

# THE COMMONWEAL

The Official Journal of the Socialist League.

VOL. 4.—No. 121.

SATURDAY, MAY 5, 1888.

WEEKLY; ONE PENNY.

## NOTES ON NEWS.

THE Mid-Lanark election has resulted in a great Whig triumph, which will surely be not altogether displeasing to the Tories, since it is at once a triumph of respectability over poverty, and a great blow to the prestige of the Irish Parliamentary Party, whose direct interference no doubt largely contributed to the Whig majority; henceforth it will be clear to the British Labour Party that the Irish leaders are simply using the democracy in this island for their own political purposes, and there cannot fail in consequence to be much soreness against the said leaders among the British workers.

We Socialists however appeal earnestly to the workers of Mid-Lanark and others who have suffered by these servile tactics, to take a noble revenge on the leaders, by looking to the Irish people themselves, and being all the more intent on freeing them not only from the tyranny of foreign centralisation, but also from the new tyranny that awaits them when they are victorious in the matter of Home Rule; if indeed they ever will get Home Rule until they acknowledge the full force of the class struggle and the identity of the interests of the workers all over the world. Undoubtedly when there is a parliament in Dublin the struggle of the Irish people for freedom will have to be begun again, and it is just because we Socialists want to see the real struggle for freedom begin, that we will do all we can to push on this preliminary stage of Home Rule.

Home Rule by all means; but not as an instrument for the exploitation of the Irish labourer by the Irish capitalist tenant: not as an instrument for the establishment of more factories, for the creation of a fresh Irish proletariat to be robbed for the benefit of national capitalists. Our Home Rule means Home Rule for the Irish people, that is to say equality for the Irish people.

∨ A word or two to our own Socialist friends on this unpleasant Mid-Lanark business. They have entered on this electioneering struggle with a people at their back not yet educated into a knowledge of the reasons for the wrongs which they suffer, or the remedies for them, and as a matter of course they have been defeated. Is it too late for them to change their tactics and make up their minds to educate the people in the principles of Socialism before asking them to return Socialists to Parliament? I think Socialists sometimes forget what a great distance there is between them and the mere discontented Radicals who must form the mass of the voters they have any chance of winning over. The Socialist can no more forget his Socialism than he can the elementary facts of science when once learned. So that while he continually sees before him at least the first real Socialist measures, his Radical friend sees nothing but the preliminary steps to those measures, and is, in consequence, an easy prey to the false promises of the loose-tongued Whig and the dishing Tory-Democrat.

∨ Of one thing I am sure, that if propaganda by electioneering is practised by any body of Socialists they will have no time for any other means of propaganda: they must begin at once and think of nothing else but getting Socialists into Parliament. The direct education of the people in the principles of Socialism must be the task of other Socialists who do not trouble themselves about Parliament; and unless there is such a body of Socialists our parliamentary friends will find their task an impossible one.

∨ The Pope has now formally banned the Plan of Campaign and boycotting. This is good news indeed, and it is to be hoped that the Irish bishops will find themselves compelled to follow suit: it will be better news still when the parish priests declare against the people. The two curses of a reactionary religion and the national sentiment which has been forced upon Ireland have been a heavy drawback on the necessities and aspirations of the Irish people.

It seems that charity is somewhat at a discount at present; there has been a great falling off lately; the Jubilee last year was bad for it, and so on, and so on. This means of course that the rich and well-to-do are determined not to lack their luxuries and comforts whatever happens. In short the more charity is wanted the less of it is to be had. In the long run this will be found out to be the case with all palliatives of our system of robbery. They cannot be applied just at the time when they are needed.

W. M.

On the 25th ult. the shareholders of Reuter's Telegram Company met in solemn conclave to discuss the past year's business and the profit thereon. The chairman lamented the poor report they were forced to make; there had not been the nice profitable war they had hoped for and so their gains were not so high as they might have been. A Mr. Maurice Grant also bewailed their bad luck in only getting a "miserable 5 per cent." "Any cheesemonger's shop in London," said he, "would give better results than that." What a pity that millions of men had not died in agony to add to these idlers' wealth and enable a lie-monger to gain more percentage than a seller of cheese!

The Crofter Commissioners are proving over and over again, if that were needed, how villainously the poor folk have been exploited. An average reduction of 57 per cent. is a very excellent proof, and when we see that 83 per cent. of arrears are struck off also, the whole thing is pretty clear. "The Highfield estate, near the Muir of Ord, has the distinguished honour of topping the list so far," says the *Pall Mall*. "The Brahan estate reductions average 52 per cent., and pass into the second place. The satisfaction of the crofters with these decisions may be readily imagined, because nothing nearly so extensive and sweeping had been expected, though the need for revaluation was evident. The Duchess of Sutherland has been fortunate in escaping the censure implied in a very severe reduction. Thirty per cent., however, as matters go in Strathpeffer Spa will be heartily welcomed by the crofters, and 34 per cent. of arrears will perhaps imply a good deal more. The crofters question is now in a fair way of settlement. It needed heroic treatment, and nothing less would have been of any service." S.

## THE REACTION AND THE RADICALS.

THE other day a friend was remarking to me that the ordinary Liberal and Radical of the Parliamentary type was very slack in his resistance to the Tory supremacy in these days; and in spite of the brags of the Gladstonian press, it must be admitted that this is true, after making all the allowances that can be made for the apparently brisk conflict over Irish matters: for that conflict is really in the hands of the Irish themselves; Mr. Parnell's causing the Irish vote to be cast in favour of the Tories in 1885 forced Mr. Gladstone's hand. Up to that time the Liberals had reckoned on the general support of the Irish Parliamentary Party, but after it they understood that that support must be bought by the yielding to Irish demands; that is in the main the plain story of the Gladstonian conversion. And the terms of the bargain so made have to be kept, as the Irish are at hand to enforce them, and Mr. Gladstone himself as usual puts considerable energy into the work which lies ready to his hand. Hence the appearance of a stout battle between the Ins and Outs in Parliament, which, however, as has often been said, is by no means to the taste of the greater part of the Liberal Gladstonites. They will be heartily glad when it is over, especially if, as is probable, and as Lord Randolph Churchill's conduct the other night indicated, it ends in a compromise.

But the Irish matters shelved for a time and the Liberals get free from their bargain, what is to follow as the immediate future of that respectable party? Who can answer that question that believes in the continued existence of a Liberal party in Great Britain? Mr. Gladstone has in all probability taken his last forward step in politics; and Mr. John Morley, who is considered (Lord help us!) to be the leader of the advanced (respectable) party, has already pretty much declared himself for the sign-post of democracy as it was understood twenty years ago. In fact the future, or indeed the present, of the Liberal party is now prefigured by those uninteresting sea-shores on the south coast of England, where the land having grown wheat and marigold and turnips, and having fallen into inferior pasture, is at last nothing but a flat waste of sand with a few tufts of useless herbs dotted here and there upon it, and so goes dwindling down into the sea in an undramatic inglorious fashion. Having performed mechanically the part that has been forced upon it in the Irish struggle, there is an end of it in mere barren officialism and the hopes of another term or two of do-nothing government. The great obstructionist party will swallow it up, regretted by no one.

Meantime, what about the few Radicals who at present hang on to it, and can hardly be called a party, since so many of them have gone through the same proceedings with the Liberals as the latter have done with the Tories, and been swallowed up by them? Well, the few that can still be called Radicals—that is, men who really wish to move

forward if they only knew how—are being paralysed by the approaching death of the Liberal party, the tail of which they have hitherto formed. Their hope in that direction has vanished, and their occupation has gone with it; what have they to turn towards? Whether they are conscious of it or not, they are waiting for Socialism to take up the work of progress. They are not convinced Socialists; many of them probably have never taken the trouble to understand what Socialism means; but they are nevertheless waiting for its approach, and that is the reason why they are so unenergetic in the face of the Tory reaction, which reaction—a real thing enough—means the absorption of the Liberals into the party of obstruction: an obstruction which is modern and suitable to its date, and therefore does not put persons of cultivation and intellect, “superior persons,” to shame; which differs by the compulsion of surrounding conditions from the old compulsion, but not at all in spirit.

Well, these Radicals turned languid in action because of the circumstances in which they find themselves, are very decidedly waiting: they are still Radicals, and in theory can see no further than the old shibboleths; but they instinctively know that in practice all that is no longer of any use, and they are consequently expecting orders from Socialism. Their position is, that they wish to go on being Radicals, and to do Socialist work if they can only find out what is, without declaring for Socialism.

In short, the old democracy, whose watchword is the fullest liberty of “free contract,” is finding out that before its theory could be worked out to the utmost, Socialism has come upon it and thrown it out of date, although the obstructionists of the old type are still making a show of attacking it, as if it were yet alive. Radicalism proper can live no longer than the life of Toryism proper; when the obstructionists cease to attack “the freedom of contract,” or rather when they make it their own standing-ground, as they are now doing, the Radical loses his reason for existence—his function is at end.

The obstructionists or Tories represent personal and political slavery, which was once, but a very long time ago, a necessity for progress; the Radicals represent the economical slavery of a class, joined to political freedom, which was also once a necessity for progress, but not so long ago; the Socialists represent progress itself with no temporary veil distorting its features.

WILLIAM MORRIS.

## THE BLARSTED FURRINERS.

(Concluded from p. 131.)

It is an almost laughable proposition to suggest that a system which is based upon competition should be protected in some particular instance from competition, and is moreover a fine comment upon the consistency of the preachers of *laissez-faire*. As I write I have before me a work, ‘Problems of a Great City,’ written I should say, after long perusal, to save the skins of the “classes” by the before-mentioned Arnold White; and as a desperate defendant once saved his case by simply asking the judge to “look, only look” at the plaintiff’s witnesses, so I will ask the readers to study the book of the pseudo working-man’s friend. After deploring the fecundity of the “lower orders,” especially criminals, he hungers for the surgical operation which shall effectually sterilise those whom he elects to judge “unfit.” In eastern countries this matter could be discussed with greater ease, he says; English convention forbids the discussion of detail, which would otherwise be desirable; but a Parliamentary vote to meet the cost of shutting up for life confirmed criminals, cannot bring a blush to any cheek.

