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# THE COMMONWEAL

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WEEKLY; ONE PENNY.

## NOTES ON NEWS.

MR. DE RUTZEN'S sentence on the so-called rioters by the Marble Arch is a fitting pendant to the Norwich affair in which the members of the League suffered; and though no doubt Mr. De Rutzen can lay claim to be represented by Mr. Nupkins as well as Justice Grantham, one cannot help thinking that there is something behind that, and that the "worthy magistrate" has had a hint to do a little terrorism, and that the unfortunate persons who were not Socialists, who have found themselves in the same prison-van as the Socialists, must do their best to console themselves with the fable of the cranes who suffered for being found in the same net with the more game birds who were the hunters' real quarry: the members of the S. D. F. were of course the real persons aimed at.

One advantage the "rioters" have at all events, that the affair having happened in London, and chancing to coincide in time with the growing feeling against the Tory government, the press has been compelled to take it up in some way or other. The *Pall Mall*, for instance, has a leader on the subject, which does it much credit, while it had not one word to say about the equally monstrous sentence passed on our comrades at Norwich, prefaced as it was by Grantham's charge to the jury in which he coolly prejudged the case.

As for the disavowal by Government of its agents Poland, Matthews and De Rutzen, which the *Pall Mall* cries out for, that can hardly be expected, unless a general public outcry forces them to give way when the appeal is tried: they have done what they were told to do, and are in their places to exercise arbitrary violence whenever it seems advisable to do so; and the "respectable" mob that backs them is both too stupid and too truculent even to note the grim joke of De Rutzen kindly consenting not to send the accused to a jury, on which they might at least have had a chance of finding one or two honest and un-servile persons who would have listened to the evidence and tried to find out what it was worth, instead of taking their opinion from that gross abuse, the summing-up of the judge: they would, I say, have had that chance, though it must be admitted that English juries are grown so servile, that it would be but a chance.

The reactionists are getting on, that must be allowed; to take advantage of a mere slight disturbance, provoked by what was admitted on all sides (except Poland & Co.) to have been the bad conduct of the police, to strike terror into the Socialists, is a considerable advance on their part. Their next step will probably be to drop all pretence of defending the rights of the public to the free use of the highway, or of supporting the police in quelling a disturbance, and to attack opinion directly. There is plenty of law for it, and they will have no difficulty in getting a conviction, if the unsupported evidence of policemen is to be accepted as good enough for the purpose.

The disturbance on Sunday at Kennington was the natural outcome of the police magistrate's decision of the week before not to defend a Socialist from violence. At the same time it may seem to some persons as the result of a deliberate plot on the part of the police to get rid of a Socialist preaching-stand without incurring the trouble and odium of a prosecution for obstruction. In that case it is a simple dodge and seems likely to be an effective one, since there can always be found handy a genuine collection of idiots under the name of a branch of the Primrose League, who, having nothing to say, don't want to hold meetings except amongst themselves, and so need not fear reprisals.

W. M.

The Canadian Parliament by 135 votes to 47, and the Nova Scotian by a large majority, have voted a resolution against the Coercion Bill and in favour of Home Rule in Ireland. This is but a sample of the way "our" colonies regard "us." Imperial Federation may mean more to the Jingoës than they will care for.

Some excitement is being caused by the proceedings of the Maharajah Dhuleep Singh and the supposed Irishman who accompanies him. When a great power like England subjects any Indian prince, or other victim of its rapacity, to the usual "civilising influences" of robbery by force, the victim is denounced virulently if he seeks redress, and more so if revenge.

Even the purity *Pall Mall* joins in the outcry against the unfortunate Indian in question and calls out for his incarceration—if caught!

However bad the man may be, he is distinctly entitled to resist England with all his power, and the English Government has treated him and many of his fellows with such brutal treachery that it is hard to blame him if the means he adopts be modelled in too close imitation of the example set him.

Counsel applied in the Queen's Bench Division on 27th ult., for an order to compel the corporation of Birkenhead to grant a licence for a traction engine to Messrs. Fox. The Lord Chief Justice remarked that Birkenhead had not been made for Messrs. Fox and their traction engines, and refused the motion. We know nothing of the "merits of the case," but it is cheering to find that a capitalist may sometimes be prevented from doing just everything he wants to.

A theory quite opposite to that held by the Lord Chief Justice is usually held: That the whole world, and all that in it is, belongs to the bourgeois to do what he likes with.

At the Wimborne police-court lately two brothers were charged with unlawfully wounding their stepfather. Prosecutor had been beaten till he was unconscious, and left by the roadside. He was conveyed from the union workhouse to the police-court, and had his head bandaged and one arm in splints. Prisoners were fined 15s. 6d. each or fourteen days' in default! At the same court a man named Drott, against whom there was nothing previously, was charged with stealing four penny worth of straw, and was sentenced to one month's imprisonment with hard labour, without the option of a fine!

Can it be wondered at that the workers are "becoming infected" with Socialism, when they see how lightly any injury wrought their limbs or lives is regarded as compared with any "infringement of the rights of property"?

H. H. S.

## THE IRISH QUESTION.

### III.—LANDLORDISM.

In dealing with the Land Question in Ireland, and before coming to the economical part of the subject, it may be well to take a general view of the position and claims of at least a few of the great landholders. At p. 178, of Part III. of the 'New Doomsday Book' (for Ireland) published in 1876, we have the following summary.

There are 110, each holding 20,000 acres and upwards, dividing among them 4,151,142 acres, with a stated valuation of £1,512,594. No one must for a moment suppose that the valuation represents the rental. There are 192 holding from 10,000 to 20,000 acres each, making a total of 2,607,719, with a valuation of £1,174,223. There are 440 others holding from 5,000 to 10,000 acres each, giving a total of 3,071,471 acres, and a valuation of £1,453,697. We thus find that 742 persons hold, and claim as their own private property, 9,830,632 acres out of a total of 20,047,572 acres. That the valuation returned amounts to £4,140,514, out of a total of £10,182,681. At p. 186 it is stated that the non-residents only number 1,643, that is, those who very rarely or never reside in Ireland; that these hold 4,513,861 acres with a valuation of £2,139,143. Then there are one hundred and sixty-one companies or charitable institutions (including the London companies), who hold 582,327 acres with a valuation of £234,678. Also 1,350 landlords whose residence is not ascertained, yet who hold among them 615,308 acres, the valuation of which is £331,673. There is no doubt that the total rental taken from the country and spent elsewhere, amounts to at least £5,000,000 to £6,000,000 a year. Such a drain and from such a poor country as Ireland (under present conditions), must of itself produce widespread ruin amongst the population. A drain of five millions a year from Ireland is equal to at least one hundred millions a year from England.

In the county of Fermanagh there are seven great landlords. Of these men one of them, Sir Victor Brooks, writing in the *Standard* of November 24, 1880, in defence of their position as landlords, said: "The larger part of this county is held by the descendants of seven families planted there by the monarchs and statesmen of the last three hundred years." And Sir Victor Brookes thought that was enough as a justification of their claims to the land. Let us look at the holdings of these seven men.

First on the roll is the Marquis of Ely. It will be remembered that the Lord Loftus (formerly spelled Lofthouse) of 1880 was one of the Irish traitors who received £45,000 in money and was made Marquis of Ely for his treachery to Ireland. He holds in the county Fermanagh 34,416 acres; in two other counties 13,153 acres; total, 47,569; and a rental of £22,556. The Earl of Erne, in county Fermanagh 31,067 acres, in three other counties 9,751; total 40,820 acres with a rental of £23,867. The Earl of Enniskillen comes third with 30,146 acres and a rent roll of £13,833. The Earl of Lanesboro has a total of 15,499 acres, and a rental of £15,297; and the Earl of Belmore a total of 20,495, and rental £11,450. Then Mr. E. M. Archall has a total of 34,733 acres and a rental of £17,469. And last, though not least, comes Sir Victor Brookes with a total of 29,312 acres, and £15,630 a year as rental. Here are seven families placed there by the monarchs and statesmen of the last three centuries, and who claim as their own over 218,000 acres of land, and who have the cool impudence to plunder the people on those lands of more than one hundred and twenty thousand pounds a year. And that plunder by seven families is the basis of law and order in the county of Fermanagh.

Let us take a few others of these great land thieves, whose claims rest on the plunder and rascality of ages, and who to day are the representatives of law and order in Ireland.

The Marquis of Lansdowne, famous as a cruel and heartless evictor. He claims as his own, 11,149 acres in England, and in Ireland as follows: County Kerry, 94,554 acres; County Meath, 15,356; Queen's County, 8,311; Dublin, 2,139; King's County, 1,884; Limerick County, 1,606; and Kilkenny, 518 acres; giving a total of 135,517 acres and a rental of £53,465. The Marchioness, his mother, who holds the Barony of Nairne, has 9,070 acres in Perth and 134 acres in Kinross, with a rental of £8,881 per annum. No one will say but that the Fitzmaurices are well provided for.

Another descendant of the great land thieves of the Reformation era is the noble Duke of Devonshire, the head of the Cavendish family. The present Duke holds in the county of Derby, 83,829 acres; in York, W.R., 19,332; in Lancaster, 12,681; in Sussex, 11,062; in Somerset, 3,014; in Lincoln, 1,392; Cumberland, 983; Middlesex, 524; Notts, 125; Chester, 28; and Stafford, 26 acres. In Ireland: County Cork, 32,776; Waterford, 27,540; and Tipperary, 9 acres. Here is a man, a representative of the plundering classes, and who holds as his share of the plunder 193,381 acres and a yearly rent-roll of £172,099. The noble Marquis of Hartington also holds in the county of Derby 5,633 acres, with a rental of £6,257. The Hon. R. Cavendish holds in Bucks, 3,379 acres; in Stafford, 2,204; and in Denbigh, 1,444 acres, with a rental of £11,024. Here is one family holding lands, stolen from the people, amounting to 205,991 acres, and a yearly rental of £189,380. What a mass of plunder to be in the possession of one family. Why one year's plunder is enough, and more than enough, to send into penal servitude ten thousand ordinary criminals.

