

# THE COMMONWEAL

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ONE PENNY.

## OUR POLICY.

THE recent "disturbances" as the word goes, the stir in the dry bones of labour, is a strange phenomenon to most people, and even to us, who have been working towards a change in the basis of Society, is unexpected; amidst the routine of our ordinary educational work we have been surprised, as it were, by something which, whatever else may be said of it, does look like the first skirmish of the Revolution.

The riot, or whatever it may be called, of February 8th, though a small matter in itself, became of importance because it has got to be a fixed idea in the heads of—well—most men, men of all classes, that the English workman had at last been brought to the point of incapacity of expressing his grievances by anything more threatening than an election riot; which expressed nothing at all except a certain pleasure in a "rough and tumble," joined perhaps to the irritation which comes of the indigestion of the "lower classes," an indigestion bred of garbage-eating, and want of fresh air and leisure.

But here was a crowd composed in the main, in spite of the watch-stealing, which was the work of professional thieves on the look out for plunder, of genuine working-men, who were angry, or excited, or miserable enough to cast off their habitual fear of consequences for an hour or two, and indulge in a threat to the Society which had made them the lower classes; as to the details of that threat I will not say much. I have no doubt that the shoeing-horn to the riot was the "truly gentlemanly" behaviour of the fools at the Carlton Club, who took for granted the axiom above stated, that a crowd of the English "lower classes" will stand anything, and threw jeers and milk-cans at them accordingly. However, let that pass. Apart from what actual plunder there was, the wrecking of shops to carry the contents away, the proceedings of the crowd seemed like a sort of gigantic practical joke against the tyrant—Sham Society. A joke mingled with threatening, embittered by anger and contempt; characterised by the English tendency towards brutality masked by good humour, which is so apt amongst our countrymen to accompany the first stages of a great tragedy. These seem to me to have been the outward aspects of this strange, and, in spite of all drawbacks, most memorable scene.

What was the meaning of it? At bottom misery, illuminated by a faint glimmer of hope, raised by the magic word SOCIALISM, the only hope of these days of confusion. That was what the crowd represented, whatever other elements were mingled with it.

What has come of it? The first outcome was on the Tuesday and Wednesday following, a panic at first sight quite inexplicable. There were no mobs in the streets, no placards threatening revolution, no processions—"no nothing" in short,—and the respectabilities were terribly afraid. Such abject cowardice has perhaps seldom been so frankly shown as was shown by the middling bourgeoisie on those two days. Whatever were they afraid of? Of nothing? No; they were afraid of their own position, so suddenly revealed to them as by a flash of lightning; their position as a class dominating a class injured by them, and more numerous than they. No doubt this insight into the depths of Society will be of service to the dominated class; who will also remember the terror it caused, after their masters have forgotten it.

As another result: the money which was coming into the Mansion House Fund very slowly, is now coming in in sacksful. I would wish to be as fair as possible to the richer classes; and I must say, therefore, that I think this comes partly from people's consciences being touched by the distress now at last become visible to them; yet partly also, I think, from fear. "Let us show them how kind we are, it may keep them quiet!"

What will come from these "disturbances"? First, some palliative measures. That is the regular course of events in England of late years; every reform has been blindly resisted till obvious violence has been brought to bear upon the question. Witness the Irish "difficulty," which has made great steps since I heard John Morley in St. James's Hall, before the Westminster electors in 1880, declare that Home Rule was a subject inadmissible of discussion. Well, furthermore, these palliatives must necessarily take the form of an interference with the sanctity of the labour market; an artificial raising of wages by authority, which in its turn will be a spoke in the wheel of our commercial system, will hasten its disruption, in other words, will tend to bring on Revolution.

Another thing may happen, at first sight very unpleasant to us of the Socialist League. We may be suppressed; practically at least, if not formally. It is true that just now cool-headed people of the middle-classes rather smile at the ravings of the *Telegraph*. And yet I think

that those ravings are prophetic. Already something or other, probably the Leicester strike riots, has forced the government to turn back on its resolution of letting the speakers at the Demonstration alone, and they are now on their trial.

Well, what will be the result of that attempt at the suppression of opinion? Of course, opinion cannot be suppressed; we shall find means of disseminating our opinions; but repressive interference with us will make those opinions a kind of mystery, a thing to conjure with. The upper classes will, of course, look upon that mystery as a hateful but also a fearful thing; on the other hand the lower classes will be eager to know what this Socialism is, which professes to be altogether in their interest, and which the upper classes think so dangerous that no man must know anything about it if it can be helped. Repression will attract the working-classes to us. Opinion which must be suppressed is Revolutionary; under such conditions fear and hope are abroad, the mere dramatic situation forces people into enquiry, action is dreaded and is hoped for; the Socialist Party will become a political force when all these things happen.

Now I should like to say a few words with the utmost seriousness to our comrades and supporters, on the policy of the Socialist League. I have said that we have been overtaken unprepared, by a revolutionary incident, but that incident was practically aimless. This kind of thing is what many of us have dreaded from the first, and we may be sure that it will happen again and again while the industrial outlook is what it is; but every time it happens it will happen with ever-increasing tragedy. It is above all things our business to guard against the possible consequences of these surprises. At the risk of being misunderstood by hot-heads, I say that our business is more than ever *Education*.

The Gospel of Discontent is in a fair way towards forcing itself on the whole of the workers; how can that discontent be used so as to bring about the New Birth of Society? That is the question we must always have before us. It is too much to hope that the *whole* working-class can be educated in the aims of Socialism in due time, before other surprises take place. But we *must* hope that a strong party can be so educated. Educated in economics, in organisation, and in administration. To such a body of men all the aspirations and vague opinion of the oppressed multitudes would drift, and little by little they would be educated by them, if the march of events should give us time; or if not, even half-educated they would follow them in any action which it was necessary to take.

To forge this head of the spear which is to pierce the armour of Capitalism is our business, in which *we must not fail*.

Let me ask our comrades to picture to themselves the consequences of an aimless revolt unexpectedly successful for the time; we will even suppose that it carries with it a small number of men capable of government and administration, though that is supposing a great deal. What would be the result unless the people had some definite aim, however limited?

The men thus floated to the surface would be powerless, their attempts at legislation would be misunderstood; disappointment and fresh discontent would follow, and the counter revolution would sweep they away at once.

But, indeed, it would not even come to that. History teaches us that no revolts that are without aim are successful even for a time; even the failures (some of them glorious indeed) had a guiding aim in them, which only lacked completeness.

The educational process, therefore, the forming a rallying point for definite aims is necessary to our success; but I must guard against misunderstanding. We must be no mere debating club, or philosophical society; we must take part in all really popular movements when we can make our own views on them unmistakably clear; that is a most important part of the education in organisation.

Education towards Revolution seems to me to express in three words what our policy should be: towards that New Birth of Society which we know must come, and which, therefore, we must strive to help forward so that it may come with as little confusion and suffering as may be.

One word to Socialists who do not belong to the League. I think there is a tendency abroad towards holding aloof from union on insufficient grounds. I do not urge formal union between those who really disagree as to principles, or the tactics which follow from them, since this results in quarrelling instead of the friendly difference which might otherwise be. But when the principles and tactics held are practically the same, it seems to me a great mistake for Socialist bodies

to hold aloof from each other. The present is no time for the formation of separate societies, whether central or local. Political and organised intercourse is necessary to the education, I have been speaking of, no independence is sacrificed by this intercourse, and propaganda is made much easier by it. I appeal, therefore, to all who agree with us, individuals, local bodies, or central ones, to give up the mere name of independence in order to attain its reality, and to join our League so that we may show a firm front to the common enemy in these troublous yet hopeful times that are coming on us.

WILLIAM MORRIS.

LESSONS IN SOCIALISM.

IX.—THE LUST FOR SURPLUS-LABOUR—THE CORVÉE SYSTEM.

In our analysis of Marx' "Das Kapital," we now become students of history rather than of economics. Thus far in our study of commodities and their three values, of money and its four functions, of the transformation of money into capital, of surplus-value, its production and its rates, of constant and variable capital, and of the working day, we have dealt especially with the economical side of Socialism. From this difficult but very necessary study, we turn to another, not less necessary, and certainly less difficult. The study of the history of European countries, during the last 200 or 300 years will lead us to the same conclusion as the facts, arguments, and generalisations of economics; that the present capitalistic method of production is an iniquitous one, and that it must shortly give way to another more equitable, and less injurious to the community at large.

Some of the historical facts are now to be noted that bear upon the lust for surplus labour (that is, the labour expended by a human being after the equivalent of his means of subsistence has been produced by him). That which follows will be readily understood, even by those to whom the preceding notes have presented difficulties.

Surplus labour is no invention of the capitalist. Wherever in any time, or in any country, a man or a class of men has a monopoly of the means of production, there is exaction of surplus, unpaid labour from those having no share in the monopoly. In ancient Athens, Etruria, Rome the *kalos kai agathos* (the beautiful and the good man) the theocrat, ruler by the grace and with the power of God, the *civus romanus*, or Roman citizen, are examples. In the more modern England, America, Wallachia, the Norman baron, the slave-owner, the Boyard, keep up the same bad custom. It is as international as death. The most modern form and the one coming most home "to men's business and bosoms" in this country, is the landlord and capitalist of to-day.

Before passing to the particular phase of the general struggle between exploiters and exploited that has for its centre the length of the working day, let us look at the phenomena of the lust for surplus-labour, as shown in Eastern Europe under the corvée system. To do this will be of interest not only because we shall be again reminded of the cosmopolitan nature of the struggle between the possessing and the defrauded classes, but because of the likeness in difference that obtains between the corvée system and the capitalist system of the majority of civilised countries. In the corvée system surplus working time is clearly marked off from necessary working time (*i.e.*, from the time in which a man produces the equivalent of his own means of subsistence). In the capitalistic system the two kinds of labour glide into each other, so that one may say that 20 or 30 seconds *e.g.*, of a minute are necessary working time, 40 or 30 surplus working time, or even that a fraction of every second belongs to the former and the remaining fraction of the second to the latter. As a result of this difference it comes to pass that the capitalist aims at the lengthening of the working-day; the Boyard tries to get more days of corvée.

