

THE COMMONWEAL

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WEEKLY; ONE PENNY.

NOTES ON NEWS.

MR. CHAMBERLAIN waxed almost pathetic in his appeal for the gratitude of constituencies to their representatives for *past* services: a very convenient feeling to establish on behalf of "rats" and dishonest politicians, and I fear a feeling rather strong amongst voting working-men. I fear, because as a matter of fact such a feeling at best means a weak doubt of one's own principles, and at worst (and oftenest so, probably) means mere servility and stupidity. Gratitude to traitors and turncoats! Sham sentiment of the nineteenth century, you do indeed get into curious corners when politicians deal with you!

Mediæval sentiment was at least more logical than this. An old chronicler puts into the mouth of an orator pleading a cause some words like these: "Why do the heralds at the tournaments cry 'Honour to the sons of the valiant' (preux), and not 'Honour to the valiant'! Because a man that has been valiant may do amiss, and spoil his valiancy, and then he is valiant no more; but when he is dead, and has not spoiled his valiancy in aught, then you may call him valiant indeed; and to think of this is great encouragement to younger men, so that they may endure to the end."

Certainly in politics "we have changed all that"; and the rule now is that when a man has once got a reputation as a leader he may indulge himself in almost any shabbiness and sneaking ways, and injure his reputation scarcely at all; always so long as he brazen it out, and keeps himself well before the public—advertises himself, in fact.

Mr. Chamberlain, for the rest, said very little worth noting. His scheme of peasant-proprietorship, which he has always before him, is really reducible to this: the creation of a class of small owners who would (somehow) have bought their holdings, and the driving those who could not (somehow) buy them into the class of day labourers. This would certainly be an advantage to both landlord and capitalist, but it would hardly turn Ireland into a heaven for the working man, whether he were a labourer or a small proprietor with a millstone of mortgage round his neck.

W. M.

Can the stupidity of "national" rivalry as engendered and fostered by commercialism go much further than in the Fisheries Dispute between England and America?

War is even talked of. Of course, it is not very likely to come off; but like two boys who say "Yah, who's afraid!" the two governments are trying to frighten one another into concession.

The policies proposed only differ as to the capitalists of which nation the profits shall go to, no thought is given to the people's benefit.

That men of any intelligence should become in anywise excited over the "Queen's Speech" is difficult for a Socialist to understand, the ponderous empty platitudes that convey nothing with great effort are so desperately trivial.

Dealing, even in the way it does, with "the affairs of the Empire," it has no word for the folk or for their interests. Some distant hint of peasant proprietorship is all that can even be twisted into a semblance of being projected on their behalf.

The way in which people leap into the fray and attack Socialism without in the least knowing what it is, both amuses and disgusts one.

Thus a journal whose only *raison d'être* is the combatting of Socialism speaks after this fashion: "Mr. Fyffe, formerly 'the candidate' for Oxford city, Mr. Rowlands, M.P., together with the Leasehold 'Enfranchisement' Association, and all other urban Socialists!"

Now, our contemporary is either under the delusion that all the named folk are of one kidney—and that Socialist—or else it is seeking simultaneously to enrage the Socialists and discredit the politicians by the conjunction of their names.

But it is almost certain that *Jus* does really regard any one who recoils from the unlimited license and boundless self-assertion of Individualism as, *ipso facto*, a Socialist.

In order that our friends the enemy may have a criterion whereby to judge of a man's Socialism, they should remember that a Socialist is one who believes in the destruction of the system which now obtains of individual property in the means for the production of wealth, and the substitution therefor of a system of social collective ownership and collective control.

Unless a man thus believes, he is *not* a Socialist, however honestly he may desire to limit the wrong and robbery of to-day.

Poor Mr. Bradlaugh! He was, once upon a time, quite an Ishmael among the respectabilities and proprieties, but now *Jus* is asking what is the exact amount of disagreement between him and the Liberty and Property Defence League. "It appears there is a difference, but it is so slight that it seems to us almost invisible to the naked eye." Quite so, as the quondam champion of the people is now pilot-fish to the association of sharks drawn together for the defence of the "liberty" to devour the folk.

It is surely enough degradation to fulfil the loathsome function, without having public attention thus insolently drawn to it.

Even as I write comes the *Chicago Tribune* of January 11, in a leader of which the following occurs:

"No man possessed of genuine American manhood can be found in the ranks of Socialism. No man speaking the English language, educated in our schools and having the American characteristics, is identified with it, except as he hopes to become a leader of one of its sections. None of the older Germans who have become Americanised and none of the younger Germans attending our schools and familiarising themselves with our institutions are to be found advocating it. Its followers are those who have come to this country indoctrinated with its foreign un-republican principles. No American or Americanised working-man can subscribe to its doctrines without sacrificing his manhood, his personal dignity, and all his individual rights, and voluntarily declaring his willingness to become a pauper and live upon the workhouse system. Before taking such a step, before allowing these demagogues to fasten a system upon them which will pauperise them, would it not be wise and prudent for them to study it a little, and to read what Mr. Bradlaugh has to say about it, before they surrender to a clique of demagogues who are plotting to destroy organised labour and its rewards and substitute organised pauperism and its penalties?"

The *Chicago Tribune* is about the biggest "rat" paper in the States. "Like likes like." Still, it is very funny to be advised to read Mr. Bradlaugh as a corrective to demagoguism!

The *Personal Rights Journal* takes a long extract from the article upon the Liberty and Property Defence League that lately appeared in our columns. For this we thank it, as also for the ludicrously clear proof once more given, in its comment upon the extract, of the utter lack of knowledge of the economic position of the working class possessed by Individualists in general.

Jus pleads with us for "goodwill and fraternity" towards the Liberty and Property Defence League and all other opponents. Has it ever heard the historic advice "not to swap horses in the middle of the stream"?

It is not in the heat of battle that men can stay to analyse motive and give credit for intention. We are arrayed for the destruction of a wrong: all who are not with us are against us. The Liberty and Property Defence League is expressly and avowedly formed to combat us, and they must look for hard knocks. We fight with clean weapons—but relentlessly.

When the dust of battle has cleared away, and the victory has been made secure, it may be that we shall see—it is certain that we shall see—that there has been much good intention and pure motive behind these men's action.

To-day they stand as our declared foemen, honest or not, a bar in the way of the folk toward freedom. They must stand aside—or go down!

H. S.

COMPETITION.

THE great stumbling-block which so many of the muddle-headed fossils of the present system of society find it impossible to surmount, is commercial competition and the blessings which are supposed to flow from it; and to conceive a state of society in which progress is without such competition is beyond their feeble comprehensions.

"Competition is necessary for progress," say our opponents, and we reply, "Agreed—under the present system." Indeed, our opponents continually cite instances of the wretched way in which railways and other big public concerns are administered under the present system, in cases where there is no competition. We, in reply, simply point out that all business at the present day is conducted in the interest of shareholders and employers of labour, whose one object in conducting these concerns is not to increase our comforts, but to obtain from these enterprises as much as possible of the wealth produced by the workers. Is it astonishing that under such a system there is no tendency to progress, except what is due to competition between the gamblers? And in how many cases does the competition produce improvement? In the majority of cases it results in lowering wages, in the replacement of human labour by machinery, or in the production of cheap and nasty goods.

Competition is of two kinds—viz., (1) that which prevails amongst the robbers for the chance of being able to rob their workmen, and (2) that which prevails amongst the workers for the privilege of being robbed. The first of these is the cause of the second. The competition between the robbers causes them to employ as few human machines as possible and to replace them as far as possible by iron machines, because the latter don't require clothing and houses, they are not encumbered with wives and families, and above all things they are not given to striking. Then as a number of human machines can't get work, there comes in that great and divine blessing to the human race, commonly known as the "struggle for existence." A great many of our opponents are pious people who believe in the six days' creation, Adam and Eve, etc., and look upon scientific men as a desperately wicked set; yet it is astonishing how eagerly they take to Darwinian theories as soon as they are confronted by Socialists.

Yes, the struggle for existence may have resulted in the "survival of the fittest" whilst our ancestors were hairy quadrupeds and the like; but we absolutely fail to see how it does so in the present position of the human race, when we are no longer the servants of Nature, but Nature herself is fast being brought into subjection to the human intellect.

Moral principles and intellectual faculties are the characteristics which should now distinguish the human race from the rest of creation, and the fittest to survive are those that possess these in the highest degree. Yet does the present struggle for existence bring about such a survival of the fittest? Absolutely nothing of the kind. It tends to develop all the basest tendencies of man—deceit, injustice, selfishness, the desire to rob one's fellow-men and succeed at their expense; and those who possess these in the highest degree succeed in surviving.

A nice prospect for the human race! A return to the condition of wild beasts or worse!

Grimy towns, filthy homes, dirt, squalor, starvation, such are the results of this devilish dishonesty; the human race, the masterpiece of Nature, diverted from its true destiny; and many of the inhabitants of this great Empire living under circumstances to which the condition of the least advanced races of mankind were infinitely preferable.

There is one bright feature about competition, and that is that it will bring about the ruin of the great gambling system called business. We see this in the case of gambling of a similar kind on a small scale. Consider, for instance, the word-competitions which are now all the rage. When one person found he could make a good thing out of the general idiocy of the middle-classes, plenty of others followed his example, and as more and more do so, profits will grow smaller owing to competition, until either the dupers will find it not worth while carrying on, or the duped will find they lose more than they gain and cease to patronise the sport. It is just so with the business of the world: either the gamblers will find it doesn't pay well enough and will drop the game, or the human dice they play with will see through it all and put a stop to it themselves. It is to be hoped that the latter course will be adopted; in fact, it is the aim of us Socialists to make the workers take matters unto their own hands.

Because they have rather more of the comforts of life than their ancestors of 100 years ago, many amongst the working-classes are contented. They are like a man who has a right to an estate and is contented to take one square yard of it, and let the rest fall into the hands of a robber-band, and not only that, but consent to become the slave of those who have stolen his property.