Take another of these noble land-stealing families, the Beresfords. This is another of those noble families on whose right to plunder the people, depends the reign of law and order in Ireland. As I have before explained, James I., of glorious memory and of God-like attributes, having made up his mind not to pay his debts, sent a young man of the name of Tristram Beresford to select lands in Ireland, as a right royal payment to the London Companies. Young Beresford was also to select lands as payment for his own services. Of course, King James was not going to pay him, so the young fellow had to plunder the Irish people. Well, he did so to his hearts content, and to the very happy content of his descendants. But let us see what is to-day the amount of plunder held by this noble family. The Marquis of Waterford holds in the county of Waterford 40,050 acres, and in six other counties in Ireland 69,184, making 109,234 acres, with a rental of £50,642. Other members of the family hold among them 60,783 acres, and a rental of £34,955. It has been calculated that from the time of young Tristram Beresford, this family have taken from the Irish people over thirty millions sterling. And the robbery still goes on.

As another instance, take the notorious King-Harman, the present Under-Secretary for Ireland. He holds in county Longford, 32,531 acres; in Roscommon, 29,242; in Sligo, 12,629; in West Meath, 1,415; and 1,024 acres in Queen's County; total, 76,841 acres, and a rental of £42,655. Even the Duke of Marlborough holds in Ireland 16,392 acres, and of course Lord Randy is interested in the Irish question. Of course the Noble Lord cannot be less than patriotic!

One other sample of Irish landlordism. Lord Kenmare, the brutal, heartless exterminator in County Kerry, holds 105,359 acres, with a rental of £26,591. In August last, this splendid specimen of Irish landlordism was protected by 38 policemen at a cost to the county of £3,800 a-year. Kerry is one of the poorest counties in Ireland, the assessment to the income tax being only £2, 18s. 11d. per head of the population, while in West Meath it is £12, 7s. 10d.

We must remember that as regards the great landlords there is no question of their claims resting on purchase. There is not one in ten that even pretends to such title. We have seen how the great mass of the land has been confiscated, and confiscation forms the basis of the whole landlord system in Ireland.

There is another consideration. As the late J. S. Mill pointed out, the average Irish landlord, instead of improving his estate, does not even put up the fences and farm buildings, which everywhere else it is the landlord's business to do; these are left to be done by the tenant. Even supposing the landlords to be entitled to the land, that it were absolutely theirs, they could have no moral claim whatever to the

value of the improvements made by the tenants—houses, outbuildings, fences, roads, etc. Yet, not content with having robbed the people of the land; not content with having plundered them for centuries; not content with all that, by the Encumbered Estates Act, 1849, all the improvements, in roads, in fences, and the increased fertility of the soil; all the houses, and the out-buildings of every description became the property of the landlords wherever evictions took place, and in all cases the rents were raised in proportion to the value of the improvements made. Such a system of wholesale robbery in the name of law never took place in any other age or country. The extermination and plunder of the people is the great and leading trait in the character of the Irish landlords. As an instance of their propensity to rob and exterminate the people, the late J. S. Mill mentioned the following case, which is typical of Irish landlordism: "A number of tenants reclaimed a large tract of land on the sea-shore of Clare, and built the little watering-town of Kilkie. Their leases fell in. The Marquis of Conyngham raised their rents, in some cases 700 per cent., and reduced, by ejections, the population from 1,879 to 950, driving them off the estate altogether."

Such are the deeds of Irish Landlordism. Too long have they cursed the land of the Sister Isle. Too long have they plundered and massacred the Irish people. And all this in the name of England, of law and order, of civilisation. The time has come when this curse to the Irish people, this shame and scourge of the United (?) Kingdom shall cease. It is for the people to take up the cry raised by Gladstone, it is a struggle of the masses against the classes. And the people, the workers, having right and justice on their side, hold in their hands all the elements of success. Let them carry it to a successful issue against the non-producing plundering classes.

J. SKETCHLEY.

## EARLY COMMUNAL LIFE AND WHAT IT TEACHES.

(Continued from p. 139.)

WE have now got some idea of the state of society under the various developments by examining countries which are still passing through the different stages; it remains for us to see whether we can discover any consistent method or purpose in this long evolution of property in society. First we saw the savage living on the spontaneous produce of the earth. He lived on his own energy, depending on himself for everything. He did not co-operate with his fellows, or acknowledge any authority except leadership in war. The individualistic side of his character is brought out to the full extent. The struggle for existence is keen, the strongest surviving, the weakest going to the wall unhelped by any. Soon, owing to increase of population and decrease of the supply of game, it ceases to be possible to live by the chase alone, and men commence to keep herds of cattle, often held as the common property of a tribe, though often also the property of some patriarch such as we are familiar with in the Old Testament. This advance is only possible by the first development of the social side of man's character, that which makes him wish to live and co-operate with his fellows, to consider them and their interests as well as his own. So long as the savage individualistic element was the only one developed, no society was possible; circumstances forcing men to form societies, also compelled them to curb their strong individualist instincts, and so allow the growth of the social side of their nature. Gradually societies become more and more defined. Agriculture brought the nomadic tribes to a permanent halt, the social side of man developed, and communities of all sorts were formed, bound together by strong ties of mutual dependence amongst the members. The patriarchal family, governed by the head or elder, which the pastoral age had so much fostered, formed the basis. The further these family groups developed, the more the individualistic side of man was suppressed, until the time of the village communities was reached. These were associations of families holding the land they tilled in common. The unit of society had ceased to be the individual and had become the family. The heads, as representing the families, elected the governor and arranged all affairs of common interest. The common lands were divided amongst the families, the individual only shared as a member of a family in which all tools for cultivation and other property were held in common. The suppression of the individual reached its height in these communes; he was no longer master of his own body, and had to marry whomsoever the head considered it was for the common good that he should marry.

This extreme suppression of individual liberty and right resulted in the most perfect growth of the social side of man. These societies lived together in harmony, in security and peace. All had enough, and all shared in the common good to which the individual was subordinated. But man having been taught that he was a social animal, that only by co-operation and sympathy with his fellows could he live happily and prosperously, seemed to have forgotten some of the lessons which he learnt when wandering wild in the woods. He had forgotten that each man has a special individuality of his own, different to his fellows, made up of special energy, capacity, and temperament, and that the fullest development of this individuality is one of the greatest purposes of progress. So nature refused to allow mankind to rest in any form of society, however harmonious and beautiful, which did not acknowledge and cultivate the individual unit, did not give to every man and woman in it the chance of the fullest development. The result was

Podsnappian type of bourgeois, who must in consequence perforce assume an appreciation of it, while with music he is under no such obligation. Here, then, we have cant in a double form.

Lastly, we come to the Socialist cant. Here we touch on delicate ground. But we must, nevertheless, face the truth that with the sentimental or semi-sentimental Socialism of the middle-classes there is mingled a good deal of half-unconscious cant. There is a sort of feeling that poverty, squalor, and coarseness are in themselves sacred, and the "good young man" who, instead of joining the Y.M.C.A. takes to studying "social questions," seems to think it incumbent on him to develop a taste for sordid habits and surroundings. A worthy person, with aspect of spotless cleanliness and refinement, was heard to exclaim recently in a moment of wild enthusiasm, that he had rather sleep in a bed infested by noisome insects than eat and drink the wedding-breakfast of a baronet. Now this sentiment, it seems to me, is more fitting in the mouth of a retired bacon-factor turned vestryman and presiding at a soup-kitchen, who wants to keep the poor contented with their lot, than in that of a Socialist. Beds, as above, are within the reach of all, even the poorest of our brethren, but baronet's breakfasts are certainly not within the reach of all. Now if the beds in question are better than the baronet's breakfast, wherefore are we Socialists? The present system supplies even the "reserve army of industry" with beds of this description upon demand at the casual ward, and does not trouble them with Yorkshire hams, cold fowl, and champagne, but gives them rather meat and drink in keeping with the beds. So, on the whole, we live under the best possible of systems in the best possible of worlds. I had always thought Socialists wanted to bring the baronet's breakfast within the reach of all, and only leave enough frowsy beds to supply the wants of eccentric persons like our friend.

Again, I know of a young man who thinks it an act of Socialistic virtue (not an unfortunate necessity, mind) to live on 15s. a-week with wife and children. He started with the view of proving that after all money is rather an encumbrance than otherwise to noble aspirations. Now, I really think this young man ought to be "decorated" by Baron Rothschild or the Liberty and Property Defence League. If he could prove his thesis, no more crushing argument could be brought against those who doubt the perfection of the present system to satisfy all human requirements. Others, again, pretend to like dropping h's (a vile cockney corruption of language having only an incidental connection with distinctions between classes), dirty hands, and uncomfortable third-class carriages (such, presumably, as Sir Edward Watkin's line affords), and many other nasty things—and all because of Socialism. This is very silly, perhaps, but more or less harmless. When, however, middle-class young men take to virtuously entering an already overstocked labour-market, and thus "doing" the proletarian in more than one sense, the same cannot be said.

It is surprising that these essentially individualist and bourgeois notions of the superiority of poverty and squalor, and of the virtue of self-mortification for the mere sake of it, and without any ulterior social object (which are radically inconsistent with Socialism), could ever come to be regarded as having any part or lot with Socialism, the end and aim of which is to abolish all these things. It only shows the influence of old associations and habits of thought.

