

THE COMMONWEAL

The Official Journal of the Socialist League.

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SATURDAY, MARCH 17, 1888.

WEEKLY; ONE PENNY.

THE PARIS COMMUNE.

THE celebration of the anniversary organised by the English Socialist Societies will take place at the

STORE STREET HALL,
Store Street, Tottenham Court Road, W.C.
MONDAY MARCH 19.

The following speakers will address the meeting:—

ANNIE BESANT, JOHN BURNS, ELEANOR AVELING, WILLIAM MORRIS, CHARLOTTE WILSON, P. KROPOTKINE, F. KITZ, A. HEADINGLEY, F. HICKS, H. H. SPARLING, DR. MERLINO, BORDES, KAVTSKY, and others.

The Chair will be taken at 7.30, by

H. M. HYNDMAN.

The following is the resolution which will be moved at the meeting:

“That this meeting expresses the deepest sympathy with the heroic attempt of the workers of Paris to overthrow the domination of the classes that live by the robbery of labour, and looks forward to the time when the distinction of classes will be abolished, and the hopes for which so many workers have sacrificed their lives will be realised in the true society of the workers of all countries.”

A Choir will attend and give a selection of appropriate music.

* * Members of the Choir and their friends are requested to attend for practice at 13 Farringdon Road, on Sunday at 5 p.m.

Comrades willing to act as stewards or to assist in the sale of literature are asked to send in their names at once.

Comrades and friends are earnestly requested to take in hand the collection of money for the defrayal of expenses, for which purpose collection sheets have been issued. Donations may be sent to

G. CLIFTON (S.D.F.) Treasurer; or to
H. A. BARKER (S.L.) Secretary,
13 Farringdon Road, E.C.

VIVE LA COMMUNE!

A CARTOON BY WALTER CRANE,

Will be GIVEN AWAY with next week's COMMONWEAL.

* * Newsagents and others are requested to send their orders early, as a large demand is anticipated.

Copies on fine paper for framing, 2d.; post free, 2½d.

DEAD AT LAST.

THE flood of cant and servility which has been poured out by the bourgeois press during the last few days, because the long-expected death of a tyrant of the old type embedded in a modern type of tyranny, has at last happened, disgusts one so much that at first one is tempted to keep silence in mere contempt for such degraded nonsense. Court mourning is always a preposterous spectacle, but here is a case where it is more preposterous than usual. Conventional universal grief, when scarcely any one is grieved at the event, no one whose interests do not suffer by it, most people are profoundly indifferent, and a great many cannot help being glad, although the death of this man may make no immediate difference in the condition of the people who suffered from his life—what can one say of this?

Yet though silence may be best in the abstract, it may be misunderstood at a time when even democratic papers, which are busy

advocating federalism, profess to share more or less in the sham sentiment of the day which weeps strange tears indeed over the death-bed of this tough specimen of the ancient absolutist lined by the modern centraliser. As a Socialist print, the *Commonweal* is an outlaw from the press, and its poverty and desolate freedom compels it to speech, though but of a few words.

For what the death of this sham mediæval tyrant calls our attention to is a weighty and serious matter enough in spite of the nothingness of the man himself. The ancient and obviously irrational absolutism is gone from Europe except for the tottering throne of the Czar of the Russias; but the house of Hohenzollern has gathered to itself whatever of dangerous and practical in absolutism still exists, and has built up of it a fortress of the new bureaucratic absolutism as a last refuge to the capitalistic civilisation of our day, and has put a face of rationality and business capacity on it, so that the scarcely less grievous tyranny of constitutional bureaucracy under which we suffer might reach out a hand to it unashamed; and so helpful have our masters felt this fortress to be to the system which enables them to rob the people, at home, that even the elevation by its builders of the Germans into a holy race of military and commercial conquerors which may one day swallow them up also, has not scared them from accepting their friendship.

Abundance of patience, energy, skill, almost genius, have been expended in this attack on the progress of humanity, but not only these qualities were needed, and the most has been made of persons who could serve as instruments towards it, although they had no qualities but the blindness and dogged hardness inbred by their position. Of these instruments the person just dead was as fit for his post as might be, just as Bismark and Moltke have been fit for theirs; though the German centralising absolutism is modern, a monarch or figure-head of the modern type would not have suited it as well as what was ready to its hand for the purpose, a mere stupidly implacable soldier without any capacity for doubt or remorse. The man who began his career of “glory” by the slaughter of citizens in the streets of Berlin in '48, was a proper tool for the statesmen who saw the necessity of the system, which had bred them, of “educating” Germany by constant wars of ambition, and was not likely to shrink from the last success of a hideous race war, which will when all is said, lead to events that these pests of humanity were far from foreseeing.

Plainly then, the somewhat timid whitewashing by the Radical press of this figure-head of the most dangerous form of absolutism is a sorry business, and I must say sincerely that the German people are not likely to thank our press for it. Even the *Daily News* is compelled to allude to the Berlin massacres, though it speaks of them as an event to be lightly passed over, a venial offence, to be expected (as indeed it was) of a person in the position of its hero. But are the people of Berlin forgetting it? Are they really worshipping the memory of the pious hero of Sedan? If this is true of even a part of the population, it can only be said that it shows into what depths of degradation the vice of patriotism can lead people—of patriotism, that is, the cultivation of national rancour founded on the national development of selfish greed which is the basis of civilised society.

One thing, at least, we should not forget, and that is the protest of the German Socialists in the teeth of all the jingoism newly stirred up by the danger and excitement of the occasion, against the race-war which Bismark and his willing puppets were leading Germany into in the interests of law and order, to whom the death and suffering of hundreds of thousands of men, women and children, is a light matter, so only that the people may be kept down.

The Government are determined that we shall not lack sensation. Mr. Snelling's sentence to seven month's hard labour for speaking his mind in Ireland, is quite on all fours with the sentences in London on those who tried to speak their minds in Trafalgar Square. Really we must repeat our advice to the G.O.M. to show that he is in earnest by going over to Ireland, and daring the Government to arrest him.

The House of Commons has at the instigation of Mr. Labouchere been debating as to whether it would be advisable to abolish the hereditary element in the Upper House—whether it would be advisable to spend a pound or two in mending a bad sixpence. Here is comfort for the unemployed, the men on strike, the hewers of wood and drawers of water!

W. M.

SOCIALISM FROM THE ROOT UP.

CHAPTER XXII (continued)—SOCIALISM MILITANT.

(Continued from p 77.)

THE movement was begun in Germany by Lassalle¹ about 1863 as a national movement; it grew in that form after his death for some years. Meantime "the International" had been founded, and had gradually come under the guidance of Karl Marx and Frederic Engels, who won for themselves two energetic and able coadjutors in Liebnicht and Bebel, men untiring in gaining converts to the ideas of the International from the followers of Lassalle and of Schulze-Delitsch, the bourgeois co-operationist, to which latter party indeed Bebel himself once belonged.

The scope of this article prevents us from going into details as to the fortunes of the German party; it must be enough to say that the Marx party grew rapidly, and at the congress of Gotha in 1875 the Lassalle party amalgamated with them, formally renouncing the special tenets of Lassalle, notably the nationalist aims which formed a part of them. The party went on growing, and had a large newspaper press and some representation in the Reichstag. Then in 1878 came the "attempts" on the Emperor by Hödel and Nobeling, followed by the repressive laws against the Socialists, which destroyed their press at one swoop, and extinguished all open agitation in Germany. Nevertheless the growth of the party was not perceptibly checked by these arbitrary measures; the headquarters of its direction were transferred to Zurich, where they yet remain. At the Congress held last October at St. Gallen the revolutionary character of the party was sustained, in the teeth of some attempts at opportunism which came from a section of the representatives in the Reichstag. The temptation to this opportunism was the desire of some of the deputies to make the party felt in the Reichstag by forming alliances with other groups, whereas at present as a Socialist party they are quite powerless there. It may be added that there is a possibility in Germany, as in France, of a wave of "patriotism," founded on fear of the danger of actual invasion, checking for a time the rapidity of the advance of Socialism; though in the party itself the feeling for internationalism is overwhelming and past all question.

France has for the present rather fallen back from her position of leader in the revolutionary movement. The party itself is somewhat split up into sections, though the differences between rank and file are not serious and mainly have to do with matters of tactics. Socialist ideas have permeated the whole mass of the town workmen, who are more separated from the peasantry than in any other European country. The fact is, therefore, that the movement in France, though unorganised, still expands, especially as it is spreading to all manufacturing centres. In France Socialism is not definitely attacked by the government as it is in Germany, but only suffers, as it does in this country, from the ordinary repressive police system.

In Holland the movement, which has now reached extraordinary dimensions, was begun in the year 1882. The propaganda has been mainly the work of Domela Nieuwenhuis, formerly a popular preacher in Amsterdam, released recently from a term of imprisonment. The police in Holland have gone so far in attacking the Socialists as to stir up mob violence against them, even to the extent of breaking into their meeting places and threatening the lives of their leaders.

In Belgium the movement is progressing vigorously, in the teeth of the two opposed parties, and the feeling of the workmen generally is very revolutionary, stimulated especially by the miserable condition of the mining population, who in 1886 broke out into riots that almost attained to the proportions of a revolt. The party supports a daily paper in Brussels.

In Denmark, the movement is so far advanced as to support two daily papers of large circulation, in spite of the smallness of the population. No doubt it is much helped there by the curious constitutional situation in which the Liberal majority and the Court party are holding each other at deadlock. This Danish movement has even penetrated to Sweden, and a Socialist party is growing up there.

In Russia, bureaucratic absolutism is blended with survivals of the mere barbaric absolutism, and as a consequence of the monstrous government which results from this, the movement seems now to be aiming at bringing about a constitutional revolution as a forerunner of the Social Revolution; and on the other hand this condition of things has so worked on the aspirations of the intelligent part of the people, that the movement there has been surrounded by a halo of personal heroism which has attracted universal admiration and respect even from its enemies.

In Austria, the faith of the masses generally is Socialism, but owing partly to the composite character of the Empire, which embraces such varied and rival races, and partly to the severity of the police measures of its Absolutist Government, there is no definite organisation.