This scheme of life-long segregation is hideously cruel. Society is to hide away its victims in penal establishments where the bodily torture of the past is replaced by slow refined cruelty which presents us ever and anon with the corpse of a starved ill-treated prisoner. The criminal of the lower class is sinned against by Society. Born into evil surroundings and a system under which it is impossible for all to work honestly, he is punished by Society for the crime which Society has itself created.

A consensus of opinion could be quoted, even Arnold White against himself, to show that the lower class criminal is a product of the horrible conditions, for which the higher criminals, on whose behalf Arnold White holds a brief, are responsible.

In dealing with the question of the unemployed he says, “Fed and clothed into fitness and decency they quickly become as other men are.” The Socialist holds the same concerning the criminal. Spread the people over the land, clear your cities and towns of the slums and stews, erect the labourer from being a wage-slave into a member of a Co-operative Commonwealth, and your paltering rubbish about segregation and castration will read as nonsense. Crime is purely relative. At present the evictors of Glenbeigh and depleters of Skye claim the right to punish the foreign sweater and native pickpocket.

Perchance a Social Revolution may soon clear the atmosphere, and change the aspect of affairs. A different jury would then be installed before which the land robbers and doctrinaires of wholesale expatriation and sterilisation of the unfit would be arraigned, and what they would be “fit” for would constitute, I think, one of the most difficult ‘Problems of a Great City.’

Both the book and this criticism of it were written before the institution of the House of Lord’s Committee anent the sweating and foreign pauper business, and therefore this quotation from page 9 is instructive: “Religion has become a thing of words and buildings. Religion endowed so that the carriage of the cross is oft-times the

means to win high place and high comfort, has converted the Narrow Way into a path to the House of Lords as well as to the Place of a Skull. Were Christ the teacher to return to London (*sic*), how long would he remain aloof from an attack on the ‘Problems of a Great City?’ and may I as a Socialist be allowed to conjecture what he would say to Arnold White and his book, wherein cant about the “sweet lines of the Sermon on the Mount” is jostled with suggestions for the sterilisation, segregation, and expatriation of the unfortunate victims of land robbers and capitalists. On page 204, he says a great impulse would be given to the sterilization of the unfit if the idle man were allowed to die unpitied in the street, which seeing that thousands cannot get employment is an eminently humane utterance; and he further quotes the Old Book, “If a man will not work neither shall he eat.” Our author would let poor idle men starve to death, but if the oft-mentioned Christ were to return and visit the House of Lords, he would go on a totally different errand for which Arnold White betakes himself before its “select” committee. Armed with the cords he used to drive the thieves from the Temple, he would apply the scriptural injunction to the idle rich thieves there assembled. He might with justice accuse the land-robbers, evictors, and rent-mongers with driving a disinherited people to herd in the cities and towns, and being native spoliators beside whom the sweater is an angel in comparison.

Let it be remembered that the petty depredators, by accentuating social misery, lay the seeds of social revolt and jeopardise the greater swindlers. They are like the clumsy burglar whose noisy movements endangers the gang; and hence the land-thieves will adjudicate upon the case of the labour-thief, and if necessary cast him over as a Jonah.

The cry against the foreigner serves to hide the doings of men who are depleting the fields of these islands of population, and seeking to expatriate them to South Africa. They desire to colonise the lands of the despoiled savage with the despoiled whites. A consistent line of conduct, truly, for those who cry out against foreign immigration here! Read in this light, their eulogies of those Christian extirpators of blackmen, Warren, Gordon, and Stanley, as their patron saints, are intelligible enough.

In this criticism I have shown that the enemy of the foreign immigrant is not consequently the friend of the native poor. If by penuriousness or fraud the once pauper immigrant becomes affluent, he would secure the fulsome flattery of those who abuse him now. His foreign blood would not bar him from even the mayoralty of London. If a Rothschild, a Bleichröder, a Goschen, or a Disraeli, he can govern the lives and destinies of myriads of human beings by the power of purse, which knows no country.

The foreign sweater, oft-times sweated himself, simply takes advantage of commercial conditions as he finds them. With a commercial system which is nothing if not international, and her soldiers forcing her goods at the point of the bayonet into fresh markets, England’s outcry against foreign competition is absurd. If she had sought the happiness of her people instead of the worlds’ market, and colonised her own fields instead of strange lands, she would not now be afflicted with the same inconvenience which beset Rome before its downfall.

F. KITZ.

## REVOLUTIONARY CALENDAR.

WEEK ENDING MAY 12, 1888.

6	Sun.	1862. H. D. Thoreau died. 1867. Reform Demonstration in Hyde Park. 1882. Phoenix Park murder.
7	Mon.	1716. Septennial Bill passed.
8	Tues.	1873. J. S. Mill died.
9	Wed.	1800. John Brown (of Harper’s Ferry) born.
10	Thur.	1857. Indian Mutiny broke out. 1881. Bradlaugh ejected from House of Commons.
11	Fri.	1796. R. T. Crossfield tried for treason. 1860. Landing of the Thousand at Marsala. 1866. Commercial Crisis and Stoppage of Banks. 1878. Hodel’s attempt upon the Emperor William.
12	Sat.	1539. Suppression of Monasteries in England. 1641. Strafford beheaded.

*Death of Thoreau.*—Henry David Thoreau, or Thoreau of Walden, author of ‘Walden, a week on the Concord and Merrimack Rivers.’ This man, lecturer, poet, philosopher, naturalist, land surveyor, pencil-maker, whitewasher; and, more than all, Bohemian and gipsy vagabond, in my humble opinion is a man eminently worthy of study by Socialists. In the study it seems exceedingly possible to meet with that magic flux which shall render possible a junction of those great dissimilars, the perfection of Socialism and perfect Individualism. Henry David Thoreau was a descendant of John Thoreau, a native of St. Heliers, Jersey, who about 1773, left the Channel Island and sailed for New England. It was in the village of Concord, Mass., about twenty miles north-west from what the natives call the “Hub of the Universe,” Boston, in a district allowed by all who have described it to be one of the best representatives of old-time beauty possessed by that painfully brand-new country, on July 12, 1817, that Henry saw light. His father, who had once possessed a small estate, was earning a living at pencil-making, a lucrative business in those days. The home of the Thoreau’s was well known to Abolitionists and fugitive slaves, a sure sign that both mother and father were of no common stamp, for to be the friend of the slave was to be a sure mark for insult and often outrage. Attended school and looked after the cows, studied Greek rather closely, and at age of sixteen went to Harvard College and graduated. The woods and the fields were his favourite studies; about the age of twenty he collected for Agassiz the naturalist. He gave his first lecture when only twenty; though for twenty years Thoreau devoted himself to authorship, his income was too scanty to provide for the wants even of one of such austere parsimoniousness and simplicity of living as Thoreau, who adopted poverty like a piece of business. “For more than five years I maintained myself solely by the labour of my hands, and I found that by working about six weeks in a year I could meet all the expenses of living. The

whole of my winters, as well as most of my summers, I had free and clear for study." In 'Walden' he gives details as to how he managed this task. Never man lived with greater hatred of competition, trade, money-grubbing. "The spending of the best part of one's life earning money in order to enjoy a questionable liberty during the least valuable part of it, reminds me of the Englishman who went to India to make a fortune first, in order that he might return to England to live the life of a poet. He should have gone up garret at once. I have tried trade; but I found that it would take ten years to get under way in that, and that then I should probably be on my way to the devil. I was actually afraid that I might by that time be doing what is called a good business. . . . Though you trade in messages from heaven, the whole curse of trade attaches to the business." "If a man has faith he will co-operate with equal faith anywhere; if he has not faith he will continue to live like the rest of the world, whatever company he is joined to. To co-operate, in the highest as well as the lowest sense, means to get our living together." But the basis is that every one must operate. Then, to balance this real Communism, we have: "I would rather sit on a pumpkin and have it all to myself, than be crowded on a velvet cushion. I would rather ride on earth on an ox-cart with a free circulation, than go to heaven in the fancy car of an excursion train and breathe a *malaria* all the way." Space does not permit a full examination of all the reasons for recommending Thoreau to Socialists. The life of a living thinking man, not the life of a machine, was his aim. As Holmes writes—

"Run if you like, but try to keep your breath;  
Work like a man, but don't be worked to death."

So Thoreau acted. I may be wrong, my acquaintance is too slight perhaps even to warrant the opinion, but it seems to me that in ———— there is a very close parallel to Henry David Thoreau. On second thoughts I put a dash instead of the name, and should be glad if any can fill in the name I mean and let me know. Thoreau, as may be expected, never married, and in his chapter "Higher Laws," he somewhat deals with this detail. After a strange yet full life, he died May 6, 1862, aged forty-five, and was buried in Concord, his grave being close to Hawthorne's. Once more, in conclusion, I say to my readers read "Walden" if none other. It can be got for one shilling in the Camelot Series, and will be money not badly spent.—T. S.

*Death of John Stuart Mill.*—Born May 20, 1806; died May 8, 1873. Son of James Mill, the historian, politician and economist, he was educated entirely on a system of his father's device, which is likely to remain unparalleled for stupid untrammelled inversion of nature and custom. He was from his earliest years his father's companion, and was never allowed to be a child, being "almost from the dawn of consciousness instructed to regard himself as consecrated to a life of labour for the public good." Such a training could only result in permanent inability to do aught but "take himself seriously" in season and out of season, and it says something for his original powers of mind that he did not become a more offensive prig than he occasionally showed himself. Its effect upon his reasoning powers was irreparable, and many difficulties and contradictions in the work of his after life are explicable clearly in this way. He had started with strong, if not very strong, mental powers, and his father had made him as far as might be the "intellectual machine set to grind certain tunes" his young companions of the Speculative Debating Society thought him. Both his 'Logic' and his 'Political Economy,' the books he is remembered by, are marred in a hundred ways through this fact. His 'Logic,' though it has led to large developments, seems a comparatively poor thing to the reader of to-day, who is able by the light of later criticism to see fatal flaws in many of his premises and arguments. His 'Political Economy' is defective after the same fashion. Filled up to the brim by his father with Ricardian doctrines, he modified them with those of Malthus, and afterwards was strongly impressed and inspired by Comte. Socialist teachings had also some effect on him, and his book gives the impression of having been written during an elaborate attempt at "sitting on the fence," or finding a *via media*, or method of reconciliation between these different ideals; it is the outcome of them all. He died an avowed Socialist. It would be unfair to judge Mill wholly by what he achieved; the great function he fulfilled was that of stimulating other thought, and in that way he has rendered great service.—S.