We have characterised "cant" as an eminently bourgeois vice, and it is certainly true that it is mainly confined to the middle-classes. The working-classes have many faults, as is only natural, but this is not characteristic of them as a class. No working-man, for example, would rather sleep in an insect-haunted bed than partake of cold turkey and champagne—unless, indeed, he were a vegetarian and teetotaller combined. We have only touched upon a few of the forms of cant which have more particularly struck us, but our whole bourgeois civilisation is saturated with it. Other ages have been brutal, but with none but our own has hypocrisy become part of its very nature. The whole subject of "cant" is an interesting one, and well merits a scientific analysis. E. BELFORD BAX.

## MEN WHO ARE NOT SOCIALISTS.

SOME PERSONAL REMARKS UPON MY NEIGHBOURS.

### I.

O MINE enemy! how I might revenge myself upon thee had I the will!

There, over the street, just facing my window, Mr. Peebles has a licensed grocer shop. By the terms of his license he is strictly forbidden to sell drink for consumption on his premises. Yet his little back room is never empty of people who, disliking ostentation in all things, prefer to get their drams in a place where, should they be perceived entering, no one may suspect but they are purchasing an ounce of tobacco or half a pound of soap. Just now I know there are several such persons in his back room—amongst them a well-known magistrate and a local medical practitioner.

Mr. Peebles is a deacon in the Kirk; he is also a strong constitutionalist and a devout detester of infidels and Socialists. Last Christmas he distributed pictorial calendars amongst his customers. There were two designs, which he had selected after much deliberation and a deal of consultation with his back parlour friends; one contained a portrait of the late Lord Beaconsfield, and the other a picture of what purported to be "the child's first prayer." I mention this apparently trifling fact because it illustrates the fine political instinct and simple piety with which Mr. Peebles retails his groceries and spirits. It is

<sup>1</sup> Perhaps the "worthy person" might retort that the certainty of being bored was worse than the chance of being bitten.—Ed.

well known, too, that Mr. Peebles takes a deep interest in Sunday-schools and foreign missions.

Until recently, Mr. Peebles and I only knew each other by sight and reputation. He was aware that I was a Socialist; and often when I passed his shop while he was standing at the door keeping a vigilant lookout lest the police should pounce upon him unawares, he bestowed upon me a look of mingled rebuke and compassion that caused me to have serious misgivings as to the rectitude of the course I was pursuing.

I remember being at a political meeting one night. Mr. Peebles had shut his shop punctually at eight o'clock—washed his face and shaved his chin—combed his streaks of straight grey hair—and donned a clean shirt front—and had planted himself, shining like a new cut of bacon, in a front seat beside the parish minister. I was in the seat immediately behind. He and the parish minister appeared to be very warm friends, and from the manner of their conversation they evidently had a common interest in the proceedings. The candidate spoke at length on the political situation, but avoided any reference to the Church disestablishment question or the proposed suppression of the liquor traffic. My friends were obviously suspicious of this omission on the candidate's part; and when questions were invited Mr. Peebles at once rose and asked "if the candidate approved of the iniquitous attempt that was about to be made to disestablish the time-honoured national church, for which their forefathers fought and died, and for which——" He was unable to conclude the sentence, having well-nigh choked himself with excitement. The candidate replied in an ambiguous way that he would. Mr. Peebles and the parish minister gesticulated their disapproval. Mr. Peebles, I could observe, now wanted the minister to question the candidate on his views concerning the suppression of the liquor traffic; but the minister evidently disapproved of clerical interference in politics for the moment, for he soothingly declined. The grocer looked anxiously round the hall to see if any one else would rise to question the candidate upon the subject. All the spirit-merchants and licensed grocers present appeared, however, to be quite as modest as Mr. Peebles touching their own interests. At last, constrained by sympathy for Mr. Peebles, I rose and put the question. The candidate replied that "if a Local Option Bill was introduced by a responsible minister of the Crown, he would feel bound to vote in its favour." Mr. Peebles quivered with indignation, and turning round to me, hoarsely whispered, "I'm not a Socialist—but I'd rather vote fifty thousand times for a Socialist than give a vote to one of those sneaking Liberals, as they call themselves forsooth!"

After this incident Mr. Peebles manifested a kindly interest in my views; he even went the length of saying that if, as "God forbid," he should ever give up his Conservative opinions, he would, he was sure, become a Socialist. Despite the apparent rashness of this statement, it was an exceedingly safe one for Mr. Peebles to make.

The neighbourly feeling that existed between Mr. Peebles and myself was interrupted by a circumstance of a very simple character. One Sunday after church service I saw him enter his shop, Bible in hand, ostensibly for the purpose of feeding his dog. My window being high, I was able to see into his shop, even although the shutters were on the window, as they only reached half way up. No sooner was he inside than he laid down his Bible on a tea-canister and took off his coat. He then began to shift and fill his spirit-bottles with admirable diligence—taking care, however, to do so with as little noise as possible, as he well knew the scandal his proceedings, if known, would provoke in the Sabbatarian neighbourhood. Happening to look my way, however, he became aware of the fact that I saw him. He appeared much discomfited, and immediately drew down the window-blinds. Since then there is a chilly gulf between us. He is generally deeply interested in something across the way when I pass his shop now. Sometimes his glance meets mine, and I can see a peculiar meaning in his eyes. Perhaps he would like to make friends with me again, or wishes a Socialist riot would take place, when he might have an opportunity of picking me down unperceived in the tumult.

For my part, I have no ill feeling whatever towards Mr. Peebles. I would not harm a single one of the hairs that befringe his polished pate for the world. He is a mean man, it is true, and would sell his soul for a few farthings of profit—he violates his license every hour of the day—is a hypocrite in religion and a time-server in politics. But poor Mr. Peebles is not to be blamed for these things. He is no more responsible for these blotches on his character than a cat is for the colour of its skin, or a pool of water for the reflections upon its surface. The dodges to which he has recourse are conditions of life which our present system imposes upon him. When Mr. Peebles—now prematurely old, with bank-note wrinkles on his face—was a chubby little boy, laughing in his mother's lap, who shall say that he was not fitted for a higher destiny than the one meted out to him? Who shall say that if the sunshine of social justice, instead of the damp and darkness of social wrong, had shone upon his heart, that the fungoid growths of selfishness, hypocrisy, and deceit would have ever found a lodging-place in its recesses? No, Mr. Peebles; we cannot condemn, but we pity you. You are not a Socialist, and are never likely to become one—nor would your conversion be of much value in any case—still maybe you are not our worst enemy. If the fight were once over, I am sure you would gladly give up your little money-mongering with all its worrying and deceit, and sit down in the midst of our abundance and peace. And who knows but perhaps your son, despite the fact that he is a lawyer's clerk, and your daughter, despite the fact that her only vocation in life at present consists in banging the piano on week-days and reading Bible-texts to children on Sundays, may both perform honourable parts in the coming social revolution!

J. BRUCE GLASIER.

## THE LABOUR STRUGGLE.

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

### BRITAIN.

The melters and gas firemen at Consett Steel Works have struck—the former against Sunday labour, and the latter for an advance of wages. The strike threatens to become serious.

The chain-makers of Cradley Heath are sticking manfully to their colours, and should have assistance from all trades' unionists in the country. Never, perhaps, has a strike taken place which deserves more general support. This is the thirty-ninth week of the strike.

The weavers at the Old Mill and the Low Mill, Yeadon, are still out on strike, and there is no immediate prospect of their resuming work. The Long Lengths Committee have officially advised them to remain out until their demands are satisfied. Some of the other employés are thrown out of work by the action of the weavers.

The strike in the ship-building trade is making things merry in Belfast. The dispute, however, is only that the men want their wages weekly instead of fortnightly. Not much to get into a panic about, truly. There must be some capitalist dodge at the back of this system of payment, as fortnightly payment exists in many firms where large numbers of poorly-paid workers are employed, and also on most railways.

The first case decided in London under the Shop Hours Act of last year was a very bad one, and we are glad to see that the magistrate inflicted the full penalty. The shopkeeper in question had kept two of his girl hands at work for ninety-seven hours in a week—sixteen hours a day, that is, for six days running. This is a case of slave-driving with a vengeance. But the penalty is only a fine of twenty shillings. A little wholesome boycotting of all shops which are conducted like slave-plantations is what is really wanted. —*Poll Mall Gazette.*

Work has been suspended at the collieries in Fife and Clackmannan. Mass meetings were held on Thursday last, at which the following resolution was unanimously carried: "That this meeting, holding that the contract rules are prejudicial to the interests of the men, pledges itself to use every effort to terminate the present contracts, with the view of taking part in a national movement for restricting the working time to five days per week, and thereby secure more equitable conditions of employment." It was further agreed that notices to finish the contracts should be given on Monday.

UNION OF IRON AND STEEL WORKERS.—A three days' conference of iron and steel workers has been held at Manchester. There were delegates representing 40,000 workmen from all parts of England, Scotland, and Wales. It was decided to form a National Association to secure thorough organisation among the operatives in relation to wages' disputes, and to prevent the employers in any district taking undue advantage.

COLLIERY ENGINE-KEEPERS.—A large meeting of colliery engine-keepers has been held at Hamilton, to hear the answers for an advance of wages. The refusal of the employers caused a good deal of dissatisfaction, as the average wages in Scotland are but what they were twenty years ago, while pits are deeper, machinery more powerful, and boilers more numerous, all adding to engine-keepers' duties and responsibilities. They considered their demands both reasonable and just, the more so that the winding engine-keepers of Northumberland and Durham have more for an eight-hour day besides free house and coal) than those here have for twelve hours.