This system of corvée had its home in the provinces of Turkey that border the Black Sea to the East. From north to south these provinces run as follows: Moldavia, Bulgaria, Roumelia. To the north-east of Bulgaria, to the south of Moldavia, between these and Hungary lies Wallachia. Wallachia and Moldavia make up Roumania. At first in Roumania there was, as generally, community of soil. Part of the land was cultivated by members of the community individually; part of it as public land. From the latter were derived a reserve fund and a common store for the people at large. Then the usual sad series of changes set in. By fraud and by force, the public land and the labour spent on it were seized by dignitaries of the military and clerical order. Then arose the system of corvée, by which the peasants gave without remuneration time and labour to their master the Boyard.

Something of the nature of these arrangements before they were legalised and systematised, one may gather from a glance at them when they were reduced to a code. Roumania came into the possession of Turkey in 1739, under the treaty of Belgrade. It was occupied a short time by Russia, when the war of Greek independence broke out, and was again ceded to Turkey in 1829 by the treaty of Adrianople, when Greek independence was established.

In 1831 the Russian general Kisseleff proclaimed his "Règlement organique." Kisseleff was practically the Dictator over the Roumanian provinces from 1829 to 1835. The code in question was dictated by the Boyard, just as labour laws in England are drawn up solely by the employers of labour. The notables were assembled "to abolish the corvée," and the pretence was made that serfdom was by the terms of the règlement organique, ended. This is an instance of that Slav humour as to which occidental Europe is dull of comprehension.

The four chief terms of the code were: that each Wallachian peasant

owes to his landlord first, certain payments in kind; second, twelve days of general labour; third, one day of field labour; fourth, one day of wood-carrying; in all fourteen days in the year.

Future students of history will certainly ask why 14 days? And they may, possibly, strike out a connexion between these and the 14 days penalty of the police-court. One may fairly ask why even one day? Waiving, however, that initial, rational and, I believe, unanswerable enquiry, let us see how the line of these 14 days is stretched out by one device or another.

First of all, the working-day even under this arrangement is virtually one of 24 hours at least. The idea of it is based on the idea of the production of that which would require all the hours of the day and night. Actually each of the 14 days is equivalent to 3 days, and thus the modest demand of the Boyard swells at once to 42 days out of the year that are to be given up to him for nothing. That we are not misled upon this point by the wicked Socialist we may see by reference to the Règlement organique, where it is said in so many words that the one written day is the equivalent of three days of life.

Further, in addition to the 14, alias 42, days of ordinary labour, jobagie was legalised. This is service due on extraordinary occasions, estimated at not less than 14 days for each peasant.  $42 + 14 = 56$ . Out of 365 days in the year, therefore, 56 were sacred to the employer and non-payer of labour. But in reality the proportion is much greater than that represented by these numbers. For only 210 out of the 365 days of the year are in the climate of Roumania available for out-of-door work. Of these 210 another 40 may be taken off for Sundays and fête-days, another 30 for foul weather. These estimates err in favour of the boyard, not of the peasant.  $210 - 40 - 30 = 140$  working-days in the year. Of these 56 are surplus-labour days, wholly given up to the Boyard and to unpaid production for him.

The rate of surplus-value, we saw, was expressed by the fraction  $\frac{s.w.t.}{n.w.t.}$  *i.e.*, surplus working-time ÷ necessary working-time. In the case of the Wallachian boyard and peasant, on which the above figures are based, this rate becomes  $\frac{56}{84} = \frac{2}{3}$ .  $84 =$  the 140 days of total working-time minus the 56 days of surplus working-time.  $\frac{84}{3} = 28$ . Of course the fraction of the whole time given away is  $\frac{56}{140} = \frac{2}{5}$ . Nor should English people lift up too readily their hands and voices at the enormity of this exploitation. It is certainly less than the amount of exploitation suffered by the English agricultural labourer or the English factory hand.

Nor are the devices of the Roumanian owner of all the means of production—even of the labourers' labour-power—at an end here. A very favourite plan is the giving to the peasant on one of his lord's days such a piece of work as cannot possibly be finished in the day. Thus the man is compelled to turn up again on the following day to finish it and to be exploited even beyond the legal limits. By a stretching and a twisting of legal terms again, the agricultural day may actually begin in May and end in October. One of the Boyards cries out in the jubilation of his soul, "the twelve days [of general labour] have become 365."

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| Surplus labour ... ..   | Not the invention of Capital. Occurs wherever there is monopoly of means of production.   |
| Examples ... ..         | Athenian <i>kalos kai agathos</i> ; Etruscan theocrat, Roman citizen, Norman baron, American slave-owner, Wallachian Boyard, modern landlord and capitalist.                  |
| Corvée system ... ..    | The giving of days of unpaid labour to the lord. S.w.t. clearly marked off from n.w.t.  |
| Règlement organique ... | Chief terms affecting labour due from peasant to landlord: 1st, payments in kind; 2nd., 12 days of general labour; 3rd., 1 day for field labour; 4th, 1 day of wood carrying. |
| Jobagie... ..           | Service due on extraordinary occasions. 14 days for each peasant.   |
| Working year ... ..     | 365 days—155 (bad seasons)—40 (Sundays and fête days)—30 (bad weather) = 140 working days.  |
| Rate of s.v. ... ..     | $\frac{56}{84} = \frac{2}{3}$ .   |

EDWARD AVELING.

CIVILISATION.

"OH, if the accursed invisible nightmare, that is crushing out the life of us and ours, would take a shape; approach us like the Hyrcanian tiger, the behemoth of chaos, the archfiend himself; in any shape that we could see and fasten on!" These, the words of Thomas Carlyle, express the sentiments of every truly earnest man and woman. Who is this enemy that stalks throughout the land and renders futile all human effort?

Perhaps there are some that think human effort has not been futile, has hitherto been very successful. Do we not read perpetually of this nineteenth century of ours, its marvels, its improvements? Are we not continually being told that there never was an age like this, that there never were such clever and enlightened men anywhere at any time? Look at our means of locomotion, of communication; our bridges and buildings—what can we not make, what can we not do? Man never had such power over Nature before. To say, therefore, that all human effort has hitherto proved futile is surely to say what cannot be true.

To decide whether any given effort has or has not been successful, it

is necessary to know for what end such effort has been put forth. If a man be seen walking along a road, no one can tell whether that man is going in a right or in a wrong direction, unless his destination be known. So is it with all human actions; they must be judged with reference to the end that they are undertaken for. A man sows that he may reap, and he reaps that he may enjoy; unless this enjoyment be realised, no matter what ingenuity he may have displayed in sowing, no matter what beautiful machinery may have reaped and carried, his efforts must be pronounced futile. The great Pyramid is a stupendous structure. The monarch that built it may be conceived as exclaiming on its completion, "See that mighty monument, there is nothing so big in the world, nothing indicative of such power. I must be the greatest man that has yet lived." At the present day we would call such a monarch the greatest fool that has yet lived, for causing to be wasted so much human labour.

Before judging our modern achievements by the principle that we have just endeavoured to lay down, by the end, that is to say, that they have been intended to fulfil, we shall just say a word as to this end. The end of human conduct has been long a matter of dispute amongst philosophers; *summum bonum*, greatest happiness of the greatest number, and many other phrases, have resulted from this controversy. The mistake that runs throughout this controversy lies in supposing that there is any final end. "A man grows with the growth of his aims," said Schiller; so does a nation, so does mankind. In speaking, then, of the end of human effort we do not presume to lay down any absolute end; what we do lay down, however, and what no one will object to is that man's first necessity is to live, that the bottom principle in our being is the principle of self-conservation.

As to our achievements, then, that we look upon with so much complacency as reflecting our own greatness and skill—our bridges, our railways, our steamboats, our cables, our electric appliances, and all our other multitudinous devices for doing things precisely and rapidly—what purpose have they been constructed for, what end did we propose to ourselves when we invented and made these things? We made these things to the end that we might more easily supply our wants, that it might be easier to live. Railways supersede waggons and barges because they answer the purpose of conveying produce better. Bridges are built over rivers because they save infinitely more labour than they cost. So it is with all our inventions and improvements which have penetrated every department of human activity—all have been made with the view of lessening human toil, of increasing our means of gratification, of making it easier to live; and yet, as John Stuart Mill says, "it is questionable if all the mechanical inventions yet made have lightened the day's toil of any human being: They have enabled," he continues, "a greater population to live the same life of drudgery and imprisonment, and an increased number of manufacturers and others to make fortunes. They have increased the comforts of the middle classes. But they have not yet begun to effect those great changes in human destiny, which it is in their nature and in their futurity to accomplish. Only when in addition to just institutions, the increase of mankind shall be under the deliberate guidance of judicious foresight, can the conquest made from the powers of nature by the intellect and the energy of scientific discoveries, become the common property of the species, and the means of improving and elevating [the universal lot]." Looking squarely at the facts, then, we can come to no other conclusion than that, in Carlyle's words, "Our successful industry is hitherto unsuccessful; a strange success, if we stop here? In the midst of plethoric plenty the people perish; with gold walls and full barns, no man feels himself safe or satisfied."

Assuming, then, that the result of human effort and achievement is not what one might expect, is disappointing, in fact intensely saddening, we shall in these papers examine into the cause of this, and endeavour to give shape, more or less definite, to "the accursed nightmare that is crushing out the life of us and ours." R.

(To be continued).

## OUR EXCHANGES.

### III.—GERMAN.

THERE exists no Social Revolutionary Press in Germany, as in consequence of the Socialist Muzzle Laws passed by the German Parliament in 1878, all revolutionary propaganda is prohibited and all papers advocating international Socialism are at once suppressed, and the editors, publishers and sellers of such publications are punished with long and severe imprisonment. There exist plenty of daily and periodical newspapers advocating the cause of the workingman, but they are only advocating a mild sort of social reform, and therefore we neither exchange with them nor are they of interest to our readers. Consequently if we speak of our German exchanges, we mean the revolutionary contemporaries printed outside Germany in the German language for the German Social revolutionists. As representing the majority of the German labour class we first mention *Der Sozialdemokrat*, a small size four-page weekly, published in Zurich, the official organ of the Social Democratic Party in the German Parliament. It reproduces the views of the German Social Democratic leaders and advocates "practical social politics;" its ultimate aim is the "Volkstaat"—the government of and by the people for the people. Two cuttings from recent numbers illustrate its line of propaganda: "We know that the present order of things carries in itself the elements for its ultimate dissolution and that in spite of all apparent strength, it will finally succumb before our onslaught." "It is possible to advocate

proposals for social reform without deceiving the masses as to their importance, and in emphasising this we show them that there is all hope of our true aim and end being achieved." Next it in importance for the German labour movement are its New York brother and sister *Der Sozialist* and *Die New Yorker Volkszeitung*.

