

THE COMMONWEAL

The Official Journal of the SOCIALIST LEAGUE.

[REGISTERED FOR TRANSMISSION ABROAD.]

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SATURDAY, APRIL 20, 1889.

WEEKLY; ONE PENNY.

NOTES ON NEWS.

THERE has been a sharp discussion going on in the columns of the *Star* as to whether the Socialists or Social Democrats (which on the whole is the proper name for those really implicated) ought to respond to the invitation of the *Star* Radicals to form some sort of alliance with them. Mr. Hyndman began the discussion in a very able letter, in which he pointed out the indisputable fact, that in whatever the present day Radicals differ from the Liberals they owe the distinction to the adoption of Socialist views; and in which he asserted that though it was natural for the Radicals to seek for the alliance it would be wise for the Socialists to refrain from it.

This discussion must clearly have to do with the position of Radicals and Socialists as *parties*, for already on many occasions Socialists have not hesitated to ally themselves with the Radicals for a purpose which seemed clear to both. For example, the League as well as the S.D.F. has shown itself at almost all the anti-Coercion meetings where they thought they could be of service in pushing forward what appeared to them a revolutionary movement. We cannot declare against a proposition merely because Radicals (or for the matter of that Tories) agree to it.

But as to parties? It is quite true, as Mr. Hyndman implies, that in all alliances between parties the stronger uses the weaker and throws it off when it finds it convenient to do so: running the risk, however, meantime of finding that the weaker party has, as it were, eaten its way into the skin of the stronger and so destroyed it. It is equally true also that the stronger or respectable party must make its programme from the programme of the weaker, spoiling it as much as it dares to do in the process.

And then what is a party? Our old acquaintance, Mr. Mahon, in a letter to the *Star*, says that there is no Socialist party, but only a propaganda; his view being, I suppose, that for the sake of gaining the advantages of "a party" the Socialists should merge themselves in the Radical party. But, after all, is there a Radical party? There are plenty of Radicals, doubtless; but how can they be called a party when they themselves are now declaring for what they at least believe to be a modified Socialism, and yet they must feel or simulate enthusiasm for their leader, Mr. Gladstone, who has never heard of Socialism, and for their other leader, Mr. Morley, who knows just enough about it to be able to use phrases which repudiate it? Their policy is to attach themselves to the Liberals and work them to further their semi-Socialism, just as some of our Social Democratic friends want to work the Radicals to further their Socialism. They have no party leaders and no party representatives.

And what is a Radical? I mean, of course, a Radical of to-day. The *Star* in its answer to Mr. Hyndman really answers this question quite ingenuously, and shows us that a Radical of the new type is a man who would believe in Socialism if he could only find out what it is, and who would cast Whiggery aside if he could only convince himself of its being possible to carry on without it. The *Star*, which we have been taking all along as the representative of this view, often prints sheer Socialism, which we have been glad to quote at times; but also often exhibits the most commonplace Whiggery. Therefore, without imputing any bad faith to its disclaimer of using Socialism as "political birdlime," I say it is being so used, and I don't agree with its prophecy that when Home Rule is got it will still advocate this semi-Socialist Radicalism. On the contrary, we may be sure that the Gladstonian success will produce a fresh cleavage; the Whig element in Radicalism will declare itself Whig (or Tory, it does not matter which), and the Socialist element will declare itself Socialist.

At the same time I think we must accept with cheerfulness this fact of Radicalism permeated by Socialism. Six years ago the attitude of the Radicals, even the furthest advanced of them, was Mr. John Morley's "I don't know you." And now what are these words in the

leader of a Radical paper about contract? "It" (the new Radicalism) "does not recognise that free contract exists between the workers and the capitalists, the landlord and the tenant." My Radical friends, that is an attack on the very palladium of Radicalism; on the recognition of that free contract between the monopolist and his "dependent" our present holy society rests. What middle course can there be between that "Free Contract" and the abolition of monopoly?

But the *Star* wavers through its terror of the might of Whiggery: "It does recognise that if such contracts are made, they should be subject to the constant revision in the interests of the weaker party." O impotent conclusion! For it means the robber shall still be allowed to rob, but that some of his stealings shall be taken away from him. How much? "A great deal if I can manage it," says the Radical. "None at all, if I can help it," says the Monopolist, "I and my armed executive." What can come of these two differences of opinion in the long run? Abolition of monopoly in the teeth of the monopolist—nothing else.

Meantime, while the Radicals are drifting towards Socialism, let Socialists be contented to be a propaganda and not a party. A propaganda can afford to have principles genuinely believed in by its members; a party in order to constitute itself must give up some principle, or make a semblance of doing so, which semblance is very likely to grow into a reality; and when it has got as far as that, this mere piece of opportunism is likely to become a shibboleth which all members of the party must utter or be boycotted. The Socialist propaganda has done perhaps already more than we who have been living amongst it know. It ever there should be a Socialist party, at least let there be a Socialist propaganda of principle existing beside it and not tied to it. I am sure that we cannot do without that, whichever way politics may turn.

W. M.

At a special meeting on Thursday 11th, the London County Council by 64 votes to 31, passed the following resolution:

"That London is the only city in Great Britain which, whilst paying the expenses of the police, has no voice in its control or management; that this state of things is anomalous, unjust, and unworthy of the first city in the empire; and this Council therefore cannot doubt that Parliament will take an early opportunity of supplementing its scheme of local government for London by transferring the management of the police to the Council."

The question had been partly debated on the previous Tuesday, and was then adjourned to Thursday. The discussion was an interesting and instructive one, but of course in these days of the Parnell Commission the reports in the daily press met with little mercy from the editorial blue pencil. So that few people know much of what was said. One good thing was that the opposition speeches were most fully reported, their "arguments" given un mutilated.

Among the worst of the reactionary speeches were those of two *Star* "progressives," Lord Lingen and Mr. Frederick Harrison. The last named, lifting his olympian eyebrows, told the Council that it was only a "conglomerate vestry," and wholly incompetent to control a police force on which the safety of the empire depended!

Mr. Marks, representative of the *Financial News* and mouthpiece of the money-bag, held that London was the refuge of "the rag-tag and bob-tail of creation," who needed to be held down with a strong hand. Dr. Longstaff had a fit of mob upon the brain, and was skilfully treated by John Burns, who followed him, saying: "If we have vicious and criminal classes in London, if we have the rag-tag and bob-tail of creation—and I don't deny that we have, *specially at the West-end*—the proper method of dealing with them is not to bludgeon them, but to remove the causes that produce them."

Colonel Rotton, a fiery little man, with twenty-two years uneventful military service behind him, was great in support of discipline and law'n-order. Colonel Howard Vincent posed as the ex-prefect of police, and was learned, statistical, and Cassandra-like by turns;

heaped-up wealth, and powerful interests, and ragged mobs and revolution, and square miles of jurisdiction, and the rights of respectable people, were all hurled at his opponents in the course of his speech.

The list of the opponents of popular control is completed by the following names: Mr. Farquhar, banker; Mr. H. L. Foster, lay preacher and company-promoter; Mr. Boulnois, late of the Board of Works; and Sir W. De Souza, Knight, count of Rome, Commander of the Orders of the Corporation and of Christ, and Knight of the Golden Spear. It is enough to name them; comment is needless.

S.

SELF-HELP versus STATE-HELP.

So begins a document of some six or seven closely-printed pages, recently issued by the Liberty and Property Defence League. The phrase has the appearance of a motto; and I suppose it is intended as a suggestion of the general principles of the Society; unless, indeed, which is far from probable, it has some *meaning* of a secret nature, only revealed to the initiated, after attention has been paid to the equally obscure, though highly suggestive phrase, "Subscriptions voluntary from 5s. upwards" with which the circular ends.

For unfortunately, as it makes no assertion, the motto, if such it be, sheds no light of its own on the darkness in a mind uninitiated in the mysteries of the League; and if one tries to illuminate it for himself, he is immediately entangled in the endeavour to chose the right one out of the many possible meanings of the words "self," "state," "help"—not to speak of some ambiguity about "*versus*." Thus, one hardly knows whether he is to be treated to the history of an actual contest, as when, for example, we read over the account of a cricket-match, "Kent *versus* Surrey"; or whether the mysterious words refer merely to a comparison between two principles, as one might speak of "Free Trade *versus* Fair Trade."

Then again, "State-help"; what does that mean? "State" is such a very wide and doubtful term, and may apply to anything, from the Russian autocracy or the English Government on the one hand, to the popular self-government aimed at by many Socialists on the other. In the last case, "State-help" would be synonymous with "self-help"; but since the phrase in question implies a difference between self-help and State-help, I conclude that "State-help" means assistance offered by a government to those who need it.