In Italy, the movement is progressing, although hampered by the tail of the democratic, and especially the Mazzinian, ideas, which can see nothing beyond the abolition of priest and king.

In Spain, the followers of Bakounine's Anarchism have had much influence, and the movement consequently is mostly Anarchist in colouring. The party supports several small weekly papers.

In America, the movement till recently has been entirely in the hands of the German immigrants; but of late years there has been a remarkable development of the class-struggle there. The result of numerous and most violent disputes between the capitalists and wage-

earners has been the formation of an indigenous labour party, vague in aim and somewhat chaotic in action, but tending steadily towards a complete recognition of the solidarity of labour. The publication of Henry George's work, 'Progress and Poverty,' which created such sensation in this country, unsatisfactory as it was, has no doubt had its effect upon this movement, though its author in his quest for power and position has now practically recanted whatever opinions were of any value in it. One incident in the American movement is the formation of the gigantic trades' union called the Knights of Labour, which has more definite tendencies towards Socialism than those in this country; though Powderly's coquetting with the Catholic hierarchy has led to a split in the body, which leads to a hope that true Socialism may soon be generally accepted amongst the American working-classes. This will certainly be encouraged by the last act of the American capitalists, who in their dastardly fear of the possible combination of their wage-slaves, have murdered the Anarchist leaders at Chicago under the pretence of their being concerned in the throwing of a bomb-shell in the heat of a desperate labour-conflict in that city.

To get back again to this country, the movement is spreading much beyond the limits of the definite Socialist organisations, which are for the most part headquarters for knots of lecturers and speakers, and the publication of journals and pamphlets. In fact, it may be said that the strength of the movement here is on the intellectual side, and that organisation for action of any kind is very defective. Nevertheless, Socialist opinion is making itself felt widely as well as deeply; this is very marked in the effect it is having on the Radicals, since it is detaching a constantly increasing number of them from their old position as the left wing of the Liberals, which whom and under whose orders they have hitherto acted since the time when Gladstone became the leader of the party. The Irish movement being at bottom a rebellion, and illustrating very strongly one side of the economical disabilities of the working-classes, has done much to widen the breach between the Democratic Radicals and the Liberal Radicals, and has made them much more ready to listen to Socialist doctrines. The Trades' Unions also, which have acted as a safety valve for the discontent born of the economical situation, have been much shaken by the attention which so many of their members have given to Socialism, and show signs of a growing inclination to change their position from being a mere appendage to capitalism to being organisations for a definite attack upon it. The dead weight of their leaders, who look upon this feeling with the utmost disfavour, and have done their best to smother it, hampers the possible development of the Trades' Unions in this direction; but it ever breaks through these and other obvious obstacles. They will become most formidable allies of Socialism in this country. It must be remembered in estimating the force of the movement in the British Islands, that all this is taking place in a country which, whatever its economical position may be, is politically, ethically, and intellectually generally the headquarters of reaction.

E. BELFORT BAX and WILLIAM MORRIS.

REVOLUTIONARY CALENDAR.

WEEK ENDING MARCH 24, 1888.

18	Sun.	1848. "Guns go off of themselves" at Berlin. 1871. Commune of Paris proclaimed. 1876. Ferdinand Freiligrath died.
19	Mon.	1848. Insurrection at Berlin.
20	Tues.	1875. John Mitchel died. 1871. Commune proclaimed at Marseilles.
21	Wed.	1763. W. J. McNevin born. 1832. Gæthe died.
22	Thur.	1871. "Men of Order" demonstrate in Paris. 1873. Strike ended of 60,000 colliers in South Wales.
23	Fri.	1820. Sir F. Burdett tried for seditious libel. 1871. Commune proclaimed at Lyons.
24	Sat.	1794. Hébert guillotined.

"The Guns went off of themselves!"—The revolutionary waves of the year 1848 soon reached Berlin, and the news of the popular movement that was going on in the Rhenish provinces and smaller States of Germany stimulated the people of the capital to demand fresh concessions. At the great open-air meeting held on the 13th, a collision took place between people and soldiers. During the ensuing week Berlin was in an open state of revolution, and the people would no longer be satisfied with ambiguous and never-fulfilled promises. King Frederick became somewhat afraid, and on the 18th he issued a proclamation whereby he pledged himself to give to his beloved people all kinds of liberties and some other ones besides. On that very day the people assembled in the square before the royal palace, when a troop of dragoons came up and at once advanced against them. The soldiers were at first repulsed, but a sanguinary conflict began immediately afterwards. The battle lasted long, and was long doubtful. During the night of the 18th and 19th, King Frederick William wrote that immortal piece of hypocrisy and cowardice, which it will be well to preserve in these columns. It runs as follows: "To my beloved Berliners! By my patent of convocation this day, you have received the pledge of the faithful sentiments of your king towards you and towards the whole of the German nation. The shout of joy which greeted me from unnumbered faithful hearts still resounded in my ears, when a crowd of peace-breakers mingled with the loyal throng, making seditious and bold demands, and augmenting in numbers as the well-disposed withdrew. As their impetuous intrusion extended to the very portals of the palace with apprehended sinister views, and insults were offered to my valiant and faithful soldiers, the court-yard was cleared by the cavalry at a walking pace and with their weapons sheathed (!), and two guns of the infantry went off of themselves (!), without, thanks be to God, causing any injury. A band of wicked men, chiefly consisting of foreigners, who, although searched for, have succeeded in concealing themselves for more than a week (!), have converted this circumstance into a palpable untruth, and have filled the excited minds of my faithful and beloved Berliners with thoughts of vengeance for supposed (!) bloodshed; and thus have they become the criminal authors of bloodshed themselves. My troops, your brothers and fellow-countrymen, did not make use of their weapons till forced to do so by several shots fired at them

¹ Lassalle was killed in a duel in 1865.

from the Königstrasse. The victorious advance of the troops was the consequence. It is now yours, inhabitants of my beloved native city, to avert a fearful evil. Acknowledge your fatal error; your king, your trusting friend, enjoins you by all that is most sacred, to acknowledge your fatal error. Return to peace; remove the barricades which are still standing; and send to me men filled with the genuine ancient spirit of Berlin, speaking words which are seemly to your king; and I pledge you my royal truth that all the streets and squares shall be instantaneously cleared by the troops, and the military garrisons shall be confined solely to the most important buildings—to the Castle, the Arsenal, and a few others—and even here only for a brief space. Listen to the paternal voice of your king, ye inhabitants of my true and beautiful Berlin; and forget the past, as I shall forget it, for the sake of that great future which, under the peace-giving blessing of God, is dawning upon Prussia and through Prussia upon all Germany. Your loving queen, and truly your genuine mother and friend, who is lying on a sick bed, joins her heartfelt and tearful supplications to mine." He wrote some more things of that sort, until General von Wrangel made his famous proclamation, saying: "The troops are staunch. Their swords are sharpened, their arms loaded. . . . I bring you benefit with order. Anarchy must cease and it will cease. This must be changed, and it shall be changed. I swear this to you, and a Wrangel never belies his word." And the result proved that this was not an empty threat on the part of that reactionary soldier, and what Prussia and afterwards Germany became since, every one knows but too well!—V. D.

Proclamation of the Paris Commune.—Every Socialist knows what was the Commune, its nature, its *raison d'être*, and the ultimate aim it worked and struggled for. In the face of the most awful reaction which ever overcame France, Paris claimed the acknowledgment and the consolidation of the Republic, the only political form consistent with the rights of the people and the regular and free development of Society; the complete and absolute autonomy of the Commune, extended to all localities throughout France, assuring to each of them the integrity of its rights, and to each Frenchman in them the full exercise of his faculties and of his aptitudes in his threefold capacity as man, as citizen, and as worker; the autonomy of the Commune without any other limits than the equal right to autonomy for all the other Communes freely agreeing to the proposed contract; and all the Communes so freely organised and federated together constituting France. Each Commune establishes its budget, has the direction of all local services, organises its magistracy, its interior police, its public instruction, administers in one word all matters belonging to the Commune; chooses by election or by competition all its municipal delegates to every kind of public business; guarantees absolutely individual freedom, freedom of thought and freedom of work; invites permanent intervention of all citizens in all municipal matters through the free manifestation of their opinions, and the free defence of their own interests; organises its municipal guardianship, which elects itself and revokes its commanders, and becomes the sole maintainer of peace and order; introduces all administrative and economical changes claimed for by the citizens, in matters of public instruction, of production, consumption, exchange, property, etc. Such a programme, even thoroughly carried out by a victorious Commune, and in turn, by all the federated Communes of France, would not have involved a complete Socialist re-organisation of society, but certainly it would have been a first and gigantic step towards its realisation, and it is therefore that all Socialists throughout the world commemorate the 18th of March, 1871, as the glorious and undying forerunner of the Social Revolution, which it is now our duty to help to carry through in every country, for the greatest intellectual, material, and social benefit of the whole of mankind.—V. D.

Commune proclaimed at Lyons.—After the proclamation of the Paris Commune, several towns in France followed the good example. So did Lyons, where on the 23rd of March a revolt broke out. The battalions of the Guillotière (a district of Lyons) possessed themselves of the Town Hall, proclaimed the Commune, and installed a democratic Committee of Public Safety. But on the 25th the National Guard rebelled against the Committee, which was compelled to fly away, and delivered the Prefect Valentin who had been arrested. On the 30th of the following month, by occasion of the municipal elections, a new insurrection broke out at the Guillotière, but was again repressed; this time by the efforts of the Prefect Valentin and of Louis Andrieux, Public Prosecutor at Lyons, who became afterwards Police Prefect at Paris, reactionary deputy, and so forth. This Louis Andrieux has been member and secretary of the Lyons section of the International Working-men's Association, and a very advanced Socialist. He was also an Atheist.—V. D.

Commune proclaimed at Marseilles.—Gaston Crémieux was the promoter of the movement here, which could not stand against the reactionary forces. On the 4th of April, General Espivent attacked the Prefecture, which was bombarded. Marseilles was declared in a state of siege, the Republican press was suppressed, and several editors were imprisoned. Gaston Crémieux was sentenced to death, and shot on the 30th of November, 1871. He died most courageously, as a man fully convinced of the truth of the Cause for which he shed his blood.—V. D.

