords' law? This appeared to be the feeling of the vast majority of the meeting, and it required all the tact of the more moderate section to keep them within bounds. What the end will be it is difficult to say; but it is significant that a motion to meet to-morrow on the farm of Duntulm to further consider their position was carried with few dissentients."

THE GOVERNMENT AND THE FACTORY ACTS.—Last Saturday night, under the presidency of Mr. W. M. Thompson, a meeting was held in the Brick Lane School Rooms, Whitechapel, to protest against the sweating system carried on in the tailoring, bootmaking, and other trades. The chairman stated that Mr. Burnett's report to the Board of Trade was one of the most emphatic condemnations of the system of sweating ever made. Among the remedies for the evils of the system were a more efficient plan of inspecting factories, and better rules for the regulation of the hours and conditions of work. He urged the united action of the workers in the trades in which sweating was carried on, so as to compel the Government to adopt some measures to ameliorate the condition under which work was now carried on in factories. Mr. Lewis Lyons made a number of suggestions for the amendment and improvement of the existing Factory Acts, and the following motion, after considerable discussion and opposition, was agreed to: "That this meeting of working men and women emphatically endorses the report of Mr. John Burnett, labour correspondent of the Board of Trade, on the sweating system; that we are of opinion that the practice of this cruel and inhuman system is injurious to the morality and health of the workers, and is a fruitful cause of starvation, prostitution, and early death; that we demand immediate legislation for the reform of the evils set forth in Mr. Burnett's report; and that we further condemn the Government for its persistent neglect of home affairs, to the detriment of those who live by toil." The meeting resolved to send a copy of the resolution to the Queen, the Prime Minister, Mr. Gladstone, the Primate, Cardinal Manning, and the Chief Rabbi.

LETTER FROM AMERICA.

The strike of the Reading miners and railroaders is still in full swing. It is now beyond doubt that the fight between master and men will be a long and bitter one, and only absolute starvation will induce the miners to give in. At one time it seemed possible that President Austin Corbin might induce the miners to compromise, and to leave the railroaders to fight single-handed against the company, but the high-handed action of this official during the latter days has destroyed this basis of settlement. On Sunday Corbin issued a mendacious manifesto containing the following demands: "We regret exceedingly that this action on the part of the employes of our road, as well as the action of miners, promises to bring disastrous results to those portions of the State dependent upon the output of the Reading collieries, but there is no alternative for this company that we can see except to insist upon (1) the right to manage its own property, and (2) the right to employ labour in the mining of its coal so that it will have at least an equal chance with

its neighbours in every competitive market to which anthracite coal goes. President Corbin thirty years ago could hardly boast of possessing a cent; to-day he is considered to be worth about thirty million dollars; it appears that his pocket is the "competitive market" alluded to in his ultimatum. This action of the company has had a three-fold effect—(1) to embitter all workers in general against capital; (2) to thoroughly unite the miners and railroaders engaged in the present contest; (3) a determination to "carry the war into Africa." This last effect is the most important phenomenon which has yet appeared in the American Labour struggle. Last Monday a sub-committee was appointed to issue an appeal to the next session of the Legislature, urging this body to *confiscate* in the name of the State and by "the right of eminent domain" all the coal lands. The State then should go into the coal-mining business on its own account or should lease the lands to be operated under certain conditions as to the payment of labour. Considering how violently American workers have fought against the idea of "confiscating" the means of production, it must be admitted that the action of the strikers is rather progressive.

Dr. A. Douay, one of the editors of the New York *Volks Zeitung*, died suddenly last week. The Social-Democratic party loses in him one of its most able, brilliant, and honest exponents.

The shoemakers' lock-out at Rochester has ended, the men going back to work at the employer's terms.

Several thousand men were thrown out of work by the strike of lasters at North Adams, Mass., on January 13th.

The Fall River spinners are threatening to strike unless an immediate advance in wages is granted. Conferences with representatives of the manufacturing corporations are in progress. A full restoration of the rates of 1884 is demanded by the operatives, in view of the recent advance in print cloth.

