

THE COMMONWEAL

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WEEKLY; ONE PENNY.

NOTES ON NEWS.

THE Liberal victory at Kennington is being received with a flood of self-gratulation by the organs of that side of the game of politics, which is a little trying to the feelings of Socialists, whose victories are yet to come; or to speak more correctly, as well as more hopefully, are still below the surface. Nevertheless, do not let us forget in the first place that it is a protest against open, brutal, undisguised coercion in Ireland, against which we Socialists have protested over and over again whenever we have had an opportunity, as indeed our principles compelled us to do.

In the second place, although it might be possible for the Tories to dish the Gladstonians by themselves bringing in an Irish Compromise, it is not very *probable* that they would make the compromise go far enough to shelve the Home Rule Question for the present; and, in fact, we shall be hampered with this question until the Gladstonians have come in pledged to definite Home Rule. Undoubtedly the Irish agitation has been of service to the cause of Revolution; but it has for the present done about all it can for us, especially since Mr. Parnell has been whitewashed into a very angel of respectability by the proceedings of the Commission.

Besides all this, a brutally Tory government in power, although it brings the Radicals and the Socialists into occasional alliance, and therefore seems to push forward Socialism, has this disadvantage—that it obscures the fact that Socialism is the *only* hope of the workers. Get together some three years hence some of those enthusiastic Radicals who have returned Mr. Beaufoy for Kennington, and ask them how much better off they are for having a Liberal Government in power, and you will have your answer short enough I'll warrant. By all means let the Tories go; they proclaim themselves the enemies of the people, and undoubtedly we must attack them. Now then, let the Liberals, the friends of the people, come in, and let us see what they will do—in all essentials exactly the same as the Tories. Well, then we know where we are, and may expect some of our democratic friends to come to the same knowledge.

The great anti-Coercion meeting at St. James's Hall was doubtless a success, and very enthusiastic; it was, I am told by a friend who was present, wholly a middle-class meeting, as might have been expected. The lesson to be drawn from these facts is encouraging, for they show us how suddenly the public opinion may change about a measure which, to the ordinary public at least, seems revolutionary. I daresay Mr. Morley's speech was more than all that was expected of him, but how much more effective the following speech would have been.

"Ladies and gentlemen, why waste time in going over for the hundredth time what you all know about this matter? I prefer rather to bring a blush of honest pleasure to your cheeks and my own by recalling to you an incident which happened to me about eight years ago, which will show you how much I (and I believe you) have improved since that time. I was standing as candidate for Westminster at the time, and was addressing the electors summoned specially to hear me. I gave them my views on various political matters (for the most part of no importance now), and then followed the heckling; and I answered many questions to the complete satisfaction of the audience. At last a troublesome Irishman in the gallery (I ask your pardon, Mr. Parnell) put me the question, 'How about Home Rule?' I wish I could remember the exact words of my answer, but they have escaped me amongst all the other phrases I have been compelled to concoct and utter since. I can only say that logically, neatly, succinctly, I repudiated Home Rule as an impossibility, a danger, and a disgrace"—(signs of dissent amongst the audience)—"and you cheered me to the echo."

"Now, ladies and gentlemen," he might have gone on to say, "is not this cheering, in view of all the blessings of Home Rule which you now know by heart? In a very few years we have been, so to

say, brought out of a barren wilderness of negation and coercion, into a paradise of goodwill and friendliness with our neighbours"—(great cheers)—"and have found out that they were only asking for that self-government which we claim (but don't get) for ourselves. Now if there were no other countries in the world but Ireland and England (the latter entirely inhabited by happy middle-class people, producing nothing and living on each other, as you probably suppose is the case), I might ask you to disperse at once after having given three cheers for Mr. Parnell,"—(enormous cheering)—"and—those who once put him in prison. But I have recently acquired information, which may perhaps reach you before long, and I wish to say a word or two to you about it."

"I am now (with some reluctance, I must confess) prepared to admit that Home Rule for Ireland is not likely to be the only new and revolutionary measure which we may have to consider in our lifetime. It seems that the happy view of the composition of society in England which I have mentioned just now is not as strictly accurate as we once thought it. In fact it seems probable that we cannot include factory hands at 24s. a-week and farm labourers at 10s. in the middle classes, and that there are a great many of such persons, and also that they are getting it into their heads that as they *make* all, they ought to *have* all"—(groans and hooting)—"Well, well, of course we know how idiotic that is now, just as we knew Home Rule to be idiotic nine years ago: but we may as well make up our minds that ten years hence we shall probably be meeting as we are now, to protest against coercion in England, and to pass resolutions in favour of the communization of the means of production"—(great uproar, amidst which Mr. Morley sat down, after having been heard by one reporter to say, "Well, after all, it sounds as well as the other")."

If the *Pall Mall* interviewer is to be believed, Mr. Beaufoy, M.P. has already stripped off his lion's skin. Questioned about Trafalgar Square, he answers: "I do not think the electors had any more sympathy than I had with the extreme view which is prepared to defend the abuse as well as the use of the right." Well, you may ask Mr. Beaufoy what that means. In the next sentence he explains: "All our shopkeepers, at any rate, had a good deal of fellow-feeling with their West-end brethren, who objected very naturally to seeing Trafalgar Square turned into a place of public meeting in permanent session." What our electioneering snob means is clearly that a "respectable" meeting, one held for backing up some form or other of our capitalistic government, shall be allowed; but an unrespectable one, held by men with a real grievance, shall be bludgeoned. Exactly; that is just what we have always expected from the Liberals: "Yes, you may speak if we are quite sure you will say nothing we don't like to hear." Otherwise—well, here is one of those Radical M.P.'s for London whom Sir C. Russell advised the delegates the other day to elect in order to get them back the Square. These be your gods, O Israel!
W. M.

The Broken Hill mines in Australia now pay dividends at the rate of 126 per cent. on the £19-share paid up, and the total amount paid in dividends for the half-year ending 30th November is £192,000. This piece of news appears in the commercial column of a paper which continues to breathe "threatenings and slaughter" for the workers of Australia should they seek to better their condition by such movements as will disturb this dividend and frighten the capitalists away. The free and independent press of honest Scotland has seen fit in its wisdom, and prerogative to warn the miners of Australia that if they continue harrassing capital as they were doing during their late strike, they would kill the goose that laid the golden egg. From the above piece of news it is obvious the capitalist is not "the goose."

Why should the workers be such geese? If they lay the golden eggs, why should they be so foolish as to let the "cacklers" who lay none gather them? The voice of the "promoter" receives its "fibre" from the unorganised state of the workers, and the big syndicates of the capitalists must needs be met by bigger and closer combinations of the workers. The battle which is imminent with these two is the

real cause of the increase of the naval and army expenditures of the "Great Powers." The "greatness" of these powers lies in the ignorance of the workers. That is mending; and the suicide of M. Denfert Rochereau, the director of the Comptoir d'Escompte, is as significant to the robbed workers as Pigott's is to the libelled Parnellites.

In commenting on Mr. Cunninghame Graham's speech, a Glasgow editor says "it pains him [Mr. Graham] to find that there are so many poor and helpless people in the United Kingdom side by side with rich and prosperous people." Instead of trying to show why some are "poor and helpless" and others "rich and prosperous," this editor goes on to "whine, put finger in the eye, and sob," "snarl and snap malignant wise, like dog distract or monkey sick," and he writes: "It is not fair, however, to the House of Commons to pour out a flood of trite, though benevolent generalities by the hour together, to the interruption of all other business." Mr. Graham is, I hope, able to appreciate this editor's remark. The business of the gentlemen of the House of Commons is other than the good of the people—nay, it on all points is opposed to the good of the people—and it is not fair to delay these gentlemen in their business. Leave them, Mr. Graham, be fair with them, and take the people's business to another and more efficient tribunal—the people themselves.

Further on, this editor says, "The working classes of the United Kingdom are not so miserable that they would in their despair welcome a Prussian or French invasion. Nor would they gain by becoming foreigners." This editor sees wherein the working classes may be foreigners in their native land! but he cannot see they are foreigners now; and yet there is not a workman but has to pay heavy toll for leave to exist. What worse conditioned could the workers of these islands have been even although Britain had lost all its Continental wars? Would it not have consummated the desire of the workers throughout Europe earlier and more efficiently than it can possibly be done under the present national divisions? The working classes would have ere this realised the meaning of increased votes for the army and navy.

GEORGE McLEAN.

TRUSTS.