Ferdinand Freiligrath.—Born at Detmold, June 17, 1810; died March 18, 1876. In early life was clerk in commercial offices at Amsterdam and Bremen, but dreamed while making out invoices, and made poetry while posting the ledger. His first volume of poems, 1838, were so successful that he devoted himself henceforth to literature. Soon after his marriage, 1840, the King of Prussia gave him a pension of about £50, but the influence of Fallersleben, his friend, was making itself felt, and he resigned his pension and published his book of poems, the 'Confession of Faith,' which contained many of his revolutionary pieces. After 1848, he came to England, where he got his living once more in an office, and filled his leisure with the study of English and translating poems into German. In 1868 he returned to Germany, settling at Stuttgart. The most powerful, he was also among the most prolific of German poets of the revolution.—S.

Death of John Mitchel.—John Mitchel, one of the men of 1848, was born in 1815; he was the son of Rev. John Mitchel, Unitarian minister of Dungin, County Derry; was educated at Trinity College, Dublin, a college which has supplied a large percentage of revolutionists. He contributed very soon in its history to the pages of the *Nation*, and on the death of Thomas Osborne Davis, in 1845, accepted an editorial chair on that journal, in conjunction with Charles Gavan Duffy, one of its founders, and Thomas Darcy McGee. The Unitarian Ulsterman soon proved too extreme for his immediate co-workers, who were for moral force only, while Mitchel had ideas of the French pattern—revolution, barricades, and Republic. He was the first for about forty years—from the death of Emmett, 1803—who dared talk right out of armed insurrection and separation. This caused his retirement from the *Nation* and then a split in the Irish Confederation, for Smith O'Brien declared that either he or Mitchel must quit the organisation. After a two days' debate the moral force party, headed by O'Brien, Gavan Duffy, and McGee, proved the stronger when the vote was taken, February 5, 1848, and Mitchel and the war party quitted. On the 12th of February he issued the *United Irishman*. The "year of revolutions" saw many extreme prints but not many more outspoken than this, which openly preached rebellion, and gave details of street fighting and use of war material. The paper was only just afloat when M. Guizot and Louis Philippe were upstilt; this naturally re-acted on Irish politics, and so boomed Mitchel's ideas, that the men who had just voted him out caught the infection and were all a few weeks later either in prison or in hiding, after being concerned in armed rebellion; so little can time and place for revolutions be chosen. Mitchel was taken and put forward for conviction, to say trial is an insult to any ordinary intelligence, for

in spite of a pledge given by Lord John Russell for a fair trial the jury-packing was absolutely shameful. He was sentenced to fourteen years' transportation; so perfect were all the arrangements of this fair trial that a man-of-war alone was ready with steam up all day, and every available soldier under arms and on duty, so that when taken from the dock and hurried on board there was no delay and no chance of rescue for John Mitchel. In 1854 he was enabled to escape from Australia, and for some years he lived in America. July 25, 1874, Mitchel landed in Ireland once more; his efforts for a seat in the House were not successful, and after a few months stay he returned to America. January, 1875, he was put up for Tipperary, and before he arrived was elected. His election was quashed on the grounds of being an unpardoned felon; a new writ was issued, and again he was elected by a large majority over a Conservative who polled enough votes to swear a return by. Before anything more could be done John Mitchel was seized by death, having just time to travel from the place of his victory to his native home at Dromolane, in Ulster, dying there on March 20, 1875, "irreconcilable and defiant to the last." His 'History of Ireland' and his 'Last Conquest of Ireland (Perhaps?)' are two of his books which can be recommended to any person with a fondness for bragging about being "English you know."—T. S.

Trial of Sir F. Burdett.—"That on the 22nd of August, 1819, he did publish a certain libel," Sir F. Burdett was arraigned before the Leicester Assizes on March 23, 1820. The seditious libel for which he was tried consisted in a protest against the Peterloo massacre, written when "filled with shame, grief, and indignation at the account of the blood spilled at Manchester." After the cowardice and mealy-mouthed hypocrisy of the "representatives of the people" over Trafalgar Square, it is like a trumpet-call to read the words of the protest of one whom even Parliament could not paralyse: "It seems our fathers were not such fools as some would make us believe, in opposing the establishment of a standing army and sending King William's Dutch guards out of the country. Yet would to heaven they had been Dutchmen, or Switzers, or Hessians, or Hanoverians, or anything rather than Englishmen who have done such deeds. What! kill men unarmed, unresisting, and, gracious God! women too; disfigured, maimed, cut down, and trampled on. . . . Is this England? . . . A land of freedom? Can such things be and pass by us like a summer cloud unheeded? Forbid it every drop of English blood in every vein that does not proclaim his owner, bastard!" In speaking of the meeting of protest he called for, he cited the trial of the seven bishops and its results. He was found guilty but appealed, and great learning was expended on both sides, the case being argued through several terms; in Hilary Term, 1821, all objections to the verdict were over-ruled, and Burdett was sentenced to a fine of £2,000 and three month's imprisonment in the Marshalsea.—S.

Jacques René Hébert (often called *Père Duchesne*, from the title of a revolutionary paper of which he was editor).—Born at Alençon, November 15, 1757; beheaded at Paris, March 24, 1794. He was one of the most energetic and sincere of all the revolutionists of his time, and as frequently happens, one of the best calumniated and vilified men of the epoch in which he lived. In 1786, Hébert was in Paris comptroller at the Théâtre des Variétés, where he remained till 1788. In 1790 he wrote his first revolutionary pamphlets, and began the publication of his *Père Duchesne*. At the same time he entered the Club des Cordeliers, of which he soon became one of the principal members. On the 17th of July, 1791, he signed, at the Champ de Mars, the petition claiming the enthronement of Louis XVI., and took part in the revolution of August the 10th as a member of the Revolutionary Commune, which had been created in the night of that day by the different sections. On September 22, 1792, he was elected substitute to the Public Prosecutor of the Commune, and very ably discharged his duties in that capacity. After the death of Louis XVI., the two parties which divided the Convention became of course for ever irreconcilable; and Hébert attacked in his paper with the utmost energy and eagerness the party of the Girondins, who soon afterwards took advantage of a good opportunity to avenge themselves. Hébert was arrested on March 24, 1793, by order of a Committee instituted to enquire into a certain plot against the Girondins, but the popularity of Hébert was at once revealed to his enemies. The General Council of the Commune declares itself in a state of permanency; all sections in Paris become angry and threatening; the Club des Cordeliers is in a wild state of excitement; every one protests in messages and petitions to the National Convention against the attempt made on the "magistrate so beloved for his civic virtues." Four days afterwards Hébert was liberated, and his return to the Town Hall was a triumphant one. He was presented with a civic crown, which he placed upon the statue of J. J. Rousseau, declaring that such honours ought only to be rendered after their death to citizens who deserve them. The Girondins then fell exhausted, and Hébert wielded a very great influence, which became still greater after the death of Marat. He was then really the chief and the leader of the most advanced revolutionary party; his paper was the favourite one of all the suburbs, and the soldiers scarcely read any other one, as Bouchotte, the Minister for War, had ordered the paper to be distributed amongst the military. The *Père Duchesne*, in spite of its trivial language, which was at that time nearly a circumstantial necessity, has been one of the best productions of that revolutionary epoch. Those who attack it prove only that they have never read it. Its popularity was so great and its power so effective, that soon the party of the Hébertistes became one of the most important of the revolutionary period. Their principal members were, with Hébert, Chaumette, the Public Prosecutor of the Commune; Pache, the Maire of Paris; Bouchotte, Minister of War; Vincent, general secretary of the same department; Momoro, the famous printer; Ronsin, the general of the revolutionary army; Fouché, Carrier, Anacharsis Clootz, Collot d'Herbois, General Rossignol, and many others, who made of the Hébertistes an extremely powerful party. They took the initiative in nearly all the most extraordinary measures of public safety, such as the maximum, the arrest of the suspicious, the creation of the revolutionary army, etc. The general movement against the Catholic religion, and the installation of the feasts of Reason, were entirely due to their propaganda and influence. But reaction soon set in under the auspices of Robespierre, who had always been jealous of every one's popularity. Danton joined Robespierre in this damnable reactionary work against the advanced party, and it was decided by all means to destroy Hébert and his friends. The 14th of March, 1794, twenty were arrested, on account of a report drawn up by St. Just, accusing them of being conspirators, agents of foreign powers (the most absurd but the most terrible of all charges). After a three day's trial, in which it was "proved" that the Hébertistes had tried to destroy public peace, to corrupt public morals, to reverse the principles of society, and so forth. Nineteen of them were sentenced to death; the twentieth having turned informer, was discharged. Hébert and the other members of the party were beheaded on the very day of their sentence. Hébert's wife, Francoise Goupille, was also beheaded twenty days after her husband, on the 18th of April, 1794.—V. D.

Carlyle's "French Revolution" can now be had in 3 vols. 16d. each; or 1 vol. at 1s., from Ward, Lock, and Co.

FELIX PYAT AND THE FRENCH CHAMBER.—At a by-election for Marseilles on Sunday, the veteran Revolutionist, Félix Pyat, headed the poll with over nineteen thousand votes. Although a second ballot will be necessary, there is no doubt of his being returned to a seat in the Chamber of Deputies. In his address to the electorate he gloried in having been the instigator of the pulling down of the Vendôme column and the burning of the Tuilleries.



HAVE YOU NOT HEARD HOW IT HAS GONE, WITH MANY A CAUSE BEFORE NOW: FIRST, FEW MEN NEED 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.

D. F.—Michael Davitt's 'Leaves from a Prison Diary' was published in 2 vols. 8vo at 6s. by Chapman and Hall, June 1885, and at 1s. 6d. in October of the same year. It is also No. 2 of "Ford's National Library" (17 Barclay St., N. Y.), at 25 c. paper covers.

Periodicals received during the week ending Wednesday March 14.