*Der Sozialist*, a large size four-page weekly, is the official organ of the Socialistic Labour Party in America, edited by the National Executive Committee in New York. It is of the same political shade as the *Sozialdemokrat* in Zurich. In speaking of the future economical order of things it says: "Every nation ought to keep flowing the sources of its own country for its own real wants; on the exchange with foreign nations it ought only to rely so far as it has a surplus of products, which to produce would cost more time and labour to the other. This is the only kind of exchange or commerce whereby both parties gain—namely a gain of saved labour." With regard to the woman question it says: "Socialism demands that man and woman be treated on equal terms in the State and in society; but not only is woman to be the social equal of man, but also the economical. Women are to participate on equal terms with men in the fruits of labour."

*Die New Yorker Volkszeitung* appears in a daily edition for America and a weekly one for foreign transmission. It is now eight years old, is eight pages grand folio in size, and has by far the largest circulation. It is the organ of the German-speaking Social Democrats in America as well as in Germany, and propagates the same views as the above-mentioned papers. At present it devotes a good deal of its space to advocating the all-absorbing eight hours' movement in America. It says: "For us Socialists and for every thinking working man the shortening of the hours of labour has immense value, consequently we again and again must speak on the subject, and are anxious to convert all opponents to our view." "Experience teaches us that the longer the working day in any branch, the shorter or smaller you find the pay or wages, and the worse are the conditions under which the labour contract is made. While on the other side you will find short hours go hand in hand with higher wages." "If once the working man becomes conscious of the value of his labour-power and if once he has succeeded in his demand for shorter hours, then he will also try a second and third time to extend his rights and this will ensure the ultimate end of all wage-work."

Now we come to the more advanced paper, *Die Freiheit*. It is the organ of the German-speaking International Communist-Anarchists. It was founded as a small-sized four-page weekly in London, but is now published in New York as an eight-page grand folio weekly. A special edition of four pages is published for foreign transmission. *Die Freiheit* opposes in uncompromising language all parliamentary representation and socialistic reform business, and in this respect follows the same lines as the *Commonweal*. It advocates most energetically "action" against the oppressors and praises dynamite as acting more convincingly on the capitalists than speeches. It says: "Anarchy does not mean chaos, disorder—as our enemies interpret it. No; Anarchy means only the total absence of authority, government—in short of tyranny. Anarchy is the quintessence of real freedom, which knows no mastership and consequently no slavery; it is an harmonious order of things and in short Anarchy means *Harmony*."

We receive also *Der Rebell*, a small-sized four-page paper which appears at irregular intervals. The last received was No. 12, and it is printed and published in London. It propagates Individualistic-Anarchistic principles. It says: "We aim at the highest possible individual liberty, the most perfect autonomy of the individual, and through freedom of knowledge." Its tactics are dynamite, etc. Of more local interest is the following paper: *Die Morgenrothe des XX. Jahrhunderts*, published at Bern, whereof as yet only No. 1 has appeared. *Die Arbeiter Wochen Chronik*, a four-page weekly, published at Pest, is the organ of the German-speaking Labour Party in Hungary. It is a veteran in the labour cause for this is the fourteenth year of its existence. We have also received occasionally *Die Neue Zeit*, a monthly review, published at Stuttgart, dedicated to Scientific Socialism. C. T.

Are almshouses a credit or disgrace to a state or nation? We think a disgrace. They are monumental proofs of misgovernment, as poverty is the direct result of robbery. Charity, as the church and state teach, is not the remedy for poverty; prevention is better than cure.—*Chicago Express*.

A lumberman's axe started out to procure food for his family, but had not proceeded far when he met a Gatling gun in his path, who asked where he was going? "To earn food in this forest," the axe replied. "My dear fellow," said the Gatling gun, "there are certain conditions you must bind yourself to first. If you work hard and are content with the chips—" "But my family are in need of food," retorted the axe; "I will not be bullied." "Now, don't be unreasonable," said the Gatling gun; "we ought to be good friends and will be if you will only be satisfied with what can be spared you. We don't grudge you the chips. Profit has placed me here to look after his rights, and if you will not agree to take what he can spare you, you must go and lie idle." "In that case," said the axe, "I must evidently cut something else!"—*Moral*: Where there is a will there is a way.—*Alarm*.

"ABSTINENCE AND THRIFT."—"Millions," says the *Philadelphia Ledger*, "are talked about glibly in these times without clear understanding of the enormous sum represented by the fifty million dollars left by Cornelius Vanderbilt, the elder, or the two hundred millions left by William H. Vanderbilt to his sons. A Chicago preacher helps one to realise the magnitude of such fortunes by figuring out that, if Cornelius Vanderbilt had been born at the beginning of the Christian era and had saved 25,000 dols. a year ever since, he would not yet have made up his fortune of fifty million dollars; and that, if William H. Vanderbilt had been a contemporary of Adam, and had saved at the same rate of 25,000 dols. per annum, he would still have been far short of his 200,000,000 at the time of his death, and would still have had to toil and save for 2115 years in the future before amassing his fortune of two hundred millions." [Will our friends, the "orthodox" economist, the "practical" politician, step right up and explain?]



All literary communications should be addressed to the Editors of the COMMONWEAL, 13 Farringdon Road, E.C. They must be accompanied by the name and address of the writer, not necessarily for publication.

Rejected MSS. can only be returned if a stamped directed envelope is forwarded with them.

All business communications to be addressed to the Manager of the COMMONWEAL, 13 Farringdon Road, E.C. Business communications must not be sent to the Editors. All remittances should be made in Postal Orders or halfpenny stamps.

### TO CORRESPONDENTS.

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

R. T., N. B. AND OTHERS.—We cannot undertake to return MSS. unless stamps are sent with them.

J. H. SMITH.—The answer of Binning last month renders yours unnecessary, good as it is.

BEKANNTMACHUNG!—Genosse Theodor hält jeden Donnerstag abend einen Kursus für Elementar Unterricht in der englischen Sprache, woran alle Genossen welche derselben noch nicht mächtig sind, theil zunehmen eingeladen werden. Näheres beim Secretär, 13 Farringdon Road, E. C.

KNIGHTS OF LABOR.—(H. K. and others).—For all information as to this order and steps to be taken in organising assemblies, address the General Secretary, Frederick Turner, Lock Box No. 17, Philadelphia, Pa., U.S.A.

ADAM BIRKMYRE.—Have you not misunderstood us a little? There is another thing certain about Socialism besides the fact that it will destroy existing social conditions. Certain as that fact is this one—that Socialism will create new and better social conditions. Nationalising all the means of production is the key to this new evolution. All that we deprecate is such enquiries as how a man will get his daily newspaper and the like, though such works as Grünlund's and your own, show with what ease these details will be arranged.

RECEIVED—England: Anarchist—Worker's Friend—Daylight (Norwich)—Christian Socialist—Church Reformer—National Review—Republican—Journal of Vigilance Association—Justice—To-Day—Der Rebell—Freethinker—Practical Socialist—Leicester Co-operative Record. Belgium: Ni Dieu ni Maitre—L'Insurgé. Canada: L'Union Ouvrière (Montreal). France: Paris: Cri du Peuple (daily)—La Revue Socialiste—Le Révolté—La Question Sociale—Le Socialiste—La Tribune des Peuples—Revue du Mouvement Social, Le Devoir (Guise)—Le Forçat du Travail (Bordeaux). Greece: Harden (Athens). Germany: Neue Zeit (Stuttgart). Holland: Recht voor Allen. Hungary: Arbeiter-Wochen-Chronik (Budapest). Italy: La Question Sociale (Turin)—Il Paria (Ancona)—Il Fascio Operaio (Milan)—In Marcia! (Fano). Morocco: Almoghreb Al-aksa (Tangiers). New Zealand: Watchman. Portugal: O Campino—Voz do Operario—O Protesto Operario (Lisbon). Roumania: Drepturile Omului (daily, Bucharest). Serbia: Tchas (Belgrade). Spain: El Angel del Hogar—Revista Social (Barcelona)—Bandera Social (Madrid)—El Socialismo (Cadiz). Switzerland: Sozial Demokrat (Zürich)—Morgenröthe (Bern). U. S. A.: (New York): Volkszeitung—Der Sozialist—Freiheit—Progress—John Swinton's Paper—Spread the Light—Our Country. (Boston): Liberty—Woman's Journal—Index. Denver (Col.): Labor Inquirer—Chicago (Ill.): Alarm—Detroit (Mich.): Labor Leaf—Muskegon (Mich.): Social Drift—Princeton (Mass.): Word—Cleveland (O.): Carpenter—Chronicle. Cincinnati (O.): Unionist—San Francisco (Cal.): Chronicle—Stockton (Cal.) Mail—Petersburg (Ill.): Voice of Labor—New Haven (Conn.): Workmen's Advocate—St. Louis (Mo.): Die Parole—Altruist. Kansas (Mo.): Sun—Philadelphia (Pa.): Socialist—Pittsburg (Pa.): Labor Herald—Paterson (N. J.): Labor Standard—Baltimore (Md.): Labor Free Press—Valley Falls (Kan.): Lucifer—Atlanta (Ga.): New Working World—Newfoundland (Pa.): La Torpille—Litchfield (Minn.): Radical.

PAMPHLETS RECEIVED.—Emigration Fraud; The Malthusians; Practicable Socialism; Etudes Sociales (No. 6); Enthüllungen über den Kommunistischen Prozess zu Köln, von Karl Marx (new edition); Party Politics; Analysis of Principles of Economics.

RECEIVED.—Bloomfield Stevens, W. Latimer, To Clerks, N. Bottone, Peru under the Incas, Karlichen, American Experiment, Gospel of Work.

SENT.—Last acknowledgment books for the library have been received from Lightner (New York), Rayment.