It must be remembered that all the greatest inventions and improvements have not been due to competition amongst the capitalists, nor have they issued from their brains, although some people seem to think they are the only people possessed of that commodity. They have come in great measure from the hands and heads of working-men, and the means by which capitalists have obtained the advantages of these inventions are characterised by injustice and dishonesty.

When we consider on the one hand all the beautiful things which man has produced; the cathedrals, the like of which our modern resources fail to reproduce; the works of the great masters, the thoughts and the literature of past ages, and even the most beautiful productions of the present age, our parks, public gardens, and boule-

wards, we find that in no case do we owe them to the competition between robbers and slaves, but to the freely-developed genius of man, encouraged by the demands of the community. Whilst on the other hand, when we contemplate the wretchedness, the filthy living, the starvation, the paucity of great thinkers in proportion to the population and to the advanced position to which some of the human race have attained, when we find also an almost total absence of any classical production in art, we perceive that all these evils are due to the competitive warfare of the present time and the hurry which is everywhere manifest in the education of the race, even the mighty human intellect which was fast conquering Nature becoming itself enslaved to the sordid and debasing thirst for gold.

Under an honest system of society, progress, due to the power man possesses over Nature, will take place far faster than now. Public opinion will see that necessary improvements are carried out, and there will be all the free scope for moral and intellectual development which is almost impossible in the present age of selfishness and hurry.

A. TARN.

SOCIALISM FROM THE ROOT UP.

CHAPTER XIV.

THE TRANSITION FROM THE UTOPISTS TO MODERN SOCIALISM.

(Continued from Vol. II., page 243.)

Of the Socialist thinkers who serve as a kind of link between the Utopists and the school of the Socialism of historical evolution, or scientific Socialists, by far the most noteworthy figure is Proudhon who was born at Besançon in 1809. By birth he belonged to the working-class, his father being a brewer's cooper, and he himself as a youth followed the occupation of cowherding.

In 1838, however, he published an essay on general grammar, and in 1839 he gained a scholarship to be held for three years, a gift of one Madame Suard to his native town. The result of this advantage was his most important though far from his most voluminous work, published the same year, as the essay which the Madame Suard's scholars were bound to write: it bore the title of 'What is Property?' his answer being, Property is Robbery.

As may be imagined, this remarkable essay caused much stir and indignation, and Proudhon was censured by the Besançon Academy for this production, and narrowly escaped a prosecution. In 1841 he was tried at Besançon for a letter he wrote to Victor Cousin, the Fourierist, but was acquitted. In 1846 he wrote his 'Philosophie de la Misère' (Philosophy of Poverty), which received an elaborate reply and refutation from Karl Marx.

In 1847 he went to Paris. In the Revolution of 1848 he showed himself a vigorous controversialist, and was elected Deputy for the Seine; he wrote numerous articles in several journals, mostly criticisms of the progress of the revolution: in the Chamber he proposed a tax of one-third to be levied on all interest and rent, which was, as a matter of course, rejected. He also put forward a scheme for a mutual credit bank, by which he hoped to simplify exchange and reduce interest to a vanishing point: but this scheme was also rejected.

After the failure of the revolution of '48, Proudhon was imprisoned for three years, during which time he married a young woman of the working-class.

In 1858 he developed his system of 'Mutualism' fully in his last work, entitled 'Justice in the Revolution and the Church.' In consequence of the publication of this book he had to retire to Brussels, but was amnestied in 1860, came back to France, and died at Passy in 1865.

Proudhon's opinions and works may be broadly divided into two periods: In his 'What is Property?' his position is that of a Communist pure and simple; but after this one clear development of a definite thesis we meet in his works, and we must add, in his political actions also, with so much paradox that it is next to impossible to formulate in brief any definite Proudhonian doctrine. At one time a Communist, at another the vehement opponent of Communism; at one time professing Anarchy, at another lending himself to schemes of the crudest State Socialism; at one time an enthusiastic Theist, at another apparently as strong an Atheist; in one passage of his works giving his eager adhesion to Auguste Comte's worship of women, in another a decided contemner of the female sex,—it is with a sense of confusion that one rises from the perusal of his works.

His connection with the Revolution of '48 seems to have been the turning point in the history; in his address to the electors of the Seine, in which he put forward the scheme for a credit bank backed by a number of decrees of a State-Socialistic nature, and strongly smacking of Bismarck, he announces himself as the man who said Property is Robbery, says that he still maintains that opinion, and then goes on to defend the rights of property which he had so successfully annihilated in his first work.

But as to his political career, the element he had to work in was an impossible one for the success of a man holding definite Socialistic ideas. On the one hand were the Jacobins with their archaeological restorations of the ideas and politics of 1789; on the other Socialism showing itself and taking hold of people's minds, but attempting to realise its doctrines by crude, dislocated and consequently hopeless schemes of action. Into all these affairs Proudhon looked shrewdly and with insight, and his bitter criticisms of the confusion of the period were shown by the event to have been well founded.

Proudhon defended the modern family and monogamy in its strictest sense, and does not seem to have troubled himself to study the history of those institutions even superficially: in short, he seems to have been singularly lacking in the historical sense, and had not formed any conception of the evolution of society. Those who read his works will find themselves forced to return to his first essay, 'What is Property?' if they are seeking in him for any consistent series of ideas. He was an eager and rough controversialist, and his style is brilliant and attractive in spite of its discursiveness.

We may now mention the names of two men of no great importance in themselves, but worth noting as forerunners of the sentimental Socialists and Christian Socialists of the present day. Hughes Felicité Robert de Lamennais (born 1782, died 1854), is the type of the Christian Socialist: he was intended for a priest from the first, and duly took orders. He began by efforts to reform the Catholic Church, so as to make it an effective instrument for happiness and social morality and reform. He expected to be helped and encouraged by the clergy in these efforts, and at first, before they perceived their real tendency, he received some acknowledgment from them. At last, in his paper *L'Avenir* (the future), he took so decidedly a democratic turn that he incurred the animosity of the whole Church, especially of the then Pope, Gregory XVI. The signal for his complete rupture with the Church, however was the publication (in 1834) of his 'Paroles d'un Croisant' (words of a believer), which the Pope characterised as "small in size but immense in perversity." After that he became thoroughly democratic or even Communistic, as Communism was then understood. A series of political works and pamphlets followed, all in the sense of his new departure. He started, in 1848, two papers, one after another, which were suppressed. He sat in the Republican Constituent Chamber till the *coup d'état*; and while Deputy drew up for the Left a plan of Constitution which was rejected as too revolutionary. He was buried by his own direction without ecclesiastical rites.

Pierre le Roux (born 1798, died 1871) was originally a disciple of St. Simon. In 1840 he published his most important work, 'De L'Humanité,' whence the name of his school, the Humanitarians. He joined George Sand and Niardof in a literary review, and it was owing to this connexion that the humanitarian tendencies of some of her novels are to be traced. In 1843 he set on foot a co-operative printing association, and started a journal advocating co-operation, or as he termed it, "the pacific solution of the problem of the proletariat." He also sat in the Republican Chamber of 1848: was exiled in 1851 and lived in Jersey, not returning to France till 1869. He died in Paris under the Commune, who deputed two of its members to attend his funeral, in the words of the *Official Journal*, "not in honour of the partizan of the mystical ideas of which we now feel the evil, but of the politician who courageously undertook the defence of the vanquished after the days of June." This is an allusion to the unpractical and non-political tendency of his teaching, which undertook to reform society by the inculcation of morality blended with mysticism, the result of which was to be the gradual spread of voluntary co-operation.

We finish this series with the well-known name of Louis Blanc, a personage more important than the last-named, and more definitely Socialistic in principles than either he or Lamennais, though his political career finished in a way unworthy of those principles, even if we accept the excuse that he never grasped the great truth that only through the class struggle can the regeneration of society be accomplished. He was born in 1813, of a middle-class family which, on the maternal side, was Corsican, and an incident of the relations between him and his brother Charles is said to have suggested to Dumas his famous novelette and play of the 'Corsican Brothers.'

In 1840 he published his 'Organisation of Labour,' the ideas of which he attempted to realise in the famous "National Workshops," by which he is best known. In this work he put forward the genuine Socialistic maxim of "From each according to his capacity, to each according to his needs" as the basis of the production of a true society.

He took an active part in the Revolutionary Government of 1848, and got an edict passed abolishing the punishment of death for political offences. And we ought here to notice that the common impression that his National Workshops failed from inherent defects is wrong; they were suppressed as dangerous by the Government, and their suppression was largely instrumental in causing the June revolution. We must, however, also note that this scheme was not founded on purely Socialistic principles, dangerous as it was thought to be at the time. In consequence of the events of June Louis Blanc was compelled to flee from France to England, where he wrote his 'History of the French Revolution.'

He returned to France 1869, was elected to the legislative body, but played only a subordinate part in the stirring times that followed. It remains, indeed, an indelible stain on his character that he deserted the cause of the people in the days of March, leaving Paris to sit amongst the "Liberals" in the reactionary Chamber at Versailles.

He died in 1883, having outlived his reputation and his influence.

E. BELFORD BAX AND WILLIAM MORRIS.

THE LITTLE VAGABOND.

(WILLIAM BLAKE: born 1757, died 1828.)

[William Blake was almost the first, if not the first, of those poets who drew English poetry from the slough of conventional twaddle in which the 18th century had sunk it; and visionary as he was, he was able to look at realities, and to make his words mean something; whereas it was an understood condition of the so-called "poetry" of the 18th century that they should mean nothing.—W. M.]

Dear mother, dear mother, the Church is cold,
But the Ale-house is healthy and pleasant and warm.
Besides I can tell where I am used well,
Such usage in heaven will never do well.

But if at the church they would give us some ale,
And a pleasant fire our souls to regale,
We'd sing and we'd pray all the livelong day,
Nor ever once wish from the church to stray.

Then the parson might preach and drink and sing,
And we'd be as happy as birds in the spring;
And modest Dame Lurch, who is always at church,
Would not have bandy children nor fasting nor birch.

