

# THE COMMONWEALTH

## The Official Journal of the SOCIALIST LEAGUE.

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WEEKLY; ONE PENNY.

### NOTES ON NEWS.

MR. GLADSTONE'S answer to the unemployed was, I suppose, what the writers of the vague and quite desperately polite letter to him expected. If they did not expect such an answer they should have written a less vague letter to him, in which case they would have had no answer at all, or a very curt one. After all, the answer drawn from that venerable dodger is meant to amount to little more than staining white paper with a black pattern. There is, however, something more in it, which may fairly be translated from Gladstonian into English thus: "Unemployed, what should I know about them? They are not my business. Parliament might—but no, they have something better to do than bothering themselves about the poor of London. So look here! I will call it 'local' matter just to make you know your proper places."

The old gentleman has either quite made up his mind to ignore the fact that there are people who are discontented with the present state of society, and have learned by study of their own dreary conditions of life to know *why* they are discontented, and *how* they can alter the said dreary conditions; or else (and that really seems to me possible) he is genuinely—quite ignorant of what Socialism is, and what its claims are.

One thing the unemployed may be quite sure of, to wit, that the governing classes are quite determined to do nothing for the workmen out of work except at the expense of the workmen in general. They would not if they could, and they cannot if they would, as long as the present system, that of capitalist and wage-earner, lasts. It is true that some Government, Tory-Democrat or Radical-bitten-by-Socialism, may make a show of it in a desperate attempt to win popularity, but all they can do as long as "society" is owned by the monopolists, is to shift the burden from one group of workers to another. Unless competition keeps down the wages of the mass of the employed to a bare subsistence wage, the capitalists of the country will be "ruined," that is, will cease to employ; and this glorious arrangement can only be kept going by dint of the capitalists holding in hand a large reserve army of labour. As that is absorbed into the active ranks of labour, the capitalists will be driven to fresh marvels of organisation, and fresh machinery to cheapen "muscular labour" still more, and so remain masters of the situation.

The other day we had news that at Zanzibar, which for 25 years had been free from capital punishment (*alias* judicial murder), the Sultan had begun to imitate the foul deeds of English and American courts of "justice" by striking off the heads of four of the "natives." Great agitation was expressed in our papers about this outrage, and surely this anger was but due against the wretched tyrant who was such a fool as to copy the customs of civilisation.

But what now? Who is the civilised English Government copying now?—Zenghiz Khan or Tamerlane? Scarcely even these; for these destroyers had their ideas stirred and their blood heated by the atmosphere of personal war and violence in which they lived, and at worst they were no hypocrites. But our black-coated, smug-visaged, dinner-party-giving, go-to-church "scourges of God," who have not even the spirit to plead for themselves that they are curses and must act after their kind, who can one liken them to? For the sake of what one cannot even call a whim—for the sake of one knows not what, they must slaughter a number of innocent persons whom they are pleased to call "the enemy."

Consider too that this Massacre of Suakim, whatever the Gladstonian party (equally guilty with the others) may say, will be heartily applauded by the average Englishman. Nay, it will be considered by the politicians who are now governing us as a stroke of good luck which will help to stay their falling fate, and will probably win them a seat or two of those that are going in the electoral scramble. This is the morality of the English nation, of which we have heard so

much! Indeed, I admit that it is caused more by rank stupidity than by malicious scoundrelism; though there is an element of that in it also.

"The enemy"—Yes; if they are the enemies of such a nation as ours there must be some good in them I think, since commercial patriotism has brought us to this pass. Yet, indeed, once more, it is no great wonder that the rich men who are callous to the murder of misery at home should be callous to the murder of battle abroad.

A meeting of the unemployed held some days ago, at which a resolution was passed calling on the Government to set on foot relief works, was stated by Reynolds to have been held under the auspices of the Socialist League. By the instruction of the Council, the Secretary wrote to disclaim this, as the Socialist League holds that the present system necessitates the existence of an army of unemployed, and that no palliative will get rid of it; and that any attempt that a capitalist government might make to satisfy the claims of the unemployed would mean nothing more than helping labour at the expense of labour. This disclaimer was accompanied by the Manifesto on the subject published by the Council, Oct. 29, 1887; but we are sorry to say Reynolds has not inserted the letter, and thereby has refused to correct its inaccurate statement. W. M.

Mr. Gladstone seems rather sore on the subject of election promises. No wonder; no gentleman seeking the suffrages of the "free and independent electors" has made more, which he has unfortunately been unable to keep. The referencés to the past labours of the Liberal party, "during the last fifty years, in setting free both capital and handicrafts of all kinds both from much undue taxation and from restraints devised for the benefit of special interests at the cost of the people at large," might form a subject for laughter to the gods.

"These efforts," the honourable gentleman further informs us, "have resulted, not in a uniform, but in a very general and a large improvement of the condition of the working-community." What! are there, then, no sweaters' dens? no women compelled to sell themselves for a night's lodging? no East-end filled with swarming misery? How is it, then, that with all these beneficent labours of the Liberal party that in this great city alone there are 179,000 starving men crying for "work or bread"? Here are some questions for Mr. Gladstone to answer.

But "the cares and labours of the House of Commons embrace the whole empire." That is, our capitalist masters are too busy butchering "blackmen" to trouble themselves with "a case of local even though acute distress." Is this so, Mr. Gladstone? Well, the "local though acute distress" may trouble the House of Commons if it does not take care, for the day will come when the starving will resolve to starve no longer. Then the House of Commons and respectable politicians may look out for squalls.

What a sham is capitalistic philanthropy, whether it finds expression in charity mongering or in the mild State Socialism of the modern Act of Parliament! Some time ago there was a great fuss made concerning a new Act of Parliament which, according to its admirers, would protect the poor man's small belongings from the clutches of the rapacious house-farmer.

Would you be surprised to hear that this Act is a complete sham? At Marylebone Police-court last Monday, Thos. George, a broker, was summoned before Mr. De Rutzen for seizing the tools and bedding of a poor tenant contrary to this Act. It appears, however, from Mr. De Rutzen's decision that a bedstead is not "bedding," and also that if a landlord openly defies this Act of Parliament he incurs no penalty by so doing. Delightful, isn't it? I wonder if a man who did not belong to the propertied classes helped himself to anything that wasn't lawfully his own, whether the law could find no punishment for him? But against the propertied classes law is powerless. It was only instituted to keep their slaves the workers in want and misery.

D. N.

John McNeill—"the Scotch Spurgeon"—in preaching the other day at Edinburgh, said "Yes, I am learning that men are often more to be feared than drink and lust." I am almost persuaded to remark that he will pursue his learning farther and acquire a knowledge of the "other vices," and so realise the real cause which leads to "drink and lust." According to his own confession he does not see the truth as through a glass darkly, and if he takes a reflective turn of mind, we may hope that, if he continues his "learning," he will join comrade Glasse and "come over and help us."

There is a remark which Mr. McNeil made in that sermon which Socialists will be able to appreciate, viz., "Oh, how angry the Church gets sometimes, and how splendidly she plays the devil's part." When we reflect on what the Church has hitherto done to perpetuate the present devilish self-seeking system of society, as being of divine origin, and to frustrate the first request of the Lord's prayer, "Thy kingdom come on earth," we will agree for once with Mr. McNeill in saying "how splendidly she plays the devil's part."

But will Mr. McNeill choose "the better part," and flee the danger of coming under the thrall of "the devil's part"? That is a point, I fear, upon which he has yet to decide. He says himself, "My danger is that when I get down from this pulpit, and enter again the sweltering hell of the world, I shall not care to rescue in an unofficial way a perishing soul." That is wherein the real danger lies. Unless he can step out of the social order of "doing it unto the least of them," he will never have the freedom and force necessary for doing anything to rescue the "sweltering hell of the world" into an "earthly paradise."  
G. McL.

## EDUCATION: WHAT IT IS, AND WHAT IT SHOULD BE.

TAKING on this matter in the 'Commonwealth,' Laurence Gronlund says that before enabling our minds about the education of the young, we should see that all children "had roast-beef and plum pudding, warm clothes on their backs, clean linen to their bodies, comfortable shoes to their feet, and warmth and light at home." And truly, when one perceives a member of that uniform gentry with the tall hat scouring through our lanes and alleys, heedless of danger to the aspiring headgear, in hot pursuit of dirty and unkempt, ragged and bootless urchins, majestically threatening them in order to make them attend on their A B C, their reading, writing, and arithmetic, one can't help reflecting that surely the most urgent wants of these children are not of the kind that writing and arithmetic can supply!

When Mr. Dick was consulted as to what should be done with little David Copperfield, who was standing before him all tattered and bespattered after his long walk from London, that gentleman gravely answered—I should wash him. An enlightened public opinion, however, regarded Mr. Dick as somewhat crazy, and we have little reason to think that public opinion has receded from that position. Doubtless, then, this is very tangible ground on which to rest an objection to what is popularly called "education"—viz., that until we had devised some method or methods whereby we could in some humane way feed, clothe, and in all ways comfortably provide for the little ones, this of what we call *educating them* could very well be left in abeyance.