But if it be true that "When you want a thing well done you must do it yourself," it follows that none would seek the aid of government unless *unable* to help themselves. "State-help," therefore, must refer to assistance offered to the *helpless*.

Now, as it is absurd to speak of "self-help" with reference to the helpless, these first two words must apply to *another* set of persons, who are *not* helpless, but have both the power and the will to help themselves. But the phrase runs "Self-Help *versus*," etc. Plainly it can be no question of *comparison*, because the two "helps" spoken of are of an entirely different nature. Accordingly, "*versus*" must mean *against*, or *contesting*. These worthies, then, who can help themselves, are against, or in hostility to, the aid that may be offered by the Government to those who need it.

And now the motto stands interpreted to us, calling our attention to the efforts of the Powerful to frustrate the attempts of Government to give assistance to the Helpless. This view of the object of the Liberty and Property Defence League is supported by the summary which the League gives of its aims: "For maintaining freedom of contract, for upholding proprietary rights, and for resisting Socialistic legislation." Just so; "resisting legislation" which might interfere with proprietary rights for the benefit of those who have no property.

The document is addressed "to everyone concerned with land, houses, and agriculture." Surely this is a little too wide: for all, however helpless, are "concerned" with the houses which give shelter, and with the land, on whose produce alone life can be supported. But there can be no end served in addressing the helpless; and this must therefore be an appeal to the *other* class, to enlist their sympathies with the League, so that they may combine to help one another maintain their power. It is worth noting that the Liberty and Property Defence League countenances combination as an advantageous form of self-help.

After this address, we get, as our interpretation of the "*versus*" would lead us to expect, a sort of statement of the contest the League has been engaged in, in a long list of "Bills opposed or promoted by the League during the last six Sessions," beginning with the year 1883. I fail to discern those that have been "promoted," but there are no fewer than 104 which have been opposed, and almost all of these have been either amended or dropped—presumably (or so at least we are led to believe) through the action of the League. One which "received the royal assent" shows us the Liberty and Property Defence League in the awful position of offering opposition to the will of Her Most Gracious Majesty!

I will merely mention one or two. Here, for instance, in 1887 are the "Sanitation of Houses in the Metropolis" Bill, the "Mining Acts Insurance" Bill, the "Agricultural Tenants' Relief (Scotland)" Bill, and so on—104 of them! The objections to them are mainly to the effect that they "tax the ratepayers for Socialistic purposes," "establish the principle of compulsion," and generally exhibit a "dangerous Socialistic" tendency. Such are by far the majority of the objections; but here and there is evidence of a touching interest in the welfare

of the Helpless, who, however, must not be assisted "out of the rates." For instance, the "Housing of the Working Classes (England)" Bill, 1885, is of a "demoralising character," and its "mischief would recoil on the working classes." (Is it fair to look for examples of such mischief in the already comfortably housed?) The "Law of Distress Amendment" Bill would "curtail the credit of every tenant" to the extent of £5, and so render the landlord more severe in collecting his rents! But these are exceptions. The general idea is, that the owners of property should be left free to do what they like with their own.

A careful examination of these Bills throws an instructive light on the value of private property. Not one of the 104 makes any attack upon the institution of private property; not one even hints at such a thing. The most "Socialistic" of them would but provide for a compulsory sale, by which the owner would receive the equivalent in money for the land or houses he yielded up. What need, then, to talk of the "defence" of property? Why should not £1,000 be as useful in gold as in land or houses? It is for this reason. Money, at the best, is only a *convenience*—never a necessity. Men need food and shelter, and these can only be had by actual work on land or on capital derived from land; so that land is a necessity. But money can neither be utilised as food or shelter; and no one really *needs* it who has access to land and capital. It follows that those who are in any way shut out from the land are at the mercy of the owners of it. If they would have food and shelter (and they cannot do without them) they must submit to the conditions of those who can forbid them to use the land from which food and shelter are produced.

That is the advantage of being one of the owners of property. Its "possession" consists in having the power of making conditions with those who wish to labour. And the unrestrained exercise of this power is what the Liberty and Property Defence League means by "liberty." It is a "liberty" I do not envy them. I have always found that in proportion as I get mixed up with "property," the clearer and finer perceptions of my mind become dulled and paralysed. The sunshine ceases to delight me, friendship is forgotten, and life becomes a bore so long as I am enslaved to the cares which such liberty imposes. Think of 293,500 pamphlets issued to defend a "liberty" like this!

So much for the property owners. For those who have no property, "liberty," according to the Liberty and Property Defence League, means that there shall be nothing to hinder them from submitting to the conditions imposed upon them. They must be free to work long hours, to pay rent for unwholesome houses, to contract disease and to spread infection,—in short, they should have liberty to live or die in any way profitable to the owners of property. The poor have this gospel of the Liberty and Property Defence League preached unto them by an average of 49,000 pamphlets in each parliamentary session.

The rich would say to the poor, "We give you the choice of living in these filthy houses, and working for us till you are worn out, or rot with disease; this,—or no land to work on, no shelter over your heads. Lifelong toil for us, or death from exposure and starvation. You are free to choose. You decide to live for us? Very well; it is a "Free Contract," and let no law interfere." I suppose every slave has always had the choice between submission and death, and to that extent was free!

At first reading of this document, I said to myself, "These men have such an objection to law, and to the interference of government, that they are open to the suspicion of being Anarchists!" But it is by no means so. Their ownership of property is, as we have seen, merely a conventional privilege,—which depends not so much on their own will as upon other people's recognition of it. In the long run, it merely amounts to having the power to keep out from all houses and land those who will not submit to certain conditions. Yet they can make no fence so high, no stone wall so strong, that it would be a *physical* impossibility for the poor to enter in and make use of these necessities for themselves.

No; their fence is of another nature. Their property is enclosed by the *law*, and their power is supported by the Government, which punishes those who would step across the boundary of the law. That is the main function of Government. It cannot compel a man to work; but it can and does compel him, if he will work, to accept the conditions of the "free contract," and if he will not accept them it can compel him to be idle.

The Liberty and Property Defence League desires no interference with the free contract; it requires the Government to enforce the conditions imposed by property,—the long day's work, the low wages, the rent for insanitary dwellings; for on these the rich depend, and so can live idly by the help of the working-people.

But observe to what this leads us. These rich men, these owners of property, these "Self-Helpers," cannot live as they do without the help of the poor, and they need the help of the Government to force the poor to assist them!

The motto with which we started takes another meaning now. It is the rich who are helpless, and need the aid of the "State." The true self-helpers are the poor, who support not themselves alone, but also the rich, and the Government which forces them to be poor, by helping the rich live on them.

The whole thing turns completely round. One sees now (what the Liberty and Property Defence League is unconscious of) that these 104 abortive Bills were a mere blind, intended by their promoters to persuade the toilers that the Government is their friend. But plainly it exists only for the support of property,—to assist the helpless rich against the helpful poor.

There is a simple way by which those who have no property may

test this. We have seen that the law cannot compel them to work. Let them, therefore, combine (taking a notch from the Liberty and Property Defence League), and for one week refuse—labourers, mechanics, clerks, shopmen, servants, carters, railway men, refuse—to do a stroke of work for the owners of property. The latter, deprived of their support, will at once find themselves helpless, and being in danger of starvation will be ready to make a new contract (will they call it "free"?) with the toilers.

Then, if the toilers determine for the future to help only themselves and one another, they will have free access to all property; Government-help or State-help, in the present sense, will be a thing of the past, and they will attain that happy liberty of personal joy undreamt of in the philosophy of the Liberty and Property Defence League.

G. STURR.

AUSTRALIAN SOCIALIST LEAGUE.

REPORT FROM AUGUST 26 TO DECEMBER 30, 1888.

At the last monthly meeting of members, which was held on January 2, 1889, it was decided that the balance-sheet should be drawn up for the four months ending December 30, 1888, with the view of having quarterly balance-sheet instead of half-yearly ones as heretofore. Accordingly a balance-sheet has been prepared balancing the accounts to the end of the year 1888.

Since the last Report closed, the League has done a large amount of propaganda work, in which the editor of the *Radical*, comrade Winspear, has given valuable assistance. We have had 5,000 leaflets printed, setting forth the merits of the large reading-room, the weekly debates, and the principles of Socialism. These have been distributed in weekly lots in the Domain and other parts of the city and suburbs.