*Trial of R. T. Crossfield.*—Robert Thomas Crossfield, M.D., Paul Thomas Lemaitre, watch-case maker, John Smith, bookseller, and George Higgins, druggist, "with divers other false traitors whose names are to the said jurors unknown," were said to have maliciously and traitorously conspired, combined, consulted, consented, and agreed "to procure, make, and provide, or cause to be procured, made and provided, a certain instrument for the purpose of discharging an arrow, and also a certain arrow, to be charged and loaded with poison, from and out of and by means of the said instrument at and against the person of our Lord the King, and thereby and therewith to kill and put to death, our said Lord the King." This, known as the "Pop-gun Plot," was like many others of the same period, a got-up affair intended at once to discredit the Reformers, and afford an excuse for hanging some of their more prominent men. The present prisoners were brought up at the Old Bailey, on Wednesday, May 11, 1796, but were tried separately, Crossfield being taken first. The usual array of informers, spies, and so on were brought forward, and the trial, which lasted two days, reads in parts very like that which Dickens painted so well in his 'Tale of Two Cities.' But the judge for a wonder summed up impartially, and the jury returned a verdict of "Not Guilty." On Thursday, May 19, the other three prisoners were set to the bar, but the Attorney-General withdrew his case and the jury formally acquitted them.—S.

*Thomas Wentworth, Earl of Strafford.*—Born, Chancery Lane, April 13, 1593; beheaded, Tower Hill, May 12, 1641. Educated at St. John's, Cambridge; then travelled abroad and was knighted on his return. In 1614 succeeded to the baronetcy, and next year was made Keeper of the Archives for the West Riding in the room of Sir John Savile; in the latter Buckingham interested himself, and thence arose an enmity between him and Strafford. The latter was returned to Parliament for the county of York, and determinedly opposed the Court party and was a principal supporter of the petition of right. His famous maxim "Thorough," which had dominated his college career, and which had made him the most learned, eloquent, and soldierly man of his own age, ruled him here also, and he was soon hailed by the advanced party as their most promising hope. This, however, did not last long; Wentworth was an aristocrat, and had little sympathy with the bourgeois aspirations that were soon to bring on the Civil War. It was not monarchy and the rule of privilege that he objected to, but the particular tools with which it worked at the time and the methods it employed. A man of intense individuality and strong ambition, the rebound from the closed ranks of courtiers into which he could not find entrance, was enough to send him into the popular party for a time, but it was impossible that he should remain there. To confess the truth it would have been wonderful if even a much honester man of his temperament could have done so. The fire of events had not yet tried out the dross of mere discontent from the party of the advance, and its ranks were filled with mean carping and petty jealousies. A few spotless men like Pym tower above their companions, but even these for the most part were ruthless fanatics and stern puritans. Room was made for him in the royal ranks, and Wentworth became Baron Wentworth and an upholder of the King. On the death of Buckingham he was made viscount, sworn of the Council, and appointed Lord President of the North. Here he began to put in practise his "thorough" method, and with such success that he was sent to Ireland in 1633 to "quell sedition, and discontent and restore order." Here he found space for putting forth the full power of his great mind, and at one stroke showed English and Irish alike, settlers and soldiers as well as natives, that now they had a

master. He reorganised the customs, scoured the sea of pirates, redressed grievances, hung offenders high and low, introduced the linen manufacture, encouraged agriculture, and acted up to his ideal of the benevolent unbending despot. But his insensate ruler was bent on self-destruction, and having tortured dull England into a fevered state, must needs meddle with the Scot's religion. The Oath of the Covenant was revived, and hell let loose in the service of heaven. Wentworth was against the war, and strongly advised the king to give way; but when it broke out he saw that the only policy was "thorough," stamped out a revolt among the Scotch undertakers of Ulster, and came over to London to aid and advise, being made Earl of Strafford and Baron Raby for his services. The Scots were victorious, a treaty hastily signed, and the Long Parliament called together—and Strafford's time had come. Whatever opinions may be held as to the brutality and overbearing tyranny of his government in the North and Ireland, and the ill effect of his counsel and strong help for Charles on the struggle for freedom, it is hard to resist a feeling of sympathy with him as a prisoner, manly and erect before his judges. When Charles betrayed Strafford he struck away the one support that might have sustained his throne, and none who saw the servant's head upon the block could have been surprised when it was followed by the master's.—S.

## THE BRITISH WORKMAN'S HOME.

(What he has to put up with and can't help.)

In a fourth-floor front I at present reside—

Just within a few feet of the tiles;

In an odoriferous house where they sell fish fried,

To the gentry who live in the Dials.

In the fourth-floor back there's a party who drinks—

And a lady who deals in pig's feet;

Who puts on the landing her stock when it stinks,

That her room may be tidy and sweet.

In the third-floor front there is "washing took in,"

On the landing 'tis hung out to dry:

And there's always a flavour of soap-suds and gin,

When my luck forces me to pass by.

The third-floor back keeps a sewing-machine,

And a proper machine it must be—

For it hasn't stopp'd once since here I have been,

And it won't till its murdered poor me.

In the second-floor front there's a numerous few,

And at present a fever as well:

And out of the room comes a whiff of burnt stew,

And out of the pail comes a smell!

In the second-floor back a "mystery" hides,

For it never is seen out of doors:

And the number who ask where "Sphinxus" resides,

I could reckon, I'm certain, by scores.

In the first-floor front there's a school for the young,

And the play-ground's the passage and stairs;

Each lesson they learn is of course loudly sung,

And every man jack of 'em swears.

In the first-floor back two ladies hang out,

Perfect swells, sir, with feathers and hats:

Whose friends (they've a host) seem to me without doubt,

Quite a mixture of sharps and of flats.

One kitchen is rented by "mangling" and "lush,"

And one by a dealer in dogs;

And all the lot in the whole d—— (bush!)

Are a beautiful parcel of hogs.

Mine's the only room that is fit to be seen,

In our palace so near to the sky;

But my whole ten children can't keep the place clean,

'Tis no matter how much they may try.

The staircase downstairs is a kind of Cremorne—

For the chaps come there courting their gals:

And the neighbouring gents, all tattered and torn,

Hob-a-nob there and visit their pals.

Our cistern's fixed over the W.C.,

But, alas! it runs out about four;

Whilst the W.C. (you will please pardon me),

Has for some time been lacking a door.

The lodgers are "fly," nor play "skittles" in vain,

And they all of 'em know how to box;

They study the "drama" in Petticoat Lane,

And learn faces by hearing "Old Knox."<sup>1</sup>

What with fevers and smoke, stinks, lodgers, and lice,

What with noises, with drink, and with smell,

Our home of delight is a hot-bed of vice,

And our Englishman's castle a hell!

In this pastoral spot, full of pastoral shade,

Twenty years of my life have been spent;

And every week of that time I have paid

One-fifth of my wages as rent.

But I missed last week, so the brokers are in

And on Monday we march out galore;

And into the workhouse we're going to spin,

And we'll never come out any more.

Oh, if some of our coves who've saved a few quids

Could but gammon my mates to agree,

We could build decent homes for our wives and our kids,

And be happy as birds on a tree!

—Appeared in 'West Central News,' 1881, said to have been written by a workman named Snelling.—F. K.

<sup>1</sup> Newton's predecessor.



HAVE YOU NOT HEARD HOW IT HAS GONE WITH MANY A CAUSE BEFORE NOW? FIRST, FEW MEN HEARD 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. A.—The articles you ask for are probably those on "The Military Side of the Commune," by Gen. Cluseret, in *Fortnightly Review* for 1873 pp. 1, 213, 351. J. S. (Birmingham).—Article received; will appear next week.

#### Periodicals received during the week ending Wednesday May 2.

ENGLAND	Detroit—Der Arme Teufel	SWITZERLAND
Church Reformer	Fort Worth (Tex.)—South West	Zurich—Sozial Demokrat
Leaflet Newspaper	Milwaukee (Wis.)—Volksblatt	ITALY
London—Freie Presse	Arbeiter Zeitung	Marsala—Lo Nuova Eta
Labour Tribune	N Haven—Workmen's Advocate	SPAIN
Norwich—Daylight	St. Louis (Mo.)—Die Parole	Madrid—El Socialista
Railway Review	Coast Seamen's Journal	PORTUGAL
Worker's Friend	FRANCE	Lisbon—O Protesto Operario
CANADA	Paris—Cri du Peuple (daily)	GERMANY
Toronto—Labor Reformer	La Revolte	Berlin—Volks Tribune
UNITED STATES	Journal du Peuple	AUSTRIA
New York—Freiheit	Havre—L'Idée Ouvriere	Arbeiterstimme
Truthseeker	HOLLAND	Brunn—Volksfreund
Jewish Volkzeitung	Hague—Recht voor Allen	HUNGARY
Boston—Woman's Journal	En Avant	Arbeiter-Wochen-Chronik
Liberty	Ghent—Vooruit	ROMANIA
Chicago (Ill.)—Vorbote	Antwerp—De Werker	Bucharest—Gutenberg
Chicago—Labor Enquirer	Liege—L'Avenir	SWEDEN
Buffalo—Arbeiter-Zeitung		Stockholm, Social-Demokraten
Denver (Col.) Labor Enquirer		Malmo—Arbetet

## SOCIALISM FROM THE ROOT UP.

### CHAPTER XXIII.—SOCIALISM TRIUMPHANT.

It is possible to succeed in a manner in picturing to ourselves the life of past times: that is, our imaginations will show us a picture of them which may include such accurate information as we may have of them. But though the picture may be vivid and the information just, yet it will not be a picture of what really took place; it will be made up of the present which we experience, and the past which our imagination, drawing from our experience, conceives of,—in short, it will be *our* picture of the past.<sup>1</sup> If this be the case with the past, of which we have some concrete data, still more strongly may it be said of the future, of which we have none—nothing but mere abstract deductions from historic evolution, the logical sequence of which may be interfered with at any point by elements whose force we have not duly appreciated; and these are abstractions also which are but the skeleton of the full life which will go on in those times to come.