And God like a Father rejoicing to see
His children as pleasant and happy as He,
Would have no more quarrel with the Devil or the barrel,
But kiss him and give him both drink and apparel.

THE JUBILEE OF THE NORTHUMBERLAND MINERS.

"It is not to die, or even to die of hunger, that makes a man wretched; many men have died; all men must die. But it is to live miserable we know not why; to work sore and yet gain nothing; to be heartworn, weary, yet isolated, unrelated."—CARLYLE.

ON Wednesday Jan. 26 the Northumberland miners resolved to strike against a reduction of 12½ per cent. The miners were asked to say "Yes" or "No" to the following: "Provided 12½ per cent. be conceded off the present wages of hard collieries and 7½ off soft coal collieries, the owners of Bedlington, Cramlington, and Seaton Delaval collieries consent to pay house-rent allowance under the arrangement of 1882, and the above apply to all to whom the house-rent allowances are paid at those collieries." The result of the ballot was declared on the 25th. The figures were: For accepting the masters' terms, 2167; strike, 9745. Altogether 24,000 men and boys are to come out. The owner of Walbottle Colliery, however, has withdrawn the notice of a reduction of wages, and the men accordingly return to work. The arrangement made is to the effect that no reduction take place during the next six months. The employers at Walker Colliery on Friday intimated to their men that as they did not desire the pits to be closed, as the cost of reopening them at the termination of a strike meant a great outlay, they wished them to continue work at the present rate of wages. The men sent a deputation asking the same conditions as those granted at the Walbottle Colliery. These were refused, and the strike commenced here also. Arrangements have been made for drawing the horses and ponies to bank, and there is every sign of a protracted struggle.

Many strikes have taken place among the Northumberland miners. In 1844 a strike for an advance took place, the men being defeated after several months' war. In 1839 at Seaton Delaval, in 1865 at the Cramlington Colliery, and many other minor strikes, all were gained by the employers. The last big strike was in May 1877, this time against a reduction of 10 and 15 per cent.; after arbitration, the men returned at the old wage. This lasted till November, when notice of a reduction of 12½ per cent. was made. After about three months' strike the employers obtained the full reduction demanded.

Efforts have been made by the miners' leaders to bring about an amicable arrangement with the employers, but have failed. It is said that overtures have been made to two M.P.'s to act as mediators. In an 'Address to Trades' Unions' published by the Socialist League appears the following: "The good-natured reformers would fain lull such antagonism to rest by palliatives, make of capital and labour a united happy family by smooth talk and practical measures. His efforts are vain. We tell you that these antagonisms will never sleep." Ever between wrong and right, capitalist and labourer, robber and robbed, must warfare exist; and it will only cease with the destruction of the present condition of things—the abolition of the individual ownership of capital. Determined warfare, then, is the only course open. In this conflict all workers ought to take part. The cause of the miners is equally the cause of all. The scenes of Charleroi may be repeated in England; but the lessons will be given by an organisation not quite so isolated, and the effect will be sooner seen. Public opinion is a strong force, and the sympathy of the workers will be with their more oppressed fellows.

The present is a fitting occasion for the celebration of the Jubilee by the workers. Subscription-sheets should be filled, and the proceeds ensure the first great victory of the miners. K.

FLUNKYISM REBUKED.—At a large and influential meeting of the members of the West End Branch of the Alliance Cabinet Makers' Association on Thursday, the 27th Jan., specially summoned for the purpose, it was resolved, with two dissentients, that "We withdraw our subscriptions from the London Trades Council, in consequence of the recent action of the self-elected deputation to Sandringham."

The Prince Regent of Bavaria has given the order that each of his grandchildren shall learn some handicraft. The future king has chosen the trade of turner, and works every day in the shop of a Munich workman. Prince Franz wishes to be a house-painter, while Charles prefers to follow the calling of gardener. The Prince Regent of Bavaria appears to us to have a very good idea of the want of solidity of the foundations of thrones today. One never knows what may happen!—*Cri du Peuple*.



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

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

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

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

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TO CORRESPONDENTS.

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

Periodicals received during the week ending Wednesday February 2.

ENGLAND Glasgow—Pioneer Norwich—Daylight Cotton Factory Times Londoner Arbeiter-Zeitung Church Reformer Freedom Jus Justice SOUTH AUSTRALIA Adelaide—Our Commonweal	Boston—Woman's Journal Denver (Col.) Labor Inquirer Toledo (O.)—Industrial News New Haven (Conn.)—Workmen's Advocate Springfield (Ill.)—Voice of Labor Chicago (Ill.)—Vorbote Tribune Knights of Labor Milwaukee (Wis.)—Volksblatt Portland (Oreg.) Avant-Courier Detroit (Mich.)—Labor Leaf Seattle (W T) Voice of the People	Antwerp—De Werker Brussels—L'Avant-Garde ITALY Milan—Il Fascio Operaio Turin—Il Muratore SPAIN Madrid—El Socialista PORTUGAL Oporto—A Perola AUSTRIA Brunn—Volksfreund Vienna—Gleichheit HUNGARY Arbeiter-Wochen-Chronik ROUMANIA Jassy—Lupta DENMARK Social-Demokraten SWEDEN Stockholm—Social-Demokraten NORWAY Kristiania—Social-Democraten
INDIA Bankipore—Behar Herald Alahabad—People's Budget Ahmedabad—Praja Mata UNITED STATES New York—Volkszeitung Freiheit Truthseeker Der Sozialist John Swinton's Paper Tax Reformer	FRANCE Paris—Cri du Peuple (daily) Le Socialiste Le Revolte La France Guise—Le Devoir HOLLAND Hague—Recht voor Allen BELGIUM Liège—L'Avenir	

PEACE OR WAR?

It must be of interest to all Socialists to review the relations of the different European nations to each other at the present time. The well-known phrase of the arch-murderer and titled bandit Count Moltke, "all Europe bristles with arms," must have startled from his slumber the most "benevolent" and honest-poor-supporting of all five per cent philanthropists, and this alarm has certainly not been lessened by "liquor" Bismarck's brutal and candid confession of his intention to leech France. Salisbury declares the outlook on the Continent to be very black, and the pinchbeck Gambetta of England, Lord Randolph, gives notice of his intention to pursue an honest foreign policy. How do affairs stand at the present moment? The middle-classes of France cannot forget the loss of two fair provinces; they cannot afford to hand over to Germany the commercial supremacy of the Continent, and they are humiliated that their prestige is vanishing fast. They are terribly afraid of the revolution which is preparing in France itself, and consequently to regain their former position and to escape the coming danger they are preparing for war. Germany—and if I speak of a nation I desire to speak of the ruling classes in contradistinction to the working-classes, who have no nationality, but are international—has at present but one object, to annihilate France. The annihilation of France means to Germany established commercial supremacy on the Continent, and would also enable Germany to annex Belgium and Holland. Bismarck—this fine specimen of the modern trinity, "statesman, landlord, and captain of industry"—comprehends very well the desires and ambitions of the German bourgeoisie. He knows that the possession of Antwerp by Germany would be the complete ruin of the glorious British Empire, the most formidable foe of German commercialism. A strong agitation is just now going on in Belgium, advocating the union of Belgium and Germany. The sinister schemer of Varzin has his eyes and agents everywhere, and I am not in the least astonished that Madame Adam believes him to know something more definite than the general public about the sudden disappearance from this world of Generals Chancy and Skobeleff and Revanche Gambetta.

Austria—this vile compilation of bourgeois interests, the pet child of the most noble Lord Salisbury—needs for its commercial expansion a good deal of the Balkan peninsula, but unfortunately cannot have it all its own way. Russia also desires to have a finger in that pie. Count Kalnocky and his men may talk big, but they know very well the emptiness of the imperial exchequer. They also know that while

the imperial troops are engaged in opening up the roads to new markets, the revolutionists may take it in their heads to do something and to end the reign of the Hapsburg dynasty. Between the Jingos who desire a war with Russia, and the revolutionists, they resemble very much indeed the ass in the fable. But ere long they will have to choose, and it is my firm conviction they will choose war with Russia.

Italy, the latest creation of bourgeois evolution, and naturally the most lean and meagre, is like a hungry hyena, always on the look out for something. Whoever promises most to Italy may have Italy's most loyal support. Whenever she comes down from her position on the fence it will not be to help the weak but to slaughter the vanquished or plunder the slain.

England, poor soul—the British Empire, the ruler of the waves, the nation with the men, the ships, and the cash—is altogether out of the running. England in international policy has been degraded into "une quantité négligeable"—a nation not to be taken into account. Bismarck sneers at her, Russia snaps her fingers at her, and Austria is not silly enough to play at England's bidding "the sentinel on the rampart." Fancy the England of MacDermott down so low. But what else can be expected of a nation which is oldest in the vile game of industrial exploitation?

Last but not least I have to speak a word or two about Russia. Russia is ruled at the present moment by the Tsar and the Conservative party. The principles of the Conservative party are absolute authority. The foreign policy of this party is the foreign policy of the last hundred years, in fact since Frederick the Great of Prussia—viz., alliance with Prussia. A new party, however, is daily gaining strength. The Pan Slavist party, whose representative in London, Madame de Novikoff, is well known to readers of the *Pall Mall Gazette*. This party is the progressive party, and whenever they gain court supremacy a constitution will be presented to the Russian people. As the name already indicates, this party dreams of a large Slav empire, and they hate Germans far more bitterly than even the most outrageous French "revanchist." I might almost be tempted to say that the very day their rule is established in Russia war will be declared against Germany. Their hatred of Germany is a simple question of £ s. d. They know it is impossible for Russia to become strong commercially as long as German trade is all supreme, as long as the Baltic and the Black Sea are not Russian seas, and they know that on these issues they will have to fight the Germans.

My firm belief is that the next war will be an international war, and it is therefore the duty of all revolutionary Socialists to agree on a plan of campaign to make this universal war the last war. What, then, can we do?