The girls employed at the Carlisle (Pa.) Shoe-factory struck on the 18th, and on the 19th the men went out to give them support. The girls say they did not strike for a question of wages or hours, but in defence of their honour, in consequence of the shameful behaviour of the foreman.

The cigarmakers' strike in New York about the tenement question commenced in earnest this week, and the fight is on the increase. About 1600 men are out on strike. Most of the factories are closely picketed. To-day two well-known union men amongst the sentries were arrested for refusing to "move on," but discharged after being severely reprimanded by the judge. If any more arrests are made the union will make them test cases.

LIST OF STRIKES FOR JANUARY.

Number of strikers reported, Jan. 1 to 10	32,953
10.. Jersey City, N. J.—Metal-workers	—
12..Pittsfield, Mass.—Shoe-hands, wages dispute	60
13..North Adams, Mass.—Shoe-lastors, for advance	40
13..Jersey City—Rubber-works employes, against reduction and for discharge of superintendent	40
14..Philadelphia—Job-printers, for union wages and against employment of non-union men	115
14..Albany, N.Y.—Ice harvesters, for advance	300
14..Pittsburgh—Messenger boys, for advance	—
15..Philadelphia—Cigar-makers, against reduction	—
15..Philadelphia—Carpet-weavers, against reduction	400
16..Brookton, Mass.—Shoe-hands, for advance and more work	20
16..Pottsville, Pa.—Ice-harvesters, refusal to cut ice to be shipped by Reading road	200
16..New York City—Pocket-book makers, against reduction	—
17..Philadelphia—Carpet-weavers, for advance	101
17..New York City—Cigar-makers, against reduction	65
17..Carlisle, Pa.—Shoe-hands (girls), for discharge of foreman	26
18..Philadelphia—Carpet-weavers in thirteen concerns, against new wages schedule	—
18..New York City—Cigar-makers, against reduction	400
18..New York City—Cigar-makers, against reduction	54
18..New York City—Cigar-makers, against reduction	350
18..Pittsburgh and Allegheny, Pa.—Stone-masons, for unionism	380
Total number of strikers known to January 18	35,509

New York, January 25, 1888.

HENRY F. CHARLES.

REVOLUTIONARY CALENDAR.

WEEK ENDING FEBRUARY 18, 1888.

12	Sun.	1809. Charles Darwin born. 1844. O'Connell and others sentenced for conspiracy.
13	Mon.	1835. Henry Hunt died. 1867. Fenian risings in Ireland.
14	Tues.	1693. Massacre of Glencoe. 1696. "Assassination Plot." 1766. T. R. Malthus born.
15	Wed.	1401. W. Sautre, first English martyr, burned. 1564. Galileo born. 1747. Jeremy Bentham born.
16	Thur.	1834. Ernst Hæckel born. 1885. Unemployed Demonstrtn. in Londn.
17	Fri.	1600. Giordano Bruno burnt at Rome. 1856. Heine died. 1886. Preliminary Examination of Burns, Champion, Hyndman, and Williams.
18	Sat.	1546. Martin Luther died.

Henry Hunt ("Orator Hunt").—Born at Uphaven, Wilts, November 6, 1773; died at Alresford, Hants, February 13, 1835. For the first 30 years of his life was an ardent Loyalist. On the 16th of August, 1801, he first presided at a public meeting, and he there volunteered himself and his servants and placed £30,000 worth of goods and cattle at the disposal of the Government in case of invasion. But even before this the growing independence of his opinions and his violent temper led to his being offensively treated by Lord Bruce, the commander of the troop of yeomanry to which he belonged; and for challenging him to "render the satisfaction of a gentleman," Hunt was imprisoned for six weeks and fined £100. In prison he met Waddington, the well-known Radical, and his friend and advocate Clifford, from whom he received many new ideas that afterwards had their due effect. It is not too much to say that the whole term of imprisonment was spent in acquiring new truths that had not yet reached his country home, and that were a revelation to him. During his imprisonment also, which a liberal use of bribery made rather a town holiday than aught else, he contrived to visit Colonel Despard, at that time confined in the Tower, where he had been for six years, and for no offence but the demanding payment of a