Therefore, though we have no doubt of the transformation of modern civilisation into Socialism, yet we cannot foretell definitely what form the social life of the future will take, any more than a man living at the beginning of the commercial period—say Sir Thomas More or Lord Bacon—could foresee the development of that period in the capitalism of to-day.

Nevertheless, though we cannot realise positively the life of the future, when the principle of real society will be universally admitted, and applied in practice as an everyday matter, yet the negative side of the question we can all see, and most of us cannot help trying to fill up the void made by the necessary termination of the merely militant period of Socialism. The present society will be gone, with all its paraphernalia of checks and safeguards: that we know for certain. No less surely we know what the foundation of the new society will be. What will the new society build on that foundation of freedom and co-operation?—that is the problem on which we can do no more than speculate.

No doubt some transition, the nature of which will be determined by circumstances, will take place between the present state of things,

<sup>1</sup> The mediæval painters naively accept this position—*e.g.*, in representing the life of a saint of the second century, they dress the characters in a costume but little altered from that of their own period; and it is worth noting that they gave up the attempt at archeology altogether with the more familiar characters—a carpenter or blacksmith will be just the craftsman that they had before their eyes every day; whereas the emperors, giants, and so forth, they do try to clothe in imaginative raiment. A further illustration may be given in the art of music: works such as Weber's *der Freischütz* or Wagner's *Meister-singers*, which seem to embody the spirit of past ages, nevertheless are in themselves thoroughly modern.

in which the political unit is a nation, and the future, in which a system of federalised communities will take the place of rival nationalities; but as this chapter has to do with the ultimate realisation of the new society rather than with the transitional period, we need not speculate on this point.

We ask our readers to imagine the new society in its political aspect as an organised body of communities, each carrying on its own affairs, but united by a delegated federal body, whose function would be the guardianship of the acknowledged principles of society; it being understood that these two bodies, the township or community and the Federal Power, would be the two extremities between which there would be other expressions of the Federal principle,—as in districts that were linked together by natural circumstances, such as language, climate, or the divisions of physical geography.

It is clear that in such a society what laws were needed for the protection of persons and the regulation of inter-communal disputes, since they could be but the expression of the very root principles of society, would have to be universal, and the central regulating body would be charged with their guardianship, and at a last resort to carrying them out by force. Obviously no community could be allowed to revert to the exploitation of labour of any kind under whatever pretext, or to such forms of reaction as vindictive criminal laws. Such measures if allowed, even as local and spasmodic incidents, would undermine the very foundations of communistic society. This unity in Federation in short, appears to be the only method for reducing complexity in political and administrative matters to a minimum; and of ensuring to the individual, as a unit of society, the utmost possible freedom for the satisfaction and development of his capacities.

As to the methods of labour necessary to the existence and welfare of society, it would have to be co-operative in the widest sense. It would of course be subordinate to the *real* welfare of society; *i.e.*, the production of wares would not be looked upon as the end of society (as the production of *profit-bearing* wares now is), but it would be regarded as the means for the ease and happiness of life, which therefore would never be sacrificed to any false ideas of necessity, or to any merely conventional views of comfort or luxury. For instance, in any society it is desirable that cotton cloth should be produced at the least expenditure of labour, but in a communistic society it would be impossible to condemn a part of the population to live under miserable conditions, conditions in any degree worse than that of others, as in a black country, in order to reduce the expenditure of labour for the community, which would have to pay the price for giving the weavers and spinners, etc., as good a life as anyone else, whatever that price might be.

Again, as to the conventional standard of comfort: we may here quote a good definition of a luxury, as given by a friend, as a piece of goods that the consumer would not have if he had in his own person to pay the full value of the work—*i.e.*, if he had to make it himself, or to sacrifice an amount of his own labour equivalent to the making of it. As, *e.g.*, a lady of the present day would hardly consent to make a Mechlin lace veil for herself, or to pay for the due and proper livelihood of those who do make it; in order that she may have it, numbers of women and girls at Ypres and the neighbourhood must work at starvation wages.

To make the matter of production under Communism clearer let us consider the various kinds of work which the welfare of Communal Society would demand.

First, there would be a certain amount of necessary work to be done which would be usually repellant to ordinary persons; some of this, probably the greater part of it, would be performed by machinery; and it must be remembered that machinery would be improved and perfected without hesitation when the restrictions laid on production by the exigencies of profit-making were removed. But probably a portion of this work at once necessary and repellant could not be done by machinery. For this portion volunteers would have to be relied upon; nor would there be any difficulty in obtaining them, considering that the habit of looking upon necessary labour from the point of view of social duty would be universal, and that now, as then, idiosyncracies would exist which would remove objections to work usually disliked.

Again, the greater part of this work, though not agreeable, would not be exacting on mental capacity, and would entail the minimum of responsibility on those engaged in it. We mention this as compensatory of the disagreeable nature of the work in itself.

As examples of this necessary and usually repellant work, we may give scavenging, sewer-cleaning, coal-hewing, midwifery, and mechanical clerk's work.

It must be remembered again that under our present system a great deal of this kind of work is artificially fostered for the sake of making business for interest-bearing capital, and that the competition for employment amongst the proletariat makes it possible to be so done; whereas in a Communal Society such work would be dispensed with as much as possible. Disagreeable work which a Communal Society found itself saddled with as a survival of past times, and which it found out not to be necessary, it would get rid of altogether.

Secondly, work in itself more or less disagreeable, and not absolutely necessary, but desirable if the sacrifice to be paid for it were not too great. This might be done if it could be made easy by machinery, but not otherwise; it would not be worth while to call for volunteers for the purpose of doing it, since the citizens would then have to make the sacrifice in their own persons. Before we leave the subject of work not generally pleasant, but which is either necessary or desirable, we may again call attention to the existence of idiosyncracies which

would make many people willing to undertake it, and still more to the variety of tastes which are so common that they could not be classed as idiosyncracies, and which would help us out of many difficulties in this respect. There are, for instance, rough occupations involving a certain amount of hardship, which would be acceptable to many persons of overflowing health and strength, on account of the adventure and change which goes with them, and the opportunities which they afford for showing courage and adroitness and readiness; in a word, for the pleasurable exercise of special energies, such as sea-fishing, exploration of new countries, etc. Again, many people have so much love for country life and dealing with animals, that even hard work of this kind would not seem irksome to them. In short, we might go into great lengths on this subject, and every step we took on the road would show that the stimulus to exertion in production is much more various and much more complex than is usually thought in a period like our own, when everything is supposed to be measured by mere cash-payment.

Thirdly, we come to a kind of work which we may well hope will take a much higher position in communal life than it does at present; we mean work that has in it more or less of art; and we should here say that the very foundation of everything that can be called art is the pleasure of creation, which is, or should be felt in every handicraft. That even as things are it is very commonly felt, is proved by the craving that persons have for some occupation for their hands when they are debarred from their usual occupation, as very notably persons in prison. As to the matter of art as an occupation, we may divide it into *incidental* and *substantive* art. Incidental art is that which is subservient to some utilitarian function; as the designed form or added ornament in a knife or a cup, which is subservient to the cutting or drinking use of those things. What is commonly called decorative art comes under this heading. Substantive art is that which produces matters of beauty and incident for their own sakes, such as pictures or music, which have no utilitarian purpose. As to incidental art Commercial Society has nearly destroyed it by divorcing its exercise and the reward for it from the products which it should beautify; it has divided the producers of an ornamented article of use into the maker of the utilitarian article, the maker of the ornament for it, and the designer of the ornament, the two former being mere machines, and the latter being the producer of a marketable ware to be forced on the public in the same way that other wares are forced on them by commerce. In a Communal Society this division of labour will be recognised as impossible in a piece of goods of which the art of design formed an integral part, and that art itself will only be exercised in answer to an undoubted and imperative demand of the public; there will be no occasion to force a demand for it.

As to the substantive art that must always be on the surface the product of individual labour and skill, although at bottom it is a social product as much as or even more than any other production; since the capacity of the most original artist or author is really the result of tradition, and his work is the expression of a long social development of tendencies concentrated in the special individual.

A question may occur to some as to the probable future of the races at present outside civilisation. To us it seems that the best fate that can befall them is that they should develop themselves from their present condition, uninterfered with by the incongruities of civilisation. Those of them will be the happiest who can hold civilisation aloof until civilisation itself melts into Socialism, when their own natural development will gradually lead them into absorption in the great ocean of universal social life.

E. BELFORT BAX AND WILLIAM MORRIS.

## CORRESPONDENCE.

### FREE SPEECH IN DANGER.

SOME time since I informed our readers that the Bethnal Green Conservative Association were endeavouring, by underhand means, to suppress all meetings in Victoria Park. Since then they have presented a humble petition, supposed to contain 2,000 signatures, praying that the meetings should be stopped because of the "blasphemous and seditious language used," the real reason being that for the last three or four years the Socialist League has made great progress there. I recommended at the time that the Rads and Reds should combine to oppose this move, but thus far the only persons who have interested themselves in the matter are the Socialists, who usually protest against it at their meetings, and the National Sunday League, who are getting up a counter petition. As to the Radicals of the neighbourhood, they are so busy with G. Howell, M.P., holding meetings against Early Closing, that they have no time, I suppose, to interest themselves about such a paltry thing as the right of public meeting (except when it is made a party political question as in Ireland). As the meetings in the Park have hitherto been very orderly, the Tories have hired some roughs to try and upset us. Last Sunday they appeared on the scene shouting that they were brave and bold Englishmen, and that we were a lot of d— foreigners. We managed to get one on the platform, when he said that he hated all foreigners, had fought seven years for his Queen and country, that he would sooner starve than work for a foreigner, that he had had the chance of seducing the daughter of a German in Green Street, but he hated all Germans so much that he refused it. He was answered by the lecturer, and an English comrade pointed out to him that if the foreigners worked for their living they were quite as good as an Englishman. The Tory reply was a blow on the jaw, with the exclamation, "I'm an Englishman, I am!" Our comrades should be on their guard, as the evident intention is to make a scene at our meetings as an excuse for suppressing us as disorderly persons. I hear that all the gardeners at Victoria Park have received orders to keep themselves in readiness to act as park constables; they are all to have a cap but not a full uniform. This move evidently means something.