We must go on with our present agitation, spreading the principles of international revolutionary Socialism, introducing Socialism into every city, town, and village. To tell the workers how they are robbed, how they are swindled, and how they are exploited. But this would not be sufficient. It is also our duty to call upon the workers to prepare themselves for the coming struggle. It is not sufficient for the worker to know the causes why he is robbed, he must also know the means how to get rid of all parasitic classes. These classes have at their command the police, the army and navy, and it would be foolish in the extreme were the workers to meet these foes with folded arms. Some practical knowledge of modern warfare is therefore highly advisable.

Our experience at Norwich and many other places is quite sufficient to enlighten even the most determined peacemonger as to what we may expect, and we must benefit by such teachings. The stronger our organisations are when the time comes and the better prepared for strong definite action, the more peaceable will be the revolution, but it would be a blunder, it would be criminal madness, to cry peace when no peace is possible.

HENRY F. CHARLES.

NUPKINS REDIVIVUS.

MORALISTS observe, perhaps a little too often, that there is no nobler sight than that of an honest man struggling with adversity. Noble sights then must be very common, or else honest men (the more likely hypothesis) very rare. Norwich has in historic times had the privilege of seeing the sufferings of two such men. Charles Dickens in one of his histories, more truth-telling than most of those used in schools, describes the agonised feelings of A. Nupkins, Esq., Mayor of Norwich: "What prevents me from detaining these men as rogues and imposters? It is a foolish mercy. What prevents me?" is the cry forced from the magistrate, torn by the agonising mixture of family considerations, and thirst for vengeance on the pretended Captain Fitz Marshall.

The magistrate has blossomed into one of Her Majesty's judges; but however deeply he may pity men for not knowing better than to speak their minds, no more shall he be led astray by foolish mercy towards rogues and agitators. No, the majesty of the law must be upheld; it needs it much. The judge's regret, his sadness, his sorrow, bedew with tears, as it were, the pages of the *Eastern Evening News* of Jan. 18. I quote from this journal some of his sayings, in condensed form, since like other good men he is somewhat long-winded. He became very sad over a secretary of a certain Oddfellows Friendly Society, who had "taken money that did not belong to him." He mourned that "people who had been comparatively speaking in a better position of life than those who were called the working-classes, should be led to commit 'educated crimes,' such as embezzlement." With what admirable and kindly skill does he just allude to the fact

that working-men are only called so, and lashes those criminals who are of a class comparatively, just comparatively better off than the so-called workers, educated enough to commit embezzlement, but not so highly as to know how to do this in a legal and respectable fashion. "It was really very cruel and heartless, that people in such a position of life should rob other people in that position." Quite so; what is to become of Society if members of the same class begin to do to each other, what appears to be fair only between members of different classes? Heaven forbid that hawks should begin to peck out hawks' eyes!

Leaving the "educated criminal," Her Majesty's judge almost wept over his blasted hope that the respectability of Norwich would be eternal. "In previous years he was glad to know that in no other town had the working-men and people out of work"—those, that is, who call themselves working-men and say they are in want of work,—"in no other town had these people ordered themselves so decently and humbly towards the better-to-do," nor uttered so fervently the respectful prayer: Teach us to know our proper stations, God bless the squire and his relations. But now, in place of this, he was grieved at heart that he, sitting there in dignity, one of Her Majesty's judges, should have to beseech these starvelings "to show themselves ready to work when work was offered to them," to take whatever wages might be offered by employers, "who certainly had shown themselves desirous of being considerate to the distressed," not to carp nor complain if this consideration stopped at the stage of desire, but to recollect how often the church had urged upon them that the intention is better than the deed, and above all to bear in mind that "provisions are very cheap."

"He very much regretted to find, however, that even in Norwich, where the working-classes are much cared for"—(this very same issue of the *Eastern Evening News* contains a list amounting to at least £5 of contributions for the distressed, and another list of donations, coming to 30s., for penny dinners)—"even in Norwich the working-men have been got at by 'agitators,' who could not have the welfare of the working-classes at heart. He was happy to know that in this country there was no reason why anyone should starve. It was true, no doubt, that sometimes perhaps people did not get as much as they ought to have, particularly in winter time, though the law distinctly laid it down that they should have enough to keep body and soul together." His lordship (grieved as before) went on to say that "in most large towns there were always a certain number of loafers." It appears that these "sedition-mongers" had been talking on this very subject, and tickling "the fancy of the working-classes" by telling them that the loafers were highly paid, and that the law distinctly provided them with a great deal more than enough to keep their bodies and souls together, both summer and winter. In short, they sneered at the better-to-do, as being merely law-provided loafers, and actually went to the profane length of arguing that it was not "from want of work that people suffered" but from want of victuals.

"But," said his lordship, "the working-class gains nothing by it; on the contrary, the hearts of kindly people are hardened by this commotion raised without the slightest need or cause," nor will they again show the "foolish mercy" of subscribing £5 and 30s., even in the winter, to keep together the body and soul of any of those, who one way or another happen to miss the tender provision of the law. Still less will our Nupkins hesitate again to detain in durance vile these agitators and sedition-mongers, but rather get himself armed with a new Conspiracy Act, which will pop these rogues into the prison cell before, not after, they have had a chance of speaking. C. J. F.

A HEBREW SOCIALIST PAPER.

SINCE December last, our contemporary *The Worker's Friend* has appeared as a weekly propagandist. This paper (which is published in the Hebrew-German dialect by the International Working-men's Educational Club, at 40 Berner Street, Commercial Road, E.) was started some eighteen months ago as a monthly, and since then it has worked with great effect in enlightening its readers on the question of Socialism. The first number of the weekly issue commenced with Victor Hugo's 'Les Miserables' as its *feuilleton*, which is considered to be a good "helping hand" in touching the feelings of the indifferent readers, and making them understand the meaning, and the cause, of being *unfortunate*. In the Editorial occurs the following: "Our only object in publishing the *Worker's Friend* is to enable the Hebrew-German speaking workers also to keep abreast in the great labour movement; to make them acquainted with all labour questions and the glorious teachings of Socialism. We shall do all in our power plainly and clearly to educate our readers in all matters that may be of interest to the workers; but at the same time we shall try to keep ourselves as impartial as possible to all the different sections of the Socialistic party. We consider that all Socialistic organisations that aim to realise their ideal by revolution are beneficial for the working classes. Social-Democrats, Anarchists, Communists, and Collectivists, are to us Socialists, and therefore our comrades. Our only contempt is against the capitalist class, against our present society of wholesale robbery—in short, we are wholly for the interest of the Proletariat and against the interest of the Bourgeoisie. Wherever we shall have the opportunity of defending the true friends of liberty and to protect the interest of the people, there shall we take our place. And when the day of deliverance of all the sufferers will arrive, and the mass of the people marches under the red flag, and fights in the streets for human rights and liberties—in short, when the social revolution will come, our place shall be among the revolutionists, and with them we shall raise cheers for the social revolution."

The size of the paper is the same as that of the *Commonweal*, but four pages, and its price is 1s. 6d. per quarter. It has our heartiest wishes for its success. W.

The Shop Hours Regulation Bill has been passed, but as there is no one to whom to apply to put it in force, it is practically a dead letter.

SOCIALISM IN THE PROVINCES.

On Tuesday, January 18th, I attended the Norwich Assizes, and listened to Judge Grantham's address to the grand jury. Before the accused men were tried the judge assumed that they were guilty, and even hinted that their sentence would be severe enough to give Socialist agitators a lesson in future. He entered into a long and very silly tirade against Socialism, and throughout his speech showed the meanest of petty middle-class prejudice. The peaceful and orderly sort of workman was beslobbered with praise; while the discontented were warned that law and order must be venerated, no matter what their misery might be. It is supposed to be a judge's duty to keep his mind free from prejudice against either side of a case, and to refer only to the charges included in the indictment; but Judge Grantham had evidently been influenced by the tittle-tattle of his middle-class friends, and the case was practically tried and the accused condemned over the tea-table of some of his acquaintances. It is certainly an outrage upon justice that men should be tried by a judge who, before hearing a scrap of evidence, displays the most rabid prejudice against them. Grantham is a young judge but he will soon be a notorious one.

On Wednesday, I left Norwich to begin the series of meetings announced in the *Commonweal*. At Oxford, the audience was fairly large and very appreciative. The only opposition was from a gentleman troubled with some ancient ideas on Free Trade, who entered into a glorification of Cobden. The Branch seems fairly active, and although not large its members are steady and reliable. Very few students attend the meetings, most of those with Socialist leanings prefer to work in the semi-Socialist societies, of which there are several in the Colleges. Oxford has no very large body of workmen, and a general spirit of flunkeyism pervades the poorer class; so that a very strong Socialist movement is well-nigh impossible there at present. Still the Branch is in a healthy condition, and will keep the Cause alive.

On Thursday, I went to Reading and got names and promises enough to form a corresponding group, which may soon develop into a Branch. The meeting arranged for the previous Tuesday fell through, as I had to stay at Norwich; but there was little difficulty in ascertaining that there is a strong Socialist feeling in the town, which is shared by many of the advanced Radicals. The place is most favourable for Socialist propaganda, and a good Branch should soon be established.

On Friday the 21st, I went to Bedford to give the first Socialist lecture in that town. Bedford is a rather quiet place, with only one large engineer shop to represent the factory system. The middle-class resort to it for the cheap education it affords their children. There is no great amount of misery among the working-class, and nothing more alarming than Radicalism has ever disturbed the peaceful little town. On the day before the lecture the Liberal paper had a very fair-minded leader claiming an impartial hearing for Socialism. The Tory paper had an ironical welcome suggesting a certain part of the town for Sunday morning rowdiness, and rejoicing that the Jubilee should be celebrated by the establishment of a Branch of the Socialist League. The meeting-hall was well filled, and it soon became evident that there was a rowdy element in the audience. They came expecting to see some kind of a wild animal, and to hear an invitation to indulge in wholesale looting and garrotting. The interrupters were kept under, however, and nothing worse than a smashed window resulted. I made an attempt to reason out Socialism with them, much to their surprise. The opposition was not very serious, but I felt much hurt on being complimented for my moderation. The gist of what I said was that rent and interest were robbery, and that the upper class lived on the labour of the workers, that all the political parties were rotten, and the workmen who followed them ignorant of their own interests; in conclusion, I spoke of revolution, and expressed an ardent wish to see the British Empire smashed.—and then they said I was moderate! Here, as at Reading, a group has been formed to study Socialism and arrange for a lecture by William Morris, after which it is hoped the group will become a Branch.