The League has (at the invitation of the Coal-lumpers' Union) held several meetings in the large room of the Lord Nelson Hotel, at which addresses were delivered on Co-operation and the principles of Socialism by comrades A. F. Drake, McNamara, and Lesina, Messrs. Powell, McQueen, and others. The workers at Millers Point have in contemplation the starting of a co-operative distributive store on Socialist lines.

Several open-air meetings have been held in the Domain and Belmore Market, and the principles of Socialism are slowly but surely gaining a firm hold on the minds of the more intelligent workers. The Sunday lectures and debates were carried on without any intermission, and large audiences have taken great interest in the subjects discussed. The following subjects have been discussed, among others: "The French Revolution of 1789," "Australian Federation," "The brutal Coercive Laws of the Salisbury Government," "The Methods of Trades Unions," "A General Strike of the Miners," "Abolition of Capital Punishment," "Free Trade and Protection," "Newspaper Unfairness and Dishonesty," "That State Socialism would reproduce Barbarism," "Co-operative Distribution," "Prostitution, its Cause and Cure," "Plan of Campaign against the Rent System," "The Injustice of Interest," "The Hanging of Louisa Collins and Punishment of Criminals," etc. On November 11, a large open-air meeting was held in the Sydney Domain, to commemorate the first anniversary of the murder of the Chicago comrades. A lecture was given making clear the details of the whole affair by W. H. McNamara. In the evening a large gathering took place at the League Rooms, when addresses on the Labour Struggle were delivered by W. H. McNamara, Copeland, Norman, McDougal, and Petterson. Several recitations and songs were given, including the "Marseillaise." On September 16, a highly successful Social and Reunion of members and friends took place, when a large and choice programme of recitations, songs, and musical solos contributed to the amusement of the large assemblage present. The public Reading Room which the League has opened has continued to attract great numbers of visitors, and a large addition of new European and American papers has been made to the former list. On November 25, it was resolved to hold a general meeting of members the first Wednesday in each month. These meetings were inaugurated on December 5. At the end of the year we received the gratifying intelligence that a branch of the Socialist League was being formed in Melbourne, and that another one was likely to be established in Brisbane.

The following report and balance-sheet was read and adopted at a special general meeting of members of the League, which was held on Wednesday February 6th, at the Rooms 533 George Street: August 26th, 1888, to Dec. 30th, 1888. Receipts, £29 4s. 2d.; disbursements, £26 14s. 3d.; credit balance, £2 10s. 2d. Assets, £24 9s. 8d.; liabilities, £9 5s.; balance to credit, £15 4s. 8d. Audited and found to be correct by Harry Weber, E. M. Paasch, W. H. McNamara (hon. Secretary). A. M. Pilter, chairman.

Those who have beyond their power to use well, are as really enslaved as those who sell their bodies to others on condition of being kept from starvation.—*Rev. Geo. N. Boardman.*

The marriages of mankind are not made in churches. They are only "solemnized" therein. The marriages of bird-kind are solemnized by a faithful obedience to natural laws during the continuance of the marriage. Mankind in civilised countries generally "solemnize" their marriages by telling lies and paying for the privilege of having the perjury recorded in a big book.—W. H. R.

ANOMALOUS QUERIES.—A Socialist would like to find the "Way to Destruction," and enquires if it leads to the destruction of the present system of society.

A member of the S.D.F. wishes to know if there is *Just-ice* enough to slide along to kingdom come. By the latter expression he means J. C.'s heaven upon earth.—A. B.

WOMAN AND CHILD LABOUR IN HOLLAND.—THE HAGUE, April 12.—The Second Chamber of the States General has passed the Bill regulating the conditions for the employment of women and children in manufacturing industries. The measure, which does not apply to agriculture or to domestic service, absolutely forbids the employment of children under twelve years of age. For persons under sixteen years of age and for women the period of work per day is limited to eleven hours; while in the case of children under fourteen and women night work is prohibited. The Bill also makes it obligatory that there shall be a period of rest during the working hours, and that women shall not be employed for four weeks after confinement. Finally, Sunday work is forbidden.

"THE SWINISH MULTITUDE."—Burke.

(Reprinted from the *Chartist Circular*, where it is said that "the following rejoinder to the contemptible insult of the pensioned apostate Burke, was written by a member of the celebrated London Corresponding Society, 1800.")

DID *Nature* mean us to be slaves,
The property of fools and knaves?
Have we no claim, or just pretence,
To common rights or common sense?
Or will you say, the hand divine
Made some for lords, the rest for swine?
If this be fact, explain the cause
Why swine must needs be ruled by laws:
Except you call their fate a law,
To eat dry husks and sleep on straw.

And when they're fattened to be taken,
And quartered into hams and bacon,
To satiate those who may think fit
To eat their carcase bit by bit.
Although our all will not suffice
Unless our life's a sacrifice,
It would be treason to repine,
Because, you know, we're only swine.

We're only swine! How well it suits!
For shallow men may govern brutes;
And foolish men in foolish things
Oft act as well as foolish kings.
Let swine-herd be the name of those,
Who lead the nation by the nose,
And boast that by a right divine
They're ruling men, not driving swine.

We're only swine! Think but what fun
To see a pig strut with his gun;
How fierce and terrible the sight
To march large herds of swine to fight.
That illustrious York, that noble peer,
How famous must his name appear:
Instead of heroes bold, to lead
A nasty filthy grunting breed.

We're only swine! What humble pride
When nobles get on us to ride;
Yes, monarchs mount our gristly back
And make each joint and sinew crack;
We groan beneath the ponderous weight
Of all the creatures of the State—
Placemen and pensioners beside,
An ugly caterpillar tribe—
But, were we all of noble birth,
They would want swine to root the earth.
To sweat and toil for their support,
And, when they please, to be their sport.

Then hold not swine in such disdain,
Since 'tis by them you have your gain;
But turn and treat them with respect,
Lest they should grunt at your neglect;
And if they be provoked—what then?
The *Swine* will rise—and rise to MEN!

ABSTINENCE.

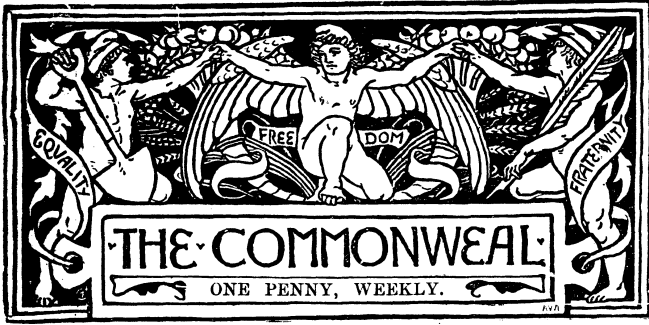
Of course we Socialists are all familiar with all the threadworn arguments of our opponents, the total abstinens, on this point, and the veriest tyro in Socialism can refute what they have to say.

Our friends, the Co-operators, however—I mean the true co-operators, *i.e.*, the Federalists—while endeavouring to extinguish the worst phases of our existing commercialism, still maintain that self-denial is a virtue and warrants some reward. This is one of the maxims by which they justify the payment of interest on capital to their shareholders. They say, knowing the condition of the workers in general, it requires some self-denial to set aside even the trifling amount which every shareholder has to put by till his share is fully paid up. Thus they really make a vice appear as a virtue. For an individual to deny himself some necessity of life, or we will go further, say even the gratification of some pleasure for the sake of enabling him to have more of the necessities of life, or of gratifying pleasures to a greater extent a little later on in life, is surely selfishness of the most intense degree.

The state of society which we Socialists wish to bring about is one in which, in the words of the prophet of Nazareth, men and women will have to "take no thought for to-morrow," neither what they shall eat, nor what they shall drink, nor wherewithal they shall be clothed. We want co-operative communes of voluntary organised labour to stud and beautify the earth. In such communes the only abstention necessary would not be imposed by law, nor by the majorities, but by nature itself, *viz.*, abstention from the violation of natural law. Rational people—and I take it under such a system of society all people would be rational—would not think of acting irrationally by infringing immutable laws; and if any, in an unwise moment did so, such would not be punished by man-made laws but by their own acts.

Abstention, indeed! and that at an age when compulsory abstention from everything that makes life worth living for, is enforced upon hundreds of thousands of workers in this and in all civilised countries of the world! No. The problem of the day is not to what extent self-denial is to be practised by the workers in order to prolong their weary existence, but what can be done to put an end to this system of enforced self-denial which we are obliged to practice involuntarily. The realisation of our so-called dreams is then the only solution of the problem. Let us hope the day is not far distant.