While entirely endorsing this view, and also fully recognising the utter impossibility of such a scheme entering the domain of "practical politics," in our present dilapidated condition of society, still an attempt to assist the formation of right conceptions on this matter of education might not be quite profitless. In his 'Lay Sermons and Reviews,' speaking on this subject, Professor Huxley likens the world to a chess-board, and our life to a game of chess; and the metaphor is good, understanding the pieces to mean the "phenomena of the universe" and the rules of the game to be the "laws of Nature." Indeed from first to last "education is the instruction of the intellect in the laws of Nature, under which name I include not merely things and their forces, but men and their ways; and the fashioning of the affections and the will into an earnest and loving desire to move in harmony with those laws." His more recent utterances, however, show the Professor in a more unsocial and less scientific light, and his "game" has degenerated into the vulgar scramble of commercial competition. We are not now playing a divine game with a "calm strong angel who is playing for love and would rather lose than win"; but with our Continental neighbours who are menacing British supremacy in the world-market! A very poor "game" now, at which we must improve our manipulating in order to beat the Germans or the French hollow. Has our Professor no compassion for the French or the Germans after we have driven them to the wall? Poor devils! they are neither better nor worse than ourselves.

This new reading of Professor Huxley's definition has indeed been the accepted model in principle and practice of what we have been accustomed to call "education." Brutal and unscientific in conception, and brutalising in results, it is still the highest a competitive state of society can think on this subject. Nor has education been designed to enable only nation to conquer nation,—with individuals throughout the infinite complexities of life the game is being played; among a limited number for the prizes of social position, respectability, mountains of wealth that they may go to the devil worth so many millions; among an almost unlimited number to whom these things are hope-

lessly unattainable, the very equivocal prize of getting off with your life!

In plain truth, what we have been calling education is an entire misnomer, and in point of fact we have simply no education at all—at least, *officially recognised*. Nature has her own way of *educing* and *developing* what of native ability she imparts to her offspring; but then "native ability" being quite a relative term, these may under favourable circumstances, such as "impetuous haste of competition," "every man for himself," turn out to be mere craftiness and designing knavery, in the infinitely varying forms known to a commercial age. Dame Nature wears an imperturbable face in regard to all our definitions and interpretations of her secret—simply saying Very well, while she calmly affixes her rewards and encouragements, her pains and penalties, in strict accordance with their truth or falsity. Our interpretation of the secret has been that it is a game, and our schooling is framed to the end that we should win, or attain to some kind of "success" by getting on in the world, and amass wealth, money. The prizes being thus disgustingly gross, the higher qualities of human sympathy and brotherliness can be dispensed with, and the other qualities of antipathy substituted. With the weapon we have given her—namely, Competition—Dame Nature subjects us to a rigorous process of searching through and through, discovering and bestowing her motherly care and nourishing attention on all those qualities which are most likely to enable us to *circumvent our neighbour*. All the qualities of cunning, of envy, of covetousness, greed, jealousy, hypocrisy and cowardice, simulation and dissimulation, are sharply detected, soothingly nourished and strengthened, wisely drawn out and directed to the end that we become proficient in the Art of Circumventing our Fellows. Though "*Officially unrecognised*," our education is being not only not forgotten, but is superintended by the unerring vigilance of Natural Law.

What we are pleased to call our "Educational System," in its methods and results resembles the manufacture of sausages: the bags are stuffed with dead meat, and the boys are stuffed with dead vocables. It is entirely without any intelligent human plan or aim—unless, indeed, the object of getting the Government grant, by bundling the pupil through the Standards, can be called an intelligent human aim. Our school system makes us pretentious to a sense of the fitness of things—it is entirely oblivious of the fact that *we are not all alike*; of the fact of infinite varieties of disposition, aptitude, capacity. The sausage process discerns only variety of dimension in the bags—some hold less and others more. In such a process of indiscriminate cramming it is quite palpable that many learn much for which they have absolutely no use, while they learn nothing of what they most need. A right education would enable us to know of what use we were in the world to ourselves and our fellows; would teach us to *do*, what to do and how to do it; but, instead, our youths when they leave the school are just as wise in this respect as when they entered it. They can figure, write a good hand, and give accurately the dates of several battles; but of what capacity for work, and of what kind, nature has endowed them withal, they are without knowledge. Now we can hardly call that "education" which does not at least assist us in discovering the proper employment of our energies. Not until our "education" is "finished" does education, strictly speaking, begin, when our boys are pitched into the world among a bewildering multitude of pursuits to discover what they are fitted for. One tumbles into a carpenter's shop; another into a blacksmith's, not because they were in all ways best suited for each other, but because they happened to fall there.

As will be observed, I am speaking of the schooling we accord to our drudges or "working classes," and I don't know that much more is required by drudgism than it gets in this kind. Indeed, what more *is* required? It is not as if it was intended for a "career"; for other equipment the due amount of physical strength is alone needed. The carpenter might as easily have been a blacksmith, and the blacksmith a carpenter; but with "careers" it is different! True, indeed, so long as a class is bred for the exclusive purpose of performing the "drudging," the head need not be consulted further than to render the hands more nimble. For the rest, all that his "education" has left to the poor drudge is mere animalism—in the exercise of which it is little wonder if he sometimes excels in brutishness the lower animals. Ply him with arithmetic and technics, says our professor, and for the rest, nature will look after the survival of the fittest. Undoubtedly writing, arithmetic, and theoretic technics develop cunninger workmen, but for this no workman with a spark of manliness can have either admiration nor gratitude, given to him, as it is, the better to subserve the ends of a designing capitalist class. Reading, on the other hand, is vastly more important, and if it does not *make* in any real sense, for the present, it somewhat *mars* the comfortable arrangements of our complacent commercial classes. Reading makes revolutionists: it introduces the drudge to Books, and their marvels excite his thirst; they reveal to him the essential dignity of man, and he slowly erects his head; they inspire respect for human *worth*, and arouse contempt for the fortunate inferior to whom he is compelled to cringe; they exalt his hopes while they purify and enlarge his desires. For this we can be grateful. Books can make him feel there is not a hard-handed son of toil but has a soul in him, was made too in the likeness of God and is the equal and brother of all men. They excite his wrath, and inspire indignation at the entirely arbitrary arrangements of society which have concealed from his vision all notion of dignity, shut him out from all possibility of realising his manhood.  
DANIEL McCULLOCH.

(To be continued.)

## MATTHEW ARNOLD, AND "A MAN'S A MAN FOR A' THAT."

A RECENT reviewer in the *Spectator* has been commending Matthew Arnold's criticism of Burns' "A Man's a Man for a' that." Mr. Arnold was of the opinion that the sentiment of that song did not express the real feeling of Burns, but rather an affected feeling. "The accent of high seriousness, born of absolute sincerity," is, he says, lacking in it. "Surely if our sense is quick, we must perceive that we have not in these passages a voice of the innermost soul of Burns; he is not speaking to us from those depths, he is more or less preaching." That there is "preaching" in "A Man's a Man for a' that" may be admitted; but surely the preaching is sincere enough, surely it came from his "innermost soul." It may be true that Burns did not always practice what he preached—that his own conduct did not always accord with the sentiments expressed in the song—that he rather liked sometimes to meet lords and receive recognition and patronage from persons of rank, in whom "honesty" and "sense" were far from being conspicuous characteristics; but what would become of the race if poets and moralists preached in accordance merely with the thoughts and instincts which inherited and acquired habits have fostered in their nature, instead of in accordance with the purer conviction of what is just and right, which observation and experience have impressed upon their minds? Preaching, whether in prose or verse, is a noble function, provided it is true and its application to life possible. Socrates preached, Christ preached, John Ball preached, Bruno preached, Sophia Perouskaia preached, and Albert Parsons preached; and who shall say their preaching was not sincere? They devoted their lives and died in testimony of their sincerity—and we have yet to learn a higher standard by which to judge sincerity than that. Yet, it would be taking, I fear, rather too exalted an estimate of the character of even these martyrs, to suppose that—despite their self-sacrifice—their own immediate selfish impulses did not frequently war with their ideals. Their glory is, that their sincere conviction of what was true and just, triumphed over their latent animal and habitual instincts, and inspired them to do and die for their fellows.

Matthew Arnold is not, I think, the best guide in the matter of sincerity; for there has seldom been found a man having such a clear perception of religious and social error, who so sweetly ordered his own conduct that he might not disturb error or inconvenience himself. An atheist by conviction, he was a churchman in practice; in perception a social reformer, in personal disposition a Tory. The wine of his thought was so diluted with the water of his own ineptitude for personal initiative, that it has passed through the minds of his countrymen without stimulating them to a single honest impulse to forswear falsehood—a single brave endeavour towards social or intellectual freedom.

The significant fact about Burns is, that his poetical impulse lifted him above the plane of the grovelling instincts of his time—above, it may be, his own prejudices and ambitions, and caused him to see, dimly perhaps, through the black night of the passions, purposes, and conventions around him, the truth of human equality and brotherhood; and inspired him to give strong and manly protest against the meanness and inhumanity that surged in the sea of human strivings amid which he lived.