THE CIGAR-MAKERS.—The position of cigar-makers is becoming desperate. Added to foreign competition, female labour is fast supplanting that of men, who may reckon in the near future on being entirely dispensed with. Another illustration of the curse of capitalism is to be found in the fact that in consequence of the proposed "boon" of a 4d. reduction in the tobacco duties, hundreds of men have been discharged, the employers declining to incur the risk of smaller profits for ever so short a time. It is to be hoped that the workers before long will recognise the hopelessness of bettering their condition under the commercial system and will declare solidly for the social revolution.—H. D.

NORTHUMBERLAND MINERS.—The ballot-papers sent in show that there is still a decided majority of the Northumberland miners in favour of continuing the strike. The masters have decided to reopen the pits at a reduction of 1½ cent., as stated already, but the voting shows that the men will not return to work even at a 10 per cent. reduction. The committee of the Miners' Union met on Saturday and decided to call a delegate meeting. Many of the miners are sustaining themselves by collections in Newcastle and other towns in the district. Last Saturday they had a number of singing parties for the purpose of evoking sympathy. In Newcastle they sang the hymns which they had been in the habit of singing at chapel, and many of them having really good voices they raised a considerable sum. In most cases they were accompanied by women and men who played either the violin or the concertina.

BOILER-MAKERS' AND IRON SHIPBUILDERS' SOCIETY.—The 52nd Annual Report says that "during the years 1884, 1885, and 1886 trade has been in a state of depression altogether without parallel, and the resulting strain upon all such organisations as theirs had been enormous. Their monthly list of unemployed members showed the terrible effect of the depression. During 1884 they had an average of 23½ per cent. unemployed members; and during 1886 the average had been about 28 per cent. They had now 214 branches; their approximate number of members at the close of 1885 was 27,695, but by the end of 1886 the members had fallen to 25,341. The expenditure had reached the large sum of £84,260, which was £16,421 in excess of their income; and out of this great sum the out-of-work benefit amounted to £38,967, and during the past three years this benefit alone had cost the society no less than £148,245. Sick benefit during the year had required £17,497, bad trade having a most prejudicial effect upon the health of the working classes. Other items of expenditure had been benevolent grants, £2403; accident benefit, £2400; and funeral benefit, £3441. At the close of the year their balance was £21,895." The same disconsolate tone pervades nearly all the trade-union reports, and must soon culminate. The original function being dead, a new programme must be formulated on the Socialist basis.

THE LONDON CAB-DRIVERS.—A movement has been initiated by the Amalgamated Cab-drivers' Society, having for its object the limitation of the issue in the metropolis of cab-drivers' licences, and meetings of members of the cab trade will shortly be held in support of the movement. It is reported that the distress now existing among metropolitan cabmen is very

extensive, the streets being crowded with many more vehicles than can find employment; and it is suggested that the authorities at Scotland Yard should limit the issue of licences in times of depression, so as to afford the chance of earning a livelihood to old and experienced drivers. Further, it is urged that the unlimited issue of licenses is incompatible with "a stated rate of fares"; that it is "the unseen cause of discord between the drivers and the public, between the former and the police, and also between the drivers and the cab proprietors." Cabmen complain that they cannot refrain from crowding busy thoroughfares, while "the chances of earning a day's work are dead against them" if they remain patiently on the cab-rank. So great has been the distress among cabmen lately that it is said many have been reduced to the necessity of pledging their property in order to maintain themselves and families. James Rowlands, M.P., W. Thompson of the Middle Temple, and Dr. W. R. Gould, among others outside the trade, have consented to advocate the desired limitation of licences and address meetings called with this object in view.

### AMERICA.

The coopers are trying to abolish piece-work so far as their trade is concerned.

The German printers of this city, New York, demand that eight hours constitute a day's work after May 1.

The American Federation of Labour comprises thirty-seven national and international trade unions representing a total membership of 550,000.

PITTSBURGH, PA.—The coal miners of the country are discussing the formation of one gigantic organisation by the amalgamation of the National Federation of Miners and the Miners' National Assembly of the K. of L. It is understood that the idea is to have the Federation still retains its organisation, with the understanding that all of its members shall also be Knights of Labour.

CLEVELAND, O., April 17.—All the plumbers in this city struck recently for eight hours, 3 dol. 50c. a day, and against certain rules adopted by employers in regard to apprentices. George S. Paine, President of the Master Plumbers' Association, went to New York and advertised for plumbers, and had 125 applications, but was able to induce only eleven to start for Cleveland. Those who arrived here refused to go to work when they learned the situation and joined the strikers.

Mark the words of a Chicago despatch: "The Union would not permit the men to return to work until the Employers' Association concluded to grant the Union's demands." Mark the phrase, "would not permit." Has the Union a chattel mortgage on the bodies of these mechanics? Men who cannot, or dare not work without asking or begging some other men's "permission" are not American freemen, but the most abject of slaves.—*N. Y. Commercial Bulletin.*—But, Mr. Bulletin! are they not still more abject slaves when the "other men" whose permission has to be asked happen to be employers instead of trade-unionists? You see the men of the Unions decide their own fate by their votes, while they have no voice in the decisions of the bosses.

CHICAGO, April 17.—The 8,000 carpenters have won their strike for 35c. per hour, eight hours per day. All the iron-moulders in the stove factories of Illinois, except those at Peoria and Bloomington, went on strike or were locked out last Monday. Three years ago, the wages were cut 25 per cent., and a restoration of 15 per cent. is now demanded. The St. Louis moulders refuse to touch the work sent there by the Illinois bosses, and strikes and lock-outs followed. The Stove Founders' National Defence Association is doing good service for the men. The stove-founders in Troy, N.Y., have been much agitated over the state of affairs. In Leavenworth and Milwaukee, there are strikes of the moulders. A strike of the trade all over the country against low wages is looked for.

A manufacturer once candidly said that the reason he employed women instead of men was that "woman, being always regarded as an inferior being, has acquired the character of docility and servility to a greater degree than her male competitor," and that "the labour of married women is altogether preferable. The married woman is more tractable and patient than man; she bears bad treatment better; she is more attentive and teachable than the single woman, as she is forced to exert her strength to the uttermost to provide the necessary means of livelihood." He also considers her "a useful trump to be played out against refractory workmen."—*John Swinton's Paper.*

### BELGIUM.

BRUSSELS.—The Socialist women of Brussels inaugurated their union last Sunday, on which occasion delegations from Ghent and Louvain, besides several working-women's societies of the capital, arrived to take part in the procession which marched through the principal streets, a manifesto being distributed along the way, urging all women to unite in protesting against the social injustice the workers suffer, and to demand a general amnesty for those condemned at Charleroi.

CARNIERES.—The Working-men's League here has acquired a good-sized bit of land, on which they intend building a large hall, etc., to serve as a meeting-place. It would be well if English workers could here and there collect enough money to do something of the same kind, so that they might be freed from the everlasting hunting from pillar to post that causes so much worry and waste of time.

SOIGNIES.—"The strike of the quarrymen of Soignies," says *L'Avenir*, "is on the decrease. Up to the present time, many of the workers have gone back to work on the old terms. However, if most of them have given way, there yet remain about a thousand who have no intention to submit to the disgraceful extortions of their masters, which latter, indeed, tried to force the workmen to burn their cards of membership of the Workers' League. The town of Soignies is relieved of the presence of the military and police, except for one brigade which still remains on the spot. A manifestation is to be held on the 15th May at Braine-le-Comté in favour of the strikers."

We have often heard it said among the workmen in the Charleroi district that an enquiry into the events of March 1886 and into the ferocious repressive measures ordered by the governors is to be desired. Now the Amnesty Committee has decided to open such an enquiry. We wish it all success. All citizens who are in possession of any details relating to these events, and who were witness to the barbarous conduct of the swashbuckler Van der Smissen, are requested to communicate with the secretary.—*L'Avant Garde.*

Our political liberty is a lie, capital is now the tyrant of labour, and the labourer has to accept any terms from his employer or die of starvation.—*Joseph Mazzini.*

that an opposite course of progress set in, and, following the same method as before, brought out and gave play to the truer individualistic side of man by suppressing the social or opposing side. It is as if we could imagine two forces at work producing the growth of a tree, one tending to throw out long branches and twigs in all directions, the other tending to bind the branches together by strengthening the common root and trunk, and form the whole into a self-contained and graceful shape. These forces, instead of acting with equal strength and so neutralising each other, are alternately suppressed, giving full play to each in turn, and thus rendering growth possible. Such would appear to be the law of growth in human society, for ever since the days of village and family communities the social side of man has been dwindling to make room for a larger development of the energy and enterprise of the individual. But this has not been a backward movement. Like so many laws of growth, it is best represented by a spiral, in which advance represents a coming back to the same side, but on a higher level. The individual of to-day is not the individual of the savage ages; he does not merely wield individual forces, he wields social forces. The land is not left open for all to hunt upon, as in the savage days, but is still used socially, as in the days of communes, only the advantage of its social use, which was then common to all, is now possessed by the modern individual, who wields the power which this possession gives him in addition to his own individual force. Similarly in all forms of industry, associated labour, and the division of labour resulting therefrom, still exist as in the days of family communities, but the power and advantage which were then shared and enjoyed in common are now used by individuals. What is the result of this? The same struggle for existence which is to be found in the savage state returns again, the same uncertainty of life, the same crushing out of the weak. But there is this great difference, that the struggle now is for the possession of the social land and capital, which once possessed, enable its owners to live without work. It is not now free for every one to go and gather what nature offers, the keenest eye, the best shot, and the most industrious getting the best food. The getting of food and the producing of other necessities and comforts of life was made a social work in quite primitive times, and it is accomplished by many working for one object and one benefit. Formerly that benefit was common to all, now it is the great thing which all individuals struggle to get possession of. Those who are endowed with the particular capacity for getting the best in this struggle (*i.e.*, "the fittest") get much greater benefits than were ever open to any in the old days of the communes, but those who are not successful have a much harder time of it, harder and more unpleasant work, and less enjoyment in life.