## LOOTING, SCIENTIFIC AND UNSCIENTIFIC.

NOTHING strikes the Bourgeois mind with a keener sense of horror than the "lamentable," (as he calls it) destruction of property. Misery and starvation in times like the present, are part of the natural order of things, very unfortunate, very deplorable perhaps, but inevitable, and even useful as affording the well-to-do classes an opportunity of posing as the charitable benefactors of the distressed. Besides, is not the traditional founder of that religion which is often described as one of the bulwarks of our "social order," reported to have given utterance to the dictum, "the poor ye have always with you"? But the fracture of plate-glass windows, the destruction or alienation of respectable tradesmen's stock, and in a wholesale manner too, no this verily is not in the bond which knits society together; this is entirely out of the nature of Bourgeois law and order, and hence to be bewailed as a calamity.

We are told *ad nauseam* by the capitalist press that all destruction of "property" is "wanton," and cannot possibly benefit the distressed. It is necessary in the interests of truth to protest against this fallacy,

wholesome as the doctrine may be for Bourgeois security. "Looting," whether right or wrong in itself, is not necessarily a senseless or wanton proceeding. It may conceivably be a significant protest against the social organisation which has its roots in the capitalistic mode of production, or it might even under certain circumstances relieve distress. Every one, of course, will admit that the mere undoing of the labour of men's hands by men seems a deplorable thing, and it would really be so in a rational state of society. But our society of to-day is not rational. It is made up of contradictions. Not the least of these is the fact that the main cause of trade-depressions is over-production—that is that *want is produced by a glut of commodities*. The working classes create during the period when trade is brisk more goods than are required for the market; they thereby forge their own chains, since a reaction ensues, with the result that millions are thrown out of work and deprived of the necessaries of life. And this notwithstanding that there are goods enough and to spare stored up, goods which their own labour has produced, *only* these must lie and rot since they cannot be disposed of at a profit. In proportion, then, as the warehouses and shops are emptied of their contents, it is obvious labour will be again in demand. Thus "looting" being one mode of relieving the overstocked market, might under certain circumstances, sensibly diminish the number of unemployed.

Again, where even it is not carried out on a sufficiently large scale to affect the market, it might still have a meaning as a demonstration or a protest against the monstrous system by which a surplus of goods can be the cause of want. But indiscriminate attacks deprive the action of much of this meaning. In the small capitalist, the extreme development of capitalistic production is not embodied. He is in a sense himself a victim. In him flesh and blood still cleave to capital. It is in the giant firm (or better still the joint-stock company) that capitalism appears in its nakedest, most abstract, and consequently most brutal form. In the "big establishment" with its four or five hundred "hands" ruled over by a salaried manager, we have the type of modern commercial capitalism. An attack on such would have a meaning no looting of small shops could ever possess. It is hardly necessary to remind readers of the *Commonweal* that in saying this we are merely pointing out the conditions under which "looting," however undesirable, would at least not be open to the charge of being "wanton" or "insensate." The time we believe is approaching when it will be the idealist's, the enthusiast's turn to have the clever man of business in derision—that cunning, thrifty, practical man who is no dreamer—when he and his business habits, with their results, will be engulfed by the vast proletarian wave that will shatter the system his "business" is bound up with, and finally cast him naked ashore in a world which knows him not but values him as only the meanest of the sons of men.

"We who once were fools and dreamers,  
Then shall be the brave and wise."

But the time is not yet. Bloodshed and massacre are too high a price to pay even for such a protest as the sacking of one of our great retail houses.

As to the riots of February 5th, though judged by the above standard there is much in them we cannot approve, we are bound to regard them on the whole as productive of good. The price paid happened by a chance combination of circumstances, not to be too high. As against this must be set the promiscuity of the attack and above all the assaults and robbery of private individuals. This latter we may reasonably attribute to the percentage of mere ruffians and thieves which such a concourse is bound to contain. An individual as such is representative of nothing but his concrete personality. The fact that he happens to belong to the privileged classes is not his fault. The property he carries about him is merely there for his personal use. A shop, on the contrary, is representative of the system, is a portion of the capitalist market. But although we repudiate to the utmost any sympathy with assaults on private persons, we nevertheless distinctly dissent from the shoddy chivalry adopted by one of our friends in the park. Surely it is time for Socialists to have done with this nonsense. A man assaulted by a dozen able-bodied fellowmen is, generally speaking, in quite as bad a case as a woman under similar circumstances. The action is not one whit more cowardly in the one case than in the other. Indeed the incident of the lady and her brougham in the park, since no personal injury was done, may be more condoned than some other incidents of the same kind, as showing a certain sense of humour not altogether ungenial.

We can of course quite sympathise with the feelings of the quiet, respectable West-end tradesman, accustomed to read in his paper of the gallant action of men whom his Government have employed for the purpose of storming and looting some Arab or Burmese village—we can quite sympathise with him, we say, when he finds his shop front stormed and looted by men whom his Government haven't employed for that or any other purpose. It is much more pleasant to see portrayed in the illustrated journals the "gallant action" of well-disciplined British troops engaged in the massacre and looting of barbarians and their villages than to have a practical exemplification of the process at home during business hours at the hands of a vulgar London mob. Besides the "gallant action" is performed in the name of the capitalist's *right to trade*, that most vital interest to the patriot; the exceedingly ungallant action of the mob nearer home is merely done in the name of that mob's *right to live*—which is a very different thing, and one which has no connexion with "British interests."

Of the immediate good done by the riots not the least is the exposure of the abject cowardice of the English middle-classes *en bloc*. Such



panic-stricken scare, such a reign of terror as London displayed on the Wednesday was truly a sight for the gods. The want of solidarity between the tradesman-employer and his over-worked shop-assistant was also illustrated. The "hand" wisely abstained from risking his skin merely in defence of the wares by means of which he is exploited. Yet further, and looking only to the immediate gain of the unemployed, no honest man can deny that the events of February 8th have called attention to their condition in a manner no number of peaceful meetings could have done. Their immediate result was to extort from the President of the Local Government Board an extension of outdoor relief. The capitalistic press hypocritically pretended concern lest the Bourgeois out of spite should close his purse to the appeal for aid. What are the facts? Are they not written in the figures of the Mansion House Fund before and after the eventful day? Verily the rattle of plate-glass windows speaks more eloquently to the capitalist heart than any sentimental appeal. No desire to relieve the destitute can approach in strength the desire to preserve one's shop-fronts. A sop must be thrown to Cerberus at all hazards, even though we damn him the while. To those who have none but harsh words for the February rioters we commend the statement of the *Times'* leader-writer, who declares that the absence of serious bloodshed and loss of life was solely due to the "forbearance of the crowd," there being no police on the spot. But what avails that with the Bourgeois world against "destruction of property?"

"They are coming up," said the Regent Street shopkeeper to the painter Vereschagen. The sooner the "respectable" middle-class man recognises this inevitable truth in the full meaning which Vereschagen hinted at, say we, and prepares to make up his account with it, the better will it be for him and his.

E. BELFORT BAX.

## THE RECENT RIOTS.

A MEETING of the unemployed took place in Trafalgar Square on Monday February 8, 1886. After it rioting, exaggerated as it has been by the literary proletariat at the bidding of their own and their masters' fear, certainly occurred. Since then in more than one town there has been similar rioting.

All Socialists are in most ardent sympathy with the unemployed of this and of all other countries. Nor is that sympathy in any way lessened by the fact that they recognise the reasons of the unemployment, recognise that it is inevitable under present conditions, and that it is hopeless to expect any serious and lasting relief, apart from a revolutionary change in the conditions of production and of distribution, under which we live and die.

Further, all Socialists are in complete harmony with the idea of calling together mass meetings of men out of work, and of those sympathising with them—mass meetings that by their vast size may show, at once, how widely-spread is that suffering which is the necessary outcome of our capitalistic method of production, how general is the feeling that a momentous change must come, and is even at hand, and how great is the force at the command of those recognising that change as inevitable. Nor must another use of these large assemblages of the working class be forgotten. They give unequalled opportunity of preaching the doctrine. It is I think better to seize that opportunity than to incite to discursive and aimless pillage.

But most Socialists must feel that the scattered, unorganised use of force is of little use. Further some are of opinion that those who broke windows, and broke into a few shops on Monday February 8, were to a large extent not the active, intelligent members of the working class, to whom especially Socialism appeals, but those unhappy members of the working class, whom the accursed system of capital has forced into the ranks of the rough and of the criminal.

Socialists are seriously conscious of the fact that the great revolution towards which they work will not be brought about in any other fashion than that in which all revolutions have been wrought—viz., by force. The force may be that of mind or, at worst, that of the show of numbers. But the student of history is bound to expect that other force—that commonly known as physical—will come into action. The time for this, however, in England is, I think, not yet. And when the time comes, the source of that force-outburst will be probably not the proletariat, but the capitalistic class, with their human machines, the police and soldiery.

That this will be the way in which the physical struggle will initiate has been seen by the eye of poet and philosopher alike. Shelley in his "Masque of Anarchy," figures a time when the great assembly of the fearless and the free, gathered together to declare itself free, will be attacked by the charged artillery, the horseman's scimitar, the fixed bayonet. Whether we agree with Shelley that then we are to suffer and be strong, until wrath dying away, the assailants are ashamed, or whether we hold, as I do, that other than passive resistance then becomes a duty—we can, in either case, feel with him that the first serious use of physical force must come from the capitalists. And that feeling is intensified when we see the philosopher taking the same line of thought. Marx constantly points out that the first serious aggression must come from the possessors of the means of production. Once let us show them that Socialism is a power, that the workers are practically unanimous in the determination to end the present system, and the force-outburst will come assuredly.

In any case, I think that such unsystematic, isolated action as that of Monday February 8, is to be deprecated. For even supposing that the easily-frightened Government of an easily-frightened nation, sub-

dises certain individuals of certain classes of labourers—that some temporary employment is found for a small fraction of the unemployed, the real question is not touched. This remedy partakes too much of the nature of an ordinary Radical measure. It affords a passing relief to a handful of people. It does not get at the real heart of the matter—the relations of capital and labour. Even if every man and woman out of work to-day could be employed by the State to-morrow, yet the essential principle on which our present capitalistic system with all its misery rests, would not have been touched.