T. R. COOPER, Homerton.

## 'THE PRINCIPLES OF SOCIALISM MADE PLAIN.'

(By Frank Fairman; with Preface by William Morris. W. Reeves, 185 Fleet Street, E.C. 1s.; cloth, 2s. 6d.)

THE author of this plain and ably written little book has, in accordance with its title, supplied to a considerable extent that which has long been wanting—namely, a plain statement of the principles of Socialism. His definition of Socialism "as a criticism of the present system of society" will be demurred to by those who think that to be of any value it should consist of a thoroughly mapped out in full detail system of society.

To us the most attractive part of the book is its treatment of the moral basis of Socialism; and this put shortly is "that every human being has equal rights of life, the pursuit of happiness, and the use of his faculties, so long as he does not exercise them to the detriment of others." The impossibility of this in a society (as, for example, the present) which maintains the right of a section of it to possess itself of the whole of the means of subsistence, thereby condemning those—the masses, the dispossessed—to a life of slavish toil, is reasoned out in the most forcible manner. Dealing with the plea that is so often urged that priority of possession confers the right upon the possessor to hold and use for all time *his* possession as he pleases, it is contended that there is nothing consistent with the principles of justice to warrant such an assumption. The author deals with this assumption as follows:

"Supposing a ship to be wrecked in mid-ocean, and the crew and passengers to escape in boats to some uninhabited island. Has the first boatload the right to claim possession of the island, and to make those who come in the second and subsequent boats work for them upon it at mere subsistence wages? No one would dream of giving assent to such a proposal. Then, if another ship be wrecked off the island the following week, are the survivors of that ship to be in any worse position, and if so, why? It would, perhaps, be dangerous to carry the illustration much farther, because we should be getting nearer and nearer to the actual facts, in which the bias of self-interest and long established custom would come in to distort the judgment, and the answer would probably be, 'The crew of a wreck the second or third year could not have any rights to the land of the island at all; or else it would follow that those wrecked on the shores of one country would equally have a right to share in the land of England, and that cannot be just.' In reply to such an argument, I can only say that he who seeks to know or do what is right does not concern himself with the unpleasantness of the consequences; or, to be most exact, to the truly just man the only consequences which are pleasant are those which are founded upon justice, and that if priority alone gives the right of possession, the first boatload must be the only rightful owners of the island. A few minutes, or hours, or days, or months can, in equity, make no difference. In fact, the only solution of this problem which leaves no room for quibble or dispute is, that the globe belongs rightfully at any given moment to the whole of the inhabitants living upon it at that moment—neither to those who have had their turn and have gone hence, to be seen no more, nor to those who are yet to be born. That in short, as Mr. Herbert Spencer puts it, 'All men have equal rights to the use of the earth.'"

The question of the remuneration of special ability, geniuses, etc., so often raised, is happily handled:

"If it be said that without the stimulus of more than ordinary reward men would not undertake responsible positions in the management of large establishments, would not invent machines, or paint pictures, or write good literature, the answer is twofold. First, the wildest Communist or Anarchist has never yet suggested that fame and reputation shall be thrown into a common stock and divided amongst everybody in equal shares, and therefore nothing can prevent men who perform responsible duties, or confer benefits in other ways upon the public, from obtaining a special reward in the esteem and honour in which they are held. As a plain matter of fact, a great deal of very onerous work is performed gratuitously, and the greatest successes have been achieved both in the sphere of invention and in that of artistic work (literary or pictorial), either from the desire for fame, or from the inherent necessity which genius is under of creating something, whether it produce a reward or not. But secondly, if without extra money payment work of a superior character cannot be obtained, the necessary price will have to be paid, and in such cases it can be paid without infringing on any sound social principle."

In the chapter on "The Economic Basis," it is demonstrated that the larger part of the wealth enjoyed by the rich is produced by the workers "day by day and year by year." "It is not the fact, as many people seem to imagine, that the rich have acquired their wealth once and for all"; whereas they are simply drawing upon the labour of toilers day by day and year by year for their means of life. "A man with an income of £1000 a-year from the funds is said to possess £30,000, because he is credited with that amount in the books of the Bank of England; but this is only the banker's way of stating the fact that he is entitled to draw £500 every half year." Upon what? The labours of the toiling millions.

The illusion that so many labour under that the rich do not tax labour is well exposed.

Luxury and misery, rich and poor, are relative states, the luxury of the rich being dependent upon the misery of the poor.

The contention of the Socialist is that all material wealth is produced by human labour plus the aid of natural forces; and that it therefore follows that those who do not labour must of necessity live upon those who do.

Separate chapters are devoted to the consideration of "Current Economic Fallacies," "Objections," "Quack Remedies for Poverty." This last-named deals with Religion, Malthusianism, Nationalisation of the Land, Co-operation, etc.; and "The Methods and Future of Socialism" bringing to a conclusion the handiest, and, for its size, comprehensive book yet written on the subject. H. A. B.

# THE LABOUR STRUGGLE.

BRITAIN.

**UPHALL RETORTMEN'S DISPUTE.**—The retortmen employed at Uphall Oil Works (Young's Company) who had left off work for one shift, have resumed work on an advance of wages of five per cent, and the promise of other five per cent whenever that increase becomes general.

**FORFAR BAKERS.**—At a meeting of journeymen bakers held in Forfar on Saturday it was unanimously agreed to form a branch of the National Federal Union, "as the only remedy whereby their grievances can be removed." There was present a deputation from Dundee. Office-bearers were appointed.

**100 WORKERS TURNED ADrift.**—The new process of preparing the turkey-red cloth, which has been recently adopted by the turkey-red works in the Vale of Leven, is beginning to have the expected effect on the workers. In Dalquharn Works, at Renton, nearly 100—chiefly girls—have been paid off during the last few weeks.

**RIVETERS' STRIKE AT GREENOCK.**—The strike of riveters, so far as the yard of Messrs. Russell & Co., is at end, the men to the number of about 150 having resumed work on Thursday. The men came out on strike about a month ago for an advance of a shilling on the 100 rivets—namely, from 7s. 6d. to 8s. 6d. Messrs. Russell & Co., having offered the men an advance of ninepence per 100, the men as stated above accepted the offer, the price now to be paid for the 100 rivets being 8s. 3d. The riveters in the yard of Messrs. Caird & Co. are still on strike.

**A UNIFORM PRICE LIST WANTED.**—In accordance with a resolution passed at a mass meeting last week, the Blackburn loomers, drawers, and twisters have submitted to the employers a uniform list of wages, which they propose shall be paid for looming and drawing in future in Blackburn and neighbourhood. The masters are being given one week to consider the list, and the men will then meet again, and, in the event of a refusal to entertain it, will decide what action to take.

**NUT AND BOLT MAKERS ASSOCIATION.**—The ballot on the question of demanding an advance in wages has been answered in the affirmative by an overwhelming majority. At the quarterly meeting of the Association the following resolution was unanimously carried: "That this council expresses its entire approval of the action of the Darlaston members in deciding by ballot to demand wages in accordance with the list of 1881, less 5 per cent., and that we approve of a conference between employers and workmen being held; but in case the masters refuse the request of the men, we pledge ourselves to render them every assistance in our power." John Richards, president of the association, was appointed to attend the conference.

**ISSUING DEFEAT.**—"With the exception of several leaders of the strike who were refused employment, all the hands have returned to work at the mills of the Newchurch Weaving and Spinning Company, Roseendale, on the old lines." Thus runs the report, and at the first sight one is tempted to pity the workers and to blame the company; but further information somewhat modifies this impulse. The workmen of Roseendale are, it seems, the worst organised of any part of Lancashire; as a consequence they are hit hard and often, and until they conquer their selfish apathy and combine for common protection, they seem almost to invite if not to deserve the demerits they get.

**SHIRKERS.**—There are in every calling a number of cowardly conscienceless shirkers, who, when no immediate personal gain is to be reaped, leave their trade societies to be supported by their more honourable comrades. The cotton spinners are a case in point. The possibility of a general strike in the Oldham district as the outcome of the demand now made for an advance in wages has induced 564 people, a large proportion presumably of the class referred to, to join the Association during the past five weeks. None of these will be in a position to draw strike pay, but will of course claim the generosity of the Council in case of a stoppage taking place.

**OLDHAM SPINNERS.**—Great unanimity and determination exists amongst the operatives in regard to the demand for an advance. The Amalgamated Spinners' Association is exceptionally strong financially and numerically, and for the first time in its history is prepared to enter upon a contest without at the outset calling for extra pecuniary support. The Masters' Association appear unable to take up a definite position, and at present it seems quite unlikely that any general resolution to close the mills will be adopted. The operatives are to be congratulated upon the splendid organisation which attests their loyalty to the cause of unionism. They wisely resolved at the close of their last great struggle to pay their levies in time of peace, so as to be ready for war, and to-day they are rewarded for the sacrifices made in the past; they stand calmly and confidently in an almost impregnable position, which the employers will hesitate to attack.

**OH, UPRIGHT JUDGE!**—The scandalous injustice with which tramway companies treat their hard-worked employees was the subject of some severe strictures by Judge Powell on the 25th, at Woolwich County Court. Percy Fuller, a conductor, summoned the Woolwich and South-Eastern Tramway Company for 4s. lieu of wages. The Judge scanned the plaint note, and said, "I shouldn't have thought that a tramway company would come into court for 4s." "They dismissed me without notice," said the conductor, "and detained my license." The Judge: Why was this man dismissed? The Manager: Because he was low in his takings. The Judge: Do you mean to say it is a rule to punish your conductors because they cannot force passengers into the trams? I never heard of such a monstrous thing! The Manager: It is a rule practised by all the tramway companies of London. The Judge: Well, then, I say the rule is contrary to law, and I will give judgment for the plaintiff with costs. The idea of such a thing!

**EASTERN AND MIDLANDS RAILWAY.**—"Norfolk Rover" states that at Melton Constable, on the Eastern and Midlands Railway, the shunters have no cabin or other shelter in which to eat their meals or to take refuge from the storms, access to the signal cabin being also denied them. He also mentions the case of a Lynn goods guard who has been fined for an alleged late arrival on duty, without being called upon for an explanation. No overtime is paid on that line. Referring to the recent meeting of the company, he considers that it would have been but just to have advanced the wages of some of the workmen as well as the salary of the auditor. The revenue of the company is said to have increased ninety per cent during the past five years, and during the past year traffic receipts had increased twenty-two per cent, yet the wages of the men are: Porters, 8s. and 10s. per week; signalmen, 15s. to 18s., with one or two cases of £1; firemen, 3s. and 3s. 6d., and drivers, 4s. 6d. to 6s. per day.—*Railway Review*.