debt from the Government. Altogether he went back to his home with a thousand new ideas implanted in his brain, to bear fruit ultimately. His first entry into the political arena was over the impeachment of Lord Melville for misappropriation of public money. Through this he was introduced to Cobbett, at that time in the height of his power. In 1807, he took part in the election battle at Bristol, and also gave a dinner there to celebrate the return of Sir Francis Burdett for Westminster; and in 1812 he unsuccessfully contested that city as a Reform candidate. On Nov. 5, 1816, he spoke at the first Spa Fields meeting, and was to have addressed the great meeting at same place on the 2nd of December, but the "riot" had begun before he arrived. From this time he was without intermission agitating in all parts of the country for "Radical Reform" (Universal Suffrage, Annual Parliaments, Vote by Ballot, and Repeal of the Corn Laws). On the 16th of August, 1819, he presided at Peterloo, when a peaceable, orderly, and legal meeting was "warren'd", as will be described in due course. He was tried and condemned to 2½ years imprisonment, and to find security for his good behaviour for five years, himself in £1,000 and two sureties in £500 each. By a singular coincidence this meeting occurred on the anniversary of that on which he made his "patriotic" offer, and as he says: "I am sure that I was actuated by the very same feeling, the same love of country, the same anxiety for the well-being of my fellow-countrymen, and the same self-devotion at both these meetings; my great leading object being to promote, as far as my humble means would permit, the welfare, the freedom, and happiness of my countrymen"—only at one he helped the Government, and at the other was helping the people, which makes all the difference. When he came out of prison he met with a tremendous reception. Between 1822 and 1830 he devoted himself mainly to his private affairs, which were nigh ruined from neglect. In August of the latter year he stood for Preston unsuccessfully, but in December of the same year he stood again and was elected. Soon after taking his seat, on the motion for a general fast-day throughout the kingdom, he asked the pertinent question "Whether or not the hon. members were aware that one-third of the population of this kingdom fasts almost every day in the year?", and on being attacked by Perceval for the "blasphemy" of his question, replied "that he was aware who was the giver of all goodness, but was also aware that the hon. member and others who took from the poor, deprived them of the benefit the Almighty intended." He was by far the most advanced man who up to that time had ever sat in Parliament; even Cobbett denouncing his "extreme and impracticable proposals." In 1833, aristocratic intrigues and the backwardness of his constituents led to the loss of his seat. He then applied himself again to his business concerns. On a journey to sell his blacking and annatto in the West of England, he stopped at Alresford, in Hants, and while getting out of his phaeton was seized with paralysis and died soon after being carried into the hotel. He was a thoroughly honest and unswerving Radical throughout his whole career. The unfortunate quarrels with Cobbett that their egotism and coarseness led them into did much harm to the cause they had at heart, and shows them in a bad light, but it must be said that it is not Hunt who shows to least advantage. In Parliament he was almost lost, only occasionally could he get a second for his motions, even Hume fighting shy of him, and Cobbett abusing him for helping the Tories by rating the Whigs for half-heartedness; but outside among the people there has been none before or since who so well deserved the title of "Orator" given him by universal consent. The pitiful poltroonery of latter-day Radicalism would have received scant mercy at his hands.—S.

Massacre of Glencoe.—The Duke of Argyll of to-day claims to be a literary man; among other things he has perpetrated "The Reign of Law" and "Primeval Man"; and for the Cobden Club he wrote "Commercial Principles applied to Contracts for Hire of Land." Here is a primeval contract for taking of land under the reign of lawless Argyll, dated Jan. 11, 1692: "William Rex. As for MacIain of Glencoe, and that tribe, if they can be well distinguished from the rest of the Highlanders it will be proper for the vindication of public justice to *extirpate* that sett of thieves.—W. R." Under the powers thus given him, orders were given to various commanders to provide troops at once. For a fortnight these troops were entertained as honoured guests by the unsuspecting victims, while the arrangements for the slaughter were being perfected by such letters as this: "Order from Major Robert Campbell to Captain Robert Campbell, of Glenlyon. Sir,—You are hereby ordered to fall upon the Macdonalds of Glencoe, and *put all to the sword under seventy*. You are to have a special care that the old fox and his sons do not escape your hands; you are to secure all avenues, that no man escape. This you are to put in execution at five o'clock in the morning precisely; and by that time I will strive to be at you with a stronger party," etc., etc. This is from one of the Argyll's to another of that ilk. So precisely at five o'clock in the morning on the 13th day of February, 1692, in the Valley of Glencoe, commenced the most damnable villainy of all the vile work which has built up our House of Lords. At three different points the butchering began. Hoary-headed fathers and prattling babes were shot and stabbed that we may have a Duke of Argyll and a bankrupt Lord Colin Campbell. Nine of a family in one lot, eight on one floor in another, and so the tale mounts to some forty, and an unknown number perishing in the frost, rain, and winds of a pitiless Grampian winter, for the time of year had been carefully chosen for the lordly work, to say devil's work is to insult any conceivable devil. Such is the Argyll's title to lands. Oh for a hell!—T. S.