A. BROOKES.



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. As all articles are signed, no special significance attaches to them because of their position in these pages. None to be taken as more than in a general manner expressing the views of the League as a body, except it be so explicitly declared by the Editors. Rejected MSS. only returned if a stamped directed envelope is forwarded with them. Subscriptions.—For Europe and United States, including postage, per year, 6s. six months, 3s.; three months, 1s. 6d. Business communications to be addressed to Manager of the COMMONWEAL, 13 Farringdon Road, E.C. Remittances in Postal Orders or halfpenny stamps.

TO CORRESPONDENTS.

R. C. S.—Thanks; always welcome.

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Periodicals received during the week ending Wednesday April 17.

ENGLAND	Jewish Volkszeitung	BELGIUM
Die Autonomie	Workmen's Advocate	Ghent—Vooruit
Freedom	The Truth	Liege—L'Avant
Justice	Boston—Woman's Journal	SWITZERLAND
Labour Elector	Chicago—Knights of Labor	Arbeiterstimme
Labour Tribune	Baecker Zeitung	Geneva—Przedswit
Labour Leader	Detroit—Der Arme Teufel	ITALY
London—Freie Presse	Fort Worth (Tex)—South West	Rome—L'Emancipazione
Manchester Sunday Chronicle	Milwaukee—National Reformer	Milan—Il Fascio Operaio
Norwich—Daylight	Newark—Arbeiter-Zeitung	PORTUGAL
Personal Rights Journal	San Francisco Arbeiter-Zeitung	Lisbon—O Protesto Operario
Railway Review	S. F. Coast Seamen's Journal	Porto—A Revolucao Social
Revolutionary Review	San Jose—Pacific Union	GERMANY
Social Democrat	FRANCE	Berlin—Volks Tribune
Telegraph Service Gazette	Paris—L'Egalite (daily)	AUSTRIA
INDIA	Le Parti Ouvrier (daily)	Wien—Gleichheit
Bankpore—Behar Herald	L'Attaque	Brunn—Volksfreund
Madras—People's Friend	HOLLAND	SWEDEN
UNITED STATES	Hague—Recht voor Allen	Malmö—Arbetet
New York—Der Sozialist	SPAIN	WEST INDIES
Volkszeitung	Madrid—El Socialista	Cuba—El Productor

THE THUGGEE OF COMMERCIAL THUGS.

THE Thugs were a religious fraternity which flourished alike under Hindu, Mahomedan, and British rulers, and whose ramifications spread over the whole of India from Cape Comorin to the Himalayas. Although every year their murdered victims were numerous, their way of life, nay, their very being, was quite unknown to the most active and vigilant British functionaries, and very imperfectly understood even by the native governments. They insinuated themselves into the confidence of travellers, with whom they joined for the alleged purpose of mutual safety, and when a proper place could be selected for the murder of their dupes, and due precautions taken against intrusion, their victims were removed in the most expeditious and religious manner. If a traveller had a dog it was also killed, lest the faithful animal should cause the discovery of the body of its murdered master. They believed that in robbing and murdering, agreeable to their religious rules, they were rendering an acceptable service to their deity. Captain Sleeman said of them, that "no men observe more strictly in domestic life all that is enjoined by their priests, or demanded by their respective castes; nor do any men cultivate with more care the esteem of their neighbours, or court with more assiduity the goodwill of all constituted local authorities. In short, to men who do not know them, the principal members of these associations will always appear to be among the most amiable, and most respectable, and most intelligent members of the lower, and sometimes the middle and higher, classes of native society; and it is by no means to be

inferred that every man who attempts to screen them from justice knows them to be monsters."

When we reflect upon the number of victims who are daily murdered in Christianity by the conditions of life and work which are imposed upon them, with the sanction of religion, and how "amiable" and "respectable" and "intelligent" the chief upholders of the system are, which enables the murdering of the workers to flourish and be profitable, agreeable to their religious rules, we shall detect many points of agreement between the religious notions and deeds of the Thugs and those of the successful churchmen and profit annexers of to-day. The crimes of the Thugs were devised so cunningly that the most vigilant authorities were unaware of their existence; and so it is with the employers of labour under our present legal and religious rules. The individual murders sanctioned by our present legal and religious rules, are, like our new naval estimates, spread over a number of years. Occasionally it is otherwise, as our great pit disasters too frequently prove; but passing over these necessary evils for the accumulation of profits, it will be admitted by all that the working-classes do lose half of their possible days of life owing to the conditions imposed upon them by their Thug employers, if indeed it can be said that they ever possess life as distinguished from mere existence. The most noble and useful lives of our time are being sacrificed by the Thugs of commerce, unknown, apparently, to the most vigilant Christian authorities, and very imperfectly understood by the commercial Thugs themselves.

The commercial Thugs of to-day have also insinuated themselves into the confidence of their fellow travellers for a like alleged safety, as did the Thugs of India, and when the victims of their system drop from their presence the Thugs of commerce cannot see wherein they are to blame, nay, they rather believe that in providing work, which means death, for their victims, "they are rendering an acceptable service to the deity, agreeable to their religious rules." Do we not see the successful sweater and the prosperous publican observing "strictly in domestic life all that is enjoined by their priests, or demanded by their castes," and may this not convince us that the priests do not enjoin the "one thing needful," and their castes do not demand that which is necessary to make them whole—free from crime? The commercial system makes it impossible for a whole man to live. A man's worth and importance in it is measured by that which is not his, nay by that which subtracts from him and which is the measure of his guilt and another's wrong. Our commercial Thugs also cultivate with "care the esteem of their neighbours," and they "court with assiduity the goodwill of all constituted local authorities." They do more, they comprise our local authorities, and it therefore becomes impossible for the simple-minded and thoughtless to "know them to be monsters." The dullest day-drudge is beginning to learn the limits of a man's power to create wealth, and to be cognisant of the fact that the possession of wealth beyond that measure is Thuggee—the lives of men—and that all who are guilty of the same are Thugs of a more hidden type than those which permeated India. Britons were awakened to the knowledge of Thugs in India fifty years ago by a writer in the *Edinburgh Review*, and we may hope that the increasing power of the Socialist press will be able to awaken them now to the presence of the Thugs in their midst. Many layers of custom, prejudice, and fear will have to be pierced and torn asunder before we can reach the real kernel of Thuggee in our present false system of society, but when it is reached and seen by the workers its destruction will be sudden and complete, so that when the new system of Socialism is held up it will draw all men unto it. GEORGE MCLEAN.

And the same humility I use in inventing, I employ likewise in teaching. For I do not endeavour either by triumphs of confutation, or pleadings of antiquity, or assumption of authority, or even by the veil of obscurity to invest these assumptions of mine with any majesty, which might easily be done by one who sought to give lustre to his own name rather than light to other men's minds.—Lord Bacon.

OUR RADICAL "FRIENDS"—In connection with the proposed union of political Socialists and Radicals, and from which so much is to be gained (by the Radicals), a few reminiscences may be of interest. When Gladstone, using the "resources of civilisation," threw thousands of Irish people into prison, including Parnell, the wirepullers of the Radical clubs and hangers-on of the Liberal party were coercionists. When subsequently he, with Sir William Vernon Harcourt as Home Secretary—"We are all Socialists now"—threw J. Most into jail and seized the property of a working-men's club, and placed the documents so seized at the service of Continental despots, thus securing the arrest of numerous Socialists abroad, these same Radicals came as delegates to one or two meetings of the *Freiheit* Defence Committee and then stayed away, and with usual Radical courtesy did not even return the subscription-sheets with which they were entrusted. Four Radical clubs of the Chelsea district were so sympathetic over the fate of the "divine figure of the North" that they refused to help the defence of Most in any way. Then a most brutal outrage was committed by the police at the Stephen's Mews club in '85; there existed at the time a small but growing Socialist party, and these gave the only help our foreign comrades received; the Radicals acted as usual. And now another brutal outrage has been committed upon our comrades of Berner Street. The Radical club delegates are acting in precisely the same fashion; one club in Hackney has declined to help, on the ground that it was a quarrel between the orthodox Jews and Socialists, and that therefore they could not interfere. The idea that the use of a policeman's fist or boot has a religious aspect is worthy of the Radical followers of the G.O.M. If a policeman's truncheon ever comes into contact with the heads that thought out this decision, doubtless the truncheon would receive the greatest injury. Although not a political Socialist, I hope our political comrades will abstain from transfusion of blood with such a flaccid crew as the Radicals of the metropolis.—P. S. I may add that the Patriotic Club has been a notable exception to the policy condemned above.—F. KITZ.

CORRESPONDENCE.

ST. GEORGE'S FARM.
A CORRECTION.