**WHITE SLAVES—MANTLE MAKERS.**—As to the pay of mantle makers and the conditions under which they work in most London workrooms and warehouses, a correspondent wrote lately to the *Star*:—"I shall begin by giving in detail the work done on one jacket by the machinist and finisher respectively, and the price paid for such work in two workrooms to my knowledge—the one a large, and the other a small one. Machinist—Sewing seven seams, binding the bottom, two facings, making and inserting sleeves, making and fixing collar—1½d. Finisher—Working four button-holes, sewing on six buttons, fastening corners, felling collar lining—1d. Thus 2½d. for making a lady's jacket throughout (of course excepting cutting, now in many cases done by machinery). The above is common work. Now for a medium-class example. Machinist—Eight seams, and binding same with Italian cloth; binding the bottom, putting in two facings, putting on two pocket tabs, making and inserting sleeves, making and inserting collar—3d. Finisher—Seven button-holes, 11 buttons, felling collar lining, tacking pleats at back, fixing pocket tabs, felling and neatening facings, finishing corners—2½d. Full work is only obtainable during about six months of the year at most. But what is most iniquitous in the system is that in most of the large work-rooms during the remainder of the year (excepting only a month or six weeks off-season at Christmas) all hands are imperatively required to be in attendance at the work-room during the full hours (nine till eight) daily, though they may not get 3s. worth of work in a whole week. 'Ah! then, with such hours, such pay, and such conditions all round, it is no great wonder some of you mantle-makers look so pallid, pinched, and ill sometimes,' I remarked to one. 'Ill? We're always ill, and that's the fact—but work we must, ill or well'—was the sorrowful reply."

**THE NORWICH RIVETERS.**—A meeting of the riveters who were out on strike from Messrs. Haldinstens' was held on Wednesday night, when Mr. J. L. Hawkins presided. Mr. Mason, secretary of the Norwich branch of the Union, explained the terms of settlement. A report was then read by the secretary, which showed that the collections, including the proceeds from entertainments given on behalf of the fund, amounted to £101 18s. 10½d.; the grant from various branches of the Union in England and Scotland was £53; and the cost to the Norwich branch was £36 13s. 11½d.; total, £191 12s. 10d. The amount expended was—To non-unionists, £181 8s. 7d.; printing, bill-posting, etc., £4 18s. 3d.; assistance to Hotblack's finishers, £5 6s.; total, £191 12s. 10d. The cost to the Union for financial members was £143 10s. 0d., making the total cost of the dispute £335 2s. 10d. The following resolution was carried unanimously:—"That the men lately locked out return their sincere thanks to all those who have so kindly contributed to their support during the struggle for their rights, and should it be the misfortune of any other body of workmen to be placed in a similar position, they may rely upon our sympathy and support." Mr. E. Bennett then spoke upon the advantages of combination, and pointed out that it was only by combined action that working-men could expect to hold their own. Votes of thanks were passed to the secretary and all those who had taken an active part in bringing this struggle to such a successful issue. The unsatisfactory portion of the foregoing report is the large sum absorbed by non-unionists. It is not creditable to these men that they should have depended upon outside charity, and the funds of the union created by the self-sacrifice of their fellow-workmen. The sympathy and support of men too selfish and apathetic to combine seems to me of little value. Deeds speak louder than words.

**THE BOYCOTT—A GOOD PRECEDENT.**—Anent the agitation for an advance in wages by the Oldham cotton spinners, I quote from the *Cotton Factory Times* a most instructive instance of boycotting of a hostile journal by the workers. It is very much to be regretted that such action is not more often taken. There are far too many papers supported by the masses in the interest of the classes, to the neglect even of the sadly too few journals which like the *Commonweal* champion the cause of labour. "We are informed that the Oldham operatives are in high glee at the course which is being taken by one of their local newspapers, the *Evening Express*. It will be remembered that at the time of the last strike this very same paper was the object of much comment, and was absolutely boycotted by the operatives, and destroyed by them whenever and wherever found. All this was brought about by the action of those who were responsible in allowing false reports to be printed in the paper relating to the strike, and which were damaging to the cause of the workpeople; and such reports were printed and circulated, and advertised in large letters on posters in shop windows and other places, and purposely done after having been informed that such reports were not correct, and therefore ought not to be published. The circulation of the said paper has greatly suffered up to this day through the action it took on that occasion, and the resolution then passed by the operatives to boycott the paper still remains on the books of the Spinners' Association, as an honest protest against the wrong inflicted upon them at a time when they were having to contend with powerful foes, and enduring much suffering and want. The newspaper referred to belongs to a large cotton spinner and manufacturer, and consequently might have been expected to again champion the cause of the employers as against that of the operatives; but this is not so, as the paper in question is upholding the cause of the operatives, and makes no secret of the fact that the state of the yarn trade fully warrants the operatives in the course they are taking."

**MIDLAND COUNTIES TRADES FEDERATION.**—A public meeting in connection with this federation took place last week in Walsall, and there was a good attendance of representatives of district trades. Mr. Tibbitts, who was voted to the chair, commended the federation as being calculated to be of more service than individual unions, inasmuch as the latter might sometimes be paralysed; but where many unions were combined there was not the same danger. Mr. R. Juggins then delivered an address on "The Skilled Trades of the Country and the Wages of the Workmen." He said the diversities of payment were such as to cause some irritation among working men. To take the building trades, for instance, particularly carpentering and joinery, in Walsall, Wednesbury, and West Bromwich, the hours were fifty-four, and the wages 31s. 6d.; in Birmingham, fifty-four hours, and wages 36s.; and in London, fifty-two and a half hours on the average, and wages 39s. 4½d. The trades, he argued, which had the best unions earned the best wages, because they could buy up surplus labour; but where the men were disorganised wages were at starvation rates. In evidence of this he cited the bit forgers and filers, who on an average earned only 18s. a week, as against an average of 30s. in the case of the engineers, whose union was one of the strongest in the kingdom; the padlock-makers, whose average was 20s. a week, and only 15s. in Willenhall—not the wages of a labourer; the nut and bolt-makers, whose average was from 20s. to 25s. a week; the chainmakers on the other side of the district, who earned not more than 12s. per week, and out of that had to pay 3s. 6d. for breezes, 2s. for blowers, and 2d. per cwt. for carrying to the warehouse, leaving only 5s. 6d. for a week of fifty-

six hours; and the gun-lock makers, who received only 3d. per lock, and could not earn, even in the case of the skilled workman, more than 7s. per week. An improvement could only be effected by combination, and he advised his hearers to unite thoroughly, and to join the federation.—Addresses were afterwards delivered by Messrs. J. Hythin, of the Bit Forgers and Filers, Bloxwich; W. Millichip, Lockmakers' Society, Walsall; and W. Bardell, Tubemakers' Society, Walsall; and a resolution was unanimously passed in support of the Federation.

T. BINNING.

## INTERNATIONAL NOTES.

## FRANCE.

Bou langer and "boulangerie" are still going on and spreading everywhere throughout France. Our readers know, of course, all the details of this campaign by the prattlings and babblings of the English dailies; but we may as well point out some of the more striking characteristics of that Cesarion, who might become very nefarious indeed to France, if France would allow him to go any further. One of the most curious aspects of the Bou langer question is certainly the intolerable hypocrisy with which the pretender addresses himself to all parties alike, begging for their support with big but hollow sentences and vague promises, smiling at everybody, contradicting himself in every speech, or rather in every letter he condescends to send into the world, for until now his speeches are rare and thinly-sown. He has now commenced to use that system of duplicity even in matters of international politics; for this gentleman is preparing for his own use a scheme of international politics, and the bourgeois papers of all countries affect such utter contempt for France that they are already guessing as to what that Boulangist scheme will be, exactly as if general Boun-boum, the favourite of Paulus the music-hall singer, were to be the all-powerful master of the coming day. So Bou langer declares to the editor of the *Wiener Tageblatt* (the Viennese Daily) that he likes Austria very much, and that he cannot suffer Italians, even in pictures, and that in 1859 the French felt more sympathy with the enemy against whom they were fighting than to the allies with whom and for whom they were at war. This, of course, is intended to flatter the absurd and stupid antipathy which has been created in France against the Italians in order to suit the wishes of Bismark and to ensure the success of Crispi's politics. Then, turning on his heel, he tells the editor of the *Tribuna* that his friendly feelings towards Italy and the Italians have never changed, and that it would be entirely impossible for him to dislike them, after having shed his blood for their independence. This hypocrisy is to be found in all his deeds, and hypocrisy is a capital virtue to a pretender. Therein, as in everything else, he is but a counterfeit of Louis Napoleon. So, for instance, he disavowed publicly the plebiscitum organised upon his name by the Bonapartist Thibaut and underhand he approved it very warmly, as the telegrams exchanged with Count Dillon, the financial Barnum of the whole "Boulangerie" have conclusively proved. Again, he is the pretender of the "revanche," the general of the "League of Patriots," the very life and soul of French military jingoism, the perpetual candidate for war. With Bou langer in front, war would only be a question of time; the Franco-Russian alliance would soon become a real fact; then dictatorship and czarism are well-nigh of the same essence, and such an alliance would certainly turn against liberty, and in favour of a reaction much more disastrous even than that spread all over Europe by Bismark. Bou langer gives us to understand that a Franco-Russian alliance and the "revanche" are the ultimate aims of the "Boulangerie." And yet, upon all his election placards appears the formula which was plagiarised from his imperial model: "Bou langer c'est la paix!" (Bou langer means peace).