This is where the course of development has brought us now: the first growth of society having resulted in the almost entire suppression of the individual, and having made the production of wealth quite a social work, by the association of many working together, resulted in a reaction, which, while keeping the social form of production and greatly developing it, has given a great amount of freedom to the individual, including the freedom to take possession of this social production and use it for his own advantage and enjoyment.

The study of this past course of evolution will best help us in our attempt to foresee the direction of future progress; and as I believe it rests with man materially to guide and help the development of society, it will be well for us further to see what practical lessons the past has to teach us. The past development at which we have been looking may be said to a large extent to represent the growth of two great and valuable characteristics of man's nature—one the individualistic, the other the social side. These two are to some extent in opposition, and we find that the growth of each has been fostered by the temporary suppression of the other. It is in the society which shall give the fullest scope to what is best in both these sides, and maintain the best balance between them, that we must look to find the greatest happiness and the greatest goodness. RAYMOND UNWIN.

(To be concluded).

**THE REASON WHY.**—During the trial of the Russian Nihilists, Ossipanoff, on being asked by the President of the Tribunal how he as a student could take part in this horrible crime, replied, "I did so just because I am a student. I have learned that everybody must be ready to sacrifice his life for the common cause, and I would contribute my part to deliver my unfortunate people. I first decided to murder the Czar revolver in hand, but afterwards I thought it better to use bombs; their effect is more certain."

Here is a bloodthirsty paragraph from a "republican" newspaper, the Chicago *Evening Post*: "What Chicago needs is a mayor, or a sheriff, who is not afraid to use cold steel and powder and lead." If such sentiments were uttered by workmen's papers there would be a howl about "anarchism" and "riot," but, coming from a capitalistic sheet, and the prospective victims of cold steel, etc., being workmen, it passes as orthodox. Some of these fine days it may come to pass that the "republican" editor will be "hoist by his own petard."—*Workmen's Advocate*.

**BREAD AND WATER.**—A wealthy manufacturer donates 1000 dols. to pay off some church debt, and his pious act is published in all newspapers. The next day he reduces the wages of his mill operatives so that in a month his 1000 dollar donation is replaced three-fold. This is not published in the newspapers. So it goes throughout society. Whatever is given us direct we see, whatever is taken indirect is unnoticed. In the industrial world the advocate of mere trade unionism sees only the advance in his wages, and reckons on so much addition to the good things of life it measures, taking no account of the advance in the price of what he eats, wears and what shelters him, or the additional tax imposed for the advanced salary of the placeholder. So he plods along like the stupid animal turning the treadmill, always going but never advancing, and the greater the speed the faster flies the platform from beneath his feet.—*Voice of the People*.

## THE TALE OF SILESIA.

(By GEORG WEERTH. Translated by J. L. JOYNES.)

[The starving Silesian weavers, having in their despair made insurrection against their taskmasters, were reduced to order by the rifle bullets of the Prussian troops.]

THEY sat upon the benches,  
The table round about;  
Each thirsty soul he quenches  
In mighty ale his drought.  
They knew nor care nor sorrow;  
Their hearts were glad and gay;  
No past and no to-morrow  
Might trouble their to-day.

They sat till mild and mellow  
The summer night drew near,  
Full many a sturdy fellow  
Of York and Lancashire.  
The oak-tree's broad-branched glory  
Deepened the growing gloom:  
They let me tell them the story  
Of the German weavers' doom.

Then while the shadow darkened,  
The tale did I repeat;  
Silent the strong men harkened;  
Then sprang they to their feet.  
They stared like men astounded,  
With clenched fists every one;  
Valley and hill resounded,  
"Silesia, well done!"

## 'IL SOCIALISMO.'

WE have before us another Italian work on Socialism ('Il Socialismo,' by Dr. N. Colajanni, Catania), which is an interesting addition to the few Italian works of note on the subject. The author mentions in his opening, and with truth (and "pity 'tis 'tis true"), that sociological studies have not made the same progress in Italy as in other countries, and he certainly helps to fill up the blank pages of contemporary Italian literature by his very able critical study on the all-inclusive subject of Socialism. Indeed, to avoid any disappointment, we may at the outset warn him who would expect from the title a popular exposition of Socialist economy as opposed to the capitalist economy of to-day, that the book is essentially critical and principally interesting to the student of Socialism who has leisure for, or whose occupation it is to go economically and ethically far deeper into, the question than the ordinary enquiring reader ever has opportunity to do.

The author does not enter in detail into the history of the growth of Individualism, deducting thence the indisputable (though so-much-disputed) tendencies of human evolution towards Socialism, but that he is familiar with the same is evident throughout. He concerns himself in this book entirely with the thinkers of the present day, criticising sociology, and commenting on "the antagonism between the conception of the 'social organism' as understood by the sociologists, and the interpretation given to the laws of the 'struggle for existence' by the opponents of Socialism." He combats the quasi followers of Darwin, who, wilfully or unconsciously, be it either which, travestie their great master's concepts and twist and turn the truths of his teaching to witness against and condemn the future for humanity that we Socialists look forward to. He reviews at some length the writings of Malthus and his followers, showing the extreme importance of the population question on the one hand, and on the other pointing out its utter inefficacy alone to solve the problem of life, considering the close relations and interdependence that exists between nations in all their conditions of life. In the chapter on "Man and Nature" some of the big questions on man's struggle with Nature under a Socialist condition are raised, but the author does not allow himself space sufficient to do more than touch upon them. Certainly dissertations on this part of the subject can at best be but vague and speculative, but, we venture to think, productive of much *useful* speculation. Socialist preachers and writers, therefore, will do well, when they have time to spare from the necessary day-to-day work of propaganda, to project themselves and "him who would be admonished" into the future, raising discussions, not positively or arrogantly, but tentatively, carefully, on the probable development of the coming change. "The study of sociology will kill Socialism": this bold assertion of the laggard Italian press does Colajanni combat stoutly and ardently, pointing the finger of reproof at those who do not see, or feign not to see, the transformations constantly going on in the organisation of society in the direction of Socialism, asserting "that many institutions—slavery and feudalism among others—looked upon as everlasting by contemporaries who saw them in vigorous growth and uncontrasted action, have vanished like clouds blown by the wind." Everywhere, he shows, history witnesses against the permanency of any existing society, "crystallising and mummifying humanity." In his last chapter Dr. Colajanni concludes with a short and clear epitome of the position of revolutionary Socialists of whatever colour,—thus finishing a work which will assuredly find a place among the useful Socialist literature of to-day, and, though capitalism, surplus-value, labour-power, and all details of this "worn-out rotten thing the State," so familiar to our ears, find no exposition in its pages, Socialism finds a sincere advocate, and the sociologists and pseudo-evolutionists a sharp critic. M. M.



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

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

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

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Periodicals received during the week ending Wednesday May 4.

ENGLAND		John Swinton's Paper	BELGIUM
Justice	Der Sozialist	Der Sozialist	Brussels—L'Avant-Garde
Jus	Leader	Antwerp—De Werker	HOLLAND
Norwich—Daylight	Boston—Woman's Journal	Hague—Recht voor Allen	Italy
Londner Arbeiter-Zeitung	New Haven (Conn.)—Workmen's Advocate	Milan—Il Fascio Operaio	Naples—Humanitas
Brotherhood	Chicago (Ill.)—Vorbote	SPAIN	
Worker's Friend	Knights of Labor	Barcelona—Acracia	El Productor
Personal Rights Journal	Milwaukee (Wis.)—Volksblatt	AUSTRIA	
Church Reformer	Seattle (Wash.)—Voice of the People	Vienna—Gleichheit	ROUMANIA
Croydon Echo	Cincinnati (O.)—Unionist	Jassy—Lupta	SWEDEN
INDIA		Stockholm—Social-Demokraten	
Bankipore—Behar Herald	Fort Worth (Tex.)—South West		
Allahabad—People's Budget	FRANCE		
Bombay Gazette	Paris—Cri du Peuple (daily)		
Calcutta Statesman	Le Revolte		
UNITED STATES			
New York—Volkzeitung	L'Insurge		
Freiheit	Lille—Le Travailleur		

ON SOME FORMS OF MODERN CANT.

A CONTRIBUTION TO THE PHENOMENOLOGY OF CANT.

It may be not uninteresting to trace the various forms in which the essentially bourgeois vice of "cant" pervades the whole world of to-day, and even creeps in among the Socialist harbingers of a new society. These forms are legion, but there are a few cases that may serve as typical. (1) There is the obvious and in this country at least most important "cant," the religious "cant." (2) There is the ordinary political "cant" of moderation. (3) There is the philanthropic cant; (4) the "purity" cant; (5) the commercial cant; (6) the literary cant; (7) the aesthetic cant; and (8) the Socialist cant. We must premise that by "cant" we understand the ostentatious assumption of a quality (a virtue or vice) that one has not got, or the "puffing" of a quality one happens to have got by nature as a virtue!

Of the general and most usual aspects of the religious cant it is unnecessary to say much, since it is unfortunately too widespread to escape the recognition of any moderately intelligent man. The form, however, which it takes in modern "cultured" circles and which unfortunately in this country is apt to spread outside them is very noteworthy. Repudiation of atheism is a favourite form of speculative cant with us. No matter what a man's belief or absence of belief may be, you may be quite sure in ninety-nine cases out of a hundred he will profess to have conscientious scruples as to calling himself an Atheist. The reason of this is not far to seek. The question of God or no God has very little to do with it. When the popular theory of the mounted policeman up above is discarded, all that remains is a highly subtle philosophical problem which it would be the rankest humbug in any ordinary man to pretend he felt the smallest interest in or even understood. The real point in the "not-an-atheist" cant lies in the fact that the word *atheism* is supposed in the popular mind to imply the rejection of the current bourgeois morality, the avowed sanctions of which rest on the abnormally developed policeman theory. It is bourgeois sentiment which is the well-spring of objection to the word *atheism*, and not suddenly evoked scruples on refined points of metaphysics. If we abstract from the latter and take words in their popular sense, we have a right to say that the man cannot be quite sincere who accepts the doctrine of development as opposed to supernatural interposition in human affairs and who kicks at the word "atheism."