On Saturday, Jan. 22, I got to Leicester and met the members on Sunday morning to talk over Branch business matters. At Christmas time the propaganda went flat for a while, but as soon as the holidays were over the interest revived. The main topic of discussion in Leicester, and nearly every other manufacturing town, is Socialism, and it is quite surprising to find the wide-spread sympathy and interest shown in the Socialist movement. The prospects of the Branch are splendid, and before long it will be one of the largest in the country. On Sunday afternoon I lectured to a well-filled room on "The Opponents and Prospects of Socialism." I took up Father Rickaby and Mr. Bradlaugh, and we had a lively discussion on the arguments of the two Priests. It was soon apparent that Mr. Bradlaugh has lost popularity with the workmen through his opposition to the revolutionary movement. Even those workmen who do not call themselves Socialists, don't care to see a working-class leader so energetic in defence of the rights of property. The workmen's thoughts are now more than ever directed to the antagonism between the rights of property and the happiness of the people. In the evening I spoke at a meeting held in the Radical Club to denounce the Glenbeigh evictions. The meeting was very enthusiastic. On Monday night a good audience gathered in the Radical Club to hear a lecture on "The Path to Socialism," which went down very well and raised a useful discussion. The meetings held in Leicester were all very successful, and the audiences seemed very well acquainted with the Socialist aims.

On Tuesday, Jan. 25, I spoke to a small but appreciative audience in Nottingham, and on the following evening had a very friendly conference with the members of the various Socialist bodies. In Nottingham the feeling in favour of Socialism is very widespread.

On Thursday night I got to Sheffield, and lectured for the Sheffield Socialists on "The Meaning of Revolution." I illustrated the working of Socialist and commercial economy by reference to the actual conditions of labour in the Sheffield cutlery trade. Some of the points provoked a good deal of discussion, the most interesting feature in which was a speech by a workman, who upset an excitable critic by declaring that though he had never heard a Socialist speaker before he quite understood how Socialism would work on the principles explained. The speech could only be appreciated if rendered in the brogue in which it was spoken.

In a separate article I shall report half-an-hour's look through a Leicester stocking mill. Collections made for the Prisoners' Aid Fund during the week will be acknowledged by the treasurer of the Norwich Branch.

Everywhere Socialism seems to be making headway, and Branches might be formed in nearly every town in England if only some energetic organisers could be sent round to give things a start. J. L. MASON.

THE LABOUR STRUGGLE.

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

The Strike Committee.

The Strike Committee continues to receive from all parts of the country as well as in the States and on the Continent, most gratifying evidence of the interest taken in their work. They regret that their limited means as well as the small size of the *Commonweal* at present, seriously cripples their efforts, and can only urge upon their correspondents and the workers generally the necessity of strenuous and sustained exertion in order to overcome these difficulties. Several interesting communications are held over for want of space, including another report from Stafford. The attention of comrades and friends is called to the great opportunity now presented for our propaganda. Particularly is it desirable that a missionary should be sent to the Northumberland miners. A little pecuniary help would enable this to be done. "The harvest truly is great, but the labourers are few."

GLASS BOTTLE MAKERS—SPECIAL.

We are asked to intimate that Mr. Lyon has succeeded in getting about 30 men from the Continent, and that they will probably arrive in London. Our friends are asked to keep a sharp look-out and communicate any news at once to the Secretary of the Strike Committee, at the League Offices. J. LANE.

The bulk of the men at Messrs. Bolekow, Vaughan, and Co's Steel Works in Cleveland have decided to stand out for an advance of ten per cent. in their wages.

At Ashton-under-Lyne the weavers' strike still runs on, and is likely to do so for some months to come, judging by the attitude of both sides at present. The dispute is costing the Operatives' Union £1000 per week in strike pay.

The chainmakers in the Midlands, who have been on strike for 25 weeks against low wages and the "truck system," seem at last likely to be successful, many of the employers having agreed to comply with their requests.

The Lanarkshire miners commenced their four days' idleness on the 25th Jan. At an early hour pickets were out at each colliery, and with a few solitary exceptions, the entire industry from Law to Glasgow was suspended.

In consequence of a section of the workmen employed in the Nottingham lace trade declining to appoint delegates to act upon the Board of Conciliation, that body has ceased to exist.

RIGHTON.—STRIKE AT DAISY HILL MILL.—The whole of the weavers employed at Messrs. Smithson's, Daisy Hill Mill, recently came out on strike, owing to the extensive system of "bating." The association took the matter in hand and an arrangement was come to in favour of the workers.

FARNWORTH.—THE EMPLOYMENT OF HALF-TIMERS AND ATTENDANCE AT SCHOOL.—The subject we broached last week about certain cotton manufacturers enforcing their half-timers to attend a given school is exciting considerable interest in the town and district, and there is a possibility of a public meeting being held to protest against employers using this form of coercion.

A meeting of the North and South Shields branches of the North of England Seamen's and Firemen's Society was held on Monday at North Shields, when it was decided to strike. The men demand a rise from 38s. to 30s. on weekly boats, and from £3 10s. to £4 on the monthly boats. A strike has been commenced at Sunderland for the same wages.

In the north of England the Ironworkers' Association is being considerably strengthened. Large numbers of the men had drifted off but are now rapidly joining. The National Conference will be held in Birmingham early next month. The men in the Cleveland and north of England district have almost unanimously resolved to join the Association, which appears likely to be placed on a wider and stronger basis than it has ever been before, especially should the Staffordshire workmen come in, as they appear desirous to do.

Clough Hall Ironworks, Kildgrove, have been re-opened. It will be remembered that these works were closed some months back, owing to bad trade, throwing thousands of men out of work, and nearly ruining the town. The news of re-opening has been most joyfully received by the inhabitants of the district. The closing of these works has been referred to many times by Socialists as showing the power of the capitalist to starve a town. The reason for the closing was that the works did not "pay," i.e., produce sufficient profit to gratify the greed of the owner. A new owner having been found, the people may work again so long as he remains satisfied.

STAFFORD.—THE SHOE TRADE.—A serious dispute respecting the rate of wages paid in this town, which has been pending for some short time, has at length terminated in a strike. The cause of the dispute is the desire of a number of the employers to effect a general reduction of from 20 per cent. to 30 per cent. on the rate of wages, which since 1879 (when the wage statement was thoroughly revised by representatives of both employers and men) has been paid. The firm, of which the "worshipful mayor" of the town is the head, was the first to give notice of their intention to reduce the wages of their lasters 4s. 3d. per dozen, or considerably over 50 per cent. on the wages hitherto paid. The men who during the winter months, when the shoe industry is proverbially slack, have been earning but very small wages, naturally objected to this unreasonable reduction, especially when, as some of the masters who have declined to join the movement, say "there is a certain prospect of an improved spring and summer trade," and they, therefore, think it is the wrong time to disturb it now. The result was that the men struck work and were speedily followed by the operatives of other establishments. Since the year 1879, when the present wage list was mutually agreed upon by employers and workmen, numerous evasions of the list have been made by the masters, several of whom now declare that it is their intention to stamp out Trades' Unionism in the town. The mayor, whom I referred to above, has since his elevation to the mayoralty last November, been particularly noticeable for a lavish and ostentatious display of wealth, by providing luncheons, dinners, etc., to guzzling public officials, and in distributing relief to various "deserving applicants," while during the same time many of his own employes have been endeavouring to starve respectably on wages in many cases under 12s. per week. This "gentleman" who was the first to forego the proposed reduction, and apparently submit to the men, has placed a number of youths and men on standing wages of 24s. per week (who are now doing work which if paid for according to the statement, would amount to over 40s. per week) leaving the majority of those who struck work "out in the cold to think about it." No one has any reason to be surprised that the strike has occurred when one takes into consideration the fact that the average wage paid in London, Leicester, and other shoemaking centres is some 20 per cent. higher than it is in Stafford.

There seems to be every prospect, however, of the masters, at any rate for the present, withdrawing their demands and the men scoring a victory, but if the tactics of Mr. W. H. Peach (the mayor), who is a great enemy to trade unionism, should be adopted by the employers generally, I am afraid it will be only a nominal victory. As one of the strikers remarked through the medium of a local paper, "There is no wonder that men hanker after Socialism when they see men constantly growing richer while they are growing poorer." The men throughout have been supported by their two organisations, the National Union of Operative Boot Riveters and the Amalgamated Society of Cordwainers.—C.