Further, carrying on the likeness to the man of Sedan, on one side he is the candidate of all reactionaries, all so-called men of "law and order," he is the personification of "authority and dictation," he prepares himself to act as the saviour of France, until he shall become the saviour of "religion, family, and property," and, exactly as he did in 1871, slaughter the Parisians and drown in the blood of the people the very principles of the Revolution; and, on the other side, he has taken as an essential item of his electoral platform one of the revindications of the "Radical" party, the question of the constitutional revision; he is surrounded by some Radical deputies, as the puffist Laguerre and some Radical journalists, as the clown Rochefort; he flatters the working-men, puts himself forward as the protector of the strikers, and allows the deputy Laur to present him (Bou langer) to the miners at Anzin as a Socialist. Always and everywhere he is the double-faced hypocrite we have shown him to be; in reality he is nothing else but the ringleader of reaction and the worst enemy of France itself.

Now, how is it possible that a portion of the working-classes, and even of well-organised Socialists, should have become the followers of that would-be Cesar? The reason is very simple indeed; Bou langer claims the dissolution of Parliament, and the workers in France had enough of Parliamentarism altogether. They believe that Bou langer will be able to clear away with the present rotten Parliament, and they feel inclined to help him in that hygienic work, but they are certainly mistaken in their other belief that Parliamentarism altogether is to be swept away by the "boulangerie." To arrive at that desideratum France wants Revolution and not Boulangism, and therefore all those who are opposed to it, from the members of the *Parti ouvrier* down to the groups of the Anarchists, are right and ought to be encouraged in their opposition. But, in opposing Bou langer and the whole "boulangerie," the workers of Paris and of France would make a very great mistake indeed if they were to become the allies of all these Republican shopkeepers who fight against Bou langer, not for the sake of liberty and justice, but for the saving of their shopkeeper's interests. Ferry and Floquet are the enemies of the people as much as Bou langer himself. Socialists who make a compact with Floquet for fear of Bou langer, are traitors to their cause, to our cause. One single thing only can be opposed to Boulangism and to Floquetism alike—the Social Revolution! All the rest is humbug.

V. D.

## ITALY.

VARESE.—The newly-formed working-men's society held a meeting for its inauguration, at which Andrea Costa lectured on "The Past, Present, and Future of the Workers." The meeting was crowded with people both from the city and from the neighbouring towns and villages. Several other of the active members of the Labour Party spoke and were favourably listened to.

CITTADELLA: STAGNO LOMBARDO.—A letter to the *Fascio Operaio* in its issue of last week describes a recent attempt on a small scale to form a rural social community. The writer, while fully realising the unsatisfactory nature of such an attempt amid uncongenial surroundings, asserts that so far the experiment has proved a successful and pleasant one. The community is essentially agricultural, and consists of 17 families, who cultivate among them about 120 hectares of land. It has been started four or five months, and the work has been pursued quietly and pleasantly, and without hitch. "Far more energy and capacity has been developed here than on the surrounding farms," he says, "where the labourers work for wages and for the interest and profit of the proprietors, our work being far in advance of theirs. If affairs go so well with us now when the half of the produce goes to pay the rent and interest of the capital kindly advanced to us by our landlord S. Mori, how far better off shall we be after the social revolution, when we shall not have rent to pay, but only to contribute in just portion towards the general public expenditure. This socialistic experiment of Cittadella is valuable as an example demonstrating the possibility and convenience of agricultural Socialism, and not a little as propaganda." M. M.

## AUSTRIA-HUNGARY.

A few weeks ago, the illustrious poet and journalist Boleslas Czerwienski died at Lemberg. The deceased, whose dramas at one time were received in the Polish theatres with the greatest enthusiasm, and whose career as a democratic journalist was so celebrated that even the children of his country knew him and loved him, has scarcely been noticed by the Polish press. But the Polish press of to-day is so degraded, reactionary ideas have so permeated that land, the very name of which was once the vivid symbol of revolution and struggle against oppression and tyranny, that it may perhaps be reckoned as an honour to Czerwienski to have been so completely neglected. He is not the only one among the Polish Socialists who has been treated with contempt by his countrymen. The great historian, Boleslas Limanowski, who fought for the freedom of Poland, was sent into exile, and nobody cared for him, because he was a Socialist. Ludwik Warynski was sentenced to fifteen years hard labour; Stanislas Mendelsohn, Kasimir Dluski, and so many others, were thrown into jail or now suffer banishment and their names almost forgotten. About the year 1870, when the Socialist movement began in Galicia, the Polish "patriots" who confessed the new faith were treated as guilty of high treason and widely denounced by the public press. So also was Czerwienski, but he didn't mind, and in 1879, after three years of continuous Socialist trials and sentences, when thirty-five of the ablest Polish organisers had been sent to prison, he headed the movement and became the chief editor of the Socialist paper *Praca*. He was exceedingly popular among the workers, and a powerful orator. In spite of all police interdictions, Czerwienski's song "The Red Flag," a marvelously strong and efficacious poem, has become the rallying chant of the Polish Socialists. During the two last years of his much-troubled life he has been very active indeed, and has given to light many masterpieces, which will remain long in the memories of his admirers. His last work, a poem in prose entitled "Two Apparitions," has a profound Socialist sense, and would be well worth translating.

## ROUMANIA.

The agrarian insurrection in Roumania is now nearly at an end, and the awful fright of the politicians and landlords is nearly over—at least they say so, but we have good reason for doubt on that point. Of course the Government has allowed as little information as possible to get abroad about this insurrection, which hunger and misery have caused, and not the "Russian rouble," as the bourgeois papers try to make out; and the Roumanian journals have been invited to "hold their tongues" accordingly. The only one which wrote the whole truth about the peasants' movement has been suppressed and its editor sent to jail. Manescu of course is a Socialist, and therefore he alone was determined to tell the truth. The insurrection has been of a serious character in four departments, all of them in the neighbourhood of Bucarest. These four departments are those of which Bucarest (Iifoo), Ploesti, Giurgevo, and Calaroch are the capitals. One hundred and twenty villages in turn revolted; the army occupied seventy-eight of them. On the side of the peasants, 120 were killed, 237 were wounded, and 1200 were captured, but most of these have already been set free. On the side of the army, 82 have been killed, about 100 wounded, and 70 were made prisoners (one squadron which was disabled and disarmed by the peasantry). The largest part of the peasants were armed; they had forced their way into the magazines and taken away all the guns, etc., they could lay hands on. The insurrection would have lasted longer but for the fact that the "authorities" at once ordered that maize should be plentifully distributed to the hungry people. But the "authorities" only did so because they had become aware that the soldiers would no longer obey their officers and fire on the rebels. Even the soldiers of the 6th regiment of "doroboutzi" (territorial army) joined the peasants and fought with them at the huzzars. That regiment has been withdrawn, of course, and sent to Moldavia. The Government, seeing that they could no longer rely on the army, have decided to submit to the Roumanian Parliament a law of redistribution of the land, by which each family of peasants is to have 22 hectares of land, instead of 11 given them by a bill passed in 1856. These lands remain the property of the State, but the peasants have only to pay for them a small rent, somewhat less than one franc per hectare. The Government have also resolved to expel a considerable lot of Greek farmers who exploited the peasants in a most disgusting way. According to an enquiry made by the paper *Lupta* it has been stated that the produce of the land held by these Greek agents was divided so as to give 110 francs to the peasants and 790 francs for the landlords or their agents.

The Roumanian peasant is one of the most unfortunate among all the land-labourers of Europe. He lives generally in holes made out of clay and roofed with straw, without any chimney and often without windows. His clothing is a very poor and shabby one, made almost by his wife, who is clothed in a more primitive way than he is himself. His food consists of mamaliga—i.e., kukurutz flour boiled in water, so as to reduce it to a thickish sort of pap, without relish or flavour. Besides he eats onions and boinza (sheep's-milk cheese), if times are good, and now and then some olives or putrid fish; never any meat nor milk, or butter, or eggs. In short, the Roumanian peasant is altogether a miserable and wretched being, who suffers exceedingly under the ferocious exactions of the bojars, and who will certainly revolt again as soon as occasion serves. At any rate, we may hope that this has been the beginning of the end of the so-called "liberal" administration of Roumania.

V. D.



OFFICES: 13 FARRINGTON ROAD, E.C.

**Annual Conference.**—The Fourth Annual Conference of the Socialist League will be held at 13 Farringdon Road, on Whit-Sunday, May 20. The time of meeting will be as follows—Morning, 10 till 1; Afternoon, 2 till 5; Evening, 6 till business is concluded.

**Branch Subscriptions Paid.**—1887: Hastings, Nottingham, Pelsall—None. Croydon, Glasgow, Leeds, Merton—to end of March. Edinburgh, Ipswich (?), Norwich (?)—to end of May. Hull—to end of September. Mitcham, Wednesbury—to end of Oct. 1888:—Marylebone—to end of January. Acton, Bloomsbury, Bradford, Clerkenwell, Hammersmith, Hackney, Leicester, L.E.L. (Hoxton), North London, Oxford, Stamford Hill, Walsall—to end of March. Mile-end, Fulham—to end of April.

**London Members.**—The monthly meeting of the London Members will be held on Monday next, May 7th, at 9 p.m.

**'Commonweal' Printing Fund.**

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

**REPORTS.**

**BLOOMSBURY.**—Thursday last, usual monthly business meeting held. Sunday we moved from the Midland Arches to corner of Ossulton Street, and held a most successful meeting. Speakers, Eden and Bartlett. Good sale of *Commonweal*.—W. W. B.

**CLERKENWELL.**—On Wednesday, April 25, H. A. Barker lectured on "The Moral and Economic Bases of Socialism." Sunday evening, W. Utley on "Labour in Vain."—B.

**MITCHAM.**—A good meeting on the Fair Green Sunday morning, addressed by Kitz. Good sale of *Commonweal*. No opposition.—E.

**ISWICH.**—During the winter months, while open-air meetings were impossible, we succeeded in forming a discussion class meeting every Sunday night, and discussing "Socialism," "Trades' Unions," "Eight Hour Day," "International Unions," etc., etc. We have also taken advantage of the opportunity afforded us by various political and social gatherings, including a course of lectures on Political Economy, to spread our ideas. The *Commonweal* has been regularly supplied to the four libraries in the town, five local newspapers keeping it on sale. Last Sunday we commenced our summer propaganda. On Saturday evening, J. Lane delivered a lecture on "Poverty, its Cause, Effects, and Cure," to a very attentive audience. J. Thomas and Charles also addressed good meeting in front of the Town Hall on Sunday morning, and at the Ship Launch in the afternoon. Charles also delivered a lecture to the discussion class in the evening on "Dangers Ahead," which was well received. Next Sunday on the Ship Launch at 3 o'clock, J. Thomas will debate with Southern on "The Land Question."