ENGLAND	Boston—Woman's Journal	Brussels—L'Avant-Garde
Die Autonomie	Chicago—Vorbote	Liege—L'Avenir
Jus	Vorbote	SWITZERLAND
Leaflet Newspaper	Comins(fowa) Revue Icarienne	Zurich—Social Demokrat
London—Freie Presse	Denver (Col.) Labor Enquirer	Gazetta Operaia
Leicester—Countryman	Fort Worth (Tex)—South West	Milan—Il Fascio Operaio
Labour Tribune	Hammond(NJ)CreditFoncier	Rome—L'Emancipazione
Norwich—Daylight	Milwaukee (Wis.)—Volksblatt	Marsala—La Nuova Eta
Railway Review	Paterson (N J) Labor Standard	SPAIN
Worker's Friend	San Francisco Arbeiter-Zeitung	Madrid—El Socialista
SOUTH AUSTRALIA	Coast Seaman's Journal	Cadiz—El Socialismo
Adelaide—Our Commonwealth	Freethought	Berlin—Volks Tribune
INDIA	FRANCE	AUSTRIA
Bankipore—Behar Herald	Paris—Cri du Peuple (daily)	Arbeiterstimme
Madras—People's Friend	La Revolte	HUNGARY
UNITED STATES	Guise—Le Devoir	Arbeiter-Wochen-Chronik
New York—Freiheit	HOLLAND	SWEDEN
Der Sozialist	Hague—Recht voor Allen	Malmö—Arbetet
Truthseeker	BELGIUM	
Volkszeitung	Antwerp—De Werker	

VIVE LA COMMUNE!

In celebrating the Commune of Paris, and doing honour to its martyrs, one does not feel inclined to talk of their tactical mistakes or look upon their words and deeds from the standpoint of the "superior person." To a Socialist the Commune is the greatest event in the world's history, and the anniversary of its proclamation the most notable date in his calendar. It is enough at such a time as the present to say why this is, and to leave matters of administrative detail for discussion at a more convenient season. Looking back on the brilliant brief struggle that began on the 18th of March 1871, one is too deeply stirred by the strong heroism and wide humanity of the men who took part in it to weigh the wisdom of each act of theirs, or measure its consequences coolly.

Again and again has the proletariat in one place or another risen against its master-class for the time being, but never until the Commune was it a conscious attack upon class-domination. It was rather an attempt to ease the collar on their necks than to strike it off. The servile revolts of Rome or those of the Middle Ages were of this kind. It is true that some of the latter had a communist side, but this was more a survival of the old tribal feeling than anything else. At Münster the communism was definitely an imitation of that of the primitive Christians, as a preparation for heaven.

In the seventeenth century began the great series of rebellions against absolutism which has culminated in the world-wide supremacy of the bourgeoisie, and the absorption by it of the old feudal aristocracy. The great triumphs of bourgeois republicanism were won before the close of last century, but its realisation was not complete until '48. It was then that national patriotism as we know it attained its full growth; this sentiment was born during the Napoleonic wars and grew along with the growth of the commercial system and international trade rivalry. But the system and the sentiment alike, as they drew near to their maturity, carried within them the germs of a new order and a new ideal. Thus at the point of its realisation in '48 the bourgeois was alarmed by the manifest strength that the Socialist movement was even then beginning to develop, and which, while

aiding in the completion of the political revolution, tried to push it further on into the social phase.

As the years went on and wealth-production grew more and more complex and the world-market more and more brought within the scope of commercial competition, so also did the movement grow among the peoples. Already it had been long enough in existence to mould its interpreters, and first one and then another, among whom the chief place must be given to Karl Marx, came forward to formulate its principles and explain its aims.

Its first great half-conscious effort was made in '48, and in the intervening years it had so progressed in the minds of men that in '71 they stood forth consciously to grapple with bourgeois rule, with the dominion of the money-oag.

Of course it failed. The folk were not ripe for it; and we are often asked why we take pride in a defeat. Well! for nineteen hundred years there has been celebrated with rejoicing the birth of one who was "despised and rejected of men," who was an outcast from society, and who died the death of a malefactor; and this because the name of that outcast became the watchword of millions, and his cross the symbol of their faith. So also we commemorate the birth of the Commune, although for the two months of its existence it was decried and cursed by all the forces of convention and respectability, and fell at length, and was bloodily stamped out—for the time. By the struggle and sacrifice through which it kept the flag of the proletariat flying; by the terrible resistance it offered to the forces of capital and privilege; by the desperate war it waged on behalf of the down-trodden of all countries,—Paris placed the Red Flag upon a height from which no strength could pluck it down. The Revolution beaten under in one place but grew the fiercer and more swift the world over; and though its heel was wounded, it had struck a death-blow at the head of Capital, and given a wound from which it can never recover. Dying for human solidarity and happiness as they did, the martyrs of the Commune drew the proletariat more forward than it is conceivable they could have done by a hundred victories.

They fought and died for the right of the people to control their own lives, to administer the land on which they laboured, and the means of labour whereby they lived. They saw, as we see, that without this all hope of liberty is an illusion; that the owners of the means of life are the owners of those who live by them. It rests with us to carry on their work, to press forward into the breach they opened, to end the work so well begun; and when the day comes to us, to be ready for it—ready to achieve "the Freedom of the People and the Brotherhood of Man." S.

SCARING THE CAPITALISTS.

I was not long ago at a Socialist lecture, where I heard the wrongs of the workers explained and the tyranny of the capitalist fiercely denounced. From my own experience, I knew that the workman's position is by no means a pleasant one. I, though as well educated as the best of workmen, receive very low wages, and often am on short time; and most of my companions are in the same state. But I thought it was just possible that if the Socialists denounced the capitalists too much, that these last would leave the country and take their capital with them, and so make our position worse than it is to-day; so I put a question to the lecturer, asking him whether it was not unwise to frighten capitalists, as if they got alarmed they would leave the country and take their capital with them. The lecturer replied very vigorously that it would be a good thing if the capitalists would go, and take with them what little ready money they had; but as for taking their capital, it was impossible. How could they ship a railway, a tunnel, a cotton or woollen mill, or a coal mine or a blast furnace? Let them go, by all means, said he; they are so many mouths whose hands won't work and whom we have to support. I was not convinced just at the moment, but thought carefully over the matter as I went home; and when I fell asleep I had a remarkable dream, which I very vividly remembered in the morning. The workmen had been continually holding meetings in Lancaster—the town where I work—and all over the country they seem to have been doing the same, to such an extent that the capitalists were alarmed and called a conference at Lancaster to consider the position. I was at work in the hall where they met and had an opportunity of seeing the whole performance. As usual, there was a great dinner, to which some five or six hundred of the richest men in England sat down. The conference went on over the dinner, and the idea was that the best way to teach the men a lesson was for a few of the largest employers to leave the country for a time. "No doubt," said one fat old fellow with a red nose, most likely a City of London alderman, "the men will soon want us back, and we will be able to make our own terms."

"Oh, but," objected one, "what is to become of my mills in the meantime suppose I go?"

"Oh, you must take your capital with you."

"Confound it! I can't ship bricks and mortar, and the machinery. Why, taking it down, shipping, and fitting it up again would cost more than it's worth. I don't see that would do at all."

"Well," said another, "so far as I can see, we are quite at the mercy of these fellows of ours. It's that confounded education. I always said that was a bad thing. I knew that the people would find out at last, if we gave them anything of an education, that they could do without us. I think we'll have to give in and do our share of the work."

"That's all humbug," said a hook-nosed, dapper little man. "The workmen's committee have sent a deputation to confer with us; we can humbug them a little longer."

"They are not such fools as you think."

"Leave them to me."

In came the deputation. The men had an independent air, as if they were masters of the situation, and did not intend to be trifled with. The capitalists drew themselves up and looked in their most imposing manner at the members of the deputation, hoping no doubt to frighten them as they had often done before. However, little impression was made on the men, so at last the little hook-nosed man opened the proceedings.

"Well, men, I understand you have come to a better state of mind."

"Exactly," said the deputation.

"You now understand what our position is?"

"We do."

"And consequently are ready to accept our terms?"

"Oh no, we understand your position now."

"Well, so you see you can't do without us?"

"Not at all. We have discovered that we can not only do without you, but have found out that you are a useless burden, which we don't intend to be troubled any longer with."

"What, you blockhead!" roared a pursy-mouthed old blow-hard, whom I noticed a little while before stuffing himself at an alarming rate with venison in aspic, from Lewis deer-forest very likely. "What would you do without us? who would employ you? Why, my dinner gives employment to half a dozen men every day: what would they do if I were to go?"

"They would have more time to prepare their own."

"Where would they get the money from?"

"From their labour."

"But if I go I will take all my capital with me. I have my portmanteau with me, and if you are not prepared to submit to my terms I shall leave the country."

"All right, old boy, you hook it, and take your portmanteau with you."

"I certainly will, if you continue so impudent; but I will show you what is in it, so that you may understand what my going really means." The fussy old gent opened his portmanteau, which was full of deeds, mortgages, consol certificates. "See," he said, "I'll take all these with me."

"Very well, sir, they'll do to light the fire with."

"What!" roared the old swell, "they are worth half a million."

"Oh, I would not give half a crown for the lot, mister. If you are only going to take these old papers with you, we won't raise any objections."

"Why, man, you must be mad," said the old usurer, holding up a piece of parchment; "do you see that? why, that represents the largest coal mine in Durham."

"Oh, you can't get much coal out of it, though. You are not going to take the mine with you, are you?"

"What? but I'll shut it up."

"Oh, you will. Are you going to do it yourself?"

"Me do it! Of course not; I'll pay some one to attend to that."

"Oh," interrupted the capitalist that had previously advised the company to submit to the workers' terms, "don't you know that you can't hire men in Durham to obey your orders?"

"Can't I!" he retorted, incredulously.

"No, of course not. You don't seem to understand, sir, how extremely serious the crisis is. The workers absolutely decline to support us any longer; they ignore all our orders, and treat our parchments as so much waste paper."

"You have described the position exactly," said the spokesman of the workmen's delegation.

"What about the Government?" roared the corpulent gentleman; "are they going to do nothing to protect our property?"

"What can they do? half the soldiers have taken sides with the people, the other half are by no means anxious to risk their lives, and the police are all under the order of the municipalities, and won't carry out any Government instructions. Besides I hear that elections are going on, and a Socialist government in process of formation."

"Well, in that case I'll certainly leave the country." "And I, too," "I, too," was shouted from all parts of the hall.