I MUST . . . call attention to "trusts" and to their importance to Socialism. It is quite the thing for politicians, reformers, and persons who think that they think, to attack "trusts" and "monopolies"; but exactly where "trusts" and "monopolies" begin, and corporations, and the private control of things public, leave off, they do not decide to tell us; or why, if one is so beneficial, the other should be so harmful. Don't be deceived. The principle underlying a trust is just the same as that which underlies a business firm and a corporation; the motive is gain, and selfishness is the keystone of that arch. A trust is no more than several business firms, or several incorporated companies, co-operating under the lead of three or more directors, so that they may buy cheap and sell dear—so that they may limit the supply and create a demand, and control both. Business firms, incorporated companies, syndicates and trusts are all children of different growths, and competition is the mother of them all. Competition is the underlying basis of our trade. Society recognizes that "competition is the life of trade." Well, trusts are the result; for men who can help it will not be compelled to compete—they combine. If children will play with fire they will get burnt. Competition will burn all people who suffer it to rule their exchanges. It is merciful that we be burnt by a quick, rather than be singed, through a long series of years, by a slow fire. Aristotle said to the Greeks: "Trade is incompatible with that dignified life which it is our wish that our citizens should lead, and totally adverse to that generous elevation of mind with which it is our ambition to inspire them." Again, Prof. Richard T. Ely says that: "The ancient Persians held commerce to be a school of lies. Cicero and the Roman philosophers despised commerce, Cicero going so far as to say a merchant could never make anything unless he lied in the most atrocious manner. St. Chrysostom believed it scarcely possible that a man could be at the same time a Christian and a merchant. . . . Commerce originated in robbery, and in early ages it supplied chiefly articles of luxury. Phœnicians and Greeks were pirates before they were merchants, and piracy played an important rôle in the development of English commerce in the sixteenth century. . . . Benjamin Franklin said there are three ways for a nation to acquire wealth: 'The first is by war—this is robbery. The second, by commerce, which is, generally, cheating. The third is by agriculture—the only honest way.' The late Horace Greeley used to lament in his *Tribune* the large number of merchants, and hoped that the time would come when ninety-nine men out of a hundred would become real producers."

These old seers understood the principle which actuated those persons who struggled "to buy in a cheap and to sell in a dear market." If it were wrong for a trust to control all the sugar sold within the United States, or all the copper sold in both America and Europe, then it is wrong for the corner grocer to control all the sugar and most of the soap sold within the locality he monopolizes. That the corner grocery-man "gets a corner" upon everything he can, is beyond question—his gratification of selfishness and of monopoly is only limited by his ability to take advantage of his customers. Business, under the laws of competition, has no conscience. "There is no friendship in business—business is business." The difference between the

corner grocery-man and the president of a trust is one of degree, not of principle. Smart business persons have, in all times, combined so as to get advantages over those who do not have the thought and the sense to associate and to protect themselves. The firm widened into the company, the company deepened into the syndicate, and now comes the trust—greater than all, simply because those men in the trust are wider, deeper, and longer than those who are not. The crying "stop thief," by the great little merchants and the little great "anti-monopolists," is merely a trick at blackmail, nothing more. History shows us that no people have ever acted for their own preservation and advancement until they were forced to do it—and even then they did it reluctantly, and made every kind of excuse to their persecutors for having to stand up for equity and correct dealing. "Carlyle, in his history of the French Revolution, mentions that noblemen going to or coming from hunting had a right to, and were in the habit of shooting at men of the working classes to try their aim or empty the barrels of their guns. It seems that these noblemen had a great liking for human game, for Carlyle relates that, a short time previous to the outbreak of the Revolution of 1789, a law was passed limiting at two the number of working-men whom a nobleman might legally shoot when returning from hunting." The privileged classes of our day don't shoot the unincorporated; they simply bind them hand, soul, and foot legally. The sooner our people come to understand that the plan of the government of the United States is not broad, deep, or long enough to protect them in their pursuit of usefulness and happiness, the better it will be for all concerned. The trusts are the most potent agencies in society to-day to awaken our people to a knowledge of where we, as a people, are drifting. The protests and laws against trusts—laws, forsooth, by legislators who are largely the promoters and controllers of the said trusts—even if they were sincere, are as impotent to stop business men from co-operating to do a certain thing for gain, as are the acts of a crowd of children trying to sink a monitor by blowing paper pellets, through a glass tube, against its iron sides. Trusts are a fact. They are the certain steps toward assured Socialism. There is no escape from this end. Trusts are the results of competition, yet with their life competition dies. They attract into their co-operative union, by the assurance of big gain, little work and no risk, or they crush out of existence, all firms, companies, and syndicates which buy and sell the thing or things they deal in; and in this way, they substitute exclusive control for competition. By association and discipline business men are enabled to carry out their purpose, be that purpose good or bad. "Reformers" might learn a lesson from trusts and their management, did they stop long enough from their mad ravings to watch and study. Trusts will finally compel the people to organise for self-preservation, whether they are Socialists or not. The big-brained business men in these big trusts do not wish to know that they are Socialists, and that they, more than any other persons, are forcing upon the people a co-operative commonwealth. That does not matter. Their selfishness is hastening the overthrow of competition as a ruling force in society, as surely as the selfishness of the Southern planter hastened the overthrow of chattel slavery. To the barbarians, electricity is an element of destruction and awe. By thought and method, electricity is controlled, and it becomes a force wonderful, varied and beautiful in its uses. We will yet see that the selfishness in man is a hidden force which, in spite of itself, will give "the open sesame" to the era of inter-dependence in all the affairs of mankind; for, as soon as all the railroads get as thoroughly under one man's control as the telegraph lines now are, and every staple of food, and all the lands are as absolutely managed by trusts as our expressage and money are by companies, then integral co-operation will become a necessity, and big business men will be forced to see that there is more profit, more leisure, more individuality, more liberty, and more pleasure to be had through a plan for construction, systematized and perfected, rather than in trying to advance to a place of safety by methods of "wreckage" and destruction.

Before leaving trusts and their importance as a means to force society to incorporate for self-preservation, I wish to call attention to the fact that every invention, every practical application in chemistry, every rich deposit of natural wealth, and every improvement in machinery, will be, from this time forth, bought up and monopolized by trusts; hence, the inventions and discoveries of our people, instead of being a direct benefit to the masses, will be the certain means of crushing them still further into a state of abject dependency. An army which permits the enemy to capture all its cannon and ammunition is not so helpless as the . . . producers are now, with every product of their skill, thought, and toil immediately seized to empower the few to crush the many. Think of this, friends, and see if there is not an absolute necessity for us to incorporate and to work for self-protection.

ALBERT K. OWEN

in 'Remarks to the Subscribers of the
Credit Foncier Company.'

THAT RED REBEL, MILTON!—Of freedom, the main end of government, which if the greater part value not, but will degenerately forego, is it just or reasonable, that most voices against the main end of government should enslave the less number that would be free? More just it is, doubtless, if it come to force, that a less number compel a greater to retain, which can be no wrong to them, their liberty, than that a greater number, for the pleasure of their baseness, compel a less, most injuriously, to be their fellow-slaves. They who seek nothing but their own just liberty, have always the right to win it and to keep it, whenever they have power, be the voices never so numerous that oppose it.—Milton.

SOME GREETINGS.

At the meeting in South Place Chapel, on Saturday, March 16th, in Celebration of the Anniversary of the Commune of Paris, the following interesting messages and letters were read from various bodies and comrades in this country and on the Continent:—

DUBLIN SOCIALIST CLUB.

"Irish comrades join in honouring the memory of the martyred dead, and in working for the realisation of the ideals of 1789 and 1871. Vive la Commune!"

SOCIALIST LEAGUE, GLASGOW.

"Greetings! Hurrah for the Revolution! The red flag will yet wave over Edinburgh Castle, and the march of the workers be heard on the mountains of Lochaber!"

SOCIALIST LEAGUE, NORWICH.

"Revolutionary greetings! We trust you are having a successful meeting, and are certain that the worker's emancipation is near at hand. Vive la Revolution Sociale!"

MANCHESTER INTERNATIONAL WORKMEN'S SOCIETY.

"Greetings from Manchester International Workmen's Society. Vive la Commune! Vive la Revolution Sociale!"

THE LEAGUE OF POPULAR INSTRUCTION, VERVIERS, BELGIUM.

"The League of Popular Instruction fully sympathises with you in your Celebration of the Anniversary of the Paris Commune! Please accept the most cordial expression of our sympathy and international solidarity.

"By order of the League, "PIERRE FLUSK."

THE SOCIAL DEMOCRACY OF DENMARK.

"Fraternal greetings from the Danish Socialists to the English worker's meeting to celebrate the Anniversary of the Commune of Paris. The heroic fight of the Commune has awakened the oppressed to a consciousness of their rights. A cheer for Liberty, Equality, and Fraternity.