The "cant" of the politician, like the cant of the "religious" man, is also protean in its guise, but its chief method is to explain away words. The politician can always show you that he doesn't mean what he says, but something rather different from what he says. Political cant consists in pretending to agreement with hearers, whoever they may be. This cant is part of the stock-in-trade of every politician, be he Tory, Whig, or Radical, and it is by its means that he tries to haul in stray votes.

The philanthropic cant is seen in its richest luxuriance when in combination with the religious cant, as for example at May meetings,

when the one, so to speak, brings out the flavour of the other. The philanthropic cant has done yeoman's service to modern industrial and commercial enterprise by smoothing the way to new markets for it abroad and by hucussing the workman with sham nostrums at home. Its "anti-slavery," "missionary" (for there is a "philanthropic" side to "missions" to which all bourgeois, religious or not, do homage), temperance (teetotal), and thrift campaigns, have been godsend to the capitalist. On the one side they have constituted him in the eyes of his own middle-class public opinion a saint, and on the other side they have drowned the aspirations of the working-classes in a sea of delusion. No wonder, therefore, that the capitalist pours out his thousands freely for religio-philanthropic objects.

Akin to this is the "purity" cant which animates "Leagues of the White Cross," "Moral Reform Unions," *et hoc genus omne*. This form of humbug, which pretends to regard the fulfilling of a natural physiological function, except under one condition, as something like a crime, may either have at its root deliberate and conscious hypocrisy or else it may arise from the desire to make social capital out of a natural bodily defect or peculiarity—on the principle of the fox without a tail. Now it is a well-known fact that the instinct of sex varies in strength from 100, let us say, to 0. In those exceptional cases where it even approaches the zero it is obvious therefore that the social *kudos* attainable by zeal for the conventional morality must outweigh the natural impulse for "gratification." Here, then, we have the conditions of a highly successful prosecution of the cant of purity without any apparent insincerity that the most hostile eye could detect,—in short, we have the "honest fanatic" of "blameless life." And he or she is doubtless the nucleus of the movements in question, which become the rallying-points for conscious hypocrisy and respectability in the male, and the "sour grapes" of despised love and hope deferred in the female.

The special form of commercial "cant" here selected consists in the favourite pretence in the present day of "having a profession" or being in business. Money-making being the avowed end of life, a man of the middle-classes loses caste if he does not appear to be engaged in some occupation recognised as lucrative. He is like a knight without his spurs, a Roman senator without his toga. It is amusing to see the fortunes men will squander in keeping up bourgeois style by pretending to be following a profession or business. I have known a man who could ill afford it spend at the rate of £500 a-year in keeping a school. Another studies medicine, another the law, another engineering. It is well known, of course, that all these professions are overstocked, and that the average young man is about as likely to receive a "next-of-kin" windfall as to cover his expenses with any of them. But the young man of "means" must "have a profession" or business even though he die in the workhouse in consequence. So he goes through the course, spinning it out as long as possible, and when done takes chambers or offices as barrister or engineer. His expenses cost him two or three hundred per annum, and if his "profession" brings him in ten he is in most cases extremely lucky. When a young man with small means can't afford to go in for a profession, he has to content himself with a small office, where he has his letters addressed. This is sufficient to show he is "doing something." He goes up to town every day, lounges about, reads the papers, and endeavours to obtain the credit of being "a man of business" by, among other things, pretending always to be in a great hurry. In this way he perhaps manages to come off with no more than a loss of £80 to a £100 a-year.

This cant of "business" is peculiarly significant as marking the fully developed bourgeois era. Time was when the middle-class man was proud of posing as the "gentleman-at-large" (the remains of the feudal tradition). Now even when he has independent means, as in the cases supposed, he reckons it necessary to "good form" to pretend to be making money whether he is actually doing so or not, and is prepared to squander his substance in that pretence.

Then there is the literary or rather critical cant. One of its forms is affected hunting after blemishes in style and the pedantry allied thereto. The fact is, of course, that the modern reviewer's taste is not really shocked by half the things he *sics* or otherwise castigates, but he must find something to say and make above all a show of purism. A great deal of the pretended fuss made about confusion of metaphor, for example, is cant. All language is more or less metaphorical, and no one has shown the slightest rational ground why one should not pass from one metaphor to another even in the same sentence. That the sensibility of the ordinary callow critic on the subject is sham is proved by his admiration for Shakspeare's confusions of metaphor. When a man can stand taking "arms against a sea of troubles," he ought to be able to stand anything.<sup>1</sup>

The aesthetic cant is a noteworthy product of modern culture. It is a subject about which so much has been said already that I confine myself to noticing one feature of it. Every man aspiring to culture in the present day professes an appreciation of painting. He deems it *de rigueur* that he should be able to maunder "some" on the technicalities of picture-criticism. On the other hand the same type of cultured English Philistine, when the conversation turns on the subject of music, will with an air of smug self-satisfaction (as if he had said a clever thing) tell you that he knows nothing of the subject. One wishes he would only say the same of the sister art, for it would be doubtless quite true. But, unfortunately, painting, or "art" as it is termed (as if there were no other art), is the fashion just now with the

<sup>1</sup> To take the stock instance of "nipping" a tempest "in the bud." Something is likened to a tempest. The tempest is in its turn likened to a blossom. The metaphor of the tempest holds in one connection, of the original fact, the metaphor of the blossom holds in another of the tempest. The metaphor, although a little violent, is not illogical.

**NORTHUMBRIAN NOTES.**

The interest of the miners in Socialism is as strong as ever. The Hyde Park meeting had a splendid effect, and the arrival of Donald to assist in the work has been a great help. Last week I broke new ground, visiting Broomhill, Radcliff, and Inble at the extreme North of the country. The miners gave me a good welcome, and many names were given in to form Socialist branches.

The number of ballot papers issued to the miners is getting past all counting. At every vote taken the miners complain bitterly that the questions are put in a most unsatisfactory way. The worst feeling exists between the miners and their leaders. The Wages Committee has at last resigned. At the time of writing this note there is no definite ground for saying that the situation has at all changed. Both parties appear as determined as ever. But to judge from different little signs I should say that the strike cannot continue much longer. It is no use guessing at the terms of the settlement, but even if the miners should entirely surrender they have shown their pluck and determination, and shown it too in a quiet and manly way.

The Northumberland miners are the most thrifty, independent, and best organised set of men in the country. The non-unionists, too, have behaved splendidly, and have proved themselves just as staunch and manly as the members of the union. There is every reason to hope that the miners of Northumberland will be the first to take up Socialism as an active political cause, and they will set an example to the rest of the country by doing so.

We are holding three meetings a day, and at all the places are getting numerous adherents to our views. On Thursday, 28th ult., we had a good meeting at Ashington, and at the end of the lecture there was a little opposition. The speakers' contention was that the working-classes had been steadily progressing in recent years without the assistance of Socialists, and that Socialism would sap the foundations of morality, and in fact bring us back to a state of primitive barbarism! At North Seaton there was some opposition from a man who had left the principal Miners' Union to join another which did not restrict the number of shifts that a man could work. This man's cry was that the Socialists had come down to Northumberland to attempt to break up the Miner's Union altogether. He was what the miners call "a master's man," and yet he deliberately insinuated that the Socialists were paid by the masters to endeavour to smash the men's union. Surely even the Coal Owners' Association would think twice before they engaged in such a dangerous operation as getting Socialists down amongst their men! We have always told the men that they should stand by their Union, and that they should further carry out the principle of unionism by getting all the men in their trade throughout the country united in one society, and then a strike could be made that would speedily bring the masters to reason. The Socialist League has always supported the principle of trade unionism, and only has said harsh things about union men and union leaders when it has found them pursuing "the policy of masterly inactivity," which of recent years has only too frequently been the case. We have pointed out to trade unionists that it is time that they should bestir themselves to put an end to the necessity of strikes, and organise to secure continuity of employment and the whole of the results of their labour.

On Saturday, April 30th, the representatives of about a thousand miners met at Blyth, and formed the North of England Socialist Federation. This is the satisfactory result of our agitation. The movement bids fair to grow in this part of the country faster even than in London, and I am sure that all London comrades will be pleased to find that we have been able to prevent the split in the party extending throughout Northumberland. The only thing that damped the enthusiasm of the delegates was the fact of the division that existed in London and elsewhere, and the Northumberland men are evidently determined to use all their influence to unite the party.

Newcastle.

J. L. MAHON.

**"CHARITY ORGANISATION."**

We have received several papers relating to the so-called "Charity Organisation Society," an organisation of which we have often before heard evil reports on good authority. We are not, however, among those that are astonished at the degrading and degraded operations carried out by that society. It represents, perhaps in its basest form, the modern bourgeois ideal of what "charity" should be, a dole sufficient to keep the workers from dying quickly enough to breed a revolt, while participation in the receipt of the dole is guarded and attended by inhuman regulations that heat seven times and again the hell in which the poor sojourn always.

In any sensibly arranged community, a community, that is, in which none willing and able to labour need lack the work to do, having for that work the full fruit of it, being alike masters of their work and of their time, there would be no room for "charity." Each man in his working-years would repay to the community their outlay upon him in childhood and youth, and at the same time store in their hands enough to keep his declining years in comfort.