Assassination Plot against the life of William III. by a few faithful adherents of James II. It was determined to make the attempt on Turnham Green, while the king was returning from hunting in Richmond Park, but the project was betrayed. A bloody revenge was taken by William, who also made it an excuse for a raid upon the disaffected of all kinds.—S.

Trial of Burns, Champion, Hyndman, and Williams.—At Bow Street Police-court, before police-magistrate Sir James Ingham, John Burns, Henry Hyde-Champion, Henry Mayers Hyndman, and John Edward Williams, were charged on summonses with "maliciously and seditiously contriving and intending the peace of the Queen to disquiet and disturb, her liege subjects to incite and move to hatred and dislike of the Government established by law within this realm, and to incite and persuade great numbers of the liege subjects of the Queen to insurrections, riots, tumults, and breaches of the peace, and prevent by force and arms the execution of the laws of this realm . . . on Feb. 8th, 1886." After several remands the defendants were committed for trial at the Old Bailey (on April 6th), where after a five day's trial they were found "Not Guilty." Riots and tumults it is well known invariably result in the *departure* of capital. A Mansion House Relief Fund, which had taken some weeks to reach £3,000, in a day or two after the 8th had reached £39,000, and the *Standard* urged that it should be raised at once to £250,000.—T. S.

THE SOCIALIST LEAGUE.

OFFICES: 13 FARRINGTON ROAD, E.C.

Special Notice to London Members.

On Monday next, February 13, the advisability of establishing a Socialist organisation for the moral instruction of children will be discussed. Members are requested to attend.

Annual Conference.—The Fourth Annual Conference of the Socialist League will be held at 13 Farringdon Road, on Whitsunday, May 20. The attention of

Branches is particularly referred to (1) Rule V. on the subject of the annual conference, pp. 3 and 4 of Constitution and Rules; and (2) that all branches wishing to be represented at the Conference must pay their subscription up to the 31st March by May 1st.

Branch Subscriptions Paid. 1887.

Hastings, Nottingham, Pelsall—None. Bradford, Croydon, Glasgow, Hackney, Ipswich, Leeds, Marylebone, Merton, North London, Norwich—to end of March. Hull—to end of April. Edinburgh—to end of May. Mitcham—to end of July. Walsall—to end of August. Bloomsbury, Walham Green, Wednesday—to end of October. Leicester—to end of November. Clerkenwell, Hammersmith, Hoxton, Mile-end, Oxford—to end of December.

"COMMONWEAL" PRINTING FUND.

Weekly Subscriptions—C. J. F., 2s. 6d. K. F., 1s. Langley, 2s. P. W., 6d. W. B., 6d.

REPORTS.

BLOOMSBURY.—On Thursday, Feb. 2, Annie Besant (Fabian Society) lectured at the Athenaeum Hall, 73, Tottenham Court Road, on "Socialism Old and New." Hall crowded and collection good.