"The General Council of the Danish Social Democracy,
"KNUDSEN, HÖRDUM, HOLM, WUNBLAD, MEYER, HOLDT, MÖLLER,
"OLSEN, ANDERSEN, HUROP, JENSEN, and BERG."

THE SOCIALISTS OF HOLLAND.

"We are with you in celebrating the Anniversary of the Commune of Paris. The Socialists of the whole world are united on the 18th of March; then it is the memory of a triumph. Alas! it endured too short a time! But the blood of our martyrs was and is the seed of the church of the future, wherein there is a place for every one at the dinner of life. The past may tell us how to hold our own triumphantly, after having broken the chains of the slavery which Capitalism has caused.

"One for all and all for one, that shall be our sign, the sign of triumph. This century must not disappear before this triumph is obtained. When every one does his duty we must gain. Therefore, we shall not end our efforts before the aim is achieved for which our French brothers died in 1871—the Emancipation of Labour! Vive la Commune! Vive la République Internationale et Socialiste!
"In the name of your Dutch comrades,
"F. DOMELA NIEUWENHUIS."

THE CENTRAL REVOLUTIONARY COMMITTEE OF PARIS.

"In my own name and in that of the Central Revolutionary Committee, I send you the expression of our fraternal solidarity, on the occasion of this grand anniversary of the 18th of March, when you are celebrating in unison with us the first victory of the Parisian revolutionary proletariat,—so short a victory and so soon followed by its heroic defeat!—and when we pledge ourselves to avenge that defeat by the next victory of the international revolutionary proletariat.

"In England, as in France, as in all countries where the sufferings of the oppressed excite the popular wrath, where Socialist action and Socialist propaganda are making a breach in the power and privileges of the capitalist class, everywhere in fact where the oppressed, the miserable, and the discontented struggle for their emancipation, for political freedom, and social equality, the Commune erelong shall have its revenge and the Revolution its triumph.

"To you all, friends and Socialists of England, and to you all, who in this struggle against reaction and capitalism, against all bourgeois parties, never yielding, never giving in, are decided to march on without rest or truce until our victory is gained, to you all, in my friends and in my own name, Salut et fraternité!
"ED. VAILLANT,"
(Ex-Member of the Commune.)

THE POLISH SOCIALISTS OF THE SOCIETY "SOLIDARNOŚĆ," AND THE PAPERS 'WALKI KLAS' (THE CLASS WAR), AND 'PRZESDŚWIT' (DAWN).

"On this day of glorious commemoration, we join with you in celebrating that memorable event, the Proclamation of the Commune.

"When, after a dreadful war, the people of Paris raised the standard of social readjustment, they proved themselves the indomitable champions of International Revolution; and the fall of the Commune became a disaster for the entire world.

"Nowadays, when the revolutionary party has reformed its battalions in France, when, thanks to your valiant efforts, Socialism rapidly develops itself all over England, and that even among us, in the Slavonic countries, the struggle for emancipation becomes more and more ardent, we may hope that a new Commune shall no longer be beaten by Reaction. On the contrary, upheld by the combined efforts of all peoples, it will be the prologue of the decisive emancipation of the proletariat.

"Vive la République Universelle! Vive la Revolution Sociale!
"For the Polish Socialists,
"STEPHAN LEONOWICZ"

THE PARISIAN AGGLOMERATION OF THE FRENCH SOCIALISTS, AND THE ORGANISING COMMITTEE OF THE INTERNATIONAL CONGRESS.

"We shall celebrate at the very same hour as you the International Commemoration of the Paris Commune, which shone out on the proletariat of all the world as the sun of hope.

"We send our fraternal greetings to the brave comrades who, taking again in their hands the glorious Chartist movement, struggle with so much energy, and with so much perseverance prepare the proletariat of England for the coming 18th of March of the International Revolution.

"We invite you at the same time to take part in the International Congress which the Socialist Revolutionary Party and the *Chambres Syndicales* of France are preparing for the 14th of July next.
"Vive la Révolution Internationale!"

PAUL LAFARGUE.

THE POLISH SOCIALISTS OF THE GROUP "POBUĐKA."

"Citizens,—We join heartily with you in your demonstration to celebrate the anniversary of the Paris Commune.

"To the same extent that the proclamation of the Commune has been the dawning hope for the bettering of the lot of humanity, so much also its fall has been felt as the greatest misfortune that has happened up to the present time.

"The defeat of the Commune has resulted in the humiliating treaty of Frankfurt, the enslavement of Alsace and Lorraine for long years to come, the germ of international hatred which paralyses our propaganda for the universal solidarity of all workers; in the disastrous bourgeois republic of France, and the growth of German despotism; it has caused the armed peace, the expenses of which fall on the masses of starving proletarians; and more than all that, it has been followed by the monstrous Franco-Russian alliance, the degradation of all Republican ideals.

"Comrades, Europe makes great strides towards the Revolution. Following the example of their predecessors who struggled for the social and political development of all countries, who fought and perished for the Commune, the Polish revolutionaries will be always found on the spot where the blood of the oppressed flows, shed by the fratricide hand of tyranny. Vive la Revolution Sociale! Vive la Fraternité des peuples! and greetings to all comrades.

"POLANOWSKI."

THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE OF THE SOCIALIST SOCIETIES OF GHENT, BELGIUM.

"Dear Comrades,—I have been asked to write you a few lines to be read at your manifestation in honour of the Commune of Paris, which I undertake to do, though I feel that I have not the talent necessary for so great a task.

"Can one imagine any nobler tribute to the Commune of Paris than the imposing spectacle of these popular demonstrations which are held at this time throughout the whole world in honour of the Commune? Do not they clearly show that Paris, whilst fighting for its own emancipation, for its right of self-government in reactionary France, was working at the same time for the emancipation of the workers of the whole world?

"On the 18th March we celebrate the glorious event of the proclamation of the Commune with enthusiasm and with hope in the future; and during the bloody week of May we shall shed tears of rage and sorrow over the massacre of so many thousands of victims, over the infamous deeds of the reactionaries.

"We have lived, fought, and suffered with Paris, as to-day we join the fight of the great city and hope with her hopes. But do not, comrades, let to-day's fête make us forget the duties of to-morrow. The union of the forces of Labour should be the rallying cry to attain not only the autonomy of a single city, but the triumph of the Proletariat and the reign of Equality.

"To work, comrades! Do not let the 18th March be only the anniversary of the Commune, but a festival in which the people fraternise, preparing themselves to rally round the same flag and to fight for the same principles.—Fraternal greetings,
E. ANSELMÉ."

FROM WILLIAM MORRIS.

"Hammersmith, March 16th, 1889, 3 p.m.

"To the Chairman of the Meeting, Commune Celebration.

"Dear Comrade,—I find, to my extreme vexation and disappointment, that I am unable to leave the house this afternoon, being still lame with rheumatism and gout. I should be obliged if you would excuse me to the assembled comrades.

"I need hardly say that I wish the greatest success to the meeting. The efforts of Socialist propaganda during the last few years have had their effect, which is obvious not only in the organisations of men and women definitely professing Socialism, but also on the whole of society: so that it cannot be doubted that there are vast numbers of persons who are preparing for Socialism, and who at the next crisis will be forced into our ranks. Meantime, in this country at least the masters of society are showing their uneasiness in other ways than the familiar one of mere brutal repression, though they are ready for as much of that as they may think necessary. Many schemes are on foot for removing the discontent which our masters are beginning to feel as a burden on them and a threat also; between the preaching of thrift to day-labourers, and the making the world happy by the aggregation of all fiscal burdens into the single tax; from the Charity Organisation Society to Mr. Henry George,—there are many and many idiotic evasions on foot; all of which have for their basis the improvement of the condition of the poor, at their own expense, for the peace and happiness of their masters.

"While the middle classes are beginning to admit the horror of the miserable life of poverty, they refuse to admit the idiocy of the system that causes it. Make the working classes happy—well and good! But are we to pay for it? Now it seems to me that the Commune of Paris was prepared to answer this question with a simple Yes, and that that is the reason why to-day we once more celebrate their defeat as the herald of the victory which is to be, and as a preparation for it. If there were any amongst the defenders of the Commune who did not understand that its ultimate aim, its reason for existence, was the abolition of class society, its enemies at least understood it well—and wrote their endorsement in the blood of 30,000 men slain after their foul and useless victory.