"Well, you can go if you like, gentlemen," said a delegate, "if you can get any one to carry you across the ocean, but I may say we will be glad if you will stay with us and earn your living. We don't intend swindling you as you swindled us."

"I never swindled a man in my life," said the stout man, evidently much hurt.

"We won't quarrel about words. You made what you called a profit out of us, which comes to the same thing. Now if you like to stay with us you will get all you earn for yourself; all we propose doing is to prevent you taking any of our earnings."

"Now, sir, I won't be trifled with any longer. Do you know whom you are addressing? Do you know that I am the largest mine-owner in the North?"

"No, I don't. You were, but that you know, Sir Jabez, is all over now."

"My mines confiscated, you mean. By what authority? The Government will deal with you and those like you very severely—"

"We won't waste time, Sir Jabez, discussing about our authority. The people have resumed, so I prefer to phrase it, possession of their mines, mills, lands, etc., and have resolved that all able-bodied adults shall earn their living. Are you an able-bodied man, Sir Jabez?"

"I am; of course you see I am."

"Well, then our ultimatum is that you and those like you must earn your living if you are to remain in England."

"I shall leave the country!"

"Well, gentlemen, are you all going to follow Sir Jabez's example?"

Loud cries of "Yes! Yes!" "No! No!" "We will, of course; we'll follow Sir Jabez!"

The din was indescribable, very like a row in the Stock Exchange I once saw when I was repairing the roof at a time when the market was excited; no one could judge what the feeling of the majority was; so a member of the conference suggested that some one should propose a motion to the meeting.

It was a long time before their people could get the meeting to proceed in an orderly manner, but at last Sir Jabez moved "that the propertied classes should leave the country." The Hon. Auberon Herbert moved, and the Rt. Hon. Charles Bradlaugh seconded an amendment to the effect "that they should stay and organise to defend their property." One of the intending emigrants asked the movers of the amendment what forces they could command. Mr. Bradlaugh stated that on a previous occasion at a

demonstration in Hyde Park he had armed the N.S.S. with cudgels, and could do it again; but on further enquiry the information was elicited that the Rt. Hon. Gent. had had his cudgel taken from him on that occasion, and was rather maltreated with his own weapon. Another amendment found more supporters, "That the terms of the men should be accepted;" but there was a large number of dissentients. Amendment after amendment was proposed, until it became evident that the capitalists were hopelessly divided, and that no common basis for action could be found. The delegates were highly amused at the antics of their recent bosses, but the time had come for them to take action.

"Gentlemen," said the spokesman pre-emptorily, "you must immediately come to a decision, and in order that you may have full information I may tell you that news has just been received of strong risings of the people in the large cities of the United States and France, so that if you go there you will be treated just the same as if you remain here."

By far the greater number agreed to the second amendment, but a small group were seen in one corner frantically gesticulating about the rights of property, among whom I noticed the Earl of Wemyss, A. J. Balfour, Auberon Herbert, George Howell, and Mr. Bradlaugh. The idea of Mr. Bradlaugh being in such odd company made me laugh so much that my dream came to an abrupt conclusion. I was very sorry, because I should have liked to have been able to have followed the tactics of this queer group in its war against the Commonwealth.

Altogether, the dream was an interesting psychological study. I often attended meetings, and sometimes dreamed of them. Evidently it was the curious turn given to my thoughts by reflecting on the differences between capitalists and capital caused by the Socialist lecturer's speech, together with the alarming state of the country, that caused me to have such a strange dream. Now that I am quite awake, I feel that my ideas regarding capitalists have materially altered; I no longer see them to be so essential for the production of wealth as I used to, and I have little doubt that a careful enquiry will induce me to accept many more of the Socialist's positions when I get to understand them, and I venture to urge on my fellow-workmen the necessity of looking themselves into these matters, and not leaving all their thinking to be done by money-bags and scheming agitators, who have done and are doing the country so much harm. D.

ADVERTISING EXTRAORDINARY.

ONE is prepared for almost anything in the advertising line nowadays, but surely it has reached its climax in the Halfpenny Letter Post Company, Limited; Capital, £100,000; Directors: Sir Robert G. M.C.K., A.B.C., etc.; Col. H. A. —; Lieut.-Col. W. R. T. B. —; with four Esquires; also bankers, brokers, solicitors, auditors, secretary, etc.

This company is formed to take over the patent rights of one J. Hertz (useful man this: ought to be knighted) for improved envelope and paper in one sheet, "whereby," as the company's prospectus says, "with a novel method of advertising, the public will be able to enjoy the advantage of a halfpenny letter postage without any loss to the revenue. By the great principle of co-operation, a halfpenny letter-post will, on the floating of this company, become an accomplished fact."

This wonderful patent, invented by that useful man J. Hertz (whose genius doubtless would have never been called out but for the stimulus of competition: Socialists take warning!) consists of a piece of paper, three sides of which are left blank for writing upon, while the fourth is covered with advertisements of cod-liver oil, soap, etc. This sheet of paper is attached to an envelope with a hole in, through which an embossed stamp on the paper shows, so that the contrivance can only be used by folding in the correct way, so as to give the advertisements a good show. These latter of course pay for the paper envelope and half the postage, besides remunerating the distinguished directors, finding profit for the shareholders, and last but not least, rewarding that great benefactor of his race, J. Hertz, for the industry, ability—not to say philanthropy—displayed in the great patent, which he generously offers to the company for £20,000 in cash and 2,000 deferred shares, which are to receive half the net profits of the company in all countries except England, and here to receive half after the ordinary shares have been paid 15 per cent. I fear Socialists will not be able to offer such substantial encouragement to inventors!

I quote one more paragraph of the prospectus: "The Hertz envelope is equally available for letters, circulars, etc.; . . . and at the festive seasons of the year its advantages are manifest, for Christmas, New Year, and Easter cards can be sent at half the present cost for postage alone."

It is hard to imagine vulgarity and meanness greater than this, not to say anything of personal dignity. Business firms have already lost all personal dignity, and can hardly stoop to meanness and vulgarity greater than their present level; but the idea of sending Christmas greeting in an advertising medium to save a halfpenny is too repulsive. Fancy the inspiration one would derive, in writing to one's friends, by having one's eyes attracted at every pause by advertisements of cod-liver oil, soap, or tooth-powder! I devoutly hope that we may soon see the company in the bankruptcy court, paying one HALFPENNY in the pound! Would it not be possible to help them by cutting off the stamps and using them on ordinary paper? Or would the post-office authorities come to their rescue by not passing such stamps? One bit of comfort we may take, for surely our industrial system is on its last legs when it has to resort to such tricks as these. R. U.

EMIGRATION RETURNS.—The report of Mr. Giffen to the Board of Trade on emigration from and immigration to the United Kingdom during the last year, was issued on the 6th inst. The total number of emigrants of British and Irish origin showed an increase, compared with 1886, of 65,693. The number of British and Irish emigrants was the largest yet reached since the nationality of emigrants has been distinguished, with the exception of 1883. The number of immigrants during the year showed an increase of 10,134. By far the greater number of emigrants proceed to the United States. Since 1853 nearly 4½ millions of persons of British and Irish origin have left the United Kingdom for the United States. The Registrar-General for Ireland reported next day that the number of emigrants from Ireland last year was 83,200, an increase of 19,786 on the preceding year, the males being 43,378, or 11,237 more than in the previous year, and the females showing an increase of 8,549. Nearly 80 per cent. were between the ages of fifteen and thirty-five. Of the males 77 per cent. were labourers, over 84 per cent. went to the United States of America, the rest to Canada, Australia, and New Zealand.

THE LABOUR STRUGGLE.

BRITAIN.

The Cradley Heath and District Chainmakers' Association offer £20 reward "to any person or persons giving such information as shall lead to the conviction of any chain master or others violating the Truck Act."

SHREPPAGE OF A TIN-PLATE WORKS.—Owing to a dispute as to the wage rate, the whole of the tin-plate works at Cwmavon owned by the Copper Miners' Tin-plate Company were closed on the 10th, the men coming out on strike.

The colliers of the West Houghton Coal Co., Bolton, struck last week owing to a dispute as to the allowance for "dirt" sent up with the coal. It was expected that many other collieries in the district would follow; but the firm having made concessions, the men returned to work on the 9th.

Mr. Baumann gave notice in the House of Commons on Friday that four weeks hence he will move, "That in the present condition of the labour market it is expedient, with a view to give employment to a larger number of workmen, to discontinue the practice of working overtime in Government yards, shops, and factories."

A meeting will be held in Manchester shortly by representatives of the Operative Amalgamated Spinners Association to consider, along with other business, the wages question. The margin between the raw material and that of yarn is better than for a long time back, and amply justifies the workers in demanding an advance.

REDUCTIONS AT PEMBROKE DOCKYARD.—Despite the encouraging rumours that have gone forth with regard to the probable reductions in the Pembroke Dockyard, another batch of men is under orders to leave, and the announcement that the Navy Estimates for the ensuing year show a decrease of nearly a million sterling makes matters appear anything but encouraging.

NO COMPULSION.—A correspondent states that Mr. William Aucott, President of the Amalgamated Steel and Ironworkers, is likely to suffer for his leadership of the workmen. Employers of labour, feeling the effect of the agitation for labour's rights, have moved the Corporation of Wednesbury, in the heart of the Black Country, to ask Mr. Aucott to "consider his position" as a servant of the Corporation.

A strike of cardroom workers at Oldham has been settled upon the operatives' terms. An attempt was made by the directors to victimise five of the strikers, three men and two women, because of some disturbance arising out of the fact that hostile demonstrations were made against certain relatives of the officials who had remained at work. Negotiations were carried on by the Cardroom Association, and eventually, as three out of the five had obtained employment elsewhere, the mill was reopened unconditionally.

THREATENED STRIKE IN THE STEEL TRADE.—The Clydesdale Iron and Steel Company, near Holytown, gave notice of dismissal a fortnight ago to two of their workmen in consequence, it is reported, of their having joined the Steel Smelters' Trade Society. The men tendered fourteen days' notice, stating, however, that they are prepared to resume work on its expiry, provided the firm pay the same rates as the Steel Company of Scotland and other leading firms. It is stated that of the two dismissed men—the supposed ringleaders—one of them had not even become a member of the society.