"E. C.," in the *Commonweal* of March 9, very seriously, though, of course, quite unintentionally, misrepresents my position in relation to the "Committee" of Communists, at whose instance Ruskin bought the Totley Farm. I was not one of the members of that committee, and, therefore, not "one of the most active." I never attended any of its meetings, and was not responsible for its shortcomings. Indeed, I was the "retainer" of the guild first authorised by Ruskin to check the proceedings of the committee.

I will not here attempt to explain why the committee failed. Most, if not all, of its members were honest and earnest. Of these, Joseph Sharpe, the "Minstrel Communist," was one of the most admirable, and I read "E. C.'s" kind and accurate account of him with much interest and pleasure.

I have been urged, by a late retainer of St. George's Guild, to write an account of my experience at Totley for publication in *Good Words*, but, if I ever do write it, it will be for the *Commonweal*.

WM. HARRISON RILEY.

A QUERY.

Will any comrade give further information concerning that unsuccessful Communistic farm at Totley, mentioned in the *Commonweal* of March 9th (in an article entitled "A Minstrel Communist")? It has raised several questions in my mind. I should like to know why that attempt failed, where a subsequent endeavour is apparently successful. Several reasons were suggested by the writer to account for the failure; and it seems to me they deserve the attention of all Communists. First, it is stated of the participants in the scheme that "they were great talkers, knowing next to nothing of agriculture," whereas the present members are "less voluble and more practical." Had they been dependant on the farm for their living, their want of practical knowledge would naturally have been fatal; but as they appear to have got their living from other sources, a few mistakes might have been discouraging, but need hardly have been totally disheartening, to men with sufficient initiative to start such a scheme. That they actually made the attempt shows them to have been energetic and open-minded to a degree far above the average. But this to my mind only increases the importance of the question.

The incompatibility of pure Communism with the surrounding competition would have been a far likelier rock for them to split on; but such a difficulty is not hinted at. Further, they must have been prepared for such difficulties if their economical theories were tolerably sound. That such was the case, I conclude, both from the fact that they are spoken of as Communists, and that one of the participants, mentioned by name in the article, happened, by a curious coincidence, to be a contributor to the *Commonweal* of the same date—and therefore, I take it, a Socialist.

Another cause of failure is suggested in the following: "Unfortunately, the usual disensions arose—usual, I would say, wherever work of this kind is ruled by theories instead of by practical human needs and immediate desire of fellowship." Perhaps some comrade can tell us what the desires were which impelled these men to their honourable endeavour. For spite of their want of success, to have made the attempt at all is a thing to be proud of.

Now let me state my difficulties, premising that I by no means desire to see rocks ahead, but shall be only glad to be convinced that they are mere mirages.

(1) First, with regard to practical knowledge. Could the present system be overturned to-morrow throughout the world, there would be many millions who, however willing, would be as ill prepared for useful labour as these Communists of Totley. With the disappearance of the idle class, all those whose labour consists in producing luxuries for that class and for their dependants would find their occupation gone, and, with "practical human needs" enough, would find themselves without the practical knowledge necessary to meet them. Take London alone. There we have a population of five millions, living almost entirely on the produce of other men's labour, daily imported. Most of these five millions are congregated there for the sake of capitalists, and the greater proportion of their labour would be found quite useless as soon as there were no more exploiters of labour. So that the establishment of a commune in London would eventually result in the discovery by the majority of its inhabitants that there was no earthly reason for them to be there. Should they try to remain, they must be fed by the outside world, and they would be unable to produce anything to send back in return for their food. Evidently they must disperse. But the majority will "know next to nothing" not only of agriculture, but of any other labour needed in a state of Communism. The disintegration or dissolution of our overgrown towns is a large order, and we shall want our wits about us if it is not to be muddled over. And there is no shirking it, unless cause and effect should cease to work. Sooner or later it must be faced; and that is my excuse for suggesting the difficulty.

(2) Supposing the present system overthrown, will sound economic theory be sufficient cement to bind a new system together? I will say directly, No; but, if only to arouse thought, I ask, How near are we towards getting it sufficiently sound? The Communists of Totley must have had considerable advantages in this respect; yet they failed. Perhaps the Socialists of to-day are better informed,—they ought to be. But *Justice* has lately been pointing out and remonstrating against a deplorable disagreement between French and German Socialists; and this scarcely looks as if the Socialism which the average working man has time to learn is sufficient to ensure the necessary unity. It may be, indeed, that when the enemy *Capitalism* is dead, the common enemy *Hunger* will keep us together—"practical human needs," as Carpenter has it. But unless it can be shown that mere necessity will produce the necessary unity, I think we should be prepared to face the possibility of its not doing so. Admitting, then, the utmost success to Socialistic propaganda, we should have, on the inevitable downfall of the present system, a people with sound economical views, but views of such a nature as will not by themselves produce unity; and a large number of this people ignorant of the practical knowledge necessary to support life. What is to bind them together, if economics are insufficient, while they gain that knowledge, and afterwards?

(3) "The immediate desire of fellowship," Carpenter hints, is necessary. Very well. To what extent is that desire necessary? Are we doing our

best to foster it? Or are we going about it in a haphazard way, relying merely on the slow course of evolution? That it is gradually developing I firmly believe; that the preaching of Socialism is giving it an increasing momentum must be admitted; and there is not the smallest doubt in my mind that in the atmosphere of equality which Communism would produce, it would flourish to an extent unimaginable to us. That, however, will be of small service to us in this day, if it be the fact that Communism cannot exist until the desire of fellowship is further developed than it is, say, amongst the Continental Socialists. As an evolutionist, I believe that causes have been at work, ages before Socialism was thought of, or even before the early Christian communism, developing this instinct; and if it be true (as I think it is) that the reason why Socialists hope to succeed where religions have failed is that they recognise the law of cause and effect, and mean to bring that, instead of mere sentiment, into their service, then it is plainly our duty to investigate, and endeavour to apply, the causes that develop the instinct of fellowship. For this reason, I think the careful study of such affairs as this at Totley would be most serviceable.

I should much like to know why the present operations at Totley are successful. Have the participants the sufficient desire of fellowship, which the former body lacked? If so, how far short of the necessary standard the average man must be! But I am very sceptical about such tremendous superiority in the men themselves (no disrespect to them is intended), and am rather inclined to think that their success must be due to some advantage in the method pursued.

The mention of their being connected with St. George's Guild lends colour to this surmise. Ruskin (to whom I owe it that I am a Socialist) has strong ideas on government and obedience; and there is probably a pretty complete organisation on the present Totley Farm. It may in the long run be mainly a difference of words between him and me; but as an Anarchist (at least so far as ideal is concerned) I have had strong objections to government and obedience, looking to individual self-control as the only element out of which Communism can proceed. And now, if that character which makes a man a law unto himself can only be developed by some sort of Communism, where am I? I may, and do, retain my ideal; but the idea of going straight for it, in the sense of discarding all intermediate means, is absurd. After all, Communism is only an *economical* means to an *ethical* end; it is, once more, a case of cause and effect—or, finally, an affair of human selection. And though it may be that I shall still do my best work by looking forward, and encouraging others to look forward, to the far ideal of Anarchism, yet in the meantime I must admit that the Social Democrats, whom I have hitherto thought somewhat mistaken, are doing quite as good work in their different way. Ruskin, too, looks like a practical man, after all; and even such a movement as "technical education," mere slave-training dodge as it is, may smooth the way of the Revolution, by providing to some extent the practical knowledge that will eventually be required.

Bearing in mind that wider knowledge may perhaps assist the development of fellowship, by producing a greater unity between different bodies of Socialists, I should like to draw one conclusion that may have a more immediately practical value.

The downfall of the present system will perhaps disintegrate our large towns, and will certainly leave many unable to organise themselves for their own support, both for want of practical knowledge and for lack of sufficient desire of fellowship. But, until this desire can be developed, a fair working substitute may be found in careful organisation,—perhaps even with some authoritative power, though it is hard to see whence such power will be derived. Where are we to look for such an organisation which will be able to direct the labour of those unskilled in useful work? To dogmatise would be absurd, but I think one way would be to form large organisations of trades. Thus, Socialists, while teaching the general principles and aims of our Cause, might especially impress upon the members of a particular trade the desirability of taking complete control of it themselves at the earliest opportunity, without necessarily waiting for a general revolution. If, for instance, several industries, such as building, baking, and railways, were thus organised, then the establishment of a Commune in London would not be doomed to failure, because the country was not ready to support the useless people there; they could be immediately drafted into one or other of these industries, where, starting as simple unskilled labourers, they would gradually be absorbed into the general body of the workers. So the work of organisation, so difficult if attempted in all branches of industry at once, would be spread out over some years, and the chances of an abortive Revolution considerably diminished.