From that which has occurred, however, Socialists in England can learn at once their weakness and their strength. Their weakness is want of completeness of organisation; their strength is in the numbers of the people and the abject cowardice of their oppressors. We must have an organisation co-extensive with the working-classes. Once let us be able to gather together a crowd like that of Monday February 8 in numbers, but unlike it in unanimity as to the reasons and the remedies for misery, and our cause is won.

It is for that end that Socialists work. Always conscious that the ultimate solution of the social problem will be by means of force, many of us yet feel the time for that solution is not yet, and that the present work is to educate and organise the workers until they form a mass of Socialists so earnest, so overwhelming that the end must come.

This feeling in no way prevents our sympathy with the speakers whom the Government are foolish enough to prosecute. We must do our best for all in whom is attacked the right of openly declaring wrongs, their causes and their remedies. They must be defended and supported in this and we must continue to preach Socialism, in season, and out of season, to educate and to organise, until out of the few voices yet articulate grows the cry of "an exceeding great nation."

EDWARD AVELING.

## THE PILGRIMS OF HOPE.

### IX.—A NEW FRIEND.

I HAVE promised to tell you the story of how I was left alone Sick and wounded and sore, and why the woman is gone That I deemed a part of my life. Tell me when all is told, If you deem it fit that the earth, that the world of men should hold My work and my weariness still; yet think of that other life, The child of me and of her, and the years and the coming strife.

After I came out of prison our living was hard to earn By the work of my hands, and of hers; to shifts we had to turn, Such as the poor know well, and the rich cannot understand, And just out of the gutter we stood, still loving and hand in hand.

Do you ask me if still amidst all I held the hunt in view, And the hope of the morning of life, all the things I should do and undo? Be easy, I am not a coward: nay little prudence I learned, I spoke and I suffered for speaking, and my meat by my manhood was burned. When the poor man thinks—and rebels, the whip lies ready anear; But he who is rebel and rich may live safe for many a year, While he warms his heart with pictures of all the glory to come. There's the storm of the press and the critics maybe, but sweet is his home, There's meat in the morn and the even, and rest when the day is done, All is fair and orderly there as the rising and setting sun; And I know both the rich and the poor.

Well, I grew bitter they said;

'Tis not unlike that I did, for bitter indeed was my bread, And surely the nursing plant shall smack of its nourishing soil. And here was our life in short, pinching and worry and toil, One petty fear thrust out by another come in its place, Each scrap of life but a fear, and the sum of it wretched and base. E'en so fare millions of men, where men for money are made, Where the poor are dumb and deedless, where the rich are not afraid. Ah, am I bitter again? Well, these are our breeding-stock, The very base of order, and the state's foundation rock; Is it so good and so safe that their manhood should be outworn By the struggle for anxious life, the dull pain dismally borne, Till all that was man within them is dead and vanished away. Were it not even better that all these should think on a day As they look on each other's sad faces, and see how many they are: "What are these tales of old time of men who were mighty in war? They fought for some city's dominion, for the name of a forest or field; They fell that no alien's token should be blazoned on their shield; And for this is their valour praised and dear is their renown, And their names are beloved for ever and they wear the patriot's crown; And shall we then wait in the streets and this heap of misery, Till their stones rise up to help us or the far heavens set us free? For we, we shall fight for no name, no blazon on banner or shield; But that man to man may hearken and the earth her increase yield; That never again in the world may be sights like we have seen; That never again in the world may be men like we have been, That never again like ours may be manhood spoilt and blurred."

Yea even so was I bitter, and this was my vilest word: "Spend and be spent for our hope, and you at least shall be free, Though you be rugged and coarse, as wasted and worn as you be."

Well, "bitter" I was, and denounced, and scarcely at last might we stand From out of the very gutter, as we wended hand in hand. I had written before for the papers, but so "bitter" was I grown, That none of them now would have me that could pay me half-a-crown, And the worst seemed closing around us; when as it needs must chance, I spoke at some Radical Club of the Great Revolution in France. Indeed I said nothing new to those who had learned it all, And yet as something strange on some of the folk did it fall. It was late in the terrible war, and France to the end drew nigh, And some of us stood agape to see how the war would die,

And what would spring from its ashes. So when the talk was o'er  
 And after the stir and excitement, I felt the burden I bore  
 Heavier yet for it all, there came to speak to me  
 A serious well-dressed man, a "gentleman," young I could see;  
 And we fell to talk together, and he shyly gave me praise,  
 And asked, though scarcely in words, of my past and my "better days."  
 Well, there,—I let it all out, and I flushed as I strode along,  
 (For we were walking by now) and bitterly spoke of the wrong.  
 Maybe I taught him something, but ready he was to learn,  
 And had come to our workmen meetings some knowledge of men to learn.  
 He kindled afresh at my words, although to try him I spake  
 More roughly than I was wont; but every word did he take  
 For what it was really worth, nor even laughter he spared,  
 As though he would look on life of its rags of habit bared.

Well, why should I be ashamed that he helped me at my need.  
 My wife and my child, must I kill them? And the man was a friend indeed,  
 And the work that he got me I did (it was writing you understand)  
 As well as another might do it. To be short, he joined our band  
 Before many days were over, and we saw him everywhere  
 That we workmen met together, though I brought him not to my lair.  
 Eager he grew for the Cause, and we twain grew friend and friend:  
 He was dainty of mind and of body; most brave, as he showed in the end;  
 Merry despite of his sadness, quick-witted and speedy to see:  
 Like a perfect knight of old time as the poets would have them to be.  
 That was the friend that I won by my bitter speech at last.  
 He loved me; he grieved my soul: now the love and the grief are past;  
 He is gone with his eager learning, his sadness and his mirth,  
 His hope and his fond desire. There is no such thing on the earth.  
 He died not unbefriended—nor unbefriended maybe.  
 Betwixt my life and his longing there rolls a boundless sea.  
 And what are those memories now to all that I have to do,  
 The deeds to be done so many, the days of my life so few?

WILLIAM MORRIS.

## NOTES.

The British raid in the Soudan which took place at the beginning of last month has not been followed up. General Stephenson has returned together with the additional troops sent to the front, and the project of any further advance is evidently abandoned, for the present, at all events. Meanwhile it is instructive to note the exasperation of the little ring of journalistic stock-gamblers at Cairo and their frantic efforts to obtain another expedition whereby increased activity in "Egyptians" might be effected. Their telegrams to the "dailies" contain reiterated accounts of "reported advances of the Arabs in strong force," of "consternation among the European residents at Cairo," and other items of news to the same effect.

We are glad to see that the Burmese are not submitting tamely to the British marauders. "Dacoity," we are informed, is "rampant." Would that General Prendergast and his dacoits might be effectually "suppressed" by their victims! But of course, this is impossible. If the native races of India and the neighbouring states would but unite as one man against the oppressor, then even the resources of the British empire might be insufficient to prevent their freeing themselves. But the power of a little ready cash and any amount of promises, seems unfortunately in these cases, always enough to make one or other of them prove "friendly," i.e., traitors to their country.

The following extract from a letter received from a comrade shows us the manner in which the police-slaves do their lords' work on those who are trying to set them free:

"7 Clyde Road, Tottenham, London, N., 13th Jan., 1886.  
 "I was arrested at the High Cross, Tottenham by Sergeant Murphy, while addressing a crowd of about 100 people on the "crisis." Murphy was in plain clothes and quite unknown to me. He thrust and shook me for some moments without giving any sign of authority. I was hurried to the Tottenham police station, and after some bullying, I was offered my liberty if I would promise not to address the public. That I refused; after which a charge of obstruction as usual was made out and as I refused to send for bail, I was confined in the usual ignominious cell with insufficient bedding all night."—R. THOMPSON.

Ultimately Comrade Thompson was remanded on bail, and finally fined 10s.

## LITERARY NOTICES.

"The Malthusians." By P. J. Proudhon. International Publishing Company. Rhetoric rather than argument. And the great pity of this is in the fact that it is evident Proudhon understood the real fallacy and the evil teaching of Malthusianism: Both fallacy and evil teaching stand condemned the moment the Malthusian offers over-population as an explanation, and parental prudence as a solution, of the misery of the working-classes.

*The Ploughshare.* Reversing the scriptural transformation, this ploughshare has become a sword. "The Creation of Hell," on the outside of the little journal, nearly made us throw it away as only an anti-religious periodical. But a paper on Labour and Capital in the heart of it—the right place for this question—caught our eye, and we found that the *Ploughshare* understands that the true hell is earth and that the capitalist is the devil of it.

Do trades unionists ever ask themselves, what makes us so poor while the "bosses" are so rich? How is it that our pay is so low and their profits so high? Why is it that we are turned adrift to starve while we need the very things our labour creates? Why should there be a class to work and other classes to enjoy all the benefits? Why should not labour, like capital, control its own destinies, and regulate its own wages and hours of work? These and scores of other questions should come up for discussion in Trades Unions.—J. F. BRAY.

The following extract from a private diary kept by Thomas Carlyle and given to the world by Mr. Froude is interesting: "A man with £200,000 a year eats the whole fruit of 6,686 men's labour through a year; for you can get a stout spadesman to work and maintain himself for the sum of £30. Thus we have private individuals whose wages are equal to the wages of seven or eight thousand other individuals... What do these highly benefited individuals do to Society for their wages? *Keep the wages?* Can this last? No; by the soul that is in man it cannot, and will not, and shall not!"

## CORRESPONDENCE.

## MARX ON CAPITAL.

1. Those things only which tend towards life can be valuable; materialised human labour does not necessarily fulfil that condition, therefore it is not in itself valuable. Yet I believe you say (*Commonweal*, p. 21) that apart from utility and power in exchange, a product has value. 2. The two statements: "A natural object as such has no exchange value," and "the land ought to have no exchange value," are not parallel, indeed the word "ought" justly discredits the former one. I learn from Rae that Marx admits price is only a particular form of value. Virgin soil has a price, therefore value does not depend solely on the socially necessary time of labour. 3. Is this the solution? "The power in exchange of a piece of virgin soil is in an ever-remaining relation to the labour of obtaining a like piece, and also to its social desirability?" 4. Are the utility and power in exchange of all labour of average productivity accurately measured by time alone? 5. You say (p. 33) gold money "is not a mere sign." Does not its power in exchange depend upon its conventional acceptance as a general equivalent? 6. "Commodities pass from places where their use-value is not recognised" (p. 45). Should it not be "realised"? For a product is not a commodity if its utility be neither imagined nor recognised (p. 21). 7. Is it just to say (p. 57) "orthodox economists believe they find surplus-value by reason of a confusion . . . and of an ignoring . . . ? Why not briefly state their argument?"