The miners employed at the Rowley Hall Colliery, in the Birmingham district, refused to start work on Friday, in consequence of a notice posted up that any man or boy absenting himself from work would be expected to pay for the damage caused to the pit. The men consider that the Act of Parliament is stringent enough without imposing additional conditions. A mass meeting was held on Monday as the objectionable notice had not been withdrawn and Mr. Winwood, the miners' agent, was requested to have an interview with the masters.

THE PENALTY OF POVERTY.—Discharged from Chatham Dockyard with many more some time ago, Alfred Smith journeyed through the country in search of work. At last he came to Berwick. Here he was sentenced to fourteen days' imprisonment with hard labour for refusing to do the task allotted to him as a vagrant inmate of Berwick Workhouse. The work consisted of breaking 12 cwt. of stones. His case is only one of hundreds, and shows the easy conversion of an honest worker into the cruellest society creation, the outcast casual.

THE PICKARD LIBEL CASE.—The damages and costs in this case have been paid. It is noteworthy that had the collection depended on the "men in the mine" whom Mr. Pickard represents, it is not at all unlikely that his seat would have been vacant, as the appeal for funds received very little support from them. The House of Commons subscribed the bulk of the money. The present labour representatives are very much respected in the House, but perhaps for that reason, are losing favour with the workers, who do not believe that one can hunt with the hounds and be friendly with the hare at the same time.

LANCASHIRE WEAVERS.—A number of attempts have been made since the commencement of the present year by some of the leading manufacturers in North-East Lancashire, more particularly in the Burnley district, to reduce the weavers' wages. The operatives employed in the coloured goods trade have demanded an advance in their wages, which has been refused, and in consequence the weavers have decided to strike all round early in the spring. The employers have formed a Masters' Association, which has been joined by all the coloured goods employers in Colne, Nelson, and district; its object being to prevent as far as possible the weavers from attacking individual employers.

THE MINES REGULATION ACT.—The secretary of the North Yorkshire and Cleveland Miners' Association has but cold comfort to administer to those who are looking to the Mines Regulation Act of last year to diminish the terrible list of casualties under ground. That its tendency will be in the right direction he does not doubt, but he declares his conviction that such is the nature of Cleveland mining that no number of Acts of Parliament and no amount of inspection on the part of the Government will prevent accidents or even materially reduce them. "The awful pressure," we are told, "of a grinding struggle for existence" under our present system, has made the men intensely anxious to obtain as large an output as possible in the limited number of shifts they are allowed to work. It is a painfully significant fact that the mines which yield the largest output are the most fruitful in accidents.

THE EIGHT HOUR QUESTION.—The Midland Trades Federation, in which are represented nail-makers, miners, rivet-makers, lock-makers, nut and bolt makers, and kindred societies, have met to consider the eight hour question.

Mr. Juggins, the secretary, who led the discussion on the subject, pointed out that if made compulsory such a plan would find work for the men wandering about the streets and hanging on to the funds of the societies. The Federation resolved: "That this meeting is of opinion that an Eight Hour Bill passed by the Government would be the means of finding employment for the thousands of men who are out; that we request the Parliamentary Committee to support the same; and further, that we request the members of Parliament of our various constituencies to support such a Bill." In the iron trades the question of the hour is the eight hours' movement. This idea of eight hours limit a-day seems to receive the support of the men in all the large industries.

PAYMENT OF MEMBERS OF PARLIAMENT.—Mr. Fenwick has put down for the 23rd inst. a resolution in favour of reviving the ancient custom of paying members of Parliament for their services. Of course there is no reason why M.P.'s should not be paid. At the same time it will not affect the grumbling of those who are dissatisfied with the attitude of the present labour representatives, whether the money be State-provided or otherwise; but when the workers pay directly for an article, they have a right to their money's worth. There is a feeling among the miners that their labour M.P.'s are dear at their price. The glorification of party politics by Mr. Burt in his address to the miners, commended by the flabby *Daily News*, gives emphasis to the views constantly expressed in these columns: it also fully justifies the action of those who object to pay for the maintenance in Parliament of such a very safe, genteel, and "unobtrusive" party man as Mr. Burt.

THE INTERNATIONAL TRADES UNION CONGRESS.—The *Star* prints the following: "A great amount of interest is being shown in the north of England on the question of the international combination of workmen. A series of meetings are being held in Lancashire and Yorkshire on this subject. On Thursday evening a meeting took place at Southport, and a resolution was passed expressing pleasure at the holding of the International Trades Congress in London next November, and hoping every facility will be given to a full and free representation of the foreign trades. Similar meetings will be held during this week in Manchester, Liverpool, and other northern centres of industry. These indications all testify to the importance of the conference in the eyes of the trade unionists, and also show that the gathering will be numerously attended by English delegates." Everyone interested in the cause of the workers must feel, in some degree, gratified that the latest successful venture in evening journalism at least tries to do something in the way of supplying information on labour questions. It is this endeavour that makes Socialists, or even advanced trades unionists, disappointed that the column should contain no policy. The merest repetition of newspaper pars are often the only items. In the case of the International Trades Union Congress, it is the most common information that the trades of the Continent—because Continental labour combination takes a different form—are to be boycotted by the clique of the Trades Congress, and in consequence there is little hope that representatives of other than the most flabby "Broadhurst" views will stand much chance of admittance.

METROPOLITAN PAUPERISM.—Periodically are published returns showing the amount of pauperism and the number of casuals, etc. These accounts often compare favourably with other years, and are referred to in order to show that the poor are either not so numerous, or manage to subsist without appealing to Bumble. The following account of the treatment of a poor homeless worker gives one reason why there is a decrease of pauperism:—Henry Horne, 36, no home, labourer, was charged before Mr. Slade with refusing to perform his allotted task of work whilst an inmate of the casual ward of St. George's Workhouse, Southwark. David Welsh, labour master, stated that the prisoner applied for admission to the ward on Sunday night, and was put to break stones on Monday morning, and performed his work all right. Being liable to detention for three days he was set a similar task on Tuesday, but refused to perform it, and when spoken to said he would break no more; he wanted to give his legs a rest. Witness consequently gave him into custody. In answer to the magistrate, the prisoner said his hands were blistered from the work he did on the previous day, and he could not hold the hammer. Prisoner showed his hands, which were covered with blisters, and Mr. Slade ordered him to be put back and examined by the divisional surgeon. On the case being re-called, Dr. Evans stated that he examined the prisoner, and found that his hands were in such a condition that he was physically incapable of breaking stones. Mr. Slade thereupon discharged the prisoner.

"STRAINING AT A GNAT," ETC.—Much indignation is said to be felt amongst the workmen of the Manchester, Sheffield, and Lincolnshire Railway at the form of blackmailing to which they are at present being subjected. A circular bearing the names of no less than fifty of the leading officials is being disseminated appealing for subscriptions in aid of the widow and family of the late chief signal inspector who died rather suddenly in January after a few days' illness. According to the *Railway Review*, something approaching deception is used in the circular, "as it states that there are six 'children' left. Our information as to the ages of these 'children' is that they are 21, 18, 16, 12, 7, and 4 respectively. True they are six, but only half of them can lay claim to title of children." The deceased is said to have been in receipt of £4 per week, whereas the wages of the bulk of the employes will scarcely amount to more than that sum per month, and under the circumstances they resent the pressure put upon them to wring subscriptions that would not otherwise be forthcoming. Readers of the *Commonweal* may perhaps recollect that a few months back, under the heading of "The Fox and the Geese," I had occasion to ridicule the folly and subserviency of the employes on this same railway for their proposal to give a week's pay towards paying the company's expenses of the Hexthorpe collision. It does seem something like "straining at a gnat" for those who were prepared to subscribe a guinea to swell the dividends of wealthy shareholders, to make a fuss about giving a trifle to help the widow of a tolerably well-paid official. But it may be the employes are becoming wiser. "Experience teaches fools," and according to reports the engine-drivers at any rate by the harsh treatment they are receiving, are proving how worthless was the hollow clap-trap about "equality," "identity of interests," etc., indulged in by Sir E. Watkin and the other directors to the deputation which waited upon them to make the proposal to which I have alluded. It is said that the drivers are being fined heavily or dismissed for the most trivial offences, and are kept in a continual state of worry which "unstrings the nerves of the men affected and renders them more liable to err than they otherwise would be." Well, until the workers learn thoroughly the lesson constantly taught in these columns, that "an injury to one is the concern of all," little can be done to lessen these and the countless other tyrannies and indignities to which they are constantly subjected.

T. BINNING.

THE PROPOSED INTERNATIONAL WORKING MEN'S CONFERENCE.

The following is a translation of the circular issued by the Socialist members of the German Reichstag, to which we referred in our last week's notes :

"TO OUR SOCIALIST COMRADES AND THE WORKERS OF ALL COUNTRIES.

"On the 5th October 1887, the Conference of the Socialist Working-men's Party of Germany, assembled at St. Gallen (Switzerland), resolved to entrust us, the undersigned Socialist members of the German Reichstag, in common with the representatives of the working-men's associations of other countries, with the duty of convoking, in the course of the year 1888, a Universal International Workers Congress, for the special purpose of examining what steps should be taken with a view to the establishment of a practically efficient international legislation of work.

"Inasmuch as shortly before the Conference held at St. Gallen the English Trades Union Congress at Swansea had passed a similar resolution, we thought it expedient to communicate with the leaders of the English trades unions, namely the Parliamentary Committee, whose secretary is Mr. Broadhurst, for the purpose of arranging about the calling of a congress. We stated to the Parliamentary Committee that, for our part, we should be prepared to abandon the idea of convoking a congress ourselves if the Parliamentary Committee were willing to consent to the following conditions :

"1. That the invitation to a congress should not issue in the English and French languages alone (as resolved by the Parliamentary Committee), but in the German language as well.

"2. That the terms of such invitation should be wide enough to admit of German and Austrian working men being represented at the congress, notwithstanding the restrictive laws in their respective countries, affecting the establishment of unions and the right of free meeting, and notwithstanding exceptional legislation directed against Socialism.

"3. That the parliamentary representatives of a working-men's party shall, as such, be allowed to attend the congress as representing their party.