CLERKENWELL.—On Wednesday, Feb. 1, D. Nicoll read a paper on "Law and Order." Discussion was very brisk, some members of this branch taking the side of the lecturer, and pointing out that all artificial laws produce disorder, and were criminal laws when made positive and repressive; on the other hand, the disobedience of natural laws as they affect the individual or individuals, brought its own punishment. Some visiting members opposed, stating that there was a possibility of getting good laws passed by Parliamentary institutions, etc. The lecturer satisfactorily replied. On Sunday, Feb. 5, a very successful "social evening" was held, several members and friends giving songs, recitations, and readings.—B.

FULHAM.—Tuesday, good meeting opposite the Liberal Club, Walham Green; Tochtatti and Maughan spoke. Sunday morning meeting opened by singing "No Master," and addressed by Tochtatti and Tarleton. Fair sale of *Commonweal*, and 3s. collected. In evening, meeting held outside rooms, C. Smith speaking. Afterwards, Morris lectured in rooms on "What Socialists Want." Several questions put and satisfactorily answered.—S. B. G.

MITCHAM.—The weather being fine, Parker addressed Sunday evening meeting on Mitcham Fair—Green to a good audience, singing several Socialist songs.

STAMFORD HILL.—W. B. Parker held meeting here on Sunday.

BRADFORD.—On Sunday, Jan. 29th, Bland read Morris's "Misery and the Way Out" at Royal Oak, Shipley. Good discussion followed. Mitchell lectured at debating room in College Road, Bradford.

GLASGOW.—Sunday at 2.30, Glasier, Gilbert, and Bellini addressed meeting at St. George's Cross. At 6.30, in Infirmary Square, several hundreds listened to J. B. Glasier and P. Bellini. Some objection to practicability of Socialism effectively dispelled by Glasier.

LEEDS.—On Sunday, Jan. 29, we held four open-air meetings, and in the evening Sollitt gave a lecture on "Individualism." Last Sunday morning when we assembled in Vicar's Croft, we found the temperance party had about a dozen of their speakers awaiting us fully prepared to demolish Socialism. After two hours heated dispute, it was agreed to arrange for a set debate. Corkwell by a lecture, and Maguire by meeting J. G. Fisher in debate, finished the day's work.

SOUTH SUSSEX.—Leonard Hall lectured on the "Re-organisation of Society" at the Wesleyan School-room, Bexhill, on Thursday night, to a large audience, who followed the address with the closest attention. Some trifling opposition from a teetotaler. We are making gradual conversions by surreptitious pamphletting and disguised speeches, but the boycott is cruelly painful in this part. Local papers please do not copy.

WALSALL.—Donald lectured Monday last, on "Socialism, what it would do for the Unemployed." A discussion followed.—J. T. D.

TOWER HILL.—Taking advantage of an Anti-Coercion meeting held here on Sunday afternoon, Parker, Lane, Allman, Pope, and Mrs. Schack addressed two tremendous meetings.

EDINBURGH.—On Feb. 5th, Dewar lectured on "Trade Depressions." Good discussion. A French comrade spoke with great effect. St. Cuthbert's Co-operative Society has arranged for a course of free lectures. Three of the five are to be delivered by Socialists, James Mavor treating of "Industry in the Middle Ages" and "Industry in Modern Times," and Rev. John Glasie dealing with "The Relation of Socialism to Co-operation."

LECTURE DIARY.

LONDON.

Bloomsbury.—Communist Club, 49 Tottenham Street, Tottenham Court Road. Thursday Feb. 9, at 8.30, Quarterly Business Meeting. Thursday 16, T. E. Wardle will lecture at 8.30.

Clerkenwell.—Hall of the Socialist League, 13 Farringdon Rd., E.C. Business meeting every Sunday at 7.

Sun. Feb. 12, at 8.30, H. A. Barker, "The Labour Struggle." Wednesday 15, at 8.30, H. H. Sparling, a lecture. Sunday 19, Edward Aveling, "The Fallacies of Henry George."

Fulham.—8 Effie Road, Walham Green. Sun. Feb. 12, at 8, J. Turner, "The Control of Capital." 19th. E. Mandel, "Our Present State Organisation and Political Parties." 26th. H. H. Sparling, "The Blind Samson."

Hackney.—28 Percy Terrace, Victoria Road, Hackney Wick.

Hammersmith.—Kelmescott House, Upper Mall, W. Sunday February 12, at 8 p.m., E. B. Bax.