FEMALE LABOUR IN SPINNING ROOMS.—Much has been said and written of late respecting the propriety or otherwise of females being allowed to work in spinning-rooms in the capacity of piecers or minders, and were we only to judge of the question from a moral point of view, we should say by all means keep females out of the spinning-rooms, as our experience of cotton-mill life leads us to the conclusion that much injury is done by females working in the manner in which minders and piecers are compelled to do. There is also danger surrounding the circumstances of females in other departments of cotton-mills besides the spinning-rooms, and the disclosures which have come to light through a strike of some seventy to eighty cardroom workers, mostly composed of women and young girls, at a spinning company in Oldham, reveal a sad state of things; but what makes the case worse is the fact that these persons have had to sacrifice their situations rather than allow their moral characters to be blasted by working under those in whom they had lost all confidence. That the women and girls were forced, as it were, to take the action they did is a proof that they felt justified in acting in the summary manner which the directors felt aggrieved at and as the complaints had been pending for a considerable time, and no notice seemed to have been taken by the directors of what was communicated to them, we think they are to blame for the consequences of the strike, and not the women and girls, who acted from motives which should be encouraged rather than condemned; and those directors who will not support the women and young girls are surely assisting to encourage a state of morality in the cotton-mills which will prove to be most injurious from many points of view. Therefore we trust that those who are placed in authority will use their influence in having the management of cotton-mills so carried out that there need be no fear on the part of parents or their children of other than straightforward conduct being displayed towards those who require protection. We have often heard of the failure of individual strikes in cases of disputes about wages, prices, and bad work, through unprincipled men taking the places of those on strike, and who by their action have assisted the employers to defeat the just cause of the strikers; but we don't ever remember a strike undertaken on moral grounds, and that by women and young girls, in which the strikers have been defeated in such a manner as have those who struck work at a spinning company at Oldham. The cardroom workers, nearly eighty in number, struck work, and, strange to say, in less than two days their situations were all filled up, and that by their own sex, notwithstanding that the strike was entered upon solely on the grounds of morality. There is much to be learned from this, and we are afraid the result will act as a barrier to the progress which moralists are so anxious about. Certain it is that others will be deterred from acting in a similar way; thus encouragement will be given to evil-doers. Those females who lend their assistance in perpetuating a system which brought about the strike are real enemies to their own cause and sex, and surely are not aware of what injury they are doing. It ought to be the duty of all to make strikes of this nature successful; those who act otherwise must have cause for regret.—*Cotton Factory Times*.

AMERICA.

The men who went from New York City to Chicago, to take the places of the stock yard strikers, are now stranded as paupers in the latter city.

Baltimore printers have increased the price of composition on morning papers to 45 cents, and on evening papers to 40 cents.

NEW YORK, Jan. 16.—The street-car strike in San Francisco had not been settled at the date of the latest advices in daily papers. There are curious reports about the "sympathies" of the police, many of whom are said to belong to a certain labour organisation of which the strikers are members.

The Ohio Valley Trades and Labour Assembly, composed of Knights of Labour assemblies and trades unions of the cities of Wheeling, Bellaire, Martin's Ferry and neighbouring towns, will hold a grand fair and industrial exhibition, from Feb. 14 to Feb. 19, to procure means for leasing a hall for the use of organised labour.

The Paper Rulers of New York, although they do not number more than 200 men, are an important factor in the blank book trade. There are 95 per cent of them in the union. They fixed a price-list and an apprentice system, to both of which half the bosses in the city objected, and locked out their men. The Bookbinders are also associated with the rulers, and resolved not to bind any books ruled by "scabs." The men have resumed work on their own terms.

WESTERLY, R. I., Jan. 6.—Many of the strikers at the Moss Manufacturing Company's works are being turned out of the tenements owned by the company. W. C. King, a weaver who did not strike, has also been turned out of his tenement because, according to his story, he refused to turn his boy, who is a Knight of Labour, out of his home. He says he has spent much money and time beautifying the house, and has always been faithful to the interests of the company. There is a great deal of suffering among the evicted tenants. The Whipple family was turned out in the midst of a blinding snow-storm, and old Mr. Whipple, who is dying with consumption, was carried out to the wagon in a blanket.—*Labor Enquirer*.

NEW YORK, Jan. 27.—All the Union longshoremen employed by the various steamship lines have struck work, except in the case of one coast line. The strike now includes the coal and grain shovellers, the longshoremen, the bag sewers, tug-boatmen, and lightermen, numbering in the aggregate over thirty thousand men. The District Committee of the Knights of Labour has requested all dock labourers to suspend work for three days with a view to the settlement of the coal-handlers and longshoremen's strike. This action on the part of the Knights delays the departure of vessels belonging to the companies affected by the strike. A mass meeting is to be held to-night, and extra police have been called out, the situation being considered more serious. Jan. 29.—The Lehigh and Wilkesbarre Coal Company and the Pennsylvania Company report that a general strike of miners will probably be ordered on Monday next in response to an appeal from the coal handlers now on strike. Jan. 30.—The men on strike threaten that all the coal-labourers belonging to the Knights of Labour will strike this week at every place where coal, not handled by unionists, is used.

FRANCE.

TOULON.—There is great excitement among the workers at the arsenal here, 150 of them having been dismissed, this being it is said, but the beginning of a long series of dismissals which will affect a large number of the employés.

MEHUN (CHER).—The strike here still continues, the strikers receiving the support of their fellow-workers elsewhere, who have decided to leave their workshops rather than endanger the success of the movement here.

A Marseilles journal announces that Roustan, the "chef de section" at the tobacco factory, whose abuses were the cause of the women's strike there, has come to Paris to lay his case before the Minister of Finance, as he has no intention of giving up his position in the factory. If this is true, in spite of the announcement by the Prefect of his dismissal, the strikers will be on the qui-vive again, and will have learnt how much trust to put in the good faith of official gentlemen.

ROUBAIX (NORD).—The Labour Associations of Roubaix, having in view the formation of a Co-operative Society, publish in *Le Travailleur* an address to the people, pointing out that co-operative societies hitherto have always come to be supported by the capitalist, as they have been for his benefit, and that it is necessary to substitute those for the worker's benefit. They intend, they say, to form themselves on the model of the successful Co-operative Society of the *Vooruit* of Ghent, and call on all the workers of the department to bestir themselves, and support the project.

BELGIUM.

MARCHIENNES.—A large manifestation took place last week at Marchiennes, near Charleroi, composed of working-men's Leagues, which were represented to the number of 32. This cortège of some six or seven thousand persons marched along to the town with the burgomaster, accompanied by the police-commissary at its head, whether as an open sympathiser or with an idea of keeping order by his impressive presence, history sayeth not. After parading the streets the manifestants made a stand in the Grand Place, where citizen Jean Holder spoke on the programme of the Labour Party, and the labour organisation and universal suffrage. The Government apparently feared disturbances on the occasion, the garrisons of Charleroi and Namur being held in readiness to respond to an immediate summons.

The strike is spreading in the Charleroi district, and reaches now as far as Forchies-la-Marche. In the two last pits of Amerœur, which have been in activity till now, work was stopped last week. So far, writes a correspondent to *L'Avenir*, it is impossible to foresee what turn things may take, though it is generally believed that the strike will spread throughout the Centre. He remarks that the movement develops from day to day, Socialist ideas gaining ground surely.

Anseele, editor of the *Vooruit*, will be set at liberty on Sunday next, to celebrate which occasion the Socialists of Ghent are organising a "Democratic fete," to which they will invite all Belgian Socialists.

By the bye, how does a Socialist journal manage to worry along when its editor, its father and natural guardian, is not actually on the spot to protect it from invasion and the "whips and scorns of time"? If it were an ordinary commercial affair one would feel it irresistible to quote the sceptical Mark Twain on the subject, where he says of a provincial paper "That brand of paper gets on just as well with a sick editor as a well one, and better with a dead editor than either." But editing a Socialist paper is a very serious and tremendous affair, and never trifled with after so frivolous a fashion, so that the locking up of an editor is not to be lightly spoken of.

GHEENT.—Some of the Socialists of this town have been much troubled in their minds by reason of the production of an anti-Socialist play, written by an official gentleman of Brussels, who does not apparently approach the "question of the day" in a friendly spirit, but rather amuses himself by dragging the "Holy Red" of the Revolution hither and thither in the mud, thereby lacerating sorely the hearts of our Socialist friends. It is dimly rumoured that the police had to interfere, and that the civic guard are on foot, but details thereanent are wanting, and whether to-day "peace reigns in Warsaw" or no we have not heard.

When we went to Egypt we were going to establish civil, moral, and Christian influences on the banks of the Nile. What we have done has been to establish an enormous number of grog-shops and brothels.—*Mr. Cairne, M.P.*

Three crofters from the Island of Tiree have been liberated from Edinburgh Prison by order of the Home Secretary a month before the expiration of their sentence, which was four months' imprisonment. There are about twenty others still in prison.

Boyotting has been carried to a grotesque extreme in Galveston, where a woman who worked as a union printer married a non-union printer and was put under the ban. As the husband would not join the union the wife left him at the command of her associates, and will sue for divorce.

A Bill was introduced in Congress in 1877 to nationalise the militia for the purpose of being used against working men in the case of strikes. It has been held over from session to session. It is now said that extraordinary efforts will be made this session to call up the Bill and have it passed.

Mr. Atkinson, professional statistician, compares the working man of to-day who is employed the whole year with one of twenty-five years ago, also employed the whole year, and concludes that he of to-day is much to be envied. When we consider that from one to two million workers are now out of work, such statistics make us smile.—*Tax Reformer (N.Y.)*

The "Man in the Corner Seat," in the *Glasgow Weekly Mail* says: "The Glasgow Tramway Co., who have paid 9 per cent dividend, are being severely criticised by their employés and others for the want of feeling and sympathy exhibited towards their workmen. Low wages, fines, long hours, and no meal hours seem to be the staple grievances. Dividends so earned are as immoral as—"

Lord Compton thinks that if the distress among the unemployed in London is allowed to go on much longer "without the Government doing something to alleviate it," the slightest spark may cause discontent and despair to break out into open rebellion. By which Lord Compton means that he is willing to give his share of what is required if everybody else is compelled to do the same. But we do not think the appeal to "funk" is the strongest appeal to Englishmen. Besides, we may, some of us, think that the starving will hold out a good deal longer before having recourse to violence, when it will be time enough for the "Government to do something." No; let Lord Compton put his hand into his own pocket—not other people's.—*Jus*. [Does this need any comment?]

CORRESPONDENCE.

"ABSENTEEISM."