So too, it is with Socialists; they are made of the same clay, have the same selfish impulses, the same anti-social dispositions as other folk; but they have been constrained to look beyond their own circumscribed cravings and prejudices, and to regard rather the weal of all, in which, they truly perceive their own personal desires and wants—rightly interpreted—will be best subserved. A Socialist cannot practice Socialism to-day; neither can he feel or think as he believes men should feel and think if society were rightly arranged. His merit is, that he discards the vicious inclinations inherited from his animal origin as being the best to be fostered and made permanent in the race; and seeks instead, that the more humane and social tendencies which have grown unconsciously in the hearts of men, and ever and anon assert themselves, shall be set free and encouraged, and if possible made supreme and universal. If Mr. Arnold means by the "voice of the innermost soul" the beseechings of our deeply implanted self-love and acquisitiveness, then we who are Socialists to-day, do not sing "A Man's a Man for a' that" with any more "absolute sincerity" than Burns did. We are no doubt as ready as was Burns to seek the patronage and favour of the rich and noble, and as liable as he to violate in our daily conduct the principle of the brotherhood of man; but we trust we are sincere, as we believe he was sincere, in despising the nature that prompts us to do these things, and in fervently wishing that "honest worth o'er a' the earth may bear the gree"—and until then, preferring poverty to dishonesty, and obscure toil to rank and wealth maintained by plunder. And this is what most thoughtful men would designate "the accent of high seriousness" and the "voice of the innermost soul."

It is true the song is neither mournful nor grave, but mournfulness and gravity are not necessary adjuncts of seriousness. Burns himself referred to the production as a "vive la bagatelle" and professed it had no poetical merits. This fact may have misled Mr. Arnold. Poets are notoriously poor judges of their own poetry—they distrust the merit of what comes easily and rapidly from their brain, and over-estimate the value of their more highly constrained and artificial productions. There were reasons, however, why Burns at the time might not wish the song to be regarded as a serious poetical effort.

The hopes excited by his connection with men of rank had proved illusory, and his worldly prospects were dreary in the extreme; and he feared lest the song might be accepted merely as a proclamation of personal chagrin and vindictiveness.

The sentiment of "A Man's a Man for a' that," did not, however, represent a merely momentary or adventitious feeling of the poet's mind. It was ever constant and strong within him. In many other songs and poems it finds passionate and even more complete expression. It recurs again and again in his letters to his friends. Many of these utterances display such a clear comprehension of social injustice and so strong an aspiration for social equality, that, if their authorship were unknown, the capitalistic reviewer of our day would no doubt set them down as the "wild ravings of some mad revolutionary whose reason has been subverted by the incomprehensible economics of Marx, and whose feelings have been unstrung by the dying shriek of the Commune of Paris."

Tested even by his own conduct, the "sincerity" of his "preaching" was strongly exemplified. Despite the fact that he had occasionally to submit to the conventions of his time and yield to the constraints of his own position, no other man in Scotland, in his own day or since, more bravely asserted in practice the principle of "A Man's a Man for a' that" than he himself did. His gratification at receiving the attention of lords, professors, and literary magnates did not long survive his discernment of their commonplace and mean instincts, and the artificial glamour of their society. He sacrificed preferment rather than disguise his political principles; he remained poor rather than act dishonestly or toady to privilege and favour.

To "A Man's a Man for a' that" is largely due whatever little sturdiness and spirit is left in Scotchmen to-day, and we as Socialists are reaping some of the fruit of its "preaching."

Let Socialists sing it, for even they have need of its manly sentiments to straighten their backs sometimes. Nor need we quibble over its celebration of poverty. He is a dullard who does not recognise that poverty is almost the invariable lot of honest toil and manly and generous conduct now, as in the days of Burns. Poverty is no virtue, but it is hardly possible to be virtuous without being poor. And while that is so, shall we not sing:—

"What tho' on hamely fare we dine,  
Wear hoddin grey, and a' that;  
Gie fools their silks, and knaves their wine,  
A man's a man for a' that!  
For a' that, and a' that,  
Their tinsel show, and a' that,  
The honest man, though e'er sae poor,  
Is king o' men for a' that!"

J. BRUCE GLASIER.

## CORRESPONDENCE.

S. H. C. (Cleckheaton) writes:

I should be much obliged if you would inform me through the medium of the *Commonweal* the name of the publishers of the English translation of Karl Marx's work on Socialism, and title of same.

'Capital: A Critical Analysis of Capitalist Production.' Translated from the 3rd German edition by S. Moore and E. Aveling. Sonnenschein, 1887. 8vo.

Also if there is any book which treats of Trade from its earliest commencement. I once read an account of a book which described trade as beginning through the needs of exchange of commodities between hostile tribes, but I do not know the name.

ANDERSON (F.)—'Historical and Chronological Deduction of the Origin of Commerce.' London, 1764, 2 vols. fol. 'Supplement.' London, 1789; 1 vol. 4to.

CLARK (G. L.)—'History of British Commerce from the Earliest Times.' Knight, London, 1844. 3 vols. 12mo.

DELMAR (ALEX.)—'History of Money in Ancient Countries from the Earliest Times to the Present.' Bell and Sons, London, 1885. 8vo.—'Money and Civilisation; or, a History of the Monetary Laws and Systems of various States since the Dark Ages, and their influence upon Civilisation.' Bell and Sons, London, 1886. 8vo.

GILBERT (J. W.)—'Lectures on the History and Principles of Ancient Commerce.' London, 1847. 14mo.

LEVI (LEONE)—'History of British Commerce and of the Economic Progress of the British Nation, 1763-1878.' Murray, London. 2nd. ed., 1880. 8vo.

LENDISAY (W. S.)—'History of Merchant Shipping and Commerce.' Sampson, Low; London, 1874-5. 4 vols. 8vo.

MACPHERSON (D.)—'Annals of Commerce.' London, 1805. 4 vols. 4to.

YEATS (J.)—'Growth and Vicissitudes of Commerce,' and 'Technical History of Commerce.' Philip, London 1887. 8vo.

Also, 'Encyclopedia Britannica' under "Commerce," "Exchange," "Money," etc. Delmar's books would be most likely to be useful.

J. S. R. (Marykirk, Montrose) asks:

Would you kindly inform me as to the following matters: (1) Who is publisher of F. Engels' Work on the 'Condition of the English Working Classes' (translation)?

William Reeves, 185 Fleet Street, London, E.C.

(2) Could you recommend me a French Socialist weekly, stating the rate of subscription and the address of the publishing office? Cheapness, other things being equal, is a consideration.

La Revolte, 180 Rue Mouffetard, Paris. 7f. per ann.

THE CITY FATHERS.—Aubrey tells of Sir Miles Fleetwood, who was Recorder of London when James came into England, and made an oration to the City, wherein he said:—"When I consider your wealth I do admire your wisdom, and when I consider your wisdom I do admire your wealth."



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, 15 Farringdon Rd., E.C., and accompanied by the name and address of the writer, not necessarily for publication.

As all articles are signed, no special significance attaches to them because of their position in these pages. None to be taken as more than in a general manner expressing the views of the League as a body, except it be so explicitly declared by the Editors. Rejected MSS. only returned if a stamped directed envelope is forwarded with them. Subscriptions.—For Europe and United States, including postage, per year, 6s. six months, 3s.; three months, 1s. 6d.

Business communications to be addressed to Manager of the COMMONWEAL, 15 Farringdon Road, E.C. Remittances in Postal Orders or halfpenny stamps.

T. S.—Will be used.

Periodicals received during the week ending Wednesday December 26.

<b>ENGLAND</b>	<b>CHICAGO</b> —Knights of Labor	<b>SWITZERLAND</b>
Justice	Vorbote	Arbeiterstimme
Labour Tribune	Detroit—Der Arme Teufel	SPAIN
London—Ereie Presse	Fort Worth (Tex.)—South West	Madrid—El Socialista
Norwich—Daylight	Milwaukee (Wis.)—Volksblatt	Seville—La Solidaridad
Railway Review	St. Louis (Mo.)—Die Parole	PORTUGAL
Telegraph Service Gazette	Coast Seaman's Journal	Lisbon—O Protesto Operario
Social Democrat		GERMANY
Worker's Friend		Berlin—Volks Tribune
<b>NEW SOUTH WALES</b>	<b>FRANCE</b>	Brunn—Arbeiterstimme
Hamilton—Radical	Paris—Cri du Peuple (daily)	AUSTRIA
INDIA	Le Parti Ouvrier (daily)	Brno—Arbeiterstimme
Bankipore—Behar Herald	La Revoltte	ROUMANIA
Madras—People's Friend	Le Proletariat	Jassy—Municipal
<b>UNITED STATES</b>	Lille—Le Cri du Travailleur	DENMARK
New York—Der Sozialist	HOLLAND	Social-Demokraten
Freiheit	Hague—Recht voor Allen	SWEDEN
Truthseeker	BEELGIUM	Malmö—Arbetet
Volkszeitung	Ghent—Vooruit	Stockholm, Social-Demokraten
Jewish Volkszeitung	Liege—L'Avenir	NORWAY
Isseker Zeitung	Antwerp—De Werker	Kristiania—Social-Democraten
Workmen's Advocate	ITALY	WEST INDIES
Boston—Woman's Journal	Rome, L'Emancipazione (daily)	Cuba—El Productor
	La Humanaera	

## FRANCE, THE PAPACY, AND THE REVOLUTION.

THE French Government appears to be doomed to make mistakes in its relations to the Papacy and the Revolution. Whatever party is in power, whatever the name or the form of the Government, each and all seem to feel or to recognise some kind of obligation to protect or uphold the Papacy. That such should be the case is lamentable, not only for France herself, but because it tends to complicate the great questions of the day, and to place France in a false position. We all look to France as the centre of the revolutionary movement; we all hope to see her take the lead in the holy war for the emancipation of humanity, for the regeneration of human society. But between the Revolution and the Papacy there is eternal war; between them there can never be peace. And in the great struggle for which the despots are arming, for which the nations are preparing, and for which the oppressed of every land are hoping, the Papacy will be the centre and the rallying cry of all the reactionary elements in the European conflict. High above even the Imperialism of Germany rise the lofty pretensions of his holiness of Rome. Those pretensions can never be recognised by any European Government. They can never be realised except by destroying the last vestiges of human liberty.