Hoxton (L.E.L.).—C. J. Young, 8 Dunloe Street, Hackney Road, Secretary. Members please take up their membership cards for 1888.

Mitcham.—Corner of Merton Lane and Fountain Place. Club Room open every evening from 7.30 till 11. Sunday February 12, at 8, W. B. Parker, "Some Objections to Socialism." Feb. 19, T. J. Dalziel, "Why the People Starve." Feb. 26, J. Turner, "Co-operation."

Mile-end and Bethnal Green.—95 Boston St., Hackney Road. Business Meeting every Thursday at 9 p.m. Debating Class for members after Business Meeting.

PROVINCES.

Aberdeen (Scottish Section).—Sunday night meetings in Baker Street Hall, at 6. Secretary, J. Leatham, 15 St. Nicholas Street.

Birmingham.—Meetings at Summer Row Coffee House every Saturday evening at 8.

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

Carnoustie (Scottish Section: Forfarshire).—Meeting every Wednesday, at 8 p.m., in the Carnoustie Restaurant. H. M'Cluskey, Millar Street, Secy.

Condensbeath (Scot. Sec).—J. Duncan, 30 Arthur Pl., sec **Dublin.**—Saturday Club, Central Lecture Hall, 12 Westmorland Street.

Dundee (Scot. Sect.).—Meetings every Sunday in the Trades Hall, opposite Tay Bridge Station. Political Economy class, 2 p.m. Lecture at 6.30.

Edinburgh (Scottish Section).—4 Park Street. Sunday evening lectures, Trades Hall, High Street. On Sunday February 12, at 6.30, J. H. Smith on "The Payment of Labour under Socialism."

Galashiels (Scot Sect).—J. Walker, 6 Victoria St., sec. **Gallatoun and Dysart (Scottish Section: Fife).**—Meet every Tuesday at 7 p.m. in Gallatoun Public School. Secretary, A. Paterson, 152 Rosslyn St.

Glasgow.—84 John St. Reading-room open 10 a.m. till 10 p.m. daily. Propaganda Committee, Mondays at 8. Discussion Class meets every Thursday evening at 8 p.m.—object, the cultivation of extemporaneous speaking.

Leeds.—17 Chesham St., Sweet St. Club open every evening. Business meeting Wednesdays at 8 p.m. On Sunday February 12, at 7 p.m., W. Hill, "Why the Workers should be Socialists." Feb. 19, T. Maguire, "The Practical Bearings of Socialism." 26. S. A. Gaskell, "The Need of a New Industrial System."

Leicester.—Hosiery Union, Horsefair St. Fridays at 8. **Lochgelly (Scottish Section: Fife).**—Sess. (pro tem.), John Greig and Hugh Conway, The Square.

Norwich.—Gordon Hall, 5 Duke Street. Monday, Concert at 8. Tuesday, Business meeting at 8.30. Wednesday, Band practice at 8. Thursday, Discussion class, Gronlund's 'Co-operative Commonwealth.' Friday, Rehearsal at 8. Saturday, Premises open from 8 until 10.30.

Nottingham.—Club and Reading Rooms, 1 Tokenhouse Yard, Bridlesmith Gate, open every evening. Lectures and Discussions every Sunday.

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

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

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

OPEN-AIR PROPAGANDA.

LONDON—Sunday 12.

11 ...Acton GreenHammersmith Branch
11.15..Starch GreenThe Branch
11.30..Garrett—"Plough Inn"The Branch
11.30..Hackney—Salmon and Ball...Rothman & Cores
11.30..Hoxton Church, Pitfield St.Allman & Davis
11.30..Merton—Haydoas RoadThe Branch
11.30..Mitcham Fair GreenThe Branch
11.30..Regent's ParkMainwaring
11.30..St. Pancras ArchesBartlett
11.30..Stamford HillParker
11.30..Walham GreenFulham Branch
3 ...Hyde ParkNicoll

PROVINCES.

Crieff.—J. B. Glasier, at Market Cross, Saturday at 5. **Glasgow.**—Paisley Road Toll, Sunday at 1 p.m. Infirmary Square, 6.30 p.m.