We have hitherto considered that absenteeism increased the evils of landlordism to a very material extent, and if W. B. R. will keep his thinking cap on a little longer he will come to see that there are good grounds for the popular opinion. Let me try to help him. Suppose that the Irish tenants pay their landlords in kind, and that the landlords live amongst them, employing Irishmen and Irishwomen for all the services they need, it is evident that the Irish tenants are simply employing and supporting their own brothers and sisters through the landlords, who are a kind of middlemen. It is true the hard-working tenant might still consider it a misappropriation of the fruits of his toil to keep a coachman, groom, butler, and valet attending on a man; and a maid, governess, and nurse attending on a woman and her children, while the said man and woman would be best employed in doing for themselves what those menials do for them. Nevertheless, that system of living amongst the people who provide the rents reduces the evils of landlordism to their lowest degree.

Now, suppose instead of living amongst his tenantry the landlord lives in London or Paris, and his rent in the shape of a certain portion of the produce of the farms is sent to him there, and that he and his wife employ English or French people to attend to their wants, is it not patent that there is a perpetual drain on the Irish land for the support of foreigners, and that the landlord's rent is a dead loss to the Irish people? Landlordism is an evil whichever way you look at it, but absenteeism assuredly aggravates it.—Yours faithfully,
G. D. L.

"T. LEMON AND THE S.D.F."

Is the victory of Socialism in London so nearly won, that a good comrade and soldier for the Cause like Kitz can find time to leave the attack on the common enemy, in order to stand aside and squabble about the honour and glory of the victory? Or is his letter rather an instance of those words of Morris's, which, by a curious coincidence, are printed in the next column exactly opposite to the most uncalculated-for part of comrade Kitz's attack on the S.D.F.!?—"Backsliding, and doubt, and contest between friends and fellows lacking time in the hubbub to understand each other, shall grieve many hearts and hinder the Host of the Fellowship."

We Socialists in small towns or villages, who, from our isolated position feel especially the need of unity and good-feeling, cannot but deplore and feel ashamed of this bad-blooded rivalry, which makes the Cause look ridiculous, and gives occasion to the common enemy to laugh in his sleeve at us. For it must be comic, to one who does not care for the advancement of Socialism, to witness the complacent swagger of *Justice*, and the occasional mutter of the *Commonweal*, as of some sulky boy who has been teased by his fellows, and is too thin-skinned to take it in good part. Would it not be better to try to see the good (of which there is so much) in both associations, and to recognise how unlikely it is that any one should embrace all the tactics which the Democracy must employ for the development of the new Society?

And now a word to comrade Kitz. I never knew bad feeling removed, nor the bitterness of rivalry sweetened, by the use of sarcasm. It is easy to speak of a "sneaking friend"; and even the *Daily Telegraph* can give point to its irony by writing of the "Council" with quotation marks, as though it did not exist; but hard, hard it is, to overcome the sore feeling which such sarcasm produces, and harder still to gain our Cause with that sore feeling in our midst. And our comrade's letter is for that reason especially to be regretted, appearing as it does on the very day when those anonymous paragraphs in *Justice* begin to recognise the Socialist League in a more conciliatory spirit.

Is it not, in short, the duty of Socialists not only to be pulling down the old Society, but at the same time to be laying the foundation of the new Society of comradeship and fellow-feeling? And are such letters as this of comrade Kitz likely to help on the work?

In the firm belief that the direct opposite of that sort of thing is what is needed, I am, yours very truly,
GEORGE STURT.
Farnham, January 24, 1887.

THE SOCIALIST LEAGUE.

OFFICES: 13 FARRINGDON ROAD, E.C.

NOTICE.—All business matters relating to the Socialist League to be directed to the Secretary, H. A. Barker, 13 Farringdon Road, London, E.C.

Subscribers in arrears are notified that the *Commonweal* will not be sent if subscription be not paid up within a fortnight from this date.

Bazaar and Concert postponement.—Circumstances which have arisen since the committee of management announced the date of the Bazaar compel them to postpone the same from February 5 to Saturday March 5.

A Concert will, however, be held, in accordance with previous announcement, on Saturday February 5.

Branch Subscriptions Paid.

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

STRIKE COMMITTEE.

P. W., 2s.; W. M., 1s.

T. BINNING, Treasurer

"COMMONWEAL" PRINTING FUND.

E. B. (weekly), 1s.; M. M. (weekly), 1s.; H. Ch., (weekly), 1s.; Bloomsbury Branch (weekly), 5s.; W. B. (two weeks), 1s.

PH. W., Treasurer, Feb. 1.

THE NORWICH PRISONERS' AID FUND.

International Working Men's Educational Society, 23 Princes Square, Cable Street, E. (per the Secretary), £1; Hyde Park, Jan. 23, 2s. 6d.; Clerkenwell Branch, 17s. 6d.; Raymond Unwin, 2s. 6d.; K. F., 5s.; Bloomsbury Branch, 5s. 1d.; Charles, 11s. 6d.; Cleveland Hall, 3s. 4d.; Hyde Park, 6s. 7d.; Owen Lloyd, 3s.; T. C., 1s.; C. J. F., £1; C. Walkden, 10s.; P. C. Walkden, 5s.; Walter Crane, £1.—Total, £6, 13s.

BRANCH REPORTS.

BLOOMSBURY.—On Friday, Jan. 28th, W. B. Robertson gave a lecture.—L. W.

CLERKENWELL.—On Wednesday, Jan. 26th, Eleanor Marx-Aveling lectured to a good audience on "The Relative Position of English and American Workmen." After the lecture a resolution expressing disgust and contempt at the inhuman sentences passed by Judge Grantham on our Norwich comrades, was carried unanimously, and 17s. 6d. collected for Mowbray's wife and family. On Sunday, Jan. 30th, Sidney Webb (Fabian) spoke on "The Law of Rent." The members of this Branch have attended two other meetings of other societies during the week, and two lectures have been given at other halls, with good results. Sale of *Commonweal* and pamphlets are increasing rapidly in Clerkenwell. Members are requested to take up Branch cards for 1887.

CROYDON.—On Sunday afternoon, we held a general meeting to elect officers, committee, etc. Various matters were discussed in regard to action in the event of Parliamentary election, the carrying on of open-air propaganda, the sale of the *Commonweal*, etc. The committee are to meet every Friday at 8 p.m. at Parkes Road. In the evening, at 7 p.m., G. B. Shaw gave a splendid lecture on "Some Illusions of Individualism," which was "reported" for *Croydon Echo*, in which paper it will occupy about half a column. Two new members made. Two letters which we sent to the Conservative *Croydon Guardian*, in answer to "Correspondence re Self-help Emigration and Socialism," have been inserted.—A. T., ast.-sec.

HACKNEY.—On Sunday, Jan. 30, H. Charles lectured here on "Society in the Past," pointing out the inevitable corruption and breakdown of all Societies based upon slavery of any kind. 1s. 2½d. was collected for Henderson and Mowbray Defence Fund. Next Sunday at 11.30, we commence our open-air meeting at the Salmon and Ball. One new member. H. MATTHEWS, sec.

HOXTON.—We started our outdoor propaganda on Sunday with very successful meetings both morning and evening, Wade, Barker, and Pope taking part in them. Sale of *Commonweal* fair. In the evening, E. Pope lectured to a good audience on the "Curse of Machinery."—E. POPE, sec.

MARLBORNE AND NORTH LONDON.—These two Branches decided to amalgamate for the winter propaganda. They have a good chance to engage in very active work at Cleveland Hall. The members met last Sunday, and appointed H. Charles, 34, Caversham Road, Kentish Town, N.W., as secretary of the two Branches.—C.

MERTON.—A fortnight since, we commenced an agitation amongst the unemployed. The first meeting was held on Mitcham Fair Green, from there we marched down to the club-room of the Mitcham Branch, where another enthusiastic meeting was held, a resolution was carried with acclamation declaring that until the Social Revolution swept away the monopolies of the means of life, now in the hands of capitalists and land thieves, there could be no peace nor hope for the workers. A temperance lecturer, who had hitherto been an antagonist, mounted the platform and declared his conversion to our principles. On the Thursday following we broke new ground in Wimbledon Broadway, hitherto the undisputed possession of the lugubrious apostles of cold water and damnation. We had been assured that it would be utterly impossible for us to hold our own upon this spot, but as a matter of fact some 300 people listened attentively, and passed the revolutionary resolution with more verve than the one that simply dealt with the administration of the Poor Law. The red flag and the speeches seemed to greatly exasperate a small knot of dealers in the strange items of Christian belief, but their leader, by name Mercer, was content to literally hide behind a woman, for he put forward a Mrs. Kingsley (a female guardian of the poor) to interrupt the speaking, and when forced to desist and address the crowd, she said, amidst much opposition, that the inmates of workhouses and jails were there chiefly through their own fault, and cited that shining Christian light, Rev. Horsley, in proof. These gentle feminine utterances were too much for the crowd, and she had to "shut up" herself. The local unemployed, whilst heartily endorsing our action, are forced to accept the doles of these Christian almoners because of the necessities of their families, and they assure us that the relief would be stopped did they actively support us. The local press belied the meeting by describing us as roughs, and stating falsely that we begged of passers by. The man Mercer, referred to above, has held a mother's meeting at a local coffee palace, where the tenets of Christianity are allied with the sale of pea-soup and mysteriously concocted beef steak puddings, and alleged that I incited the crowd to break windows, and the still more astonishing statement that the unemployed have only to believe in "his" God and all the necessities of life will be added. Meanwhile, the "respectable" church-going landlords of the neighbourhood are extracting their rents from the half-starved working-men by brokerage and threats of eviction. The smug cheating traders who compose the Board of "Guardians," have in the case of the Croydon Union, compelled starving men to trudge across snow-bound Mitcham Common, four miles to Croydon stoneyard, there to work without food until dusk, and receive in return merely bread and a ticket for meat, to obtain which another journey to the contractor is necessary, in all a distance of ten miles per day and laborious penal work upon empty stomachs. It will be a cold day for those who prey upon our vitals if ever we serve them as they serve us. At Morris's lecture on 23rd, at

Merton, we had a full audience, and a resolution of sympathy with our Norwich comrades was passed with cheers for the Social Revolution. The men composing both Merton and Mitcham Branches are, after a long experience of want of work and its attendant sufferings, now entering upon better times that will enable them to give harder work in the movement, and we can assure the humbugs and parasites of this neighbourhood that their dominion of cant will be strenuously attacked, and will be in danger of being destroyed.—F. KRIZ.