But, so long as all but a bare subsistence is filched from the worker, anything that happens, without waiting until he is old or sick, may render him helpless. Then it is that the bourgeois "philanthropist" bribes the toadies, bewilders and befools the ignorant, and drowns the cries of the starving with the clamour of committees and soup-kitchens. In all such work there are none more truculently active than the C.O.S. and its supporters.

But the workers must recognise that, vast as the burden of hatred is that this society has laid upon them, it is as naught compared to that imposed inevitably by the capitalist system. Nor can all the hellish brutality charged, with seeming truth, against the C.O.S., compare with that necessarily exercised from day to day upon the helpless people by their exploiting "employers." The *Charity Record* called in a recent number for "such a burst of popular indignation against this prying and persecuting inquisition as would speedily sweep it out of its callous and degraded existence." While this is being done we hope that the power behind it—Monopoly—will not be forgotten. Break the tool only and a new one may be made. Paralyse the arm that wields it and the tool is useless.

H. H. S.

**EXPIRATION OF TERM OF SENTENCE OF ONE OF THE NORWICH PRISONERS.**

Our comrade Henderson will come out of prison on May 16th, having gone through the whole term of imprisonment to which he was condemned because he preached Socialism and because somebody else broke a plate-class window. Our comrade, who is a very young man, depends for his subsistence entirely on literary work. His attempts to get employment in that line of industry, as often happens with persons of his time of life, had not been successful when they were interrupted by the disgraceful tyranny to which he has been subjected: but he has considerable talent as a writer, and will certainly succeed in the long-run. Under these circumstances, we invite contributions from all lovers of freedom to tide our comrade over a very rough passage of his career. Subscriptions may be sent to the Treasurer, Socialist League, 13 Farringdon Road.

**THE SCANDALOUS SENTENCES.**

Arrangements are being made for the holding of a public demonstration to condemn the sentences passed by Mr. De Rutzen at the Marylebone police-court, on Wednesday April 27, upon certain persons alleged to have been engaged in riotous proceedings near the Marble Arch.

At the first meeting of the General Council of the Holborn Liberal and Radical Association held at the St. John's Schools, Kingsgate Street, Holborn, on Friday April 29, the following resolution was passed unanimously: "That this meeting regrets the severity of the sentences passed on the Socialists as being disproportionate to the offence, and calculated to afford colour to the idea that they were punished so severely because their opinions are unpopular among the monied classes."

Labour Emancipation League: "That this meeting of the Labour Emancipation League enters its indignant protest against the inhuman and Government-inspired sentence of six months' imprisonment passed on our comrade Williams by Mr. De Rutzen, and is of opinion that such tyranny merits the detestation of all true men and women."

Resolutions of a similar character to the above have been passed at a large number of meetings convened by the various Branches of the Socialist League and affiliated bodies.

In the House of Commons on Tuesday Mr. Graham asked if the Government intended to include London among the "proclaimed districts." Mr. Pickersgill and Mr. Conybeare also asked questions as to the convictions and the oppressive bail fixed. The usual shuffling answers were returned. One is almost tempted to wish for a sharp dose of coercion in order to sting the servile apathetic London workers into a more manly attitude towards their oppressors.

**LITERARY NOTICES.**

'Socialism from the Christian Point of View,' (Walter Scott, Newcastle) by the Rev. Moore Ede, Rector of Gateshead, is a sermon on Socialism called forth by the work of Socialist missionaries in Northumberland. It is written in a kindly strain and expresses emphatic agreement with the socialistic exposure of economic evils. The writer's point of disagreement with the Socialists is expressed in the sentence "Raise the individuals, and so raise society." The reverse of this would be nearer right. The author's fear about the "coercive" methods of Socialism is rather absurd. The following extract is given as a specimen of this excellent pamphlet: "That a few should have a life all leisure while the mass have a life of weary toil, is a condition of things which, stripped of legal sophisms, is essentially unjust. That a few should have wealth far in excess of man's power to enjoy, while many have barely enough to keep body and soul together, is not an expression of the Christian ideal of universal brotherhood. That young ladies should spend their days in playing lawn tennis, and their evenings at parties, while the sempstress who makes their dresses earns such a miserable pittance by long hours of weary toil, she is barely able to maintain life, and is terribly tempted to abandon the dreary labours of honest toil for the larger gains of vice, is not an expression of the Christian ideal of universal sisterhood." M.

**THE SOCIALIST LEAGUE.**

OFFICES: 13 FARRINGDON ROAD, E.C.

**Annual Conference.**—The Third Annual Conference of the Socialist League will be held at 13 Farringdon Road on Whitsunday, May 29th.

**Co-operative Store.**—The Committee attend at the offices at 8.30 p.m. on Mondays, Wednesdays, and Saturdays. See advertisement on last page.

**Lessons in French.**—Victor Dave will continue his class on Tuesday next May 10th, at 8 o'clock. The lessons are free to members.

**Library.**—The Library is open to members of the Socialist League and affiliated bodies. LIBRARY CATALOGUE, containing the Rules, 2d. LENA WARDLE and W. BLUNDELL are the Librarians.

**Bound Volumes of 'COMMONWEAL' for 1886 can now be had. Price 5s. 6d.**

**BRANCH SUBSCRIPTIONS PAID.**

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

**THE NORWICH PRISONERS' AID FUND.**

Webb, 1s. A Comrade, 1s. Princes Square, result of Concert, £1, 17s. 8d. E. T. W., 5s. Arthur, 6d. For Mrs. Mowbray—A few Fabians, per Annie Besant (weekly), 10s. J. LANE, Treasurer.

**STRIKE COMMITTEE.**

P. W., 1s. X., 6d. T. BINNING, Treasurer.

**"COMMONWEAL" PRINTING FUND.**

E. B. B. (weekly), 1s. T. B. (weekly), 6d. PH. W., Treasurer, May 3.

**Northumberland Miners.**—Collected in Regent's Park, 11s. 7d.—J. LANE.

## BRANCH REPORTS.

**CLERKENWELL.**—On Wednesday, April 27, T. E. Wardle lectured on "Ireland." Last Sunday evening good open-air meeting was held on Clerkenwell Green, addressed by Dalziel and Doughty (Home Ruler). In hall, after monthly business meeting, a very pleasant "social" was indulged in by members and friends. Literature has sold well.—W. B. and T. E. W.

**CROYDON.**—Last Sunday, Paul Campbell delivered a lecture on the "Demands of Justice." A good discussion followed.—A. T.

**HOXTON.**—On Sunday evening, we had a very full hall. A large number were attracted with the prospect of hearing the advocate of the L.P.D.L. severely criticised. The audience was indignant but not surprised on hearing the lame excuse used by the L.P.D.L. to break Mr. Lyons engagement to lecture, "That their lecture season was over," especially when we were told by one of the audience that he was advertised to lecture at Barnsbury the same morning. Several of our members gave a thorough exposure of the work of the L.P.D.L., which was well received by those present. At the close of the meeting a large amount of literature bearing upon the work of the L.P.D.L. and its members was distributed.—E. P.

**MERTON AND MITCHAM.**—On Sunday last, we held a good meeting at Mitcham Fair Green, addressed by Kitz and Eden. At Plough Inn, Garratt, C. Harrison and Dalchow held good meeting. We are making headway. On Friday last, we gave the local Radicals help at a most successful anti-Coercion meeting at St. Georges' Hall.—F. K.

**EDINBURGH.**—On Saturday, April 30, Tuke and G. Hossack visited the miners of Loanhead and district, and disposed of a lot of literature. On Sunday afternoon, in Queen's Park, Tuke, Smith, sen. and jun., Davidson, and Gilray spoke to an audience considerably larger than that of the previous Sunday. Good sale of literature. In the evening, Thomson (S.D.F.) and Tuke held a meeting in the meadows. On Monday evening, Mahon spoke in the meadows to a large audience, and 11s. 6d. was collected for the Northumberland miners.—J. G.

**GLASGOW.**—On Wednesday evening, comrade Arch McLaren gave a lecture on Socialism to the Cambuslang Miners' Association. The lecture was well received, and after the meeting was over quite a number of the miners demonstrated their approval by accompanying our comrades to the train. On Saturday evening, J. L. Mahon and Glasier addressed an open-air meeting at Paisley. The audience received our comrades' speeches with much approval. On Sunday evening, after returning from Hamilton, Mahon addressed a meeting of about 1000 people on Jail Square. Comrades Curran, Warrington, and Glasier also spoke.

**HAMILTON.**—On Thursday evening, Glasier, from Glasgow, addressed a meeting at the New Cross. On Sunday, J. L. Mahon addressed a meeting of the Hamilton miners at the Low Quarries. Unfortunately, owing to Mahon and Glasgow friends having arrived late, a portion of the miners had gone away. Mahon's description of the condition of the Northumberland miners, and his exposition of the labour question, made a marked impression on the audience. Comrades McMunn and Glasier also spoke. A collection on behalf of the Northumberland miners was taken.

**NORWICH.**—On Sunday morning, a meeting was held at Ber St. Fountain, addressed by comrade Crotch. In the afternoon a large meeting was held in the Market Place, and H. A. Barker, of London, spoke at some length. The following resolution was moved by Slaughter, "That this meeting of Norwich workers expresses its warmest sympathy with the miners of Northumberland in their struggle against the system of class monopoly and legalised robbery, by which they are deprived of the just reward of their labour, and even of the means of labour." Carried unanimously, and 10s. 6d. was collected for the miners; a subscription list has been opened here for them by us. In the evening, Barker addressed a meeting on the Agricultural Hall Plain, and afterwards gave a very interesting lecture in the Gordon Hall to a good audience, on "Socialism as the Necessary Outcome of the Present System of Society." After the lecture a resolution of sympathy with comrades Williams and others now under sentence of various terms of imprisonment was moved by comrade Crotch, seconded by Barker, and carried unanimously. On Monday evening, Parker lectured upon Northumberland strike. Next Sunday we shall have a church parade, as the Rev. S. Headlam will be here. On Monday, May 9th, we have Kropotkin with us, on May 16th will be the release of our comrade Fred Henderson. We shall meet him in the morning, and in the evening a public welcome tea will be held.—A. S.