"I say this is why we celebrate year by year the heroic attempt of the Commune of Paris to lay the foundations of a new society. It is because we are engaged in the same struggle; and it is our special business amidst all the chatter and self-gratulation caused by the kind of schemes I have mentioned, to point out to the workers now awakening to a consciousness of their position that masters and slaves cannot be friends, that of necessity what one gains the other loses; that the only ground on which the workers can meet their masters is that on which the latter shall cast down their privilege of mastership; and that no master-class can be persuaded into this, but must be forced into it, either by the threat of force, or, if it must be, by its action; finally, that the workers must prepare this force by learning to understand their position, and by organising themselves into an irresistible power. This every Socialist must do his utmost to forward conscientiously, or he need hardly call himself a Socialist, since he really falls back into the ranks of those who have not learned the principles of action as he has, and who, being ignorant, can only wait for the impulsion of that force, which it is the Socialists' business to help to fashion for the realisation of the Society of Equality.

"With fraternal greetings to all comrades, and with expression of satisfaction that the S. D. F. and the S. L. are again holding this important celebration in common, I am yours,
WILLIAM MORRIS.

Inspector Forster's anxiety to guard South Place Chapel during the Commune Celebration, on Saturday, with a strong force of his biggest boys in blue, has been a godsend to the illegal robbers, who managed two or three very successful hauls in the neighbourhood of Long Lane and Queen's Square. Needless to say, no one has been caught.—F. K.



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

Communications invited on Social Questions. They should be written on one side of the paper, addressed to the Editors, 13 Farrington 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 Farrington Road, E.C. Remittances in Postal Orders or halfpenny stamps.

TO CORRESPONDENTS.

J. B. G.—Will be used.

H. DAVIS.—Crowded out; will be used next week.

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Periodicals received during the week ending Wednesday March 20.

ENGLAND	FRANCE	WEST INDIES
Die Autonomie	Women's Advocate	Cuba—El Productor
Justice	Boston—Woman's Journal	
Labour Elector	Investigator	
London—Freie Presse	Chicago—Knights of Labor	
Norwich—Daylight	Baecker Zeitung	
Postal Service Gazette	Vorbote	
Railway Review	Detroit—Der Arme Teufel	
Sozial Demokrat	Milwaukee—National Reformer	
Worker's Friend	Port Angeles—Commonwealth	
New SOUTH WALES	San Francisco Arbeiter-Zeitung	
Hamilton—Radical	St. Louis (Mo.)—Die Parole	
INDIA		
Bankipore—Behar Herald	PARIS—L'Egalite (daily)	
UNITED STATES	Le Parti Ouvrier (daily)	
New York—Der Sozialist	Le Proletariat	
Freiheit	La Revolte	
Truthseeker	L'Attaque	
Volkszeitung	Le Pere Peinard	
Jewish Volkszeitung		
The Truth	HOLLAND	
	Hague—Recht voor Allen	

Frank Kitz (S.L.) moved the following resolution :—

“That this meeting hopefully recalls the establishment of the Commune of Paris, and expresses its sympathy with the French workers who heroically struggled to abolish class rule, and the cruel capitalist exploitation of man by man; and looks forward with confidence to the early emancipation of labour for which they strove, being determined to employ all means to achieve that end.”

He said that he came fresh from a new police outrage upon innocent and unarmed men; used the occurrence to point the moral that passive endurance could not last for ever, that constant successive attacks would at length wear out the patience of the people, who would show their resentment by means that would make the game unprofitable for those who began it. The revolt of Paris was provoked by an invasion of popular right, and from like causes like events would spring. Behind the baton of the policeman was the venal lying of the press, which represented all these things as the outcome of foreign influence. Well! it was true, and we were proud of it, that in us the prejudices had perished which made men hate one another because they were born in different parts of the world. Ours was the really catholic religion that rose above all boundaries, and united all men as brethren. Even the despised “criminal” was recognised by us as a product of the system we fought with, and a rebel against its law. We should open all prisons and cast down all barriers; but that was not enough, we must untiringly educate ourselves and our fellows, that reaction should not be, as always hitherto, the fruit of popular ignorance.

H. Quelch (S.D.F.), in seconding the resolution, said that Paris eighteen years ago seized on power so that she might raise the oppressed of all peoples. This was why the privileged of all peoples joined in exulting over her defeat. He asked what we had done hitherto to follow her example? It was our duty to find and eliminate the causes of her failure and our own; the time was pressing. English workmen were waking up, and adopting our “wild and visionary” schemes. Up to the present they had been “virtuous” for their masters’ benefit; the time had come for them to be a little “vicious” for their own, and to get their masters to become “virtuous” on their own account.

A. S. Headingley (S.D.F.) supported the resolution as one who had taken part in the Commune. He described some things which took place under his own eyes while engaged in ambulance duty. How the Versailles fired on the red-cross flag of the Geneva Convention; how they fired on little children going to school. The bestial ferocity shown in the attack on Paris and after its fall had never been surpassed. The murder of Flourens, and the behaviour of Boulanger’s troops showed what the temper of the attack was from the beginning. It must not be forgotten that it was an attack, and that Paris fought in self-defence. Looking back on Paris he could not help thinking that next time the people anywhere had to defend themselves, they would think of the treachery and brutal vengeance of the bourgeois, and would fight with less tenderness and more energy.

Peter Kropotkin (Freedom Group) drew attention to this being the eighteenth anniversary of the Commune, and said that since ’89 no government in France had lasted more than eighteen or nineteen years. It was almost certain that the government of rascals that now cursed France would have to follow the precedent, and give way to something else. Whatever that was, it would not be parliamentaryism, of which the people was thoroughly tired, not merely of this one government. Events were ripening fast, and who could tell when the Commune should revive itself, this time for ever? The revolution would concern itself with no parties, and he thought that the people would rely less on authority and more “on their own fist.” He cited the testimony of Zola, among others, that the present system was tottering to its fall, and urged the workers to note the change which is taking place, and to prepare themselves at a thousand centres; to do the work that lies near to their own hand, and to take that which was requisite for the satisfaction of their own needs. All work, all preaching, will influence the movement; the propaganda must be concentrated nowhere, but spread everywhere. Then the next Commune could not be isolated, and its foes would find no standing ground, the flames would burst up everywhere under their feet, and the international proletariat would free itself.

At this point a collection was taken up to defray the expenses of the meeting, and realised £8 6s. 6d.

The *Carmagnole* was sung by G. Brocher (S.L.), the audience joining heartily in the chorus.

John Burns (S.D.F.) said that this audience, large and enthusiastic as it was, was no gauge of the spread of our ideas. It was not by the count of heads there or anywhere else that it could be judged. He instanced a municipal committee he had that day taken part in; formerly such an occasion would have been one of almost unrestrained enjoyment; this time it had been, apart from the actual work done, mainly occupied in discussing the Commune, its aims and methods. The reaction was quicker than we to see what was coming and how close it was: hence the employment of methods with which we were all familiar. We must untiringly continue to incite and stimulate the workers of the world to follow the example of Paris, and endeavour to realise our ideals in the actuality of daily life.

H. H. Sparling (S.L.) said that we heard now a good deal about the “chawbacons” who made up the bulk of our metropolitan police, as we had heard before of the “brutal rurals” who did so obediently the murderous work to which they set in Paris. It was not enough to defend ourselves where we were attacked; let us carry the war into the ranks of the enemy, by spreading the “poison” of our opinions in the villages, and so cut off the supply of ignorant recruits. Much the same thing applied to the reptile press, and the poor devils compelled to prostitute their pens for daily bread. In this case it was at the

THE COMMUNE OF PARIS.

CELEBRATION AT SOUTH PLACE INSTITUTE ON SATURDAY, MARCH 16, 1889.

FROM year to year these meetings grow in importance and enthusiasm. Last Saturday, the Hall of South Place was packed beyond the doors; every gangway was full, and it was barely possible to move about in any direction. Before 8 o'clock the seats were already more than full, and late comers had to stand where they could.

The proceedings opened with the singing of “When the People have their Own Again” by the Socialist League choir. This was followed by the reading of telegrams and letters received from comrades in the provinces and abroad; these are given in another page.

H. M. Hyndman (chairman) said that this year we should not only think of the event, the anniversary of which we had met to celebrate, but also of that other, the centenary of which would so soon be here. As the one was to the political revolution which led to the emancipation of the bourgeois from obsolete class-laws and oppressive restrictions, so was the other to the Social Revolution which should free the proletariat, and should not only amend but end class-society altogether. It was especially our part to learn from the past; the failures that had been must prepare us for the successes to be. On this one night of the year when we met in absolute accord, with all divergence of ideas and difference of methods forgotten or laid aside, we should promise to resolutely discipline ourselves to be ready for all the dangers and difficulties of the struggle in which we were engaged.

readers we must aim. Create a demand for Socialism among the readers, and the supply of that, as of anything else, would be forthcoming. Everywhere, in season and out of season, we must work. It is not enough to "celebrate" once a-year, or even to subscribe now and then; each must work always, counting no act too small, no sacrifice too great.