MITCHAM.—On Sunday morning, Kitz addressed meeting on the Fair Green, afterwards good discussion was carried on in club room. In the evening, Harrison lectured on "Land Robbery in Ireland." A resolution of condolence with Mowbray and Henderson was carried with three hearty cheers. Two new members.—S. G., sec.

DUBLIN.—Our good comrade John A. Ryan died on Thursday, Jan. 27, and was buried on Sunday last at Glasnevin. He was treasurer of the Branch at its inception, and had been a member of the International during its short-lived existence in Dublin. He had been in poor health for the past four or five months. Nearly all the members of the Branch attended the funeral.—O'G.

EDINBURGH.—On Monday, Jan. 24, in Free Tron Hall, Dr. Reddie gave a lecture on "The Anatomy and Physiology of Society." He maintained that Communism was the ultimate ideal of Society, and that the various Socialisms were stepping stones towards that end. There was some criticism on minor points raised in the lecture, but in the main the audience was with him. In the course of the evening, Prof. Flint, who has been lecturing on Socialism, was subjected to some severe handling. In connection with Flint's lecture we mean to distribute a deal of our literature, and generally to push the Cause.

GLASGOW.—On Sunday afternoon, Glasier addressed a large meeting on Jail's Square. In the evening, in Hall, Carlton Place, James Mavor lectured in place of J. Shaw Maxwell, who was prevented by illness, on "Experiments in Providing Improved Dwellings for Artizans." The lecturer cited examples to show what might be done even under the existing economic system if the authorities were in earnest in the matter, or if the workers paid any attention to their own interests. Referring to the experiment in artisan's dwellings about to be made by the Glasgow City Improvement Trust, he pointed out that the propertied class who composed the committee were more interested in making the experiment a failure than a success. An interesting discussion followed. This Branch will subscribe 2s. weekly for Mowbray's family.

APPEAL TO LUKEWARM MEMBERS.

How hard the Secretary's work,
 To be the pick of men is,
 When members all their duties shirk,
 And never pay their pennies!
 Some hoard their wits, some hoard their gains;
 I don't know which the worse is;—
 Why, those who cannot give their brains,
 Might surely give their purses!

(If the Printer does not print these verses, the Secretary will resign!)—J. B. G.

HAMILTON.—A very successful meeting was held on Thursday, Jan. 20. A good many miners who are on strike, were present, and greatly appreciated the exposition of Socialism ably given by comrades Glasier and McLean, of Glasgow. There was slight opposition, which was effectively replied to.—W. M.

LANCASTER.—Good meeting on Friday night. We passed resolution of sympathy with our Norwich comrades, condemning the brutality and partiality of the "man" Grantham. Copies are forwarded to the Premier, Home Secretary, Mr. Gladstone, Mr. Parnell, and Mr. Williamson (local M.P.)—L. H., sec.

NORWICH.—We held five outdoor meetings in various parts of the City on Sunday, which were well attended. We sold all our *Commonweals*, and a good deal of other literature. Lane was the principal speaker at St. Mary's Plain at 11, in the Market at 3, and on the Agricultural Hall Plain at 7. He also lectured in the Branch offices at 8, a hard day's work. We are not daunted because our comrades Mowbray and Henderson are in Norwich Castle, but intend to work on all the more. We are getting one or two more of our members as speakers, and are in hopes we shall soon be able to do good work in the Cause we all have at heart.—T. M., sec.

BIRMINGHAM (S.D.F.) Branch have passed the following resolution:—"That this meeting expresses its sympathy with the Norwich Socialists, and strongly condemns the bitter partisanship of Judge Grantham. That this resolution be sent to *Commonweal*, *Justice*, and the Norwich Socialists."

Our Comrade J. L. Mahon is doing much useful though unostentatious work in the provinces. Since we last noticed his peregrinations he has visited Bedford, Reading, Nottingham, and Manchester, and held most successful meetings. Mahon's engagements are: Feb. 4, 5, and 6, Lancaster; 8 and 9, Leeds; 10, Walsall; 12 and 13, Nottingham; 14, Sheffield; 15, Clay Cross (miners); 17 to 25, Leeds, Bradford, Bingley, etc.; 27 to end of month, Hull. Mahon will be glad to hear from any persons willing to arrange meetings at Burnley, York, or Middlesbro'.

LECTURE DIARY.

Bloomsbury.—Communist Club, 49 Tottenham Street. Friday Feb. 4, at 8.30. T. Binning and A. K. Donald will speak. On the 11th, Hubert Bland will lecture on "Nihilism."—Members are requested to show a little more interest in the Branch, and attend the lectures.

Clerkenwell.—Hall of the Socialist League, 13 Farringdon Road, E.C. Sunday Feb. 6 and Wednesday 9, at 8.30. Dr. W. H. von Swartwout, "The only Practical Solution of the Labour and Capital Question."—Sunday 6th, 7 p.m., Members' Meeting; a full attendance desired.

Croydon.—Royal County House, West Croydon Station Yard. Sunday February 6. A lecture.—Committee Meeting every Friday at 8 p.m. sharp, at Parker Rd. **Hackney.**—23 Audrey Street, Goldsmith Row. Club Room open every evening from 7.30 till 11.—On Sunday Feb. 6. C. Wade, "England in the Fifteenth Century and Now."

Hammersmith.—Kelmescott House, Upper Mall, W. Sunday Feb. 6, at 8. Graham Wallas, a Lecture.

Hoxton (L. E. L.).—Exchange Coffee House, Pitfield Street, opposite Hoxton Church, N. Sunday Feb. 6, 7 p.m. Committee Meeting, members requested to attend. 8 p.m., Discussion, "Will Dietetic Reform Benefit the Workers?"

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

Mitcham.—Corner of Merton Lane and Fountain Place. Club Room open every evening from 7.30 till 11. February 6, at 7.30. Henry A. Barker, "Socialist Morality."

Country Branches.

Bingley.—Coffee Tavern. Every Monday at 7.30 p.m. **Birmingham.**—Carr's Lane Coffee House. Every Monday evening, at 8.

Bradford.—Scott's Temperance Hotel, East Parade, Leeds Road Wednesdays, at 8.

Edinburgh (Scottish Section).—4 Park Street. Meets every Thursday at 8 p.m. Reading Room and Library open every Wednesday evening, 8 till 10.—Free Tron Hall, Monday February 7, at 8 o'clock. R. W. Armour, "The use of Banks" Monday 14. Jas. Mavor, Sec. Socialist League, Glasgow: subject to be announced next week. Admission, 3d.—The Treasurer will receive Subscriptions for Mowbray's defence fund.

Glasgow.—Reading-room of the Branch, 84 John St., open from 10 a.m. till 10 p.m. daily.—On Sunday, open-air meetings on Jail's Square at 1 and 5 o'clock. In the evening, at 6.30, in Hall, No. 2 Carlton Place, Clyde Side, David M'Lardy will lecture on "The Claims of Labour."

Hamilton.—Branch meets every Thursday at 7.30 in Paton's Hall, Chapel Street.—George M'Lean, Cambuslang, will lecture on Thursday first—subject, "Socialism, what it teaches."

Hull.—11 Princess Street, Sykes Street. Club Room open every evening. Lectures every Thursday and Sunday at 7 p.m.

Lancaster.—Market Hall Coffee Tavern Lecture Room. Friday evenings at 8.

Leicester.—Silver Street. Wednesdays at 8 p.m.

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

Norwich.—No. 6 St. Benedict St. Lecture and discussion every Sunday and Monday at 8 p.m. Reading-room open every day from 8.30 a.m. to 10 p.m.

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

Open-air Propaganda—Sunday 6.

11.30...Hackney—"Salmon and Ball".....Davis
 11.30...Hammersmith—Beardon Rd.....The Branch
 11.30...Hoxton Church, Pitfield Street...Wade, Pope
 11.30...Regent's Park.....The Branch
 11.30...St. Pancras Arches.....The Branch
 11.30...Walham Green—Station.....The Branch
 11.30...Hyde Park (near Marble Arch).....Mainwaring

PROVINCES.—SUNDAY.

Norwich.—St. Mary's Plain, 11; Market Place, 3. **Leeds.**—Hunslet Moor, 11 a.m.; Vicar's Croft, 7 p.m.

CLEVELAND HALL, 54 Cleveland Street (near Portland Road Station).—Sundays at 11.30 a.m. Feb. 6. H. H. Sparling, "Self-Preservation."

THE DECORATOR'S CLUB, 37 Howland St., Tottenham Court Road, W.—Thursday Feb. 10, at 8.30. Thomas E. Wardle, "The Twin Curses, Civilisation and Religion."

Free Lectures on Socialism, in reply to recent Criticism, will be held in Farringdon Hall, 13 Farringdon Road, on Sunday mornings in February.—Sunday February 6, at 11.15 a.m., Edward Aveling, "The Errors of our Opponents."

Debate on Socialism.—A Debate will take place at the Hall of Science, 142 Old Street, City Road, E.C., on February 2, 9, 16, and 23, at 8 p.m., between Mrs. Annie Besant and Mr. G. W. Foote, on the question, "Is Socialism sound?"

COMMUNIST WORKING MEN'S CLUB, 49 Tottenham Street.—We are asked to call the attention of our readers to the fact that this club has been recently fined £20 for selling spirits, etc., although they received a good character from police inspector. Those who can assist in paying the above fine are asked to do so, and will please forward their subscriptions to the above address.

WAR OR PEACE?—A meeting of the international revolutionists to protest against the Coming War will be held in Cleveland Hall, Cleveland Street, Portland Road, W., on Tuesday February 8, at 8 p.m. The chair will be taken by comrade Morris. Speeches will be made in various languages.