**WALSALL.**—Last Saturday, the Branch held its first open-air meeting in the Market-place. H. Sanders and Deakin spoke, and were listened to with great attention by a good audience. Literature sold well.—J. T. D.

**DUBLIN.**—On Saturday, April 30th, at the Working-men's Club, Wellington Quay, comrade Karpel, who made his debut as a public speaker in combating the theory that the development of the industrial resources of Ireland would necessarily benefit the whole people, instanced the case of Russia, where, although the government had provided the highest class of teachers to impart technical knowledge to the workers in certain trades, the people were in a more degraded and impoverished condition than in these islands. The only hope for the workers was, he contended, in

the International Social Revolution. The chairman, Mr. Walker, in closing the discussion, knocked the sentimental protection theories "into a cocked hat." On Sunday, May 1st, at Dollymount Strand, a meeting numbering about 1,000 was held under the auspices of the Labour League. Resolutions calling on the workers to combine, and denouncing the conduct of the Corporation of Dublin in reducing the wages of the labourers in their employment whilst they advanced the salaries of the highly-paid officials, were spoken to by Upward, Hickey, Hall, and Toomey. Fitzpatrick expounded the doctrines of International Socialism, claiming for it an impartial examination, and condemned the rascality of the police magistrate De Rutzen in the case of the Hyde Park prisoners. At the close of the meeting nearly thirty names were given in to form a branch of the Labour League in the neighbourhood.

**NEWCASTLE.**—Successful meetings were held in Newcastle on Sunday at Sandhill and The Market. At the market the police ordered me to stop speaking, but as there was a Salvation Army meeting being held on the other side of the way, I pointed out to the policeman that he would have to stop their meeting as well as mine. "Oh, but," said he, "they are on another tack from you." "Quite so," I retorted, "but I shall continue my speech as long as the others are allowed to." My name and address was taken, but whether the police propose to give a free advertisement to our propaganda remains to be seen. Nothing is wanted at present in Newcastle except a little police interference to make our movement go with increased impetus. The lecture in the Temperance Hall in the Gallowgate was well attended. On Monday, we held successful meetings at Bedlington and at Hartley. Some pertinent questions were put by a Hartley man as to what would become, under Socialism, of a poor man's savings. I pointed out that every man under Socialism would be receiving the full reward of his labour, have his income increased 200 per cent., which would more than compensate him for losing interest on his trumpery investments.—A. K. D.

**SOCIALIST UNION (NOTTINGHAM SECTION).**—It is doubtful whether we shall be able to keep the room we have taken for a club-room, etc. The agent let it to us, but the landlord objects to it being used for a Socialist meeting-room. After comrade Peacock explained Socialism to him he said he would consider the matter for a week. We have supplied him with a quantity of Socialist literature, including copies of the *Commonweal*, to read in the meantime. This is not the first time we have been boycotted in trying to get a room. In trying to get another room recently we were met with the same difficulty. It looks as if they would sooner keep their places shut up than let them to Socialists. This is boycotting by the landlord class, and in England, last Sunday, Peacock, Wane, and Proctor addressed large audiences in Sneyton on market morning, and Great Market in the evening. Collection in morning 4s., evening 5s., towards furnishing a club-room. A resolution condemning the action of De Rutzen in suspending trial by jury at the bidding of Government official, and sentencing six respectable and peaceful citizens to six months' imprisonment with hard labour on the unsupported evidence of ignorant policemen, was passed unanimously.—T. P.

## LECTURE DIARY.

## London Branches.

**Bloomsbury.**—Communist Club, 49 Tottenham Street. On Thursday May 5, at 8.30, Business Meeting, to appoint delegates for the Conference.

**Clerkenwell.**—Hall of the Socialist League, 13 Farringdon Road, E.C. Sunday May 8, at 8.30 p.m. J. Lane, "Different Schools of Socialistic Thought." Wednesday 11, at 8.30, Stewart Headlam, "The Sins that cause Poverty."

**Croydon.**—Royal County House, West Croydon Station Yard. Sunday May 8, at 7.15 p.m. H. H. Sparling, "The Class Struggle in England and in Ireland."

**Hackney.**—23 Audrey Street, Goldsmith Row. Club Room open every evening from 8 till 11.30. Business Meeting every Tuesday at 8.30. On Sunday May 8, at 8.30 p.m. A Lecture.

**Hammersmith.**—Kelmscott House, Upper Mall, W. Sunday May 8, at 8 p.m. A Lecture.

**Hoxton (L. E. L.).**—2 Crondall Street, New North Rd. Club Room open on Monday, Wednesday, and Saturday evenings from 8 till 11. Singing Class every Wednesday at 8.30. A Literary Class on Friday 13, at 8.30—first part of Joyce's Catechism. On Sunday May 8, at 8 p.m. H. A. Barker, "Socialism the Necessary Outcome of the Present System."

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

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

## Country Branches.

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

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

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

**Edinburgh (Scottish Section).**—4 Park Street. Meets every Thursday at 7.30 p.m. to transact business. Class for the study of 'Das Capital' at 8.30.

**Glasgow.**—Reading-room of the Branch, 84 John St., open from 10 a.m. till 10 p.m. daily. On Tuesday, Monthly Business Meeting of Members in Rooms at 8 o'clock. Wednesday, at 8 o'clock, Choir Practice. Other meetings will be locally announced. For open-air meetings see below.

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

**Hull.**—No meeting-place at present. Address all communications to E. Teesdale, 20 Shakspeare St.

**Lancaster.**—Addresses every Sunday morning on the Quay Jetty.

**Leicester.**—Spiritualist Hall, Silver Street.

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

**Norwich.**—Gordon Hall, 5 Duke Street. Free Lectures every Sunday and Monday at 8 p.m. Reading-room open every evening. On Sunday morning, a parade to St. John's De Sepulchre Church, Ber Street. Open-air meetings see below.

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

## OPEN-AIR PROPAGANDA.

## LONDON—Sunday 8.

11.30...Hackney—Salmon and Ball...Hobb & Floekton  
11.30...Hammersmith—Beadon Rd. ....The Branch  
11.30...Hoxton Church, Pitfield St. ....The Branch  
11.30...Hyde Park .....T. E. Wardle  
11.30...Garrett—Plough Inn...Harrison, Gregory, Bull  
11.30...Mitcham Fair Green .....Kitz, Eden, Dalchow  
11.30...Regent's Park .....Cantwell & Mainwaring  
11.30...St. Pancras Arches .....W. H. Utley  
11.30...Walham Green .....The Branch  
3 ...Hyde Park .....Nicoll & Mainwaring  
7 ...Clerkenwell Green .....T. E. Wardle

## Tuesday.

8...Broad Street, Soho .....W. H. Utley

## Wednesday.

7.30...Broadway, London Fields .....Graham

## Thursday.

8 ...Hoxton, Pitfield Street .....Wade & Pope

## PROVINCES.

**Edinburgh.**—Sunday: Meetings in Queen's Park and Meadows. Particulars in local papers.

**Glasgow.**—Sunday: Mahon will address open-air meeting on the Green at 3 p.m., when collection will be taken in behalf of the Northumberland Miners.

**Leeds.**—Sunday: Hunslet Moor, 11; Vicar's Croft, 7.

**Leicester.**—Sunday: Humberston Gate, 11 a.m.

**Norwich.**—Sunday: Market Place at 3; Agricultural Hall Plain at 7.

**DUBLIN.**—Irish Labour League, 2 Bachelors Walk, every Thursday at 8 p.m. Discussion on all subjects connected with the Labour Question. All interested are requested to attend.

## SOCIALISM AND THE MINERS.

J. L. Mahon is now addressing meetings in Scotland in furtherance of the Socialist propaganda in the interest of the Northumberland miners on strike. A full report will be given in these columns next week. In the meantime, the reports to hand show that Mahon arrived in Leith from Newcastle on Friday April 29, and spoke at Paisley on Saturday night. On the following Sunday afternoon he addressed a gathering of miners organised by the Hamilton Branch of the Socialist League, and on the same evening a large gathering in Glasgow at Jail Square. On Monday night a meeting was held in the East Meadows, Edinburgh. Meetings are also announced for Tuesday night in the Tron Hall, Edinburgh, and on Wednesday night at Leith Links. The announcements of other meetings are as follows:

**Thursday May 5th.**—Miners' National Federation (Scotland), Mass Meeting at Hamilton Palace Grounds at 3. Hamilton Branch, Socialist League, at 8 p.m.

**Friday May 6th.**—Paisley, open-air at 7 p.m.; Dyers' Hall at 8 p.m.

**Saturday May 7th.**—Midlothian Miners, 4 p.m.

**Sunday May 8th.**—Glasgow Branch Socialist League, Mass Meeting at Glasgow Green at 3 p.m. Edinburgh Branch, Socialist League, at 7.30 p.m.

## Notice to Readers of the 'Commonweal.'

## A CO-OPERATIVE STORE

has been started at the

OFFICES OF THE SOCIALIST LEAGUE,  
13 FARRINGTON ROAD, E.C.,

and all Grocery articles can be had at current store prices, or where possible, under. All orders over 10s. will be delivered carriage paid in London. The Store will be open on Monday, Wednesday, and Saturday evenings from 8.30 till 10.30 p.m.

16 pages One Penny.

## A PLEA FOR SOCIALISM,

By J. L. MAHON.

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