One of the greatest crimes France ever committed, and at the same time one of the most fatal of all her mistakes, was the assassination of the Roman Republic of 1849. Herself a Republic, and recognised by all the leading Governments, yet France, at the appeal of his holiness to the Catholic Powers, must needs destroy the Republic of Rome, must needs drown the newly-won liberties of the Roman people in the blood of Rome's defenders.

Of all the revolutionary movements of 1848-9, that of Rome was the most successful, and promised to be the most beneficial. So oppressed had been the people by the implicated despotism under which they had groaned for centuries, so disgusted were they with the priestly tyranny by which for ages they had been kept in bondage, that the revolution was hailed and accepted by the great mass of the population. When, in the early days of February, 1849, the Constituent Assembly met at Rome, which Assembly had been elected by manhood suffrage in Rome and the States of the Church, one of its first decrees was the deposition of the Pope as a temporal prince. The vote of the deputies was all but unanimous, 139 to 5. That decree was followed by the formal adhesion of the municipalities, elected under the old Papal régime, 263 in number. The population was unanimous. There were no elements of discord, none for the reaction to play upon; and nothing was left for his holiness but to appeal to external brute force to re-instate him on his blood-stained throne.

That Austria, Spain, and Naples should respond to the appeal of his holiness was to be expected; but had France thrown the shield of her protection over Rome as she did over Belgium in 1830, the Republic of Rome would have been safe. The French Government chose to play the part of the assassin against the liberties of Rome; a fatal blunder which helped the reaction throughout the Continent and the triumph of Imperialism in France in the shape of the Third Empire. And the butcheries in Rome and in the rest of Italy were followed by the massacres of December.

The executions in Italy were terrible. After the people had been crushed in the Legations, after they were disarmed and every means of assistance destroyed, 208 were executed at Bologna, 24 at Simgalia, 5 were shot at Rome by order of the French, and 44 by order of the Sacred Council. For the whole of Italy these executions reached a total of 6,649.

But what were the deeds of the French to prepare the way, to make it possible for the arch-hypocrite to re-ascend his throne of blood? Their ammunition being exhausted, Garibaldi and his heroes had to give up the defence of Rome on the 3rd of July. On the 4th, the French entered the city, and the same day established a council of war for political offences. On July 5th they dissolved all the clubs and suppressed public meetings. On the 6th they dissolved the National Guard; on the 7th they disarm the people, and on the 14th they suppress all the newspapers. These measures in Rome were soon followed by similar measures in France itself. The deeds of the bloodthirsty order-mongers are everywhere the same. The reaction triumphant is everywhere heartless and cruel, and the Papacy is the incarnation of the principle of absolute despotism. It is the remembrance of those deeds on the part of France, and being face to face with the claims and pretensions of the Vatican, that has driven, and will drive Italy into the arms of Germany. Much as the people of Italy may regret it, much as the people of France may deplore it, Italy is bound to seek safety and security for her unity and independence.

Here is work for the friends of the Latin race, for those who wish to break the Triple Alliance, who seek to promote the union of France, Spain, and Italy. Let France break once and for ever with the Papacy; let her cease to recognise, directly or indirectly, the monstrous claims and pretensions of the Vatican, and Italy will soon cease to rely upon the arms of Germany.

The revolution is universal, because resting on a principle that is universal in its application. The Papacy, resting on the principle of despotism, and the Revolution—the principle of equal liberty, of eternal justice—are the extremes of the world-wide controversy that has existed for ages, a struggle that will cease only when the Revolution is everywhere triumphant. Being universal the Revolution is international, and the right of initiative is wherever there is the requisite unity, energy, and devotion. It belongs to France, to Spain, to Italy, to Germany, to Austria, to Russia, to England—to wherever the elements of success are strongest.

The revolution wars against tyranny wherever it exists, against despotism wherever found, whether in the Church or in the State, in the laws or the institutions. It recognises neither the pretensions of the Papacy, the claims of Imperialism, nor the prerogatives of royalty. It recognises neither the aristocracy of birth nor the aristocracy of wealth. In all the States of Europe we have yet to conquer political freedom, to combat political tyranny.

But the revolution is social as well as political. Henceforth, every revolution that is not social and economical will be tricked away by political parties and for party purposes. We may war against the Church, we may war against the State, we may combat the tyranny and corruption so prevalent in both, but we must go beyond these. In all the more civilised nations, the social and economical conditions render absolutely necessary the reconstruction of society itself.

Let us not shut our eyes to the complicated nature of the impending struggle in Europe. The revolutions failed in 1848-9. Let us hope they will not fail in 1889-90. And let us hope, too, that France will cast to the winds of heaven the Papacy, with all its corruption and all its pretensions, and that she will grasp hands with Italy in the name of the revolution, for the freedom and elevation of humanity.

J. SKETCHLEY.

### NOTICE.

Subscribers who find a red mark against this notice are thereby reminded that their subscriptions have expired and must be renewed before the New Year if they wish to continue to receive *Commonweal*.

"Where the men and women think lightly of the laws; where the populace rise at once against the never-ending audacity of elected persons; where the citizen is always the head and ideal; where children are taught to be laws to themselves—there the great city stands."—*Walt Whitman*.

In political affairs, the most critical and dangerous moment to the popular party is that which, for that party, ought to precede a complete and final triumph. It is at such a moment that the enemy is too much despised, and the popular force is over-rated. We are disposed to rely on our friends and on half-converted enemies, not upon the only safe resource—our own exertions.—*Daniel O'Connell*.

But I almost think we are all of us ghosts. It is not only what we have inherited from our father and mother that walks in us. It is all sorts of dead ideas, and lifeless old beliefs, and so forth. They have no vitality, but they cling to us all the same, and we can't get rid of them. Whenever I take up a newspaper I seem to see ghosts gliding between the lines. And then we are, one and all, so pitifully afraid of the light.—*Henrik Ibsen*.



## TO DOMESTIC SERVANTS.

FRIEND,—This is your "Evening out," or your "Sunday out," isn't it? Then you actually get, once a fortnight, or once a month, a whole evening, or a whole Sunday afternoon, free to yourselves? Isn't that so? And the rest of your time? Ah no, you are not free then. You have sold the rest of your time to your mistress, and for all but just this afternoon or evening, you are hers; not your own.

One would think she must be very busy, to want you all the week, and even Sunday mornings. But no; on Sunday mornings you must cook the dinner, make the beds, clean the door-step, while she is in church. Now either she must be more wicked than you, or else she doesn't care whether you are wicked or not, so long as she finds dinner all ready; or, which is most likely, she doesn't think Church necessary, and only goes to kill time. If so, one can scarcely see why she shouldn't now and then kill time by cleaning the step, or polishing the grate, and let you go to church, or for a walk. But she has got some silly idea that it is degrading to do this work, and forgets that what is degrading for her is just as degrading for you; and that if it would make her tired, she carelessly tires you out every day.

Then week-days it is just the same. Whilst you are wearing yourself out with hard toil from morning till night, doing her work for her, she longs for something to do; but she will not help you, because she wants you to feel that you are hers, and that she is "superior" and you "inferior." She may be kind and well-intentioned; but she doesn't understand that you are just as good as she is, and that you have faculties as good as her own for enjoyment, if only you had the chance to exercise them.

Here then is this woman idle and extravagant, yet rich: meanwhile your mother at home works hard and would be so glad of the help you could give; yet she is so poor in spite of all her work, that she has sent you to sell your time to help another woman do nothing.