But all this is mere theory, and theory can only be useful when founded on facts. So I ask again for more light on these experiments at Totley, as perhaps the nucleus of a history of contemporary tendencies in the evolution of Socialism.

Farnham, March 28th, 1889.

(GEORGE STURT.)

If what is called the "National Debt" is really a national debt, then this nation is bankrupt. We are a nation in pawn! Though, in the form of "interest," the Debt has been paid in full six times over, yet it is still owing; and all the children of the working classes of England will be regarded as debtors to the usurer classes, until the world is at an end—or until the People open their eyes. Then they will make the usurers open theirs!—W. H. R.

What was said in a recent number of "Nunquam" in the *Manchester Sunday Chronicle* may be said with even more force of "Proletarian" in the *Montrose Review*. With this difference, however, that "Proletarian" takes up definitely the Socialist attitude. Speaking of the "free speech" agitation in Dundee he says:

"The prisoners in this case have to contend with the hostility not only of a middle-class magistracy, but of a capitalist press. Editors of papers like the *Dundee Advertiser* and *People's Journal* have to dance to the tune that the proprietors of the papers play; and the eye of the proprietors is fixed on advertisements—i.e., profits. The pious editors, therefore, as well as the bulk of the Dundee magistrates, strongly

Believe in Freedom's cause,
Ez far away ez Ireland is;
They love to see her stick her claws
In them infarnal Pharisees—

the Irish landlords; but when the claws begin to stick in a specimen quite as 'infarnal,' the British capitalist, then

Libbaty's a kind o' thing
That don't agree with—

Socialists."

THE LABOUR STRUGGLE.

BRITAIN.

ENGLISH RAILWAYMEN.—On the Great Northern Railway at Doncaster, the goods guards are finding themselves done away with in favour of brakemen working at 20s., or 10s. less than was paid to the guards. On the same line the following figures are given as signalmen's wages: Holloway Yard, 28s.; Caledonian, 29s.; Finsbury Park, 24s. to 25s. In '78 they were reduced 1s. all round, and lately they have undergone the same operation.

BAKERS' UNION.—A meeting was held on Saturday last at the "Prince Arthur," Brunswick Place, City Road, to organise the journey men bakers of the district into a Society, so that they may be the better able to fight the battle of Labour v. Capital. The meeting was international in character, the speaking being in both German and English. 5s. 6d. collected. It was decided to hold meetings with the same object in view in all parts of London.

IRISH RAILWAYMEN.—The *Railway Review* says there is a man employed by the Great Northern Co. at Belfast, among whose multifarious duties are the collecting of tickets, timing of trains, collecting weekly accounts, taking wagon numbers, making out returns, keeping account of demurrage, and the filling up of his spare time assisting the clerks. For this work he is awarded 15s. every week. He recently made application for an advance, when he was told that such could not be paid, as he was getting more than some men in the service with more responsible duties. It concludes by saying, "What it is the latter got was not stated, but we should like to know."

STRIKE OF LASTERS AND FINISHERS.—About 140 men of Messrs. Pocock Bros., Southwark Bridge Road, have been out on strike for about a fortnight, and the men of the Northampton branch of the same firm have also struck. The cause of the strike is the reduction of wages proposed in the new Statement submitted to the men. Another Statement, admitting of some reductions, drawn up by the men, was refused by the firm. The points in dispute seem to be the classification of tops, and the refusal by Messrs. Pocock Bros. to supply grinders without allowing an equivalent or extra wage instead. We understand the firm has tried to put out the work to other places, but their mean attempts have not as yet succeeded. The men live in hope.

ACCIDENTS AMONG DOCK LABOURERS.—The *Lancet*, reverting to the prevalence of accidents among dock labourers, contends that Colonel Martindale's evidence before the House of Lords' commission does not refute the dockers' assertion that in five years' work 50 per cent. of the workers met with accidents. Col. Martindale acknowledges that 142 accidents happened in a year among the men in his employ—averaging 5,300 per day. Ruptures, however, and many spinal injuries are not included, and it is notorious that only a small proportion of the accidents that actually occur come to the knowledge of the dock companies. If they were always reported the foreman would be censured, and the man who had caused the foreman to be censured by reporting his accident would find it difficult to obtain employment when cured. It is therefore wiser to go away quietly and trust to the charity of fellow-workers for help, instead of making claims on the company.

A STUDY OF SOCIAL EVOLUTION.

Our comrade Peter Kropotkin is about to give a course of six lectures under the above title, of which the following is a syllabus:—

I.—*The Problems of our Century.*—The intellectual movement of our century—Economic, political, and moral problems raised—No satisfactory answer found—Dualism in morality—Want of inspiration in philosophy, literature, and art which results from it—Issues searched for—Socialism and its aspirations.

II.—*The origins of our present economic and political organisation.*—The primitive Saxon, Celtic, and Slavonian communities—The Communes of the mediæval times—Their interior organisation—Their federations—Monuments left—Internal causes of decay.

III.—*The origins of our present economic and political organisation (continued).*—The growth of modern States—Europe threatened by invasions—The absorption of the Communes by the State—The centralised State—The Colonies and the growth of industry—Its economic consequences—The growth of representative Government.

IV.—*Philosophical Systems and popular movements aiming at the reconstruction of Society.*—The popular ideal as it appears in the mediæval times—Internal struggles within the Communes—The risings of the peasants—The religious and economic movements of the Reformation—The Anabaptists—The philosophical and economic aspects of the Revolution in England.

V.—*Philosophical Systems and popular movements aiming at the reconstruction of Society (continued).*—The philosophical systems of the eighteenth century—The risings of the people and the French Revolution—The Communists of the nineteenth century—The national workshops of 1848 and the impossibility of organising labour by means of a Government—Birth of modern Socialism.

VI.—*Modern Socialism.*—Its various schools—Collectivism—Anarchy: its system of philosophy—Freedom of the individual and his need of association as the basis of future progress—Moralising influence of Socialism—Dualism in morality cast away—A glimpse into the future—Economic production, Science, and Art in a free Communist Society.

Details of place and time, etc., will be shortly announced.

FALL RIVER SLAVES.—See those mill slaves at Fall River. Six thousand of them are now striking for enough to live on. Fall River has fifty-three cotton-mills alone. That proves that there must be millions in the business. The average dividends paid range between eighteen and thirty per cent. The mills turn out 500,000,000 yards a-year. The average profit is a cent. a yard. This leaves 5,000,000 dollars a-year to be divided among fifty-three mills; an average of nearly 100,000 dollars profit annually per mill. The larger concerns make more, the smaller ones less; the profit depends on the output. Now what do these operatives want? Simply the old January scale of wages, which would make a difference to this grab galaxy of mills of 182,000 dollars a-year. An average of about 3,500 dols. a-year to each mill; 300 dols. a-month; 10 dols. a-day. These mill-owners, bloated on a profit of five million dollars a-year, refuse to pay a pittance of ten dollars a-day to their starving fortune-makers, to help them keep body and soul together. That's the mathematics of Capital's side in this question. How much do these mill-slaves make? A fourteen-year-old girl can average 3 dollars a-week; a woman, with constant work at four looms, can make between 5 and 6 dollars. Men who do woman's work get woman's wages; not a cent more. Very few make more.—*N.Y. Evening Telegram*, March 13.

REVOLUTIONARY CALENDAR.

WEEK ENDING APRIL 27, 1889.

21	Sun.	1868. O'Farrell hung at Sydney for attempt on Duke of Edinburgh. 1874. William Carpenter died.
22	Mon.	1826. Sack of Missolonghi by the Turks. 1852. Collapse of great strike of Engineers. 1875. Birth of "organised obstruction" in the House of Commons.
23	Tues.	1794. Trial of James Bird and others for conspiracy. 1817. Trial of James McEwan and others for administering unlawful oaths. 1832. Co-operative Congress at the "Institution of the Industrious Classes," King's Cross; Robert Owen in the chair. 1873. International Workmen's Club formed in connection with the British Federation of the International. 1885. Explosion at the Admiralty.
24	Wed.	1521. Execution of Juan di Padilla. 1731. Daniel Defoe died. 1861. Peasant riot at Bezdna in the Kazan Government. 1867. Trial of Thomas F. Burke for high treason. 1871. Demonstration of match-makers against the match-tax. 1887. Hyde Park demonstration in aid of the Northumberland miners.
25	Thur.	1599. Oliver Cromwell born. 1799. Trial of Earl Thanet and four others for riot. 1820. Volney died. 1852. Arthur O'Connor died. 1865. Georg Kmety died. 1883. Fenian Convention opened at Philadelphia.
26	Fri.	1711. David Hume born. 1848. Chartist demonstration on Clerkenwell Green.
27	Sat.	1803. Toussaint L'Ouverture died. 1806. Louis Kossuth born. 1881. Emile de Girardin died. 1882. R. W. Emerson died.