R. F. E. W.

[ (1) and (4) Confusion between the three values, of which only one, "value," is due to human labour. (2) and (3) Land has a price, though it "ought" not to, because it can to-day be used as a means for exploitation. Fabulous value (so-called) of land in cities, to wit. (5) Value of gold dependent on labour expended in getting the gold. 6. Recognition involves potential realisation. (7) I think it is just.—E. A.]

## THE PEOPLE'S PRESS.

[Under this heading will be found a collection of pithy paragraphs collated from various journals published in the interest of the workers. Comrades and friends are invited to forward cuttings from English and translations from foreign labour journals.]

It is no use striking against the introduction of machinery. The only way to reap the benefit is to own it.—*Labor Leaf*.

There is much prating about Capital and Labour being brothers. Yes, such brothers as Esau and Jacob—the one defrauding the other of his birthright.—*John Swinton's Paper*.

The danger is not in the possible uprising of the people. It is in their submission to the wrong. "If the people remain quiet under oppression," said Jefferson, "it is lethargy, the forerunner of death to public liberty."—*Our Country*.

Toilers, organise for co-operation; organise not to strike against capital under a wage system, but to free yourselves from both the capitalist and the system which has made him one.—*Decatur (Ill.) Bulletin*.

Because all that is produced is not consumed is no reason for saying there is overproduction—by no means. If a man cannot get employment whereby he can buy a dinner, that doesn't argue that he is not hungry.—*Derison (Tex.) Sittings*.

For every one who is poor because he is ignorant, there are twenty who are ignorant because they are poor; and for every one who is poor because of intemperance there are twenty who are intemperate because they are poor.—*Alarm*.

The day is coming when the toilers will demand to know "the reason why" in plain English; and will refuse to yield up three-fourths of the products to the non-producers without a clear explanation of the necessity for so doing.—*Hayes Valley (Cal.) Advertiser*.

When labour combines for the purpose of securing to itself a portion of its products as it produces them, it is communism; but when monopoly combines to take all and reduce labour to want, it is shrewd business management, and even the enslaved labourer looks on with admiration and wonders when he will be a monopolist.—*Industrial News*.

The railroads take about half the products of this country, and then the banks come in for a good share of what is left. When both banks and railroads are satisfied, the people are left to quarrel over the balance. And the balance is so small that there is a struggle for it among those who produced it. The people had better quit quarrelling over the crumbs, and direct their attention to the fellows who are getting away with the loaves.—*Kirwin (Kan.) Independent*.

At a political meeting a few days since one of the speakers took credit to himself for coming to the town and giving employment to the citizens. He might be entitled to credit if he reaped no benefit himself. He might then pose as a philanthropist. But, like most capitalists, his idea was to reap a return for himself. The employment was preliminary to this. He would reap nothing without sowing the seed first.—*Labor Leaf*.

You may strike till sheol congeals, but as long as you sell your labour to another that other will try to reduce your wages, and if you object to a reduction and quit work and try to dissuade others from taking your place, fraud and force are used to intimidate you and compel you to yield to the will of capital. This will be the way as long as a few men have the power to buy your labour. Under our present social system you are forced to sell your labour or starve, and if you would better your condition you must change the system.—*Topeka Citizen*.

The labour movement is not a political movement. It is essentially a social movement, and he who does not see it in the light of the social revolution is but a trimmer and a hindrance to the attainment of what is right and just. The proof that this movement is not political lies in the fact that under every form of political government, from the autocracy to the democracy, the same agitation is going on, and the same demands are made of the ruling classes. But some of our friends grow impatient because such questions as these are discussed in labour papers. They desire that "practical" questions should be handled, and these "abstract theories" left to professors and doctrinaires. But I notice that "practical questions" almost always lead us to the support of some political mountebank who has no word of condemnation for the legalised methods of robbing the labourer of his earnings.—J. A. LABADIE, in *Labor Leaf*.

While pretending to lean towards the side of the workers, the New York *World* opens an article on the cigarmakers' strike depicting the desolate home of a non-union cigarmaker who was locked out, and making the miserable wife say that the little money her husband received from the boss was better than nothing. "There are seven mouths in the family to fill, and I tell you we can't afford to strike." (This is probably supposed to be an argument against striking, and no doubt seems sound to the *World* man. But if the head of this poor family had received the value of his labour in the past, they would not need to fear a few weeks' vacation, which could be rather enjoyed than otherwise. And it is to gain this that Labour organises. The *World* knows this; but appeals to the ignorant and thoughtless, to the starving, to defeat the object of Organised Labour. But then, the *World* is a capitalistic sheet, and is only showing hypocrisy when it says a good word for Labour.—*Workmen's Advocate*.

**RECORD OF THE INTERNATIONAL MOVEMENT.**

FRANCE.—By far the most important news to chronicle from France—perhaps indeed, from the Continent generally this month—is the splendid stand made by the four working-men's representatives in the Chamber, and more especially the magnificent speech by the miner Basly in his "interpellation" on the subject of the Decazeville "riots." This speech is so good that I am sure comrades will be glad to read something of it, and I regret that want of space forces me to give only a few extracts. It is the more important that we should read this speech, as we are practically ignorant of the condition of affairs at Decazeville that led to the execution of M. Watrin. M. Watrin has, by the sycophant English press, been represented as the unhappy victim of "popular fury." It is well we should know what manner of man this "victim" was, that we may judge for ourselves whether Basly was not right when he called the miners of Decazeville who killed him "des justiciers." I need hardly say, I suppose, that Basly's speech—as well as those of his supporters—caused a perfect tempest in the Chamber. The deputies of all colors tried to distract and intimidate the miner, for the first time addressing such an assembly of "gentlemen", by interrupting him, shouting and yelling at him. Basly read his speech, and when deputies thought fit to jeer at this and his "unparliamentary language" ("I haven't been to school to learn parliamentary language!" said Basly) his dignified reply "Yes, I am reading my speech, and if you had worked like me for eighteen years at the bottom of a mine, perhaps you'd find it difficult even to read," must have made even these "gentlemen" a little ashamed of themselves. Basly began by pointing out the very serious state of affairs at Decazeville. "It is under the protection of bayonets that work is carried on; the soldiery are still at Decazeville, and have even been re-inforced . . . this does not look as if calm were re-established. This proves, on the contrary, that the company and the government fear another outburst. . . . This company, then, is conscious not only of its unpopularity, but also of its exactions, since, like brigands in Calabria it acts, arms in hand. . . . But this is not merely a question of public safety, it is a question of political morality, of social justice. . . . What is happening to day is not new, and it is my duty to explain to you the situation of the workers." After showing what has been the action of the government, Basly continued: "I now touch . . . upon the most important point—the conditions under which the labor of the miners is carried on. . . . To begin with, they are obliged to give the Company two month's credit; it, for example, only pays them on the 28th of February their wages for the month of January, which amounts to a forced loan without interest of 300,000 francs to the Company by its working-men. Thus, when a miner goes to Decazeville Company, he works the first month, and is only paid for that after he has finished the second month. And how, with the ridiculously low wages, can the workman live? This is a way of keeping them in the power of the Company, as they are always in debt. . . . Now this is how Watrin treated the workers; he went down into the shaft in the morning and asked the miners how much they got, and ended by saying to them 'You don't earn enough.' Then in the afternoon he called the manager of the mine saying to him, 'You give so-and-so much to the workers—they earn too much!' So that there was theft and swindling on the part of M. Watrin—(Interruptions)—Watrin used to call the manager of the mine and force him to reduce the price agreed to with the miners. This is simple theft. . . . I have held in my hands monthly cheques for work worth 100 francs, reduced to 34 francs! This, again, is simple swindling! . . . But at last the workers learnt the part played by Watrin, which consisted in again forcing a reduction of the wages agreed upon. They further learnt that M. Watrin was in the habit of reducing at the end of the month the wage that the worker had earned, and that without the knowledge of the men. By this I mean, that the man fancied he was receiving the price of the work done, a certain sum, but M. Watrin permitted himself to reduce this by half, without warning or explanation, to those interested." Next Basly explained how the so-called "Co-operative Societies" started by the Company are used simply to exploit the miners, since 25 per cent. is retained from their wage to form the capital of these undertakings, in which the workers, however, have no share! "In the face of all this," Basly continued, "who shall dare deny that the conflict which broke out a fortnight ago, and that cost M. Watrin his life, was not more than justified? (Exclamations and violent interruptions). The miner who digs the coal is in the same position as the horses that drag the carts of the Company, only the Company have never thought, under the pretext that business was slack, of reducing the rations of the horses,—(oh, oh!)—while every one has seen the wage of the workers reduced. . . . The workers demand . . . a salary always sufficient for their needs, and the needs of their families, and it is a minimum of salary that I am sent here to demand. . . . I now come to a delicate point . . . but I ask you to let me state, not only what I think, but what I know. I only state facts that I have seen. . . . Well, gentlemen, a man has been killed at Decazeville. This man had drawn upon himself all the hate, all the anger of the working and commercial population. . . . He was detested; he had starved a whole population. His rôle had been peculiarly abominable. You know it; it was he who took the bread out of the mouths of the women and children. (Loud protests. M. de Cassagnac: "Do not insult the victim, do not trample on the dead. This is odious!") It is he who is responsible for all that has happened. . . . You protest against my words. And those hundreds of workers, mercilessly stricken by the Company, thrown with their families into the streets! . . . Ah! against the starvers-out of a people there is no law! Well, these workers, these miners, they too are slain, slowly assassinated, and no-one protests. . . . Among the miners the death of M. Watrin—I must say this—is looked upon as an act of justice. It is not I alone who say this, it is the workers who say it. I know I shall be told no one has a right to take justice into his own hands. No! no one has that right—but on this condition only that justice is done. But had the Minister of Public Justice thought of suppressing M. Watrin's exactions? No! so he allowed, or rather he had to let popular justice be done." (Loud protests, interruptions, etc. "This is simply an apology for assassination." Calls to order from the President, for the fifth or sixth time, etc.) "Such summary justice is not rare. It is not long since the worthy, the valiant wife of M. Clovis Hugues, in the very court of justice, executed an abominable creature . . . not only did the jury and public opinion exalt her act, but several of our colleagues, among others M. de Cassagnac, approved this act of summary justice. . . . So it happens that one does take justice into one's own hands, and the executioners (*justiciers*) are not always condemned. But in those acts it was only a question of personal vengeance. Well, is not the anger of a famished, outraged mass just as legitimate? . . . One word more. On July 14, 1789, were not the tyrants who starved out the people executed, and were not their heads

carried about the streets at the top of poles?—and yet has not this Chamber made this revolutionary day the national *fête*? . . . The law never touches the Companies who starve their workers—their are the culpable acts—but who can say the miners of Decazeville are assassins? (Interruptions, and Basly turning to the yelling deputies), "May you always do your duty as I have to-day done mine!"