R. B. Cunninghame Graham, M.P., said that it had been well said that the government of the Commune rose with virtue in the morning and retired with virtue at night. Our government, and every bourgeois government, rose with humbug in the morning, retired with humbug at night, and kept humbug in sight all day. He valued the Commune for the noble example it set for us and all the world; he valued its annual celebration because it brought us all together, and did us incalculable good by that one thing alone. It was for us to take to heart its example and precept, and do our best to carry them into practice. Let us not stone another because he differs with us in method, but do our duty as we saw it, leaving others to do theirs.

The resolution was then put and carried, with one dissentient. The meeting then rose to its feet, and, standing uncovered and silent for a few moments in memory of the dead, burst into three rousing cheers for the Social Revolution.

"All for the Cause" was sung by the S.L. Choir, and the "Marseillaise" by the whole audience, and the meeting broke up and dispersed quietly.

CORRESPONDENCE.

SOMERS TOWN INSTITUTE LITERARY & DEBATING SOCIETY.

I have the pleasure to inform you that the following resolution was passed after one month's discussion by a majority of 5:—"That this meeting is of opinion that Socialism is the *only* thing that can benefit the working-classes, and urges upon the Government the necessity of starting relief works to meet the demands of the unemployed of this great metropolis."—Sir, I remain, yours in earnest,
G. H. THOMAS.

77, Euston Road, March 11, 1889.

THE JEWISH PARADE AND LAW-N-ORDER.

THE International Working Men's Club, Berner Street, arranged a parade of unemployed and sweaters' victims on Saturday, March 16th, and purposed visiting the Synagogue and engaging the attention of Dr. Hermann Adler and his congregation of well-fed *choshens*. Adler may entertain a belief that all will meet on an equality hereafter in a better land, but he and his *clientele* are determined to postpone that meeting until the sweet by-and-by; so respectable, orthodox Judaism called in the aid of *Christian* defenders of law and order, in the persons of City and Metropolitan police, to keep them from contact with the victims of their greed. The ruffians of the Metropolitan police, aided by a number of spies and roughs, got up a row outside the Club by encouraging boys to stone the members. One, getting an ugly cut, naturally retaliated; the police thereupon forced their way into the Club, kicking the steward, and a brave inspector knocked Mrs. Diemsheitz down and kicked her so as to lame her, using meanwhile the most horrible oaths. Several comrades were arrested on the pretence of having assaulted these wretches, and when in the police-station, a detective seized a poker and beat Diemsheitz about the head with it. When bail was procured, every obstacle was thrown in the way of the men's release. The bail were warned that it was a serious case, and told elegantly not to be fools, and waste their money on a lot of foreigners. Some who tried to see the prisoners were knocked down on the police-station steps, and generally the whole affair was a lesson in law-n-order. Bearing in mind the outrages committed by the police at the International Club, Stephen's Mews, a few years back, resulting in one death and many life-long injuries, and seeing every chance of a repetition of that scene when night fell, the police were warned that a defence would be made if any such tactics were resorted to. Preparations were duly made for the defence of the club during the night, but, apparently as the result of the warning, no attempt was made, and the police bullies carefully avoided the neighbourhood. It would be well for all concerned to take note that there is not the slightest intention on the part either of English or foreign Socialists to allow such police outrages to be perpetrated without risk to the perpetrators in future.
F. KIRZ.

TO MANCHESTER FRIENDS.

ALL comrades in and around Manchester desiring to see the cause of Socialism pushed forward, and willing to help in spreading the *Commonweal*, leaflets, pamphlets, and other revolutionary literature, or assisting in a paste-pot brigade, are asked to meet comrade W. West on Thursday night, at the International Working-men's Club, 122, Corporation Street, corner of Hanover Street; or to communicate with him at 31, Brompton Street, Cheetham, Manchester. Those sympathisers who cannot take the risk of doing active work, can greatly assist by subscribing, through the secretary of the Socialist League, towards leaflet distribution fund, of which there is a great lack here.
Eds.

The object of life is to be happy, the place to be happy is here, the time to be happy is now, and the way to be happy is to make others happy.—*Colonel Ingersoll*.

Gabriel Dumont, who was Louis Riel's lieutenant during the Canadian half-breed rebellion, has been pardoned by the Canadian Government. He is on his way back to his tribe mates.

There is no truth—shall we say no honour?—in public life. Men seem to seek Parliamentary honours in the pursuit of their personal ambition. If the cause they were elected to serve can be advanced in conjunction with their own interests, they will aid it; if it cannot, it must go to the wall. Public life is all a struggle for personal distinction, and in the struggle principle is at a discount.—*Reynolds*.

REVOLUTIONARY CALENDAR.

WEEK ENDING MARCH 30, 1889.

24	Sun.	1794. Hébart and Anacharsis Clootz guillotined. 1871. The Commune proclaimed at Toulouse and Narbonne, and red flag hoisted at Marseilles.
25	Mon.	1812. Alexander Herzen born. 1879. Attempted execution of General Drenteln, chief of gendarmes at St. Petersburg, by Mirsky.
26	Tues.	1848. Insurrection at Madrid. 1869. Memorial meeting for Ernest Jones in Trafalgar Square. 1871. Election of the Commune at Paris.
27	Wed.	1820. Trial ends of Hunt and others for their conduct at Peterloo. 1875. Edgar Quinet died.
28	Thur.	1757. Damiens executed. 1833. Twelve members of the "Irish Patriotic Brotherhood" sentenced—ten of them to ten years, and the others to seven and five years each—"for conspiring to overthrow the Queen's authority in Ireland and to murder various owners of land." 1884. Socialist Congress at Roubaix, France.
29	Fri.	1855. Giovanni Dianori attempts life of Napoleon III. 1872. Agricultural Labourers' Union formed. 1875. John Martin died. 1879. Lock-out at Pimlico army-clothing factory. 1884. Riots at Cincinnati. 1887. Attempt on Alexander III. by an officer.
30	Sat.	1135. Maimonides born. 1870. Negro Suffrage in the United States. 1881. Arrest of John Most and committal for trial; seizure of <i>Freiheit</i> plant, etc. 1882. Execution of procurator Strielnikoff in Odessa by Khalturin and Jevlakoff, by order of the Executive Committee, for cruel and treacherous treatment of political prisoners.

William Skirving.—Born at Liberton, near Edinburgh, about 1750; died March 19, 1796. Son of a farmer, he was educated for the Burgher Secession Church. After finishing his course at Edinburgh University, he studied divinity under the celebrated Professor John Brown of Haddington. He, however, gave up his intention toward the ministry—which was probably less due all along to his own desires than to the wish of his, like that of every well-conducted Scotch family, to see their son "wag his paw in a pulpit"—and became a tutor in the family of Sir Alexander Dick of Prestonfield. Tutoring, however, was evidently not his line, and he ultimately settled as a farmer in Kinross-shire, and married a Miss Alexander of Kirkcaldy, with whom he obtained the small estate of Strathruddie in Fifeshire, which afterwards furnished him with a nickname. He was very fond of agriculture, of which he made a special study, and on which he published "The Husbandman's Assistant," and other treatises; he even stood, very nearly with success, for the Chair of Agriculture in Edinburgh University.