Pierre Dominique Toussaint L'Ouverture.—Born at Breda, near Cape town, San Domingo (Hayti), May 20, 1746; died in the Castle of Joux, near Besançon, France, April 27, 1803. He was the son of slave parents, both of them full-blooded Africans; and from his earliest childhood showed remarkable ability. He managed to learn to read and write, and became his master's coachman. Still applying every leisure moment to study, he rose gradually to be superintendent over the other negroes on the estate, and meanwhile had acquired a splendid education. In his earlier years he used the name of his birthplace for surname, but was afterwards called L'Ouverture, as having provided the "opening" of the road to freedom for his people. In 1789 San Domingo had attained a high pitch of prosperity, and was inhabited by three classes—whites, free people of colour (mostly mulattoes, and many of them wealthy proprietors), and slaves. The mulattoes demanded that the principles of the Revolution should be extended to them; and in spite of the furious resistance of the whites, this was done in 1791, by decree of the French Convention conferring on the mulattoes all the rights of French citizens. But the whites proceeded to such violent measures, and petitioned the Convention so strongly, that the decree was soon revoked; whereupon the mulattoes threw in their lot with that of the slaves, who had meanwhile risen against the yoke. Toussaint had taken a prominent part in the negro part of the agitation, and joined the rebels, using his knowledge of surgery and medicine as the physician of their forces. He speedily rose in influence among them—so rapidly indeed as to arouse the jealousy of their chief, Jean François, who caused his arrest on the charge of undue partiality to the whites. He was set free by the rival of François, Baisson, and a partial war followed; but on the death of Baisson, Toussaint became reconciled to Jean François, and again placed himself under his orders. In the confused fighting that followed Toussaint took a leading part, and was at one time in alliance with the Spaniards; but in 1793 the commissioners of the French Convention declared slavery abolished and all the inhabitants of the colony free and equal. Toussaint thereupon came to the aid of the French, occupied the Spanish posts in his neighbourhood, and joined the French general Laveaux, whom he afterwards delivered from the mulatto chiefs, who had got him into their power. He was then made a general of division, and successfully set about bringing under French rule the whole of the northern part of the island, with the exception of the Mole of St. Nicholas, which remained in British possession. By the treaty of Bâle (1795) Spain ceded her part of the island to France. In April 1796, Toussaint was appointed Commander-in-Chief of the Armies of San Domingo, and exercised his functions to such effect that the strong places hitherto held by the British were soon after surrendered to him by General Maitland. He had meanwhile organised and drilled a powerful negro army, and now set himself to restore to the country the prosperity that so much war had driven away from it. Under his just and impartial rule trade and agriculture began again to flourish, and San Domingo seemed in a fair way to become all that the ambitious dreams of his youth had pictured her. On May 9, 1801, he proclaimed San Domingo a republic, independent of, but in friendly relation with, that of France. He himself was to be president for life. For this step two reasons are alleged, the one by his admirers, and the other by those of Napoleon. One of these is that he feared the perceptible reaction that was going on in France; and the other, that he desired to gratify an overweening ambition, bred by the immense power he had wielded for several years. Both of these causes were probably at work, together with a desire to emulate Napoleon, who had become his model. But as soon as peace with England was concluded, Napoleon, then First Consul, put forth a proclamation that slavery was to continue in Martinique and Cayenne, and that "order" (including slavery) was to be "restored" in San Domingo, which was to be once more reduced to the level of a colony. Toussaint met this with a counter-proclamation, in which he affirmed his friendliness to the French Republic, but left no doubt as to his intention to repel the threatened injustice by force. Buonaparte sent a squadron of 54 sail, under the command of his brother-in-law, General Le Clerc, to reduce the "rebels." This overwhelming force at first discouraged even Toussaint himself, but not for long. Feb. 17, 1802, he was proclaimed an outlaw, but continued to defend himself with desperate courage. At last the defection of Christophe and Dessalines obliged him to listen to terms. In doing so he was drawn into one of those traps which Napoleon set for his enemies, and became the object of one of the blackest pieces of treachery that even that master of perfidy ever performed. His outlawry was reversed, and on a visit to Le Clerc he was received with military honours. General Brunet invited him to a conference on June 10, when the generals retired, under the pretence of consultation, the negro guard was disarmed, and their chief kidnapped and sent to France. For awhile he was lodged in the Temple, but was soon moved from among the dangerously sympathetic Parisians to the remote castle of Joux, where ten months of rigorous confinement was enough to break the lion-heart and send the great negro leader to his grave.—S.

A NATION'S STRENGTH.—The man who drives the plough or swings the axe in the forest, or with cunning fingers plies the tools of his craft, is as truly the servant of his country as the statesman in the senate or the soldier in battle. The safety of a nation depends not alone on the wisdom of the statesman or the bravery of its generals.—*Whipple*.

THE SOCIALIST LEAGUE.

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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, May 6, 1889, at 13 Farringdon Road, at 9 o'clock sharp.

Branch Subscriptions Paid.—1888:—Oxford, to end of September.

1889:—Clerkenwell and Mitcham, to end of February. Leicester, North London, and East London, to end of March. Bradford, to end of April.

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

Commonweals for 1888, handsomely bound in red, are now ready, price 5s.; per post, 5s. 6d.

Propaganda Committee.—The Propaganda Committee meets on Tuesday, April 23rd, at 8.30 p.m. Important business; all members of the League interested in the propaganda invited to attend.

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.

"COMMONWEAL" GUARANTEE FUND.

The following further sums have been returned towards this fund:—H. Schmitt, 6d.; Mrs. Schack, 6d.; Blundell, 6d.; R. Turner, 1s.; J. Turner, 6d.; Kitz, 6d.; Seglie, 6d.; Tilley, 6d.; Rose, 6d.; B. W., 6d.; Mrs. Isaacson, 5s.; Nicoll, 6d.; and E. W., 10s. Norwich Branch, 2s.

Guarantors of Provincial Branches are requested to send up their lists at once.

REPORTS.

LONDON OPEN-AIR PROPAGANDA.—*Canterbury Road, Kilburn*—Owing to the inclemency of weather, meeting was a failure. We trust, however, next Sunday to have better luck. *Hyde Park*—Brookes, Parker, Hicks, and Mainwaring spoke: 1s. 7½d. collected. *Broad Street, Soho*—This meeting fell through owing to weather; the speakers were at their post. *Clerkenwell Green*—Mainwaring, despite the weather, spoke to good audience.

HAMMERSMITH.—Good meeting at Latimer Road Station on Sunday morning; speakers were Lynes, sen., Lynes, jun., Davis, and Maughan; choir sang at the close of meeting. Afterwards we went to Kensal Green and held very good meeting there. During morning the comrades of this district sold 108 *Commonweals*. In evening at Weltje Road, meeting not good owing to wet; speakers, Spry and Maughan. At Kelmescott House, S. Bullock lectured.—M.

WHITECHAPEL AND ST. GEORGES-IN-THE-EAST.—F. Kitz lectured at International Club, 40, Berner Street, Wednesday 10th, on "The *Præcise* Prosecution." Fair audience, and much interest shown. At Leman Street on Sunday morning, Turner spoke in the rain for about an hour to fair audience. A little friendly opposition at the finish.—J. T.

ABERDEEN.—At indoor meeting on Sth, Leatham read a paper on "The Future of the Workers." Discussion carried on at close by Slater, Duncan, and Leatham. Meeting at Castle Street on Saturday night addressed by Duncan and Leatham, whilst Aiken pushed literature.—J. L.

EDINBURGH.—On 7th, Mellicet lectured on "Law and Order." Good meeting and interesting discussion.

GLASGOW.—On Thursday evening at the members' discussion class, the question of how best to reply to the usual objection "that it is impossible to realise Socialism," was discussed—all the members present giving a short speech. On Sunday we held two good open-air meetings, one at Paisley Road Toll, Joe Burgoyne, Glasier, and Gilbert being the speakers, and the other at St. George's Cross, where Glasier and Joe Burgoyne spoke; 55 *Commonweals* sold.

MANCHESTER.—Sunday afternoon good meeting in Stevenson Square, Ritson, Marshall, and Bailie speakers. A City Councillor who was present indicated a desire to oppose, but declined to address audience from the chair. At 7.30 we held the first meeting of the season at Chester Road, when Nixon opened with an original Socialist song, and Marshall and Bailie spoke. We began with scanty audience, which developed into a large and lively gathering and ended rather tumultuously owing to some noisy opponents. We hope to do some good work here as the weather improves.—W. B.