After Basly, some very good speeches were made by Boudy and Càmélinat. The little group of four that has thus dared to face over 600 men has "deserved well," not only of their own country, but of all Socialists. The formation of this revolutionary group is, of course, a bitter pill for M. Clémenceau to swallow. He fancied Basly and the rest, would, like our miserable Howells and Broadhursts, become a useful "tail" for his party. His indignation at their independence and their determination to have nothing to do with the unclean politicians of any shade, but to stand out boldly as the spokesmen of the people, is almost pathetic.

Our comrade Vaillant has again brought forward a motion of amnesty (to include the Decazeville miners) in the Municipal Council. Meantime, Rochefort's Bill was lost in the Chamber, and Rochefort has in consequence resigned his seat.

ELEANOR MARX-AVELING.

**THE SOCIALISTS AND THE UNEMPLOYED.**

As early as 11 o'clock on the morning of February 8th, the unemployed began to put in an appearance in Trafalgar Square, at the demonstration called for 3 o'clock by Lemon, Peters, Kelly & Co. At 2 o'clock the mass of people had become so great as to fill the Square and to overflow into the adjoining streets. Just after 2 o'clock John Burns of the S. D. F., began to speak from the base of the Nelson monument in condemnation of the political huckstering of the promoters of the meeting. While putting a resolution to the meeting, Burns and those with him were cleared off the monument and took up their position upon the balustrade immediately overlooking the square in front of the National Gallery, where speeches were delivered by Burns, Champion, Hyndman, Sparling, Williams, and others. Several resolutions were carried, and enthusiastic cheers were given for the Social Revolution.

When the meeting broke up in the square, a procession was started by the crowd to go through the West End and "show the people there what hunger and want looked like." When Pall Mall was reached a halt was made outside the Carlton Club, where those who had been carrying Burns upon their shoulders placed him on the stone railings in front of the club and called for a speech. Opposite to the Carlton the pavement was up, and when the loungers at the club windows began to jeer and flout at the already excited and angry "mob," some of these utilised the loose fragments of stone and mortar by hurling them through the windows at the scoffers within, who incontinently fled. After the first crash of glass was heard, the destruction increased rapidly, gravel, broken wood paving, etc., being showered right and left in reckless profusion. Through St. James's Street and Piccadilly surged the crowd, until Hyde Park was reached where, at Achilles Statue, another meeting was held, and several speakers impressed upon the people the absolute necessity of dispersing quietly. Up to this time no pillage had taken place of any consequence, but after the Socialists had left and a large part of the audience quietly gone away, there still remained a large number who started out upon the raid which has since through the blundering and lying of the capitalist press, forced the Government to commence the prosecution of Burns, Champion, Hyndman and Williams, which is still proceeding and serving thereby to popularise the cause of Socialism among the workers.

On Sunday Feb. 22, a mass meeting was held in Hyde Park by the Social Democrats. The audience, numbering about 75,000, almost unanimously voted a resolution, the latter portion of which ran thus:

"That this meeting, though convinced of the pressing need of this instant governmental action on behalf of the working people who have been reduced to poverty and starvation owing to the robbery of their labour by capitalists and landlords, recognises fully that no permanent good will result for the working class until the workers themselves are sufficiently organised to effect the overthrow of the present system of economical and social oppression by taking into their own hands, as an educated democracy, the land, machinery, capital, and all means of production to be used for the benefit of the entire labouring community."

Speeches were delivered from three platforms, and received with frequent applause. In order, apparently, to atone for their neglect of duty on Feb. 8, the police did their worst to provoke a riot so that it might be put down promptly by the immense force held in readiness, and thus in some measure rehabilitate their character for vigilant brutality in the eyes of their bourgeois paymasters. So outrageous was the conduct of the police in charging an orderly crowd of men, women and children, that even the general press has been constrained to admit the unprovoked nature of the attack.—H. S.

**SOCIALIST UNION.**

At the meeting of members held on Tuesday, February 23, at 185 Fleet Street, E.C., Paul Campbell was elected Treasurer, and C. Fitzgerald and A. J. Macpherson, joint secretaries. A resolution condemning the action of the police at the Socialist Demonstration in Hyde Park on Sunday 21st February, was carried unanimously.

**THE SOCIALIST LEAGUE.**

**Notice to Members.**

*Choir.*—The choir meetings are suspended for the present.

*General Meeting.*—On Monday March 29, at 8.30 p.m. Council meets at 7.30.

*Library.*—The librarians, May Morris and W. Chambers, attend on Mondays and Fridays from 7 to 9 p.m. Members who have books from the library in their possession are requested to return them at once, as the librarians wish to collect all books for the purpose of re-cataloguing.

*Reading Room.*—Open from 10 a.m. to 9 p.m. All papers received by the Secretary are sorted and filed and are at the disposal of members.

**MONTHLY REPORT.**

On Monday February 1, the Council passed the following resolution: "That whereas the Liberty and Property Defence League have been, and still are, continually traducing Socialism, we, the Council of the Socialist League, do hereby challenge the said Liberty and Property Defence League, or its accredited representatives to a public debate upon the principles of Socialism, and their alleged

efficacy, if applied, for the removal of the suffering inevitably entailed upon society by the present system." The receipt of this challenge has been duly acknowledged by the secretary of the Liberty and Property Defence League, but up to the present it has not been accepted.

On Monday 15th, it was resolved: "That we, the members of the Executive of the Socialist League, wish to express our heartiest sympathy with those members of the S. D. F. who are to be the victims of a Government prosecution for daring to address a meeting of unemployed and starving men, and condemn the vicious system which breeds criminals, and allows human beings to starve until violence has been committed."

On Monday Feb. 22, the general meeting of London members resolved: "That the question of the weekly *Commonweal* be referred to the Ways and Means Committee, and that they prepare a scheme for working it and bringing it out by the 1st of May, to be brought before the next monthly meeting of members, and that the Committee invite a delegate from each Branch that can send one to give them a detailed account of the kind and amount of help which each Branch can give."

The general work of the League has been fairly satisfactory during the past month, although the sale of literature has been rather dull. Two new leaflets have been issued. One entitled "Home Rule and Humbug," has been widely circulated and generally criticised by the press; the other, upon the topic of the day, is entitled "The Unemployed and Rioting." Of these there have been several thousands distributed and more are being sent out. "A History of the Commune of Paris" in pamphlet form, will be issued about the middle of March, in order in some measure to meet the blundering lies of capitalistic historians and commentators.

Two new Branches have been added to the League during the past month. The Croydon members who have been incorporated as the Croydon Branch of the League have always been most energetic workers for the cause. Owing to a combination of circumstances, they have thought it advisable not to hold public lectures, but they meet once a week for discussion, and to make arrangements for the very effective propaganda they carry on in other ways.

Our Norwich comrades have held a pioneer class for the study of social questions for a considerable time past, and on the 7th February they unanimously resolved to apply for incorporation as a Branch of the League. This has accordingly been done, and our comrade William Morris is going to Norwich on the 8th March to lecture on behalf of the new Branch. Although most of them are new members they are old workers and have done an enormous amount of missionary work by lectures, discussions, house-to-house visitation, and distribution of literature. Appearances promise that this will be a very strong and influential Branch.

A report of the Christmas Tree and Children's Party on December 26th was inadvertently omitted from our last issue. It is sufficient now to say that it was a marked success, some hundreds of children thoroughly enjoying themselves. A small monetary balance remains in the hands of the Committee, which will serve as the nucleus of a fund to provide an excursion for the children during the summer.

At the weekly meeting of the Birmingham Branch of the Socialist League, the following resolution was carried unanimously: "Resolved, that while we sympathise with the unemployed throughout the country, and heartily approve the action of the Social Democrats of London at the yesterday's demonstration at Hyde Park, we condemn in the strongest terms the conduct of the police as base, cowardly and brutal in the extreme, and that it is the duty of the Radical Party in the House to demand an immediate explanation of the Home Secretary."—W. TAYLOR, sec., Feb. 22, 1886.

### "THE COMMONWEAL."

The title-page, index, and covers for binding the volume of the *Commonweal* for 1885, can be obtained of the manager, 13 Farringdon Road, for 2s. A few bound volumes can also be had, price 3s.

As it has been definitely resolved to make all possible preparation for the starting of the weekly issue by the 1st of May, members and branches are urgently requested to do their utmost in getting subscribers, and to let the Committee know at the earliest opportunity what number they are prepared to guarantee to sell weekly.

### LECTURE DIARY: March, 1886.

#### HALL OF THE SOCIALIST LEAGUE 13 Farringdon Road, E.C.

Lectures.—Every Wednesday at 8.30 p.m. Admission free; discussion invited. March 3. Public Debate: "Socialism defined and its purpose defended." Affirmative, C. W. Mowbray; Negative, James Bedford. 10. G. Brocher, "The Familistere." 17. Stewart D. Headlam, "Christian Socialism." 24. G. Bernard Shaw, "Points disputed among Socialists." 31. F. Kitz, "The Criminal Classes—High and Low."

#### Sunday Evening Lectures.

Special attention is called to a projected series of Lectures to be held in the Hall of the League on Sunday evenings, commencing at 7.30. March 7. Andreas Scheu, "Owen, Marx and Blanqui." 14. H. H. Sparling, "The Latterday Devil." 21. Laurence Grönlund, "England's Future in the Light of Evolution." 28. A. K. Donald, "Solidarity." Concert.—On Saturday March 27, at 8 o'clock, under the management of May Morris, Sparling and Theodor.