**LEICESTER.**—At Secular Hall, April 15, Barclay lectured on "Zola." Instances of Zola's method of presenting the social problem were given, principally from "Germinal." On 22nd, Sketchley (of Birmingham) lectured on "Conservatism, Liberalism, Radicalism, Republicanism, which?" On 29th, at Thos. Slater's lecture, "What is Secularism?" Barclay, Robson, and a comrade of the S.D.F. named Maclean, offered considerable discussion.—T. P. B.

**LEEDS.**—Large meeting Sunday morning in Vicar's Croft, addressed by Hill, Paylor, Maguire, and Sollitt. We had a little opposition on the Irish question. We have now got into large and commodious rooms, with a hall capable of seating 100 people.—P.

**WALSALL.**—Monday last, J. Sketchley (Birmingham) lectured on "The Labour and Revolutionary Movements of the Present Century." Several questions put at close were dealt with amid hearty applause from audience. Sanders, Tarn (Birmingham), and Deakin addressed large audience at the Bridge on Saturday. Literature well taken up, and *Commonweal* all sold out.—J. T. D.

**AMERDEEN.**—At weekly indoor meeting on 29th ult., Leatham lectured on "The Society of the Future," Gray, sen., in the chair. McLean, Aiken, Slater, Sutherland, Duncan, and Watson spoke at close. Subject for Sunday evening first, "The Story of Trafalgar Square."—J. L.

**L.E.L. CLUB AND INSTITUTE.**—On Sunday evening last, Mark Manly lectured on "How to Advance Socialism." The lecture was well received, and gave rise to a good discussion.—H. A. B.

**EDINBURGH.**—On April 19, discussion on "What is Socialism?" opened by Tuke. Tuke, who has worked hard for the Cause here, left last week for South Africa to our great regret. The 26th being a general holiday discussion postponed.

**JUNIOR SOCIALIST EDUCATIONAL SOCIETY.**—Saturday evening last paper by E. Fox on "Commercialism and Socialism" was read. Good discussion followed.—A. F.

**LECTURE DIARY.**

**LONDON.**

**Acton.**—17 High Street, Acton, W. (adjoining Purnell's Dining Rooms). Sunday at 8 p.m.

**Bloomsbury.**—Communist Club, 49 Tottenham Street, Tottenham Court Road. Thursday May 3, at 8.30. Lecture by W. H. Utley. 10th. Quarterly Business Meeting. 17th. Concert in aid of Branch. 24th. Special Business Meeting. 31st. G. B. Shaw.

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

**Fulham.**—8 Effie Road, Walham Green. Sunday May 6, at 8 p.m., J. Tochaty, "Human Nature and Socialism."

**Hackney.**—A general meeting of members will be held at the International Club, Berner Street, on Tuesday May 8, at 8.30 p.m.

**Hammersmith.**—Kelmescott House, Upper Mall, W. Sunday May 6, at 8. Graham Wallas (Fabian Society), "Why we are Hopeful."

**Hoxton.**—Labour Emancipation League Club and Institute, 1 Hoxton Square (near Shoreditch Ch.). Sunday May 6, at 8 p.m., F. Henderson, "Socialism and the English Poets."

**Mitcham.**—Corner of Merton Lane and Fountain Place. Club Room open Saturday, Sunday, and Monday evenings from 7.30 till 11. W. E. Eden, 12 Palmerston Road, Wimbledon, Secretary.

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

**North London.**—The business meetings will be held on Friday evenings at the Autonomie Club, Windmill Street, Tottenham Court Road, after the open-air meeting at Ossulton Street. All members are asked to attend at Ossulton Street at 8 o'clock. Secretary, Nelly Parker, 109 Cavendish Buildings, opposite Holborn Town Hall.

**PROVINCES.**

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

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

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

**Cowdenbeath (Scot. Sec.).**—J. Duncan, 30 Arthur Pl., sec Dundee (Scot. Sec.).—Meetings every Sunday in the Trades Hall, opposite Tay Bridge Station.

**Edinburgh (Scottish Section).**—4 Park Street. Discussion every Thursday at 8. May 10, "Relation of Socialism to Christianity."

**Galashiels (Scot Sect.).**—J. Walker, 6 Victoria St., sec.

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

**Glasgow.**—84 John St. Reading-room open 10 a.m. till 10 p.m. daily.

**Leeds.**—Clarendon Buildings, Victoria Rd. and Front Row. Open every evening. Business meeting Saturdays at 8 p.m. communications to T. Paylor, 11 Sheldon Street, Holbeck, Leeds.

**Leicester.**—Hosiery Union, Horsefair St. Fridays at 8.

**Lochgelly (Scottish Section: Fife).**—Secs. (pro tem.), John Greig and Hugh Conway, The Square.

**Norwich.**—Gordon Hall. Saturday, Co-operative Clothing Association, 8.30 until 10 p.m. Sunday, Lecture at 8. Tuesday, Members meeting at 8.30. Wednesday, 8.30, Ways and Means and Literary Committees. Thursday, 8, Band practice. Friday, 8.30, Debating Class.

**Nottingham.**—Club and Reading Rooms, 1 Tokenhouse Yard, Bridesmith 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 6.**

11	Acton—the Steyne	The Branch
11	Turnham Green—Front Common	Acton Beh.
11.30	Hackney—Salmon and Ball	Davis
11.30	Hammersmith—Beadon Road	The Branch
11.30	Hoxton Church, Pitfield St.	Wade
11.30	Kingsland Green	Parker
11.30	Merton—Haydons Road	The Branch
11.30	Mile-end Waste	Charles & Lane
11.30	Mitcham Fair Green	Eden & Kitz
11.30	Regent's Park	Henderson
11.30	St. Pancras Arches	Bloomsbury Branch
11.30	Walham Green	Fulham Branch
3	Victoria Park	Mainwaring & Charles
3.30	Hyde Park	Parker
7.30	Clerkenwell Green	Blundell
7.30	Stamford Hill	Charles & Lane
		<i>Tuesday.</i>
8	Mile-end Waste	Charles
		<i>Wednesday.</i>
8	Broadway, London Fields	Cores, Mainwaring
		<i>Friday.</i>
8	Euston Rd.—Ossulton Street	N. London Bch.

**PROVINCES.**

**Leeds.**—Sunday: Vicar's Croft, at 11 a.m.

**Norwich.**—Sunday: Ber Street Fountain at 11.45; Market Place at 3 and 7.30.

**West Bromwich.**—Near the Fountain, every Sunday morning at 11.15.

**Smethwick.**—Near Spon Lane, every Sunday morning at 12.

**L.E.L. CLUB AND INSTITUTE,** 1 Hoxton Square.—On Saturday May 19 a Concert and Social Evening will be held here, for the purpose of augmenting the Club Funds. Particulars will be given next week.

**UNITED RADICAL CLUB,** Kay Street, Hackney Road.—On Sunday May 6, H. A. Barker will commence a course of four lectures on "Socialism: What it is, and what it is not."

**THREE KING'S TAVERN,** Clerkenwell Close.—At 8.30 p.m. next Sunday W. B. Parker, "Some Objections to Socialism Answered."

**S. D. F., CLERKENWELL BRANCH.**—At the Hall of the Socialist League, 13 Farringdon Road, on Thursday May 10, a Discussion will be opened by Dr. Merlino—subject, "Is Anarchist-Communism the logical outcome of Socialism?" Blackwe to reply; after which, free discussion. At 8.30 adjally.

Mrs. Wardle will supply Branch Subscription Cards at 9d. per doz. Leaflet Press, Curstitor stre

**SOCIALIST CO-OPERATIVE FEDERATION.**—Meeting at *Commonweal* Office, 13 Farringdon Road, on Wednesday May 9, at 7 p.m.

**AT FREEMASONS' TAVERN,**

81 LONG ACRE,

(Proprietor, comrade J. J. Hart, late of Burton and Phoenix Halls)  
A Debate will be continued on Sunday next, in Hall of this Tavern—subject, "Will Home Rule Benefit the Irish People?" Chair taken at 8.30 by T. J. Dalziel.

**CITY OF LONDON COLLEGE,** White Street, Moorfields (close to Moorgate Street Station).—A Russian Class has been started at this College on Mondays at 7 p.m., taught by N. W. Tchaykovsky. Terms 9s. per quarter.

**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, Curstitor St., E.C.

**NEW BRANCH PREMISES FUND.**

THE

**CLERKENWELL BRANCH OF THE S.L.** announce that on **SUNDAY EVENING, MAY 13, at 8 p.m.**

at the

Farringdon Hall, 13 Farringdon Road, E.C.

**A DRAMATIC AND MUSICAL**

Entertainment will be given by **ALFRED ADAMS' DRAMATIC CLASS** For the Benefit of the above Fund.

The evening's amusement will consist of Two Laughable Farces, Singing, and Instrumental Music, by Mesdames Wardley, M. Blundell, A. Taylor, and Miss Jessie Adams, Miss Maud Shelton; Messrs. T. Clayton, Wm. Blundell, Alf. Adams, H. A. Barker.

Admission by Programme, Threepence.

Now Ready, Price One Shilling; bound in Cloth, Two and Sixpence.

**THE PRINCIPLES OF SOCIALISM MADE PLAIN.**

By **FRANK FAIRMAN.**

Socialism as it is—The Moral Basis—The Economic Basis—Current Fallacies—Objections—Quack Remedies for Poverty—Methods and Future, etc.

With Preface written by **WILLIAM MORRIS.**

**WILLIAM REEVES,** 185, Fleet Street, London, E.C.

Now Ready, Cloth Uncut, 2s. 6d.

**LOVE TRIUMPHANT**

A Series of Sonnets, and other Poems.

By **FRED HENDERSON.**

"Worth reading now, and very probably worth remembering in time to come."—*London Star.*  
"Written with consummate art, and quite worthy of some of the best-esteemed poets of the day."—*Unitarian Herald.*

**JARROLD & SONS,** 3, Paternoster Buildings; or from the Author at this Office.

**Useful Work v. Useless Toll.** By **William Morris.** 1d.

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