Leeds.—Sunday: Jack Lane End, Meadow Road, at 10.30 a.m. In Prince's Field, at 3 p.m.

Norwich.—Market Place, at 3 every Sunday.

LOOK OUT

for the SOCIALIST LEAGUE PLATFORM at the Demonstration in Hyde Park on Monday next.

JUNIOR SOCIALISTIC EDUCATIONAL SOCIETY.—On Saturday February 11, 8 o'clock, Fry reads a paper at 64 Charlotte Street.—H. W. F., Sec. pro tem.

SHEFFIELD SOCIALISTS, Commonwealth Café, Scotland Street, Sheffield.—Discussions or Lectures every Sunday evening at 7 o'clock. Free.

SOCIALIST CO-OPERATIVE FEDERATION.—Meeting at *Commonweal* Office, 13 Farringdon Road, on Sunday February 12, at 3.30 p.m.

THE TABLES TURNED.

Applications for engagements to be made to the Manager, H. A. Barker, 13 Farringdon Road, E.C.

Postponed for a week, in consequence of the Burns-Graham reception.

The Lamp

AN EXTRAVAGANZA by Henry A. Barker, will be performed on **Saturday February 25** (not 18), at 13 Farringdon Road. Admission by Programme (now ready), price Threepence. The entertainment will commence precisely at Eight o'clock.

A

DREAM OF JOHN BALL

BY WILLIAM MORRIS.

A FEW sets of the *Commonweal* (Nov. 13, 1886 to Jan. 22, 1887) containing this tale still remaining

Price 1s. post free.

Also the Volumes of the *Commonweal* from the commencement, neatly bound in red cloth.

'Commonweal' Office, 13 Farringdon Road, E.C.

Camelot Series.

VÖLSUNGA SAGA: THE STORY OF THE WOLSUNGS AND NIBLUNGS, WITH CERTAIN SONGS FROM THE ELDER EDDA.

Edited, with Notes and Introduction,

BY H. HALLELDAY SPARLING.

Translated from the Icelandic by EIRIKR MAGNUSSON (Translator of 'Legends of Iceland') and WILLIAM MORRIS (Author of 'The Earthly Paradise.')

Cloth, cut or uncut, 1s.

WALTER SCOTT, 24 Warwick Lane, Paternoster Row.

THE LEAFLET NEWSPAPER.

Published every Saturday at 1 p.m. Edited by Thomas Bolas. Packet of 25, 1d., Postage ½d.; 1000 1s. 6d., Postage 6d.—Leaflet Press, Carsitor St., E.C.

The Irish Question. Third Edition. 32 pages, in Wrapper. Price Threepence. 6 or more copies post free.

The Workman's Question: WHY HE IS POOR. 24 pp., in Wrapper. Price Twopence. 6 or more copies post free.

Birmingham: J. Sketchley, 8 Arthur Place Parade.

SOCIALIST LEAGUE LITERATURE.

Chants for Socialists. By William Morris. 1d.

Organised Labour: The Duty of the Trades' Unions in Relation to Socialism. By Thomas Binning (London Society of Compositors). 1d.

The Aims of Art. By Wm. Morris. Bijou edition, 3d.; Large paper, 6d.

The Tables Turned; or, Nuptials Awakened. A Socialist Interlude. By William Morris. In Wrapper 4d.

The Manifesto of the Socialist League. Annotated by E. Belfort Bax and William Morris. An exposition of the principles on which the League is founded. 1d.

The Commune of Paris. By E. Belfort Bax, Victor Dave, and William Morris. 2d.

The Rights of Labour according to John Ruskin. By Thomas Barlow. 1d.

Useful Work v. Useless Toil. By William Morris. 1d.

"All for the Cause!" Song. Words by William Morris; Music by E. Belfort Bax. 4to, 4 pp. 6d. per dozen, 4s. 6d.

Mrs. Grundy (Cartoon). By Walter Crane. Fine hand-made large paper. 6d.

Printed and Published by WILLIAM MORRIS and JOSEPH LANE at 13 Farringdon Road, London