Your mistress's children have a governess, or are sent to some expensive and fashionable school. All sorts of pleasant enjoyable things they have a chance to learn. They have plenty to eat, (happy if not too much), and their clothes are so numerous and costly as to be an embarrassment to them. At home your little sisters and brothers are left to themselves;—their school-pence can ill be spared, sometimes only by cutting short their dinner; and you know better than anyone can tell you what shifts your mother is put to to keep their clothes sufficient for them. At night your father comes home tired out; and if you should chance to go home, there is no room for you in the crowded cottage; the cost of what you eat is a consideration to them; and they are relieved when you are gone. You find that your home is broken up for you; and you know that your little sister must go too, as soon as she is allowed to leave the school.

What a difference between your family and your mistress! Yet you feel that you are really as good as she is: but you have been kept down and are ignorant of the cause of it, besides of much else you would like to know.

And then, to come back to this short holiday of yours. You have to be in quite early, and perhaps to give an account of yourself. Probably your mistress really means well by you in this. But how is it that she thinks harm might come to you, and so keeps you prisoner? You know only too well. It is because many men have to toil so hard, and are so poor, that they are ignorant of true happiness (never having had the chance to learn) and of the goodness and sacredness of womanhood. And there are others (whom perhaps your mistress meets in the drawing-room) so ruined by the idle pampered lives they have led, that their blood is corrupt for want of honest exercise; and in their miserable state they care nothing for your honour. Contrast these idle rich men with your over-worked father, and then ask: "How is it that the idle are rich, and those who make all things are poor?"

If you and your friends would learn how all this unhappiness arises, how your masters unjustly claim the shops and fields in which your fathers and brothers and sweetheart work, and how the money you see the rich waste has been kept back by them out of the working-people's wages; if you would understand this, we Socialists ask you to join us. For your fathers' and mothers' sake, for the sake of your little brothers and sisters, and (when you get married) of your own children, in order that they may not have to undergo the sorrow and drudgery which is your lot, but may grow up and have health and leisure and pleasant learning. We invite you to help us.

Come to our meetings on your "Sundays out," and bring your brothers and sweetheart with you; get all you can to join us, and learn how all this poverty and inequality may be ended; teach your young sisters and brothers at home, so that, when the chance occurs, we may be numerous enough to overturn this wrong and wretched state of things, and begin a new way of life, in which the welfare and happiness of all shall be the aim of each; and Freedom with good Friends every day, instead of the "evening out," shall be the Rule for all, and not the Exception as it is to-day.

G. S.

For surely it is the test of every divine man—and without it he is not divine or great—that he has fire in him to burn up somewhat of the sins of the world, of the miseries and errors of the world. Why else is he there?—*Thomas Carlyle.*

Your nobles are nothing but rich men inflated with empty traditions of insufferable, because unwarrantable, pride, and drawing substance from alliance with the merchant class. You worship your so-called aristocracy perforce in order to preserve an ideal of contrast to the vulgarity of the nation.—*George Meredith*

## THE STARVING POOR OF OLD ENGLAND.

(REPRINTED BY REQUEST.)

Tune—"Union Jack."

LET them brag until in the face they are black,  
That over oceans they hold their sway,  
Of the Flag of Old England, the Union Jack,  
About which I have something to say:  
'Tis said that it floats o'er the free, but it waves  
Over thousands of hard-worked ill-paid British slaves,  
Who are driven to pauper and suicide graves—  
The starving poor of Old England!

Chorus—

'Tis the poor, the poor the taxes have to pay,  
The poor who are starving every day,  
Who starve and die on the Queen's highway—  
The starving poor of Old England!

There's the slaves of the needle, and the slaves of the mine,  
The postmen and sons of the plough,  
And the hard-worked servants on the railway line,  
Who get little by the sweat of their brow.  
'Tis said that the labourer is worthy his hire,  
But of whom does he get it, we'd like to enquire;  
Not of any mill-owner, or farmer, or squire,  
Who grind down the poor of Old England!

Old England's a dear native land in its way,  
For those who have plenty of gold;  
They thieve all the land on the sides of the way,  
And heap up their riches untold:  
'Tis dear to the rich, but too dear for the poor  
When hunger stalks in at every door;  
But not much longer these evils we'll endure,  
We the working-men of Old England!

## DOING GOOD.

Now that the season of the year specially devoted to family reunions, merriment, and sympathetic displays to our less fortunate brothers and sisters, has come round again, every Socialist is reminded of the hollow shams by which the ignorant and the poor are deluded into contentment with their unfortunate lot.

What mean these charitable appeals to the benevolent, with which all the London bourgeois papers team? Some rich old maids, harbouring the delusions which their training and associations have implanted in them, whilst contributing their guinea to some benevolent (?) fund, doubtless have a feeling that they have done some good. They would even feel a somewhat sanctified happiness if present on the occasion when those guineas which they subscribed were transformed into viands and placed before their guests, some of whom perhaps have not partaken of a substantial meal for months. But how that happiness would vanish if some famished guest at the repast, some victim of our sham society, some worker denied the right to live by labour, were to tell them that but for him and his comrades in distress, they would not even be in the position to contribute their guinea to enjoy the pleasure of witnessing the misery which they and theirs have produced.

It is pretty well time that these benevolent and charitable persons got to understand their relations and responsibilities to society. Doubtless many of these good people would deeply regret the losses of opportunity of "doing good" which they would sustain by a Social Revolution. They have some vague idea that the wicked Socialists are trying to abolish poverty, and then when there are no poor there will be no scope left to them for doing good, for they have no other conception of doing good. But can this ever be? Can there be social equality? Why, we have it on the undisputed authority of holy writ, "The poor ye have always with you." The only argument that would convince such people would be to make them the guests at charity dinners. If they only observed the precepts of holy scripture, they would sell all they had and give to the poor. The tables could thus be easily turned.

A. BROOKES.

THE LAW AND LIBERTY LEAGUE.—The first annual meeting of the Law and Liberty League was held on Saturday, 15th, and the report for the year and the balance-sheet were presented. The report showed a notable record of work done. In announcing the release of the last of the Trafalgar-square prisoners—with the exception of poor George Harrison—the secretary was able to say that every man, on his liberation from prison, had found his home safe, and his dependents cared for during his absence. Not one home had been broken up, nor one wife or child suffered want. A very large number of cases were reported, in which legal advice and assistance had been given. Thus an action had been brought against an employer who had dismissed an apprentice; £30 damages were recovered, and the father had repaid the costs advanced by the League. A summons issued against a firm that had dismissed a labourer without notice had obtained a week's wages for the labourer, and stopped the attempt to introduce a system of dismissal without notice. Compensation had been obtained for a mother whose son was killed by an accident. A broker had been compelled to pay three times the amount of illegal charges levied. Illegal hours had been stopped in one factory, fines in many, and so on and on through a long list. All legal advice given by the League is given free. Where gross injustice is being committed against the very poor, assistance has been given to bring the cases into court so far as its funds have permitted. With a little more financial assistance its work might be greatly extended. The balance-sheet showed an expenditure of £1,132, and a debt remaining of £170. Until this debt is discharged the League cannot undertake any further financial responsibilities, but it is hoped that sufficient subscriptions will come in from the public to enable it to continue its modest work as poor man's advocate. The greater part of the work which it originally took in hand being now successfully completed, it was thought well to revise its constitution, and to devote its resources chiefly to the task of rendering legal assistance to the poor, and thus enabling them to resist injustices inflicted on them in consequence of their defencelessness. Subscriptions and donations to the League will be gratefully acknowledged if forwarded to Annie Besant, hon. sec., 34, Bouverie-street, E.C.

## INTERNATIONAL NOTES.

## BELGIUM.

The strikes in the mining districts are momentarily over. The legitimate demand of the workers would have unavoidably resulted in an increase of wages, if the struggle had only lasted for a fortnight longer under normal circumstances, but those who had a strong interest in the defeat of the strikers, have once more resorted to base and vile means in order to compel them to resume work. Under the present conditions of affairs, when the demand for coals is at the highest pitch, and the price therefore day after day increasing, a miners' strike, simultaneously breaking out in the four coal districts, would have certainly resulted in the victory of the workers, and one big strike being won, would have done more for the furtherance of Socialism in those regions than six months', or perhaps one year's propaganda work, by meetings and speeches. That, the government seem to have been aware of, for they have immediately set themselves at work in order to transform the workers' contest into a kind of a criminal dynamite plot. The great mass of the public were manifestly sympathetic to the miners, and fully recognized the legitimacy of their claims; therefore the government did all they possibly could in order to create a strong reaction against them, by making people believe that all these miners were wicked men, capable of all sorts of attempts, and actually engaged in using dynamite against the so-called "property" of their masters. In fact, some twelve or fifteen dynamite explosions occurred in the Centre district, without causing any harm to individuals or damaging property at all; but the hand of the *agents-provocateurs* was so evidently visible in these deeds that not one serious person has had for one single moment the idea of accusing the strikers of having used these explosives themselves. But of course the Attorney-General, Van Schaor, who by the way is also a good friend of the German authorities, affected to believe that the strikers were guilty of using dynamite, and he ordered all the delegates of the Chatelet Socialist Congress, where the general strike was resolved, to be arrested. None of those delegates has had anything to do with explosives of any kind; everybody knows that very well, but nevertheless these comrades are to be tried for the "crime of having destroyed or tried to destroy public and private property, by means of dynamite," and so on. The real *provocateurs* are completely free and walk about unnoticed by the police authorities. For this time, the government have managed to cause fifty or sixty Socialists to be arrested, who will be convicted for the dynamite-throwing that others have done; but there might come such an emergency, that the workers, thwarted by their governments, would use all means, even dynamite, to get rid of their exploiters, and who should then dare to condemn them?