"We sought to explain the motives of our wishes in this respect by reference to the political conditions of Germany and Austria; besides which we pointed out that the objects of the congress could be fully and entirely attained only if the working classes were represented at such a congress without regard to organisation or political attitude.

"That an international working-men's congress at which German and Austrian working men were not represented would be a mere cave congress is self-evident. One would have thought, therefore, that the Parliamentary Committee would willingly accept the proffered hand and make, in the interest of the cause, these reasonable concessions.

"At the commencement, Mr. Broadhurst thought he might promise that the Parliamentary Committee would endeavour to meet our views to the best of their ability. Later on, however, he declared in his letter of 25th January, 1888, addressed to our comrade Weiler at London, whom, in conjunction with comrade K. Kautsky, we had charged with interviewing the Parliamentary Committee, that the Parliamentary Committee could not entertain our conditions; the international congress to be convoked was to be a trades union congress exclusively, wherefore also the delegates would have to observe the standing orders as framed by them, the English.

"Thus the agreement so necessary in the interests of the cause was rendered impossible, and that not through any fault of ours.

"While we now truthfully publish the position of affairs, we would entreat our comrades, as also the working classes in all countries, not to attend the congress to be held next November at the invitation of the Parliamentary Committee of the English Trades Unions, but rather to reserve their strength and make up their minds to attend in all the greater numbers a Universal International Working-men's Congress which is to be convened for the year 1889.

"The attitude of the Parliamentary Committee in this matter is not worthy of a body claiming to represent working men and having at heart the real interests of their class.

"We need not here enter upon the motives and tactics leading the Parliamentary Committee to assume this attitude, but we take leave to doubt, until further evidence is forthcoming, that the refusal of the Parliamentary Committee was given in the interest and by consent of the Committee's constituents—namely, the delegates of the English working men at the Trades' Union Congress held at Swansea.

"We have now resolved, in common with the representatives of the working classes in every country, to call a Universal International Working-men's Congress for the year 1889, and we request that all resolutions and communications on the subject be addressed to W. Liebknecht, at Borsdorf, near Leipzig.

"The Socialist press in every country is requested to reproduce the present declaration.

"Berlin, March 1st, 1888.

"BEBEL. DIETZ. FROHME. GRILLENBERGER.
HARM. KRACKER. MEISTER. SABOR.
SCHUMACHER, and SINGER.

"Social-Democratic Section, German Reichstag."

LITERARY NOTES.

Stepniak has in the press a work of an exhaustive character on the present condition of the Russian peasant.

A series of papers on economical subjects by Kropotkin will appear in the *Nineteenth Century* shortly. The first will be on "The Integration of States."

Articles of interest to Socialists in the March reviews:—*Nineteenth Century*: "A Plea for the Worthless," Cardinal Manning; "The Swarming of Men," Leonard Courtney, M.P.; "The Invasion of Pauper Foreigners," Arnold White; "Local Government," Lord Thring; "Life on Weekly Wages"—(1) "On 30s. a-week," Miss Miranda Hill; (2) "On a Guinea a-week," W. Roberts; "A Few Words on French Revolutionary Models," John Morley, M.P. *Contemporary Review*: "Further Notes and Queries on the Irish Demand," W. E. Gladstone, M.P.; "Garibaldi's Memoirs," Karl Blind; "Recent Economic Literature," John Rae; "The Negro Question in the United States," George W. Cable. *Fortnightly Review*: "Social Problems and Remedies," Archdeacon Farrar; "State Colonisation," Lord Monkswell; "Home Rule in the Western Pyrenees," Wentworth Webster; "Domestic Service and Democracy," Edward Salmon; "Mr. Herbert Spencer as a Moralist," W. S. Lilly. *National Review*: "Disestablishment in Wales," Matthew Arnold; "Free Trade and the Economists," C. A. Cripps.

A SONG FOR SOCIALISM.

Are ye willing to work and to wait,
To work and to wait for the day
When brotherhood and mirth shall beautify the earth,
And weariness and want be away?

When leisure and pleasure shall be free,
And hardship and hunger shall go,
When the worker has his place at the top of the tree,
And the loafer is somewhere down below,
Below, below,
And the loafer is somewhere down below.

Keep clear of the poison of the press,
Let your grand old misleaders alone;
It will pay for all your pains to educate your brains,
And do a little thinking of your own.

For leisure and pleasure, etc.

Hold fast your own idea of Right and Wrong,
Don't take it from the gospel-grinding band,
For the "truth" they preach to you is very seldom true,
And what is true they do not understand.

But leisure and pleasure, etc.

Have justice for ever in your eye,
Steer wide of the charitable sneak
Who, to lull the cry of toil, spares a trifle from the spoil
He has wrung from the wreckage of the weak.

For leisure and pleasure, etc.

Don't play into the stock-jobber's hand;
'Tis masters, not men, are our foes;
'Tis because the workers' band is busy linking every land,
That the tyrants are shaking in their shoes.

For leisure and pleasure, etc.

Have done at last with haggling for a wage;
Too long you've nursed the swindler and the drone;
Why labour at a loss for the profit of a boss?
Get ready now to labour for your own.

For leisure and pleasure, etc.

C. W. BECKETT.

THE SOCIALIST LEAGUE.

OFFICES: 13 FARRINGTON ROAD, E.C.

Annual Conference.

The Fourth Annual Conference of the Socialist League will be held at 13 Farringdon Road, on Whitsunday, May 20. The attention of Branches is particularly referred to (1) Rule V. on the subject of the annual conference, pp. 3 and 4 of Constitution and Rules; and (2) that all branches wishing to be represented at the Conference must pay their subscription up to the 31st March by May 1st.

Branch Subscriptions Paid.—1887: Hastings, Nottingham, Pelsall—None. Bradford, Croydon, Glasgow, Hackney, Ipswich, Leeds, Marylebone, Merton, North London, Norwich—to end of March. Edinburgh—to end of May. Mitcham—to end of July. Walsall—to end of August. Hull—to end of September. Bloomsbury, Walham Green, Wednesbury—to end of October. Leicester—to end of November. Clerkenwell, Hammersmith, Hoxton, Mile-end, Oxford—to end of December.

London Members.—The London Members' Meeting will, owing to Easter Holidays, be held on Monday April 9th.

The Executive will meet on Sunday next at 3.30 p.m. (sharp), instead of Monday, the Commune celebration being held that day.

A Demonstration will be held by the Socialist League on Good Friday, on Hampstead Heath. Further particulars will be given next week.

"COMMONWEAL" PRINTING FUND.

Herbert Hookey, 2s. 6d. A. B., 3s. *Weekly Subscriptions*—C. J. F., 2s. 6d. K. F., 1s. Langley, 2s. P. W., 6d. Oxford Branch, 2s. W. B., 6d.

Commune Celebration.—Fuller, 6d. Medical Student, 2s. 6d.

REPORTS.

CLERKENWELL.—On Wednesday, March 7, H. H. Sparling gave an interesting lecture on "The Cato Street Conspiracy." Good discussion. On Sunday, March 11, Touzan Parris lectured on "The Evolution of Society." This was decidedly instructive, and branch members were exceedingly pleased with the lecturer's very pointed and amusing style. Other branches would not do amiss in inviting him for this lecture.—B.

FULHAM.—Tuesday evening, good meeting held opposite Liberal Club; Day, Maughan, Tochatti, and Groser spoke. Sunday morning, on account of weather, usual outdoor meeting not held; but in rooms, Parker (of Norwich) addressed a fair audience. Sunday evening, Mrs. Wilson lectured on "The Social Revolution" to an excellent audience.—S. B. G.

HACKNEY.—A general meeting of the members of the Hackney branch was held on Monday, March 12, at Berners Street International Club. Good attendance, and some new members made. Arrangements were made for recommending the work of the branch. W. Lefevre was elected treasurer, G. Cores secretary, and E. Lefevre librarian. The next meeting of members will be held at same place Monday week at 9 p.m.

BRADFORD.—Sir Henry Mitchell lectured on "Socialism" at the Barkerend Adult School, on Sunday afternoon, March 11, and several of us went to hear him. Sir Henry is a Tory, and we expected severe criticisms, instead of which he simply deprecated State Socialism and preached the moralisation of the capitalists. Scott (S.D.F.) from Manchester, and J. Mitchell of Bradford, showed the futility of that, and after good discussion the president of the school invited us to go as often as we can, and they will give us opportunity of discussing Socialism point by point. Bland lectured on "Socialism v. Individualism" at Laycock's Temperance Hotel, to a large audience; Scott (S.D.F.), Mitchell, and Mintz taking part in a good discussion.—P. B.

GLASGOW.—On Tuesday night, in the Renfield Street U. P. Church Literary Association, Pollock maintained the affirmative in the debate "Is Socialism Just?" On Thursday night, McLean delivered a powerful lecture to the Kilsyth Literary Society on "Socialism Vindicated;" the discussion that followed showed that the good seed sown by our comrades last summer had taken root, and that our cause was progressing favourably in the district. Glasier on Sunday lectured to the Irish N.S. in Kilsyth on "Socialism Inevitable," and demonstrated to a large and appreciative audience the inadequacy of Nationalism or Radicalism to benefit the people permanently. On Sunday, Adams and McCulloch attempted to hold our usual outdoor meeting at Paisley Road Toll, but had to abandon it through the inclemency of the weather.—S. D.

NORWICH.—On Thursday last a large meeting was held by the lock-out men in the shoe trade here, which was supported by members of this branch. Mowbray spoke at some length. The same evening a Co-operative Clothing Association was formed in the Gordon Hall. Saturday evening a mass meeting of the lock-out men was held on the Haymarket, and Mowbray again took part; we are doing some good propaganda by this means. On Sunday, good meetings in Gordon Hall morning and evening. Good sale of *Commonweal*.—S.

SOUTH SUSSEX.—Several new converts recently made, and slight rustling in local mutual improvement dovecots, via papers, lectures, and discussion. Hall will make an assault on the villages lying under the shadow of the South Sussex Castles shortly, although threatened with vague consequences. The condition of these village serfs is indescribably awful, many large families having "lived" through the winter on 5s. a-week, the rate of pay for reasonable rural labour.