His studies and publications brought him to Edinburgh in 1792, where he enrolled himself among the Friends of the People, soon becoming secretary (unpaid) to their General Association. The first convention met in December 1792, Skirving acting as secretary. So also he did to the second, which assembled in May 1793. The policy of the Pitt administration was now in full swing, and it was highly dangerous to utter anywhere a liberal sentiment, political or social. Skirving knew his conduct to be narrowly watched, and that his prominent position among the Friends of the People could not fail sooner or later to place him in the hands of the authorities, and he was not surprised, therefore, that the first pretext was taken for his arrest. In July a General Meeting was held at the Berean Meeting-house, Dundee, at which an address was adopted, of which Skirving did not approve, although, as he said afterwards, it was "merely the strong effusion of honest hearts, alarmed by the measures of those in administration, judging the constitution in the utmost danger, and catching at the first ground of alarm which presented themselves to their view." It was printed and issued, judged to be "seditious and inflammatory," he was thrown into prison, his house searched and his papers seized. Muir and Fyshe Palmer followed, but were tried first: Muir on August 30 was transported for fourteen years, and Palmer on September 13 for seven. Skirving, meanwhile, let out on very heavy bail, continued to discharge his duties as secretary, and in that capacity signed an outspoken address adopted by the General Convention at Edinburgh in October (Oct. 29—Nov. 6), which said that "this society is determined to adhere to the original principles of its institution." On the 19th November the General Convention again met, at Convention Hall (Mason's Lodge), Blackfriars Wynd. At the fifth day's sitting (Nov. 23) the name of the Convention was changed to "the British Convention of the Delegates of the People, associated to obtain Universal Suffrage and Annual Parliaments"; the vote was unanimous, the delegates rising and clasping hands as they gave it. A few days afterwards, the Convention was addressed by Butler and Rowan, as delegates from the United Irishmen. In following Butler, Gerrald used words that remain true to-day as then: "As soon as the alarm-bell was rung, the Opposition joined the Ministers. *Party is ever a bird of prey, and the people its banquet.*" On Thursday December 5, the Lord Provost and magistrates of the city broke in upon and dispersed the Convention. Skirving, who was present at the meeting, thought this only applied to the British Convention, and tried to revive the old "General" Convention. To that end they repaired the same evening to a house in Flesh-Market Close, at the head of the Canongate, outside the jurisdiction of the city magistrates, and there held a meeting and appointed a committee to "report, with all convenient speed, on the means to be adopted for making a spirited resentment of the illegal proceedings of this day." Next morning (6th) they met in a loft or workshop in Lady Lawson's Yard, on the south side of the Crosscauseway, but were speedily dispersed by the Sheriff-Substitute of the county, who came with a large force of constables, etc. Another attempt was made by Skirving, who called a meeting, by advertisement in the *Edinburgh Gazetteer*, for the 10th, at a house belonging to him, formerly called the Cockpit, in or near the Grassmarket. But the house was taken possession of by the Town Guard, himself arrested, and his papers again seized. Kept in prison for some weeks, and let out for another while on heavy bail, he was brought to trial January 6, 1794. The "trial" lasted two days, and ended in a verdict of fourteen years' transportation—a foregone conclusion, ordered from London, as in Gerrald's case. On May 1, 1794, he sailed in the "*Surprise*" from St. Helen's, and reached Port Jackson on October 25. Here he took a farm, which he called New Strathruddie, and settled down to his old pursuit; but the hardships he met with, together with those endured in the living hell of the convict-ship, were too much for him. He was attacked by dysentery, and left his farm to obtain medical assistance; but rather than alarm his friends, he delayed proper care too long, and the attack proved fatal. He was emphatically what his friends called him, "A tried patriot and an honest man." Not brilliant and widely read, like Muir and Gerrald, but of good natural parts, sound sense, unflinching courage, and unblemished integrity.—S.

If not any man of a million has a right to govern me, then the million men have no right to govern me. A millions times nothing is only nothing.—W. H. R.

THE LABOUR STRUGGLE.

BRITAIN.

All the boilermakers and shipbuilders on the Clyde, except one Dumbarton firm, have joined the Clyde Employers' Association.

The Bessemer departments of the Barrow Steel Company struck on the 11th of March for an advance in wages. They resumed work on the 13th, pending an arbitration.

The caulkers at Caird and Co.'s, Greenock, have struck for an advance, and the fitter's helpers at Russell and Co.'s also come out for an increase of halfpenny per hour. The latter demand has been satisfactorily met.

DUNFERMLINE MILLWORKERS.—The strike for an advance of 10 per cent., or better yarn, still continues. Crowded meetings of the girls on strike are held daily, and some pigotty friends of the girls are dissatisfied because they listen to addresses from the Socialists.

BELFAST MILLWORKERS.—A strike for an advance in wages originated in York Street Mills on the 11th of March. This is the largest spinning mill in the country, and 2,500 persons are affected. The movement spread rapidly to the other mills, and on the 13th of March 3,000 hands were out of employment.

RAILWAYMEN.—Shunters at Crewe (L.N.W.R.) get 25s. for 72 hours a week, and they have 3s. 2d. a month stopped for "clubs." On the Hull and Hornsea branches of the N.E.R., there are signalmen employed at 12s., 13s., and 14s. a-week. The other week a Midland carter received 2s. 5d. for 12 hours overtime, and last Christmas the G.W.R. porters at Paddington for 12 hours overtime got 1s. 11d.!

Messrs. Merry and Cuninghame, coalmasters, were summoned before the Kilmaronock Sheriff Court, last week, for payment of some unpaid wages which arose from the pithead-man deducting, as tare, 2½ cwt. from tubs which only weighed 2¼ cwt. The case was settled out of court. This appears to be the same firm that we had to comment severely upon in this column at the close of 1887 for importing Poles into their steel works at Glengarnock.

TINPLATE TRADE.—Much excitement is created in tinsplate circles throughout Wales by a proposal on the part of tinsplate consumers in America to buy up all the Welsh tinsplate works. The price mentioned is £5,000 for each mill. The alleged principal object of the scheme is to do away with the middleman, who, it is said, at present derive the most profit from the trade. The advantage expected from the formation of the "tinsplate ring" is that the market and the production would be completely controlled, and prices regulated in accordance with the ideas of the producer rather than of the consumer.

HOLMES STRIKE.—The strike at Holmes still continues. Warrants have been issued to remove the men out of employer's houses. The works employ 150 miners, and about 25 "scabs" have been got to work. All the Mineral Oil Companies have agreed to combine and assist the Holmes Company to defeat their workers, either by contributing supplies of shale or by a money payment in proportion to the output. At a meeting of the men on March 13th, Mr. Wilson, the union secretary, said he did not mean to abide by the conditions imposed upon him when liberated from jail, as he found them illegal. He advised the men to go out and picket. It was agreed to make provision for the coming evictions.

GLASGOW TRADES COUNCIL.—At a meeting on March 13th the delegate of the tobacco-pipe trade stated that their association had greatly increased its membership since the new year in Glasgow and throughout Scotland generally, and that in Glasgow a demand made for improved wages had been conceded. It was also reported that the engineers had on Saturday asked for a rise of 3d. per hour, and that they had received several favourable replies. On the motion of our comrade T. Burgoyne a resolution was unanimously carried thanking Messrs. Cuninghame Graham and Conybeare for "the noble action taken by them in advocating the rights of labour in the Commons on the evening of 6th March,"—apparently treating with contempt the silence of their "labour representatives," or the speech that was worse than silence of Master Charles Fenwick, M.P.

MINERS' CONFERENCE.—A conference of miners' delegates from all parts of the country will be held at Birmingham on 26th March, when the principal business will be "to consider the advisability or otherwise of asking and demanding another advance in wages of 10 per cent." In October last a conference of the miners of Lancashire, Yorkshire, Staffordshire, Derbyshire, Nottinghamshire, and North Wales, was held in Manchester, and as a result an advance of 10 per cent. in wages was secured, and in other parts of the kingdom increases in some cases of more than 10 per cent. were obtained. Now that the price of coal has been advanced, it is desired to ascertain the feeling of the different districts as to an agitation for higher wages. Some communications have been made with the different districts by circular, and it is found there is a general disposition to seek the advance.

PLEASE TAKE NOTE!

How is it that the *Commonweal* does not publish more news from the Branches? Because the editor is not omniscient, and the local secretaries forget that he depends upon them for news. Hint: Let us know what you're doing.

How is it that not all that is sent is inserted? Because branch secretaries forget that the editor has less than a thousand hands, and often mix things so that it would mean entirely re-writing their letters before they could be of use. Hint: Keep reports separate from announcements, and news from both. Write briefly, plainly, and on one side of the paper.

SOCIALIST CO-OPERATIVE FEDERATION.—A Public Meeting, to further the objects of the above Society, will be held at Claremont Hall, Penton Street, Pentonville, N., on Tuesday March 26, at 8 p.m., to be addressed by Annie Besant, H. A. Barker, Herbert Burrows, W. A. Chambers, C. Graham, M.P., T. Shore, jun., and others.

UNITED RADICAL CLUB, Kay Street, Goldsmiths Row, Hackney Road.—A course of Four Lectures on "Socialism and Practical Politics," will be given by members of the Fabian Society, on Sunday evenings at 8.30 p.m. March 24th (Rev. S. D. Headlam in the chair), Sidney Webb, "The Failure of Radicalism," 21st, George Bernard Shaw, "The True Radical Policy," April 7th, Graham Wallas, "Practical Land Nationalisation," 14th, William Clarke, "Practical Socialism."

WHY ARE THOUSANDS BORN TO PERISH?

FROM 'KING LABOUR'S SONG BOOK.'

WHY are thousands born to perish
For the want of daily bread,
When the earth is one broad table
With the richest luxuries spread?
Has humanity been fashioned
From a pure and baser clay;
That to feast 'mid mirth and plenty,
This to starve and pass away?

Who dare claim the unclimbed mountain,
With its scattered wealth around;
Or the rich and teeming valley,
Where abundance may be found?
There are none so blindly daring—
Lost to honour, lost to shame!
Then to God and earth and nature
Be the never-ending blame.