## SWITZERLAND.

The readers of the *Weal* know that on May 11th last the Federal Council issued that now famous circular to the Swiss authorities, in which they called their attention to the "Socialist propaganda" made chiefly by foreigners. The result was that the Swiss workers at once started an organisation of their own. The various cantonal authorities, in pursuance of the above-mentioned circular, have now set to work and organised in their respective cantons what is termed the "political police department." One of the "secret instructions" addressed by the Council of Aargau to the police force of that canton has found its way through the press, and it shows very clearly what old Helvetia, acting under Bismarck's provocations, has done with her free institutions. The document runs as follows:—

## "SECRET INSTRUCTIONS CONCERNING THE DUTIES OF THE POLITICAL POLICE.

"1. The cantonal police authorities have to gather very carefully all doings which occur in their respective divisions and have regard to the internal safety or to the international relations of the country. Without further orders, they have to report to the Department of Justice and Police on all such occurrences, and on the authors of such doings.

"2. They have to watch especially all public and private gatherings, as also all papers and other publications wherein questions as to the political or social organisation of Switzerland and of other countries are discussed. They have to report on each of these meetings and to take care that each one of these prints should be regularly sent to above-named department.

"3. As regards these meetings and publications, the cantonal police divisions have to report carefully names, origin, profession, means of existence, antecedents of the persons most actively connected therewith. In the same way they have to report in the case of foreigners whose means of subsistence are unknown, or whose presence may for other reasons become dangerous to the safety of the country.

"4. As often as one such person leaves the canton, and moves to another, notice of such removal is to be at once given to the police authorities of that canton. All reports to be sent in regularly once a month, and, for such cases as may occur, immediately, to the above-named Department of Justice and Police, through the police direction of the canton."

These "secret instructions" were issued June 15th of this year, and pretty near transform "free Helvetia" into a kind of Prussian province in a state of siege.

## AUSTRIA.

The Austrian Socialists have now made their final arrangements towards the convocation of the first Congress to be held on Austrian soil, since the exceptional anti-Socialist laws have been put into force. The Congress, to be held from December 30th, 1888, to January 1st, 1889, will take place at Hainfeld, in Lower-Austria (St. Pölten-Leobersdorf) and the following subjects will appear on the agenda-paper: 1. Manifesto of the Social-democratic party in Austria; 2. On political rights; 3. Labour legislation and Social reform; 4. The Socialist Press; 5. Relief question; 6. Trades' Unions' organisation; 6. Labour parliament; 7. Popular education.

The last number of our Austrian colleague, *Arbeiterstimme* (Voice of the People), which is published at Brünn, has been confiscated by the authorities.

The composers' strike at Vienna has ended by the victory of the workers, their claims having been fully recognized by the masters. This result is chiefly due to the admirable solidarity shown by all the composers, and especially by the female workers.

## HOLLAND.

The Socialist cause is progressing very favorably in Holland; in nearly each large town and in many country places, the propagandists are numerous and devoted, and the comrades generally support with all their power the Socialist paper which is their official organ: *Recht voor allen* (Right for all). The result of it is that the paper, increasing in subscribers, is able also to increase its publication. It was started as a small weekly, but soon came out

twice a week, and since about six months has been issued three times weekly. It now announces that, to begin with January the 1st, it will be published as a daily paper. Comrades here should take example of this, and likewise support the *Weal* by all means in their power. V. D.

## ARGENTINE REPUBLIC.

The strike at Buenos Ayres on the Southern Railway has ended in the contractor's acceding to the demand for an increase in wages of over one-half, under pressure of the loss caused by the strike, but has been immediately followed by a strike at Sola station to compel the company to allow, in paying their wages, for the depreciation of gold. One of their meetings has been attacked by police and soldiery armed with sabres and remingtons. After a smart affray, in which some of the combatants were wounded, a large number of the strikers were arrested. At Villalonga, the labourers have struck successfully for an increase. 122 foundrymen have also struck, but their employer is holding out, promising only to increase the wages "of those who deserve it." The men are naturally averse to taking such terms.

## SPAIN.

At Sabadell there has been so prolonged a crisis in the labour market, that a large number of workers a few days ago started for the Argentine Republic, in the vain hope of escaping the sordid and lifelong scramble for existence they were subjected to at home. How far their hope is likely to be realised they will find when they are landed amid the labour troubles that affect the New World as well as the Old. At Valencia the locksmiths are organising themselves, and making an active propaganda for the purpose of forming a strong society to resist the encroachments of their employers. The shoemakers of the same town are engaged in the same task, as their employers are trying to lower wages. M. M.

METROPOLITAN PAUPERISM.—The weekly return of metropolitan pauperism shows that the total number of paupers relieved in the first week of December was 99,831, of whom 59,721 were indoor and 40,110 outdoor paupers. The total number relieved shows a decrease of 2,728 on the corresponding week of last year, an increase of 3,753 over 1886, and 5,586 over 1885. The total number of vagrants relieved on the last day of the week was 1,250, of whom 1,077 were men, 152 women, and 21 children under sixteen.

It is a familiar example of irony in the degradation of words that "what a man is worth" has come to mean how much money he possesses; but there seems a deeper and more melancholy irony in the shrunken meaning that popular or polite speech assigns to "morality" and "morals." The poor part these words are made to play recalls the fate of those pagan divinities who, after being understood to rule the powers of the air and the destinies of men, came down to the level of insignificant demons, or were even made a farcical show for the amusement of the multitude.—*George Eliot.*

COTTON TRADE.—Macclesfield weavers are still out; no sign yet of giving in on either side.—The Earley weavers' strike ended in an advance of 3d. a cut. At New Mills the employers have conceded the advance asked for, and so averted a strike.—The operatives at Cinderhill Mill, Castle Street, Todmorden, complain very strongly about extra work, and a fortnight's notice to leave has been tendered by the weavers unless the master improves matters. There are 450 looms in the shed. The spinners at the same place came out on the 13th inst., the cause also being extra work, about which they had previously complained. They remained out for that week, but resumed operations on the Monday morning, on the understanding that Mr. Barker would improve matters. He made a similar promise to the weavers.—At Bolton short time has been enforced by the employers in consequence of the dispute with their employés, and they threaten a general lock-out if the latter do not soon give in.

The Durham Salt Company (limited) will be worth keeping an eye on. It is just being formed, and its prospectus is worth preserving. It purposes in the first place to purchase from the present holder 1000 acres of land in Durham, worth about 30s. an acre agricultural value. Underneath this barren soil, however, nature has deposited a layer of salt 100 feet thick, and so the vendor, instead of claiming £150 for his land—its true value—claims, and is to receive, £165,000. Nor is that all. He is to receive in future a royalty of 1s. for each ton of salt extracted, and 8d. per ton on coal. First he sells his land for 1000 times its value, but actually reserves the right to levy blackmail on it for all time coming, or at least as long as the salt deposit holds out. This is not theft, but business! Then the Durham Salt Company (limited) with a charming simplicity tell us that they propose to charge a profit of 12s. per ton on the salt they make, and as they propose making 2000 tons a week this will amount to £31,000 a year, or 36 per cent. on the capital invested. I am quoting literally from the report, and neither adding to nor taking away. Who has to pay for all this? First the workers, whose wages will be 6d. an hour; next the consumers, who will have to pay three times the value of all the salt they purchase. Who would not be an individualist!—*Miner.*

HAMMER AND TONGS.—Gladstone at Limehouse and Salisbury at Scarborough have been abusing one another in hollow political fashion, and trying to outbid each other for the support of the "people," or so much of the people as are on the voting lists. For the rest of humanity the smug, selfish place-hunters have no care. After all is said, what do either offer? They both talk a great deal about the working man and what is best for him, and each has his bit of advice. What does it all amount to? Nothing. Neither Salisbury nor Gladstone can teach the working man anything worth knowing. The working man already knows the essential thing, that is, how to work. All either Salisbury or Gladstone can teach is to know how to steal. Now this is not useful knowledge. The working man is learning by long and bitter experience that it does not pay to toil on eternally in a false position in the hope of at some future time being able to plunder his fellow workers, and so escape toil himself. This is the Salisbury and the Gladstone doctrine in bald fact, divested of all word-juggling. These two schemers may abuse one another to their heart's content, but when they appeal to the workers it is enough to pin them down to their hard doctrines. Ask either of them what he is after, what will he do? Will he make one single idle parasite of the commercial scheme become of necessity an honest producer? Not they! They only are scheming and shuffling to ease the commercial robbery in such places as it has made too scandalous festers; but every idler is to be continued, and every toiler to be plundered as of old.—L. W.