WALSALL.—Last Monday, Russell delivered an interesting address on "Why I am a Socialist." Lively discussion. On Saturday, Sanders addressed a good open-air meeting on The Bridge. Questions were put at the close, and answered to entire satisfaction of the audience.—J. T. D.

DUBLIN.—At Saturday Club, A. Upward, B.L., lectured on the "Next Home Rule Bill," outlining a thoroughly Democratic Constitution for Ireland. Conlan, Karpel, O'Toole, and Kavanagh (Socialists), made interesting contributions to the debate, giving the audience glimpses of the ideal society towards which we work.

LONDON PATRIOTIC CLUB.—On Sunday evening, a debate took place at this club on Lane's "Anti-Statist Communist Manifesto," between Mr. Hardaker and the author of the manifesto. The debate was fairly well sustained. A lively discussion followed, in which several well-known members of the Socialist League took part. Mr. J. Fuller took the chair.

JUNIOR SOCIALIST EDUCATIONAL SOCIETY.—On Sat. Feb. 25th Cooper's paper on "The Reward of Labour" was read, and good discussion followed. The meeting was held at Mrs. Aveling's, 65 Chancery Lane.—On March 10th, at 14 Kempford Gardens, Mary Gostling read a short but very interesting paper on "The Emancipation of Woman."—Next Saturday, March 17, Mrs. Aveling will lecture on "The Woman Question," at 65 Chancery Lane, 8 o'clock sharp. Members and friends only.—H. M. F.

Scottish Land and Labour League.

EDINBURGH.—On 4th, Davidson lectured on "Scientific Socialism," and on 11th Hossack read a paper on "The Worker's Share of Civilisation." On the 8th Mavor delivered his second lecture, "Industry in Modern Times," to the St. Cuthbert's Co-operative Society. The trustees of the Gray's Prize Fund are this year offering prizes of £20, £10, and £5 for the best three essays on "Socialism in the Nineteenth Century." Competitors must be students of Edinburgh University.

CARNOSTIE.—On Tuesday the 6th, weekly meeting held, when Steven read paper on "The Progress of Socialism in Carnoustie;" good discussion. Afterwards the forthcoming School Board election was discussed, when it was resolved that the members use all their influence in order to secure fit and proper persons to represent the ratepayers on that body.—H. M.C.

LECTURE DIARY.

LONDON.

- Acton.**—17 High Street, Acton, W. (adjoining Purnell's Dining Rooms). Sunday March 18, at 8 p.m.,
- Bloomsbury.**—Communist Club, 49 Tottenham Street, Tottenham Court Road. Thursday March 15, Meeting of Concert Committee at 7.45. Dr. Aveling will lecture on "The Gospel of Socialism" at 8.30. Thursday 22nd, Special Business Meeting for members of Branch only.
- Clerkenwell.**—Hall of the Socialist League, 13 Farringdon Rd., E.C. Business meeting every Sunday at 7. Sunday March 18, at 8.30, Commune Celebration. Wednesday 21, at 8.30, W. H. Utley, "Liberty, Equality, and Fraternity."
- Fulham.**—8 Effie Road, Walham Green. Sunday at 8,
- Hackney.**—28 Percy Terrace, Victoria Road, Hackney Wick.
- Hampstead.**—Kelmescott House, Upper Mall, W. Sunday at 8.

Hoxton (L.E.L.).—C. J. Young, 8 Dunloe Street, Hackney Road, Secretary. Members please take up their membership cards for 1888.

Mitcham.—Corner of Merton Lane and Fountain Place. Club Room open Saturday, Sunday, and Monday evenings from 7.30 till 11. W. E. Eden, 12 Palmerston Road, Wimbledon, Secretary.

Mile-end and Bethnal Green.—95 Boston St., Hackney Road. Business Meeting every Thursday at 9 p.m. Debating Class for members after Business Meeting.

PROVINCES.

Aberdeen (Scottish Section).—Sunday night meetings in Baker Street Hall, at 6. Secretary, J. Leatham, 15 St. Nicholas Street.

Birmingham.—Meetings at Summer Row Coffee House every Saturday evening at 8.

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

Carnoustie (Scottish Section: Forfarshire).—Meeting every Tuesday, at 8 p.m., in the Carnoustie Restaurant. H. M'Cluskey, Millar Street, Secy.

Cowdenbeath (Scot. Sec.).—J. Duncan, 30 Arthur Pl., sec

Dublin.—Saturday Club, Central Lecture Hall, 12 Westmorland Street.

Dundee (Scot. Sect.).—Meetings every Sunday in the Trades Hall, opposite Tay Bridge Station. Political Economy class, 2 p.m. Lecture at 6.30.

Edinburgh (Scottish Section).—4 Park Street. Every Thursday at 8, class for study of Marx's 'Capital.' Trades Hall, 142 High Street, Sunday March 18, at 6.30 p.m., C. W. Tuke, "The Religion of Socialism." In Oddfellows Hall, Forest Road, on 22nd, 8 p.m., Rev. John Glasie, "The Relation of Socialism to Co-operation." On 26th, William Morris, "The Society of the Future."

Galashiels (Scot Sect.).—J. Walker, 6 Victoria St., sec.

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

Glasgow.—84 John St. Reading-room open 10 a.m. till 10 p.m. daily. Propaganda Committee, Mondays at 8. Discussion Class meets every Thursday evening at 8 p.m.

Leeds.—Lady Lane. Open every evening. Business meeting Fridays at 8. Address all communications to T. Paylor, 11 Sheldon Street, Holbeck, Leeds.

Leicester.—Hosiery Union, Horsefair St. Fridays at 8.

Lochely (Scottish Section: Fife).—Secs. (pro tem.), John Greig and Hugh Conway, The Square.

Norwich.—Gordon Hall, 5 Duke Street. Monday, day, Members meeting at 8.30. Wednesday, Ways and Means Committee at 8.30. Thursday, Discussion class (Gronlund), 8. Friday, Literary Com. Paris Commune—Tea and Entertainment, 1s. Tuesday at 8; Band practice at 8. On Thursday March 22, a special Entertainment will be given by the Mins'rel Troupe, on behalf of the funds of the men that are on strike.

Nottingham.—Club and Reading Rooms, 1 Tokenhouse Yard, Bridlesmith Gate, open every evening. Lectures and Discussions every Sunday.

Oxford.—Temperance Hall, 25 1/2 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.

OPEN-AIR PROPAGANDA.

LONDON—Sunday 18.

- 11 ... Acton—the Steyne Acton Branch
- 11 ... Turnham Green—Front Common...Ham'smith
- 11.30...Hoxton Church, Pitfield St.Nicoll
- 11.30...Merton—Haydons Road.....The Branch
- 11.30...Regent's ParkParker
- 11.30...St. Pancras ArchesBloomsbury Branch
- 11.30...Walham GreenFulham Branch
- 3.30...Hyde ParkMainwaring and others
- 7 ...Acton—PrioryActon Branch

PROVINCES.

Leeds.—Sunday: Jack Lane End, Meadow Road, at 10.30 a.m. In Prince's Field, at 3 p.m.

Norwich.—Market Place, at 3 every Sunday.

PROGRESSIVE ASSOCIATION, Penton Hall, 81 Pentonville Road.—Sunday March 18, at 7 p.m., Percival Chubb, "Ethical Socialism in Practice."

LEYTONSTONE WORKING MEN'S CLUB, 1 Cathall Rd., Leytonstone.—Sunday March 25, 11.30 a.m., H. Halliday Spurling on "What Socialists Want."

SHEFFIELD SOCIALISTS, Commonwealth Café, Scotland Street, Sheffield.—Discussions or Lectures every Sunday evening at 7 o'clock. Free.

The Strike Fund.—Entertainments will be given on Saturday evenings in the Hall of the League, at 8 p.m., in aid of the above Fund. Friends wishing to assist with songs, recitations, instrumental music, etc., should at once communicate with W. B. Parker, at office of League. First Entertainment, March 24th.

East-end Socialist Club.—A Grand Vocal and Instrumental Concert will be given in Hall of League, at 8 p.m., on Easter Monday, April 2nd, in aid of funds of projected East-end Club.

SPECIAL NOTICE.—The members and delegates of the four Branches—viz., Hoxton, Hackney, Mile-end, and Stamford Hill—will meet on Friday evening the 16th inst. in the *Commonweal* Office—time, 8.30. Important business.

PARIS COMMUNE CELEBRATIONS.

CLERKENWELL.—Hall of the Socialist League, 13 Farringdon Road, E.C., on Sunday March 18, at 8.30. Short addresses by Mrs. Schack, H. A. Barker, F. Kitz, J. Turner, and W. Blundell. Songs, etc.

BIRMINGHAM.—It is intended to celebrate the Commune by a Dinner, etc., on March 19. Friends wish to join in the same please communicate with comrades Sketchley and Copeland, 8 Arthur Place, Parade, immediately.

NORWICH.—On Sunday March 18, at 3, a great meeting will be held in the Market Place, to celebrate Paris Commune. Addresses by Mark Manly (of London), and others. Other out-door meetings will be held during the day. On Monday 19th a Tea and Entertainment will be held in the Gordon Hall. Tickets 1s. each, to be had of the Secretary.

NOTTINGHAM.—Socialist Club, Tokenhouse Yard, Bridlesmith Gate.—To celebrate the Commune, a Tea and Social Evening, with short addresses, songs, etc., will be held in the Club Rooms on Saturday 17, at 6 o'clock. Tickets 6d. each.

DUBLIN.—The celebration of the anniversary of the Commune of Paris will be held, under the auspices of the Dublin Socialist Club, at 2 Bachelors Walk, on Sunday March 18th, at 8 p.m. Tickets 1s. each.

SOCIALIST CO-OPERATIVE FEDERATION.—Meeting at *Commonweal* Office, 13 Farringdon Road, on Sunday March 26, at 3.30 p.m.

WANTED—Cheap, perfect: 'Anarcharis Clootz, l'Orateur du genre humain; par Georges Avenel,' 2 vols. 8vo. This book was given during 1885 to subscribers to *Le Question Sociale* (Paris, monthly) as a special prize. Address: T. S., care of H. H. Spurling, *Commonweal* Office.

THE TABLES TURNED.

ENGAGEMENTS.

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