Yet beware whom thou art blaming;
Look around with steadfast eyes
On the countless wealth ungathered
From the rivers, earth, and skies!
Seek the cause among thy neighbours,
Let the truth be bravely told,
That humanity is worthless
To the heart enslaved by gold.

JOHN BEDFORD LENO.

SOCRATES AND SWEATING.

THE "Sweating Committee" has now issued a second Report, but we do not find, says the *Pall Mall*, that it supplies that little historical introduction upon the origin of the sweating system for which some of us fondly looked. Perhaps the Lords believe that the "sweating system" was a slow and gradual evolution; and indeed upon sound theoretic principles this ought to be the case. Historically, however, it is not the case. The sweating system sprang fully developed from the human brain—deliberately invented at one blow. And the inventor was—Socrates. If any man should doubt this, let him look up the passage in Xenophon's *Memorabilia*. He will there find how Aristarchus when he sat with Socrates was depressed and absent-minded. Well he might be, since (like others in later days) he could get no rents from his property, and had a numerous family looking to him for support. Socrates enquired the reason of his gloom, and Aristarchus explained that he was in great perplexity: "For since the city has been disturbed, many having fled to the Piræus, there have come together to me both sisters and nieces and cousins left behind, in such numbers that there are in the house fourteen who are free born; but we receive nothing from our land, for the enemies have possession of it, nor from our houses, for there has arisen a scarcity of inhabitants in the city; but no one buys our furniture, nor is it possible to borrow from any quarter." Socrates asked: "Concerning both garments of men and women, and vests and cloaks and mantles, do those with you know how to make none of these things?" "Nay, all of them, as I believe." Socrates then pointed out how these fourteen female relatives might be set down to make garments of men and women, and vests and cloaks and mantles, and how Aristarchus might dispose of these articles at a profit, and how he would in that case cease to look unlovingly upon his relatives, who would no longer be a burden to him, and they would cease to look unlovingly upon him as an unwilling protector. "By the gods," said Aristarchus, "you seem, Socrates, to me to speak so well that hitherto I did not permit myself to borrow money, knowing that when I had spent what I might have received, I should not be able to repay it, but now I seem to myself able to venture doing it for the means for the commencement of my undertakings." And so Aristarchus went home greatly comforted, and became the first sweater. His methods were precisely those of his nineteenth century successor, for as Xenophon explains, in regard to the workers, "they, labouring, did dine, and when they had finished their labours they supped; . . . and the women loved him as a guardian, and he loved them as useful to him. But in the end, coming to Socrates, he related to him with delight both these things, and that they blamed him alone in the house of eating, being idle." The case, we perceive, is complete and typical; the workshop is domestic, the meals are taken in the workshop, the trade is in ready-made clothing. We cannot but regret that Xenophon has left untold the further history of Aristarchus. Did he retire upon a competence, or did he enlarge his business? Did suitors beguile away from him those profitable ladies, his sisters and cousins and nieces? Was his example largely imitated, and did prices fall in consequence? All these questions are beyond the elucidation of any committee of enquiry; but one thing remains clear: Aristarchus, the Athenian, was the first sweater, and Socrates taught him the trade.

SO DIFFERENT HERE.—Indian agents who have had the opportunity to study the red man's domestic life say that neither male nor female are capable of feeling the sentiment of love. A buck marries to have a slave; a squaw to have a lodge. It is only amongst highly-civilised people, like our own bourgeois, that real love-matches take place.

NATURAL RIGHTS.—Man from his very nature is a gregarious animal; there is no instance in nature of savage solitary man; society is necessary for his preservation and the continuance of the human race; therefore no right can be properly termed a natural right, which is not also a social right; or, in other words, the rights of society are natural rights. If, therefore, any man, or class of men, claim privileges as natural rights, inconsistent with the well-being, and even existence of the society, or political state, of which he is a member, such claim is to be utterly rejected, as not being properly a claim of a natural right; or if of a natural right in a solitary state of nature (such a state being supposed to exist), certainly not a claim of right to be admitted by the society of which he is a member; because it tends directly to the destruction of the society, and all claim of presumed right must yield to the paramount claim of real social right, the preservation of the state.—*Duigenan*.

THE SOCIALIST LEAGUE.

OFFICES: 13 FARRINGTON ROAD, E.C.

The Offices of the Socialist League will be open for the sale of *Commonweal* and all other Socialist publications from 8.30 a.m. to 9 p.m. every day except Sunday. The Secretary will be in attendance from 10 a.m. to 9 p.m. daily.

London Members Meeting.—The next monthly meeting of members will take place on Monday, April 1, 1889, at 13 Farringdon Road, at 9 o'clock sharp.

Branch Subscriptions Paid.—1889:—Clerkenwell, Leicester, Mitcham, and North London, to February.

Notice to Branch Secretaries.—Please remit to Central Office your Branch Capitation fees as soon as possible. A list of Branches in arrears will appear.

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

The Article, published in No. 152 of *Weal*, Dec. 8th, 1888, addressed to "Working Women and Girls," is now being issued by the Propagandist Committee in leaflet form for distribution, at 3s. 6d. per 1,000.

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

CHILDREN'S PARTY.

Between 40 and 50 children sat down to an excellent tea on the 12th inst., at 13, Farringdon Road. Comrade Radford afterwards entertained the youngsters with a magic lantern; then followed games and a distribution of toys. Altogether both young and old spent an enjoyable evening, the party breaking up about 11 o'clock. List of subscriptions:—Cantwell (Propaganda Committee), 2s. 4d.; E. W., 2s.; S. B., 2s. 6d.; W. M., 2s. 6d.; J. A. Morris, 2s.; H. B. T., 2s.; R. C. S., 1s.; May Morris, 6s.; Mrs. Schack, 3s.; Mrs. Gostling, 2s. 6d.; M. J. Edwards, 1s. 6d.; W. H., 4s. 6d.; and Touzeau Parris, 2s. 6d. Total received, £1 14s. 4d. Doll received from Miss C. Hills. S. GROSER.

REPORTS.

LONDON OPEN-AIR PROPAGANDA.—Good meetings held at Leman and Philpot Streets last Sunday. All papers sold.—A good meeting was addressed at Victoria Park by Charles and Hicks on Sunday afternoon.—Good meeting on Sunday morning at Regent's Park; Mainwaring and Cores spoke. Fair sale of *Weal*, and 1s. 1d. collected.—At Hyde Park, comrade Furlong (S.D.F.), Mrs. Lehr, Cawlicok (S.D.F.), Mainwaring, Cantwell, McCormick, and J. Williams (S.D.F.) spoke to a very large meeting, which lasted 3 hours 20 minutes. *Commonweal* sold out, 'Chants' ditto, and a large quantity of pamphlets. Collected 4s.

BLOOMSBURY.—A packed meeting at Percy Hall listened on Sunday evening to Cunningham Graham on the "Condition of Chainmakers at Cradley." Interesting lecture; 7s. collected.

FULHAM.—Tuesday evening, back of Walham Green church, Crouch and Green spoke to a good audience. Sunday morning, Crouch had a good audience opposite Railway Station, and in the evening an excellent audience was addressed by Smith, Lynes, jun., and Groser.—S. B. G.

HAMMERSMITH.—A very good meeting held at Latimer Road on Sunday morning; speakers were Dean, Catterson Smith, Lynes, sen., Lynes, jun., and Maughan; choir also sang. 27 *Commonweal* sold. At Weltje Road at 7 p.m., a very good meeting; speakers were Bullock, Dean, Lynes, jun., Mordhurst, and Maughan; choir sang. Fair sale of *Weal*. At Kelmescott House, our comrade Beasley lectured on "The Nationalisation of Railways." Brisk discussion.—M.

ABERDEEN.—Large and enthusiastic meeting at Castle Street on Saturday night, addressed by Duncan and Leatham, while Aiken pushed literature vigorously. At indoor meeting, on 11th, Duncan read essay from Morris's "Hopes and Fears for Art."

GLASGOW.—On Sunday, at 2.30, we held a meeting on the Green, when Joe Burgoyne and Glasier spoke to a large crowd from the new stool made for the Branch by Tim Burgoyne. At 5.30, Pollock, Joe Burgoyne, and Glasier spoke at Paisley Road Toll. After the meeting was over, a smart-looking religious lady, dressed in silk, confided to the speakers that they were all of their father, the devil! At 7 o'clock, the same speakers spoke at St. George's Cross, much interest being manifested by a good audience in their exposition of Socialism. *Commonweal* sold out.