## LETTER FROM AMERICA.

ENGLISH Socialists will remember Sir William V. Harcourt's famous saying: "We are all Socialists now." Well, this phrase has decidedly been improved upon over here. In an interview with a reporter, Congressman Anderson is made to say, ". . . I mean Jay Gould. He is, in my opinion, the greatest Communist in the United States." We, the revolutionists, are glad to get any convert, but I guess we will have to draw the line at Jay.

Talk about evictions in Ireland! There are more evictions in any one of the leading cities of the United States than in all Ireland together. Last week about 1,000 settlers were evicted on the Des Moines railroad lands. On the 5th inst., writs were issued for the eviction of 2,000 squatters near St. Paul, Minn. The squatters are very poor, and some of them have lived on the land as long as 20 years. They have seen their children grow up in the shanties built by their own hands, in the midst of their little gardens, and they are in consequence in a very "ugly" frame of mind, as the capitalistic press puts it, at the idea of being evicted just before a hard winter. Probably the constables will meet with armed resistance; I hope so.

T. B. Barry, the seceder from the Knights of Labour, has issued a manifesto to the working-people of America, calling upon them to join his new organisation, The Brotherhood of United Labour. "In taking this step," he says, "I am not doing so for the purpose of fighting the Knights of Labour or to gratify any personal ambition, but for the sole purpose of establishing honesty in and placing the labour movement on a decentralised basis." The cardinal principles of the Brotherhood of United Labour will be, to use Barry's words:

"Land, currency, and transportation reform as beneath all the social questions of our time. These three are of primary and universal importance, and are now agitating the great minds of the world.

"First—The right of man to the use of the earth.

"Second—The taking from usurers and Shylocks the right to control our currency.

"Third—The government ownership of the means of transporting persons, freight and intelligence, and the taking of those engines of human happiness out of the hands of stock gamblers and speculators, and operate them for the benefit of producer and consumer.

"While seeking a settlement of those questions we shall labour for ameliorative terms, such as the reduction of the hours of labour to eight per day, the prohibition of child labour, the abolition of the contract system in the employing of convicts, abolition of the central system in national, State and municipal works; prohibition of foreign labour under contract; the purification of our politics through the adoption of the Australian system of voting."

This programme is merely a rehash from the Knights of Labour platform, and it is not expected that Barry will meet with much success.

On the 4th inst., shortly before the dinner hour, the following notice was posted at the entrance to the Philadelphia and Reading railroad machine shops at Reading, Pa.:

"From December 5, working hours will be as follows:—From 7 a.m. to 12 m.; from 1 p.m. to 4 p.m.; making eight hours per day.

"E. J. SANDT, General Foreman."

This notice was also posted at all the company's shops along the entire line. Naturally there will also be a proportionate reduction in wages. The order will probably continue in force for several months, and more than 25,000 men will be affected. This action may be termed: Introducing the eight hours day with a vengeance!

Telegram of the 5th of December:

"Most of the engineers on the Montana Union Railroad are on strike because of the discharge of three of their number by the master mechanic. The strike greatly interferes with the working of the copper mines at Anaconda, M. T."

Telegram of the 6th of December:

"The strike on the Montana Union road has been settled in favour of the men, but in return the manager of the great Anaconda, the largest copper works in Montana, has received orders to close down the smelter and mines until next May, throwing 1,800 men out of work."

The Pottsdown Iron Company are asking (!) their nailmakers to accept a 25 per cent. reduction in wages, and they will open the factory.

The Secretary of the Treasury has issued his report. The income of the United States amounted to 379,266,074 dollars, and the expenditure for the government to 259,653,958 dollars, leaving a surplus of 119,612,116. Of this surplus 83,084,405 dollars were utilised for a reduction of the public debt, leaving 36,527,710 dollars in cash in the treasury for which absolutely no use could be found!

The Federated Association of Miners and Mine Labourers and District Assembly 135 Knights of Labour, the two rival national orders of miners, met in joint session on the 5th December in Columbus, Ohio. In spite of speeches made by T. V. Powderly and other leading Knights of Labour, the joint convention decided to form a new and independent organisation. District Assembly 135 had a membership of about 20,000, of which 10,000 left the Knights of Labour at the first meeting of the joint session. The remaining members are expected to follow suit pretty quickly. It was decided that the name of the organisation should be the National Progressive Union of Miners and Mine Labourers; that it shall be an open organisation; and that the officers shall be a president, two vice-presidents, a general secretary, financial secretary, and treasurer, and a general executive board, consisting of seven members, of which the president and general secretary shall be members *ex officio*. The salary of the president is to be 1,200 dols.; vice-presidents, 900 each; general secretary, 1,000; the financial secretary, 900. The vice-presidents will act as organisers. The first part of the constitution sets forth its aims and objects, which are pretty much the same as those of all other trades unions—viz., reducing the hours of labour and raising the wages. The coal-fields are divided into districts. The legislative body of the new organisation meets in February. The head-quarters are at Shawnee, Ohio.

The arguments of counsel pro and con in the suit of the people of the State of New York (read, Claus Spreckels, jr., the western sugar king) against the Eastern Sugar Trust, were heard in court last week. The lawyers are instructed to have their briefs ready by the 22nd inst., and the judge will make his decision probably soon after new year.

The fire insurance companies of New York are talking of organising a "clearing house"—that is, of forming themselves into a trust.

The Federal Grand Jury returned indictments against J. A. Bowles (the informer), J. A. Bauereisen, and Thomas Broderick, the so-called dynamite conspirators against the property of the Chicago, Burlington, and Quincy

Railroad. The three were taken to Geneva, Ill., where the trial began on the 4th inst. Two days were wasted in "picking" a jury. It is the same story over again as in the trials against the Chicago martyrs and against Hronek. An informer tells a tale (Bowles in this case) how he has been persuaded to join the conspiracy and how he refused to act. His testimony is taken as unimpeachable, and no matter how many witnesses to the contrary the defence can produce in court, it is all of no avail. I certainly expect also a conviction in this case. The trial will be continued this week.

Congressman Oates, a member of the Immigration Committee, has introduced into the House of Representatives a bill of which the following is an extract:—

"Section 1 provides that no alien shall be admitted into the United States who is an idiot, insane, a pauper or liable to become a public charge or who has been legally convicted of felony or other infamous crime, or who is a polygamist, Anarchist, or Socialist, or who is affected with any loathsome or contagious disease, or who has entered into contract to perform in the United States any labour or service for any person, firm, company, or corporation; or who comes upon any prepaid ticket, or who is furnished with the money to pay passage upon a promise, understanding, or agreement to repay the same by labouring for any person, etc., after arrival within the United States, excepting skilled labourers as are now allowed to be imported under existing law."

"Section 4 provides a tax or duty to be levied on each alien coming into the United States, except those in the diplomatic or consular service of foreign governments and such as come for travel, amusement, instruction. . . .

"Section 5 provides that any alien who desires to immigrate into the United States to reside therein or to become a citizen thereof, and not to become a labourer therein for a limited time, with the intention of returning, shall, three months prior to his embarkation, obtain a certificate from the United States Consul or diplomatic representative stationed nearest the place of residence of such person, showing that he is not of the classes prohibited in the first section; but such certificate shall not be conclusive evidence nor shall it relieve the master or other officer in charge of the vessel, railroad train, or other carrier from the performance of any and all other duties required by him by law relating to such passengers."

O, what a blessing it is to live in a free country!

Newark, N.J., December 10, 1888.

HENRY F. CHARLES.

## THE FATHERLAND.

LOWELL.

WHERE is the true man's fatherland?

Is it where he by chance is born?

Doth not the yearning spirit scorn

In such scant borders to be spurned?

O yes! his fatherland must be

As the blue heaven wide and free!

Is it alone where freedom is,

Where God is God and man is man?

Doth he not claim a broader span

For the soul's love of home than this?

O yes! his fatherland must be

As the blue heaven wide and free!

Where'er a human heart doth wear

Joy's myrtle-wreath or sorrow's gyves,

Where'er a human spirit strives

After a life more true and fair,

There is the true man's birthplace grand,

His is a world-wide fatherland!

Where'er a single slave doth pine,

Where'er one man may help another,—

Thank God for such a birthright, brother,—

That spot of earth is thine and mine!

There is the true man's birthplace grand,

His is a world-wide fatherland!

## THE SOCIALIST LEAGUE.

OFFICES: 13 FARRINGTON ROAD, E.C.

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

**London Members' Meeting.**—The next monthly meeting of members will take place on Monday, Jan. 7, 1889, at 13 Farringdon Road, at 9 o'clock sharp.

**Branch Subscriptions Paid.**—1888: Clerkenwell and Leicester to December. *Notice to Branch Secretaries.*—Please remit to Central Office your Branch Capitation fees as soon as possible. A list of Branches in arrears will shortly appear.

**Propaganda Fund.**—F. Sturt, 6s.

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

## REPORTS.

**BROAD STREET, SOHO.**—A short meeting was held at this station last Sunday. CLERKENWELL.—The usual Sunday evening meeting was held, when Brookes and Cores spoke.