### BRANCH MEETING ROOMS.

#### LONDON.

**Blommsbury.**—The "Eagle and Child" Coffee House, 45 Old Compton Street, Soho. Every Thursday at 8.30 p.m. March 4. R. A. Beckett, "Happiness." 11. Discussion on above. 18. H. H. Sparling, "The Münster Commune." 25. Discussion on above.

**Croydon.**—Parker Road. Business meeting every Sunday afternoon at 3 p.m.

**Hoxton (L. E. L.).**—Exchange Coffee House, Pitfield Street, opposite Hoxton Church, N. The room is open every Sunday morning at 11.15, evening at 7.45. Evening lectures: March 7. D. Nicoll, "Charms of Civilisation." 14. H. A. Barker, "The Poor's House." 21. R. A. Beckett, "Happiness." 28. H. H. Sparling, "Meaning of the Revolution." Morning arrangements: 7. Readings and committee. 14. Westwood, "Temperance Question from a Socialist point of view." 21. Readings and Committee. 28. J. P. Allman, "John Law, the Proto-Capitalist."

**Marylebone.**—"Walmer Castle" Coffee Tavern, 136 Seymour Place, Marylebone Road, W. Sunday evenings at 8 o'clock. Mar. 7. Hubert Bland (Fabian), "Nihilism." 14. G. Brocher, "The Familistere at Guise; a practical attempt at a solution of the social question," (illustrated by diagrams and photographs). 21. At 7, General Meeting of Members, important business; at 8, Joseph Lane, "The Different Schools of Socialistic Thought." 28. Mrs. C. M. Wilson, "The Utility of the Theory of Anarchism in Practical Socialist Propaganda."

**Hammer-smith.**—Kelmescott House, 26 Upper Mall, W. Sundays at 8 p.m. March 7. A lecture. 14. William Morris, "The aims of Art." 21. A. K. Donald. 28. S. Stepniak, "The position of Workmen in Russia."

**Hackney.**—All members and sympathisers willing to work in the formation of a Branch in this district, are asked to communicate with J. Flockton, care of the secretary, at the League office.

**Merton.**—11 Merton Terrace, High Street. Every Sunday, 8 p.m. March 7. A lecture. 14. G. Brocher, "The Familistere." 21. J. Lane, "Revolution or Reform."

**Mile-end.**—I. W. M. Educational Club, 40 Berner Street, Commercial Road. Tuesdays at 8 p.m. March 2. C. W. Mowbray, "Lords and Commons v. The People." 16. R. Banner, "The Social Revolution." 23. R. A. Beckett, "Wealth." 30. H. H. Sparling, "The Blind Samson."

**North London.**—Camden Hall, King Street, Camden Town. N. Wednesdays at 8.30 p.m.

**South London.**—Peckham and Dulwich Radical Club, 144 Rye Lane, Peckham. Every Tuesday at 8 p.m. March 2. W. A. Chambers, "Right and Duty." 9. R. A. Beckett, "Wealth." 16. D. Nicoll, "Socialism and Political Economy." 23. C. W. Mowbray, "Lords and Commons v. The People." 30. R. Banner, "The Social Revolution." Business meetings at 103 Bird-in-bush Road, on Sunday evenings at 7.30.

#### PROVINCIAL.

**Birmingham.**—Bell Street Coffee House. Every Monday evening, at 7.30. All are invited.

**Bradford.**—Laycock's Temperance Hotel, Kirkgate. Meetings every Tuesday at 8 p.m. Sympathisers invited.

**Dublin.**—The Carpenter's Hall, 75 Aungier Street. Thursdays at 8 o'clock sharp.

**Edinburgh (Scottish Section).**—4 Park Street. Meets every Friday at 8.30 p.m. Lecture in Oddfellows' Hall, Forrest Road, on Tuesday 2nd March, at 8 p.m., by Laurence Grönlund, subject, "Are the Rich getting richer, and the Poor poorer?"

**Glasgow.**—Neilson's Hotel, Ingram Street, every Saturday at 7 p.m. Lectures and discussions. All are invited.

**Leeds.**—54, Myrtle Street. Meets every Wednesday.

**Leicester.**—Secular Hall, Humberstone Gate.

**Manchester.**—County Forum. Mondays, at 8 p.m.

**Norwich.**—Lecture in Victoria Hall on Monday evening, March 8, by William Morris, on "Socialism."

**Royley.**—"Greyhound Inn." Every Sunday evening at 7.30.

**Oldham.**—Mrs. Wrigley's Coffee Tavern, 9, Old Market Place. Meets every Wednesday at 7.30 p.m. The Secretary will be happy to give lectures on Socialism to any of the Liberal and Radical Clubs in the town and neighbourhood; address 57 Landsdowne Road, Chadderton, Oldham. Comrade Tod, 73 Book Street, off Ashton Road, will be glad to see or hear from *bona fide* inquirers.

**Oxford.**—"Elm Tree Tavern," Cowley Road. Every Monday at 8.30 p.m.

### OPEN AIR PROPAGANDA.

**Edgware Road.**—Corner of Bell Street. Every Sunday morning, at 11.30.

**Hyde Park.**—Sundays, 3.30 p.m., near Marble Arch.

**Marylebone Road.**—Corner of Seymour Place. Every Sunday evening at 7.30.

**Mulland Arches, St. Pancras Road.**—Sundays, 11.30 a.m.

**Mile-end Waste.**—Sundays, 11.30 a.m.

**Hulme.**—The Viaduct, Chester Road. Sundays, 7 p.m.

**Leeds.**—Vicar's Croft. Sundays, afternoon.

**Manchester.**—New Cross, Oldham Road. Sundays, 2.30 p.m.

**Oldham.**—Curzon Ground. Sundays, afternoon and evening.

### MEETINGS OF OTHER SOCIETIES.

**Celebration of the Commune of Paris.**—On Thursday, March 18, at 8 p.m., at South Place Chapel. Speeches in several languages by Representatives of the Socialist League, Social Democratic Federation, International Working Men's Clubs, Cercle Révolutionnaire Français, I. W. M. Educational Club, Deutscher City Club, Communistischer Verein, and other societies. Admission free.

**TOTTENHAM BRANCH S. D. F.**—2 Albion Terrace, Broad Lane, Tottenham. Sunday March 7.—J. Macdonald, "Socialism and Slavery." 14. H. Quelch, "Practical Politics." 21. E. Barnes, "Socialistic experiments in America." 28. G. Clifton, "Three Acres and a Cow."

**ST. PHILIP'S SCHOOLROOMS, King's Cross Road.**—On March 11, at 8 p.m. W. Blundell, "Money, Competition, and Revolution."

### WHERE TO GET THE "COMMONWEAL."

#### LONDON.

Old Ford Road—Roberts, 4; Caudle, 139.  
 Globe Road—Poole, 24; Caudle, 241; Brown, 253.  
 Mile End Road—174. Haines, 212; W. Cole, 84 New St., Bedford St., wholesale agent; Hendry, 6 Jubilee Street.  
 Commercial Road—C. A. Schweitzer, 43; Viney, 115; Busby Brothers, 184; Long, 234; Briggs, 244.  
 Whitechapel Road—Kerby, 118; Eades, 219; J. Brown, 18 Bakers Row.  
 Hackney Road—Miller, 15; Wood, 10; Smith, 182; C. Ell, 443; Hammond, Goldsmith Row; Auckland, 4 Bishops Road; Vale, 4 Bonner Road.  
 Mare St., Hackney—J. Yates, 4 West Street.  
 Bishopsgate—E. T. Pendlrill, 26 Brushfield St.  
 Fleet Street—Freetthought Publishing Co., 63; Reeves, 185; Cattel & Co., Bouverie St.  
 Strand—Pit, 30 Newcastle St.  
 Farringdon St.—Progressive Publishing Co., 28 Stonecutter St.  
 Comrade Wm. Blundell, 14, Camden Passage, Islington, N. Agent for Socialist League publications.

#### PROVINCES.

**BIRMINGHAM.**—J. Sketchley, 348 Cheapside.  
**BRADFORD.**—G. Minty, 3 Crab St. Hall Lane.  
**BRISTOL.**—Morris, Narrow Wine St.  
**DUBLIN.**—J. J. Lalor, North Earl St.  
**EDINBURGH.**—B. Given, 20 Bristo St.; Robinson, Greenside St.  
**GALASHIELS.**—The News Stall, Princess St.  
**GLASGOW.**—J. Adams, 91, Houston St.  
**HAMWICK.**—J. Finlay, High St.; J. C. Goodfellow, High St.  
**HULL.**—H. Witty, Suffolk Row, Wincolmlie.  
**HAYVERHILL (Suffolk).**—Chevens & Son, High St.  
**LEEDS.**—T. Maguire, 54 Myrtle Street.  
**LIVERPOOL.**—Landing Stage;  
 Stocker, 27 Vauxhall Road; Tibbs, 11 St. James Place; F. Bacon, Prescott St.  
**MANCHESTER.**—W. Addison (Wholesale) 22 Carnarvon St., Dickens St., Queen's Road.  
**NORTHAMPTON.**—W. Brain, 16 Little Cross St.  
**OLDHAM.**—J. Salway, 4 Falcon St. off Ashton Road.  
**OXFORD.**—English, 38 St. Ebbe's St.; Miss Foy 5 The Plain, St. Clement's.

**PROJECTED HANDBOOK.**—The need of a compact and portable Handbook for the use of our lecturers and speakers has been much felt, and it is proposed to compile one as quickly as possible. The co-operation of every one interested in the subject is invited. The plan of the work will include definitions of all terms used by us, objections most commonly raised and how to meet them, and a full reference to authorities upon every point. Suggestions or offers of aid will be gladly received by H. Halliday Sparling, at the office of this paper.

Ready by 15th March.

**A History of the Commune of Paris.** By WM. MORRIS, E. BELFORD BAX, and VICTOR DARVE.—Will be issued as one of the Socialist Platform series.

**REVOLUTIONARY RHYMES AND SONGS FOR SOCIALISTS.** Fifteen selections. 1d.

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