NORWICH.—Comrades Davis and Mrs. Schack arrived here on Saturday; enjoyable evening spent in Gordon Hall. On Sunday the Branch held a great demonstration in Market Place at 3 p.m., addressed by Poynts, who acted as chairman. The resolution was proposed by Darley and spoken to by Mrs. Schack, and carried with two dissentients. Good sale of papers, and good collection. Davis could not speak at this meeting, as he missed the train at Cantley, on his return from Yarmouth, and was compelled to tramp to Lingwood in order to catch the 5.25 train. Another meeting was, therefore, announced in Market Place for the evening. At 7.30 a good meeting was held, addressed by Poynts and Davis; good impression made. At Gordon Hall, at 8, addresses were delivered to an attentive audience by comrades Davis and Shack on the Paris Commune, assisted in a most able manner by comrade Houghton, who pointed out the usefulness of the Paris insurrection, and at the same time explained its errors. This meeting was commenced by singing "No Master." During the evening comrade Poynts rendered a recitation, and the meeting was brought to a close by singing the "Marseillaise."—H. DAVIS.

YARMOUTH.—Very successful meeting, Sunday morning, in celebration of the Paris Commune. Mrs. Schack and H. Davis gave good addresses, and were listened to with marked attention. *Commonweal* sold fairly well, and 5s. collected to defray expenses. In afternoon Reynolds and Ruffold held good meeting. On Monday night Reynolds lectured at Gorleston on "Why are the workers poor?" On Tuesday evening, at the "Three Fishes," North Howard Street, a paper was read by Reynolds on "What Socialism Teaches."—C. R.

IPSWICH PIONEER DEBATING CLASS.—Discussion took place on Sunday upon the Commune of Paris, opened by Thomas; slight opposition, which was easily answered. Creed proposed the resolution printed in *Commonweal*, which was seconded by Bishop, and caused a lively discussion. An amendment to it leaving out the first line, was defeated by two, and the motion was carried.—M. C.

CLUB AUTONOME, Windmill Street, Tottenham Court Road, W.—A Commune Celebration was held on Sunday evening at the above club. Speeches were delivered in English, French, and German to an enthusiastic audience, the English speakers being Harragan, Withington, and Samuels.

DUBLIN.—The anniversary of the Commune was celebrated by the Dublin Socialist Club at the rooms, 16, Dawson Street, on Saturday, March 16th. There was a large attendance. Addresses were delivered by King, Conlon, Russell, O'Connor, and others.

COMMUNE CELEBRATION.—At Cooper's Hall, Commercial Road, E., on Monday, March 18th, a very successful celebration was held. The platform was decorated with red flags and mottos in English and Hebrew. The speeches in Yiddish, German, and English were enthusiastically received. The East End branch of the Socialist League, International Working-men's Club, Morgenrothe Club, and Limehouse branch of S.D.F. co-operated.

LECTURE DIARY.

LONDON.

Bloomsbury.—Percy Hall, Percy St., Tottenham Court Rd.—Sunday March 24, at 8.30, J. Hunter Watts, "Socialism."

Clerkenwell.—Hall of the Socialist League, 13 Farringdon Road, E.C. (½-minute from Farringdon Station, 1 minute from Holborn Viaduct). Members who cannot attend are requested to send in their subscriptions due, with card, to branch, if they can do so without inconvenience to themselves, or otherwise communicate with secretary. Committee meeting every Sunday at 7.30. Lecture on Sunday March 24, at 8.30., H. Halliday Sparling, "Luxury Now; Necessity Then." Sun. 31st, Frank Kitz, A Lecture.

East London.—Cosmopolitan Club, 30 Charles Square, Hoxton. The next meeting of members will be held on Sunday March 24th, at 7.15 p.m. Members should turn up punctual; very important business.

Fulham.—8 Effie Road, Walham Green. Committee meetings on Sunday evenings at 7 o'clock sharp. All members are earnestly requested to attend.

Hammersmith.—Kelmescott House, Upper Mall, W. Sunday Mar. 24, at 8 p.m., a lecture by Touzeau Parris, "How we gain Knowledge." Thursday 28th, at 7.30, Choir practice. Friday 29th, at 8 p.m., French Class; at 9 sharp, Weekly Business Meeting; after business, a discussion on some point of interest in the propaganda. Sunday March 31st, Percival Chubb (Fabian Society), "Work and its Reward."

Hoaton.—Comrades desiring to help in the propaganda of the Socialist League in this locality are requested to send their names and addresses to H. D. Morgan, 12 Basing Place, Kingsland Road.

Mitcham.—3 Clare Villas, Merton Road. Meets every Sunday, at 11 a.m.

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

Walworth and Camberwell.—Committee meeting every Monday, at 7.30 p.m., at 3 Datchelor Place, Church Street, Camberwell Green.

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

Wimbledon and Merton.—All those desirous of helping in and around Wimbledon and Merton, should communicate with F. Kitz, 3 Clare Villas, Merton Road.

PROVINCES.

Aberdeen (Scottish Section).—Organiser, J. Leatham, 7 Jamaica Street. Branch meets in Oddfellows Hall on Monday nights at 8. Choir practice at 46 Marischal Street on Thursday evenings at 8.

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

Carnoustie (Scottish Section: Forfarshire).—Meets every Wednesday, at 8 p.m., in the Carnoustie Restaurant. Samuel Wilson, Secretary.

Dundee (Scot. Sect.).—Meetings every Sunday in the Trades Hall, opposite Tay Bridge Station.

Dublin.—Dublin Socialist Club, 16 Dawson Street.

Edinburgh (Scottish Land and Labour League).—35 George IV. Bridge. Meetings for Discussion, Thursdays at 8 p.m.

Galashiels (Scot Sect.).—J. Walker, 184 Glendinning Terrace, secretary.

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

Glasgow.—84 John Street. Reading-room (Draughts, Chess, etc.) open 10 a.m. till 10 p.m. daily. Weekly meeting of members on Thursday evenings at 8. French Class meets every Sunday at 11.—SPECIAL.—Peter Kropotkin will lecture on "The Problems of our Century," in the Waterloo Hall, on Sunday 24th, at 7 o'clock; Cunningham Graham will preside. Peter Kropotkin will meet members of the Branch on Sunday at 3 o'clock.

Kilmarnock.—Secretary, H. M'Gill, 22 Gilmour Street. Branch meets on every alternate Tuesday.

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

Leicester.—Hosiery Union Offices, 11a Millstone Lane. Fridays at 8 p.m.

Norwich.—Sunday, at 9 a.m., comrades distributing *Commonweal* will meet in Gordon Hall; at 8 p.m., a lecture. Tuesday, at 8.30, Members' Meeting. Wednesday, at 8, Discussion Class. Monday, Thursday and Friday, Gordon Hall open from 8 p.m.

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

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

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

Yarmouth.—"Three Fishes" Coffee Tavern, North Howard Street. Tuesdays at 8 p.m.

OPEN-AIR PROPAGANDA.

(Weather permitting.)

SATURDAY 23.	
8	Mile-end Waste Cores, Hicks, and Mowbray.
SUNDAY 24.	
11.30	Hackney—Gibraltar Walk Cores, Hicks, and Davis.
11.30	Latimer Road Station The Branch.
11.30	Regent's Park North London Branch.
11.30	Walham Green, opposite Station The Branch.
11.45	Leman Street, Shadwell Mowbray and Turner.
3.30	Hyde Park Parker and Mrs. Lehr.
3.30	Victoria Park Mowbray, Cores, and Charles.
7	Weltje Road, Ravenscourt Park Hammersmith Branch.
7.30	Broad Street, Soho Nicoll.
7.30	Clerkenwell Green Brookes.

TUESDAY 26.

8 Fulham—back of Walham Green Church The Branch.

THURSDAY 28.

8.15 Hoxton Church Mowbray and Cores.

FRIDAY 29.

8 Philpot Street, Commercial Road Mowbray and Cores.

PROVINCES.

Aberdeen.—Saturday: Castle Street, at 7.30 p.m.

Glasgow.—Sunday: Glasgow Green at 2 p.m.; St. George's Cross at 7 p.m.; Paisley Road at 5.30.

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

Norwich.—Sunday: Market Place, at 2.

Yarmouth.—Priory Plain, at 3 every Sunday.

NORTH HACKNEY RADICAL CLUB, 83 Church Street, Stoke Newington.—Sunday March 24, at 8.30, G. Standing, "Does Royal Pay?"

SOUTHWARK AND LAMBETH BRANCH S.D.F., New Nelson Assembly Rooms, 24 Lower Marsh, Lambeth.—Tuesday March 26, at 8 p.m., H. Halliday Sparling, "The History of Radicalism." Sunday March 31, a Lecture by Wm. Morris.

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