**VICTORIA PARK.**—Good meeting on Sunday, addressed by Davis and Charles. 24 *Commonweals* sold. 2s. given for unemployed, which has been sent on to the secretary of S.D.F.

**ABERDEEN.**—At indoor meeting on Monday, article on "Scaring the Capitalists," read by Leatham, served to introduce a lengthy discussion. No meeting held at Castle Street on Saturday owing to wind and rain. On 18th, Leatham, by invitation, went to debate under auspices of Woodside Parish Church Guild, the question being "Ought the Land to be Nationalised?" His speech was from a Socialist standpoint, yet it was better received by the crowded assemblage than any of the others. As an indication of how things are going, it may be mentioned that 60 voted for and 13 against land nationalisation, many abstaining from voting.

(Several late reports are unavoidably crowded out.)

## LECTURE DIARY.

## LONDON.

**Bloomsbury.**—This Branch is now actively working. Socialists resident in this locality should send their names in at once to 13 Farringdon Road.

**Clerkenwell.**—Hall of the Socialist League, 13 Farringdon Road, E.C. No lecture on Sunday Dec. 30.

**Fulham.**—8 Effie Road, Walham Green. Committee meetings are held on Sunday evenings at 7 o'clock sharp. All members are earnestly requested to attend. Sunday December 30, at 8 p.m., R. Catterson Smith, "What is Liberty?"

**Hackney.**—Secretary, E. Lefevre, 14 Goldsmiths Sq., Goldsmiths Row, Hackney Road.

**Hammersmith.**—Kelmescott House, Upper Mall, W.

**Hoxton.**—12, Basing Place, Kingsland Rd. Business meetings of this branch are held every Friday evening at 9 o'clock.

**London Fields.**—All communications, etc., to Mrs. G. G. Schack, 26 Cawley Road, South Hackney.

**Merton.**—Club-house, 3 Clare Villas, Merton Road, Singlegate. Lecture on Sunday evenings at 8.30.

**Mile-end and Bethnal Green.**—95 Boston St., Hackney Road.

**North London.**—Business meetings held at 6 Windmill Street, Tottenham Court Road, on Friday evenings.

**Walworth and Camberwell.**—This branch is now in working order. Friends in this locality are earnestly invited to co-operate, and send their names in. Committee meetings every Monday, 7.30 p.m., at 3 Datchelor Place, Church St., Camberwell Green.

**Whitechapel and St. Georges in the East.**—International Club, 40 Berner Street, Commercial Road.

## PROVINCES.

**Aberdeen** (Scottish Section).—Secretary, P. Barron, 14 Ann Street. Branch meets in Oddfellows Hall on Monday nights at 8. Choir practice at 46 Marischal Street on Thursday evenings at 8.

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

**Carnoustie** (Scottish Section • Forfarshire).—Meeting every Wednesday, at 8 p.m., in the Carnoustie Restaurant. Samuel Wilson, Secy.

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

**Edinburgh** (Scottish Land and Labour League).—35 George IV. Bridge. Meetings for Discussion, Thursdays at 8 p.m. A Social Meeting will be held in 35 Lothian Street, 3rd January, at 7 p.m. All Edinburgh Socialists and their friends are invited. Tickets, 6d.

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

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

**Glasgow.**—84 John Street. Reading-room (Draughts, Chess, etc.) open 10 a.m. till 10 p.m. daily. Weekly meeting of members on Thursday evenings at 8. French Class meets every Sunday at 11. SPECIAL—Soiree, Concert, and Dance on Hogmanay Night, to bring in the New Year, Waterloo Pillar Hall, at 7.30. Revolutionary songs in English, French, and German. Tickets, 1s. 3d.

**Ipswich.**—Pioneer Hall, Tacket Street. Meets on Sunday evenings.

**Kilmarnock.**—Secretary, H. McGill, 22 Gilmour St. Branch meets on every alternate Tuesday.

**Leeds.**—Clarendon Buildings, Victoria Rd. and Front Row. Open every evening. Business meeting Saturdays at 8 p.m. communications to T. Paylor, Leicester.—Hosiery Union Offices, 11a Millstone Lane. Fridays at 8 p.m.

**Norwich.**—Sunday, at 10 a.m. sharp, a Special Committee Meeting; all members are requested to be present. At 8, Lecture in Gordon Hall. Monday, Gordon Hall open from 8 p.m. Tuesday, at 8.30, Members' Meeting. Wednesday, Gordon Hall open from 8 p.m. Thursday, at 8, Lecture by Mowbray, subject "Irish Federation, its Aims and Objects"; tickets 1d. each. Friday, Gordon Hall open from 8.30 p.m.; Members' Meeting. Saturday, 8 until 10.30, Co-operative Clothing Association.

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

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

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

All persons who sympathise with the views of the Socialist League are earnestly invited to communicate with the above addresses, and if possible help us in preparing for the birth of a true society, based on equality, brotherhood, and freedom for all.

## OPEN-AIR PROPAGANDA.

(Weather permitting.)

SUNDAY 30.

11.30...Latimer Road Station...Hammersmith Branch  
11.30...Regent's Park.....Mainwaring  
11.30...Walham Green, opp. Station.....The Branch  
3.30...Hyde Park.....Cores  
3.30...Victoria Park.....Nicoll  
7.30...Broad Street, Soho.....The Branch  
7.30...Clerkenwell Green.....The Branch  
7.30...Weltje Rd., Ravenscourt Pk.....Hammersmith

Tuesday.  
8.30...Fulham—back of Walham Green Ch...Branch

## EAST END.

SUNDAY 30.

Leman Street, Shadwell 11...Davis.

## PROVINCES.

**Aberdeen.**—Saturday: Castle Street, at 7 p.m.

**Glasgow.**—Sunday: Glasgow Green at 2 p.m.; Paisley Road at 5.30.

**Ipswich.**—  
Sproughton, Wednesday evening.  
Westerfield, Thursday evening.  
Needham Market, Sunday morning and evening.

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

**Norwich.**—Sunday: Market Place, at 11 and 3.

**BERNER STREET CLUB.**—On Saturday December 29, Mr. Gould, of the Limehouse Branch S.D.F., will deliver a lecture—"Will Parliamentarism help to bring about the Social Revolution?"

The Mitcham Branch is about to be reconstituted. All desirous of helping in the work of the S. L. in and around Mitcham, Merton, and Streatham should communicate with comrade J. Campbell, 98 Wellfield Road, Streatham.

**LEICESTER.**—A course of lectures on "Socialism, its Aims and Principles" is being delivered in Leicester Secular Hall. The fourth lecture will be delivered on Sunday Dec. 30 by Sydney Olivier—subject, "The Moral Aspect."

**THE SOCIALIST CO-OPERATIVE FEDERATION.**—The Committee will meet at the house of S. Oliver, 139 Trafalgar Street, Walworth Road, on Saturday Dec. 29 at 7.30 p.m. The half-yearly Members' Meeting will be held at 13 Farringdon Road, E.C., on Saturday January 12, at 8 p.m. Members please bring or send subscription cards for audit.

**SOUTH LONDON.**—Friends who will help to establish a Branch of the Socialist League in South London will please place themselves in communication with C. Henze, 41 Bolton Street, Thomas Street, Kennington Park, S.E., or by letter to H. Hopkins, 17 Gairloch Road, Shenley Road, Peckham, S.E.

International  
Working-men's Educational Club,  
"Zur Morgenröthe,"  
23 PRINCES SQUARE, CABLE STREET, E.

ON SUNDAY, DECEMBER 30, 1888

## An Extra Benefit

will take place at the above Club, at  
COMRADE C. W. MOWBRAY, OF NORWICH,  
to return to London.

Having fearlessly championed the cause of the sweated workers in the town, especially in the clothing trade, he is rigorously boycotted by the capitalists, who refuse to employ him; consequently he is in great distress, having also a wife and five children to support.

## Theatre, Concert, and Ball,

To commence at 7.30 p.m. prompt. Programmes, 6d.

Programmes can be obtained at the above Club; Berner Street International Club; F. Kitz, 13 Farringdon Rd.; or from secretaries of metropolitan branches of the S.L., etc.

## LA REVUE SOCIALISTE.

EDITED BY BENOIT MALON.

8, Rue des Martyrs, Paris.

## SUMMARY OF THE DECEMBER NUMBER.

"The End of the Year," B. Malon; "Essay on Scientific Socialism," P. Argyrades; "Svetoeor Markowitch and Serbian Socialism," B. Malon; "Auguste Comte's Positive Politics," H. Aimel; "Socialist Pamphlets of Lassalle to the Berlin Workers"; "Bill for Regulation of Work-hours," H. Aimel; "Cadastral Revision," De Roz Maria; "About Deism," E. Raiga; "Socialist Anthology," Daniel Stern; "Thomas Hood, Turatti"; "Socialist Movement in France and Abroad," M. Favergeon; "Review of Books," G. Rouanet and E. Fourniere.

TERMS:—France, 6 months 9 francs, 12 months, 18 f.  
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## SOCIALIST LEAGUE LITERATURE.

**Chants for Socialists.** By William Morris. . 1d.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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