NORWICH.—No open-air meeting on Sunday owing to wet weather. Meeting held in hall, very fair audience, Poynts lectured on "Social Democracy and Anarchism," several questions asked. In evening lecture was delivered by a friend from Cambridge, subject, "Life and Works of Thomas Paine," to good audience; Darley in chair. Lecture was an interesting account of Paine, and frequently applauded. Discussion followed; Poynts and A. Moore took part. After lecture a very enjoyable time was spent, and numerous songs, readings, and recitations rendered, concluding with *Marseillaise*.

YARMOUTH.—Short meeting on Priory Plain at 3 p.m. Sunday, addressed by Ruffold and Reynolds; 1s 7½d sold and 1s. collected. After meeting the members met at a comrade's house to discuss Mowbray's visit, for which arrangements were made, and also a collection to defray any expenses.—C. R.

DUBLIN.—At the Progressist Club, 87, Marlboro' Street, Saturday, April 13th, J. O'Gorman lectured on "What is Human Slavery?" the address being an exposition of the general principles of Socialism. An interesting discussion followed, the opposition being better than the average. The lecture was well supported by King, Graham, Coulon, and others.

NOTTINGHAM SOCIALIST CLUB.—In spite of cold and rain, fair meeting held on Sunday night in the Great Market Place, Rooke in chair. Peacock denounced the sweating of the teachers employed by the Nottingham School Board, and urged that the Socialists should be more strongly represented on that body.—P.

WESS BENEFIT.—The concert at 13, Farringdon Road, on Sunday last was a success. The Russian choir was an interesting feature, and the vocal music on the whole, considering the absence of professional aid, was good. A few recitations were also rendered with effect, and the *Marseillaise* was sung in French and Russian. The entertainment concluded with a little dancing and refreshments.

WEST SOUTHWARK LIBERAL AND RADICAL CLUB, 45 Charlotte Street, Blackfriars Road.—Rev. S. D. Headlam.

ELEUSIS CLUB, 180 King's Road, Chelsea, S. W.—Sunday April 28, at 8 p.m., Mr. Sidney Webb (Fabian), "The New Departure of the Liberal Party. Social Reforms."

SOUTHWARK AND LAMBETH BRANCH S.D.F., New Nelson Assembly Rooms, 24 Lower March, Lambeth.—Tuesday April 30th, W. S. de Mattos (Fabian Society), "Socialism and Economics."

SOCIALIST CO-OPERATIVE FEDERATION.—A social gathering of members and sympathisers will take place at 28 Grays Inn Road (14 doors from Holborn) on Sunday April 21st, at 6 p.m., to discuss the position and best means of promoting the interests of the Society. Admission free. Tea, coffee, and cake provided.

LECTURE DIARY.

LONDON.

Clerkenwell.—Hall of the Socialist League, 13 Farringdon Road, E.C. (¼-minute from Farringdon Station, 1 minute from Holborn Viaduct). Committee meeting every Sunday at 7.30.

East London.—Business meeting on Sunday 21st, at 7.30, at 12 Basing Place, Kingsland Road. Members, attend.

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

Hammermith.—Kelmescott House, Upper Mall, W. Sunday April 21, at 8 p.m., H. Halliday Sparring, "The Commune of London." Thursday April 25, at 7.30, Choir practice. Friday 26, at 8 p.m., French Class; at 9 sharp, Weekly Business Meeting; after business, a discussion.

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

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

Whitechapel and St. Georges in the East.—Branch meetings at International Club, 40 Berner Street, Commercial Road J. Turner, organising secretary. On Wednesday April 24, J. Blackwell will lecture on "Government and Crime."

PROVINCES.

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

Dublin.—Dublin Socialist Club, 16 Dawson Street.

Glasgow.—84 John Street. Reading-room (Draughts, Chess, etc.) open 10 a.m. till 10 p.m. daily. Discussion Class on Thursday evenings at 8—subject next Thursday "Henry George's Single-tax Theory." French Class meets on Mondays at 8 p.m. Members wishing to join in our Saturday afternoon propaganda excursions requested to assemble in Rooms on Saturdays at 4.30.

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

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

Norwich.—Sunday, at 8.15, C. W. Mowbray will lecture in the Gordon Hall—subject, "Socialism not Akin to Radicalism." Monday, the comrades will open the Country Propaganda; at 8.30 p.m., a Social Meeting will be held in the Gordon Hall. Tuesday, at 8.30, Members' Meeting. Wednesday, at 8.30, Discussion Class. (Open-air arrangements given below.)

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

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

Yarmouth.—"Three Fishes" Coffee Tavern, North Howard Street. Business meeting every Tuesday evening. The *Commonweal* can be purchased of Mr. Hous, newsagent, George Street.

OPEN-AIR PROPAGANDA.

SATURDAY 20.

8 Mile-end Waste Davis, Brooks, Mrs. Schack

SUNDAY 21.

11 Latimer Road Station Lyne senr., Maughan, and Dean
 11.30 Bethnal Green—Gibraltar Walk Mrs. Schack and Cores
 11.30 "Canterbury Arms"—Kilburn Road Charles, Mainwaring, Hicks
 11.30 Hammersmith—St. Ann's Road The Branch
 11.30 Kensal Green Crouch, Davis, Dean, and Spry
 11.30 Mitcham Fair Green Debate between F. Kitz and an opponent
 11.30 Regent's Park Parker and Nicoll
 11.30 Walham Green, opposite Station The Branch
 11.30 Lewan Street, Shadwell Davis, Turner, and Mowbray
 3.30 Hyde Park Darwood, Jeffries, and Parker
 3.30 Victoria Park Davis, Mrs. Schaack, and Mowbray
 7 Clerkenwell Green Brookes, Kitz, Parker, and Nicoll
 7 Weltje Road, Ravenscourt Park The Branch
 7.30 Broad Street, Soho Mrs. Lahr
 7.30 Mitcham Fair Green The Branch

TUESDAY 23.

8 Fulham—back of Walham Green Church The Branch.

THURSDAY 25.

8 Ossulton Street Mrs. Lahr and Nicoll

FRIDAY 26.

8 Philpot Street, Commercial Road St. George's Branch
 8.15 Hoxton Church Mrs. Lahr

PROVINCES.

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

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

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

Manchester.—Outdoor meetings every Sunday. Stevenson Square at 3 p.m.; Viaduct, Chester Road, at 7.30.

Norwich.—Sunday: Ber Street Fountain, at 11—Samuels and Darley; Market Place, at 11—Rochmann and Poynts; Market Place, at 3, a great demonstration will be held, addressed by C. W. Mowbray, M. Rochmann, and H. Samuels (London), chair to be taken by comrade Darley; Market Place, at 7.30—Poynts, Rochmann, and Samuels.

Yarmouth.—Priory Plain, at 3 every Sunday.

SCOTTISH LAND AND LABOUR LEAGUE.

Aberdeen.—Organiser, J. Leatham, 7 Jamaica Street. Branch meets in Odd-fellows Hall on Monday nights at 8. Choir practice at 46 Marischal Street on Thursday evenings at 8. **Jarnoustie** (Forfarshire)—Meets every Wednesday, at 8 p.m., in the Carnoustie Restaurant. Samuel Wilson, Secretary. **Dundee**—Meets every Sunday in the Trades Hall, opposite Tay Bridge Station.

Edinburgh.—35 George IV. Bridge. Meetings for Discussion, Thursdays at 8. **Falashiels**—J. Walker, 184 Glendinning Terrace, Secretary. **Gallatoun and Dysart** (Fife)—Meet every Tuesday at 7 p.m. in Gallatoun Public School. A. Paterson, 152 Rosslyn Street, Secretary. **Kilmarnock**—Branch meets on every alternate Tuesday. H. M'Gill, 22 Gilmour Street, Secretary. **West Calder**—Robert Lindsay, West Calder, Secretary.

AUSTRALIAN SOCIALIST LEAGUE.

Sydney.—533 George Street. Lectures and debates every Sunday evening. W. H. McNamara, Secretary.

Melbourne.—"Golden Fleeces" Hotel, Russell Street. Lectures and debates every Sunday evening. J. A. Andrews, 18 Ophir Street, Richmond, Secy.

On Easter Monday.

A FREE CONCERT AND BALL will be given at 13 Farringdon Road, on Easter Monday, to commence at 8 p.m. All comrades able to assist with music, reading, or song please help.

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