

THE COMMONWEAL

The Official Journal of the Socialist League.

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SATURDAY, JUNE 2, 1888.

WEEKLY; ONE PENNY.

NOTES ON NEWS.

THERE is no doubt that the Southampton election is a heavy blow for the Government as things go; and little doubt that the election turned on the compensation clauses in that piece of humbug, the Local Government Bill. This is quite natural, since this question which is, we must suppose, beginning to excite people dreadfully, is after all and considering the bill it has to do with, a small matter compared with the independence of Ireland; and being a smaller matter, people are sure to take more interest in it, because the whole of their political education tends to turn their thoughts towards mere pettinesses. It is a matter of course that if some piece of mere local politics, especially if it were a personal affair, of little importance to themselves and none at all to anyone else, could have been pushed into the front for the consideration of the good people of Southampton, they would have been more excited still about the election.

However the Government must not console themselves for their defeat on these grounds. On the contrary, the fact that the Southampton electors were thinking less of the Irish question than the Government bill is an unlucky sign for the Ins, and shows that their time for being the Outs is drawing near. The fact is that the Government has been compelled to make a show of doing something besides repressing Ireland and London, and is beginning to reap the harvest of its activity. This is an old story, and will have to be told of every Government in future: they come in on the back of a faction excited about something or another, and are happy and glorious; and could they remain with no other work than talking bunkum about the defeated faction, they might remain in happy and glorious for quite a long time. But there is a conventional idea that they must attempt to do something, and so they turn to; but as there is nothing to be done but an attempt to tinker that which only a few Whig pedants really believe can be tinkered, and which it is the interest of most powerful people should have as many holes as a sieve in it, the first step in their attempt at doing something means their first step towards the door.

The Tories have now taken more than one step in that direction, so that we Socialists will probably soon have to be thinking as to what our prospects will be with Mr. Gladstone in office again; and the only question of any interest to be asked about this matter is, will the compromise which will in all probability be come to in the Irish matter let that question rest for a while, and so deprive politicians of a satisfactory refuge from the necessity of at least pretending to deal with the general condition of labour? Of course desperate attempts will be made on both sides to spin out the Irish question. How far will they succeed? Will Socialism become a matter of practical politics? If it does it will be very certainly dragged through the mud a great deal; and it will be especially necessary for all who know what they are striving for, to keep its true ideal steadily before people's eyes.

☾ The Co-operationists have just had a very important congress. It would be impossible to criticise the speeches and addresses delivered there from the curt and garbled reports of the daily press; but pending the careful consideration of more trustworthy accounts of its proceedings, we cannot fail to note that there was a conflict of opinion there between those who have an ideal of Co-operation and those who have not. Our sympathies are of course on the side of those who have the ideal, especially as their opponents appear to an onlooker to be about as grovelling a set of profit-hunters as ever encumbered the earth. Nevertheless it is necessary to point out to them that they are in a false position, and that Co-operation is certain to drift completely into mere joint-stockery with minutely subdivided shares.

☾ Since the days of Robert Owen the position of Co-operation has been quite changed by the uprising of *revolutionary* Socialism as a result of the application of the doctrine of evolution to human society, and the consequent perception of the class-struggle. The Co-operationists of Robert Owen's time did not perceive the existence of the class-struggle, and their Co-operation was but a part of their ideal of Socialism in the future, and a means to that end in the present. They knew that monopoly of the means of production existed, but they did not know (in spite of Adam Smith) that it was an essential part of the society, political and economic, under which they lived.

☾ But now that a living and militant Socialism has made manifest the

antagonism of the classes, it should be clear to our Co-operationist friends that true co-operation and privilege cannot exist together. The monopolists of the means of production will only allow the Co-operationists to rise out of their class misery on condition that they themselves shall join the ranks of the privileged, and live on interest, rent, and profit, thus forming a new class of owners, whose business is in the main keeping down the producers.

☾ It is true, of course, that a great part of this new class would be living by producing, as well as by owning wealth, that they would be exploited as well as exploiters; but there is nothing new in slaves owning slaves. That condition existed as long ago at least as the time when the 'Odyssey' was written. In that book, Eumæus, an obvious thrall, often complaining of his thralldom, has a thrall of his own, "bought with his own money." Surely the "idealist Co-operators" cannot think this a high ideal to aim at.

☾ If they will only look at the matter with eyes cleared from prejudice they will see that Socialism embraces in its programme whatever is really feasible in their ideal, and that the Socialists and not themselves are the true opponents of the sordid profit-grubbing which they are attacking in their own associations. Meantime, it seems to me that these profit-grubbing Co-operationists are doing a service to the Cause of Labour by pointing out the "Thus far shalt thou go and no further" to those Co-operationists who really have nobler views, and are not engaged in the favourite scheme of the dominant class of today, to wit, the fashioning of a new middle-class out of the working-class, and at their expense, as a barrier to revolutionary Socialism.

☾ Perhaps I may as well meet an objection likely to be made, and which was in fact made at a Radical club in my presence, that the Socialists themselves are establishing a Co-operative Society. That society (to which I wish all success) makes it an essential part of its plan that no interest shall be paid on money borrowed, and no dividends of profit made to individual shareholders, which is a demonstration on its part of its views of the impossibility of true co-operation under the present system; as it implies that it does not think it worth while to start a Co-operationist Society unless those that help it are content to sacrifice the *privilege of capital* which the laws of our modern monopolist Society confers on them.

Lord Salisbury's impudence and insolence really pass all bounds. When we heard that the Government had refused to recognise officially the Paris Exhibition of next year, everybody thought it only meant the usual official apathy and red-tape; and the matter might surely have been allowed to rest there unless some special fool could have been dug up for the occasion. However, that special fool has been dug up in the person of the most noble himself. He has thought it necessary to give a reason for the refusal, which is an insult to the French nation, and is clearly meant to be. His given reason for not appointing an English Commission to help to organise the Exhibition, is that it is intended to be a commemoration of the French Revolution! Such an answer almost makes one think that the Government is "riding for a fall." This is the day of panics. Some timid people will be thinking that when the *coup d'état* of Baker the First (Bou langer) comes off, we shall be sending a *corps d'armée* (if we have got it) to help that hero in putting down opposition. Really it quite puts one in spirits to see that our "rulers" can be such blundering block-heads as this.

The Bishop of Limerick has fulminated against the Mayor of that city, who called a meeting to uphold the Plan against the Rescripts, which meeting, with several others, has been successfully held. This as far as it goes is satisfactory, especially when taken together with the condemnation of the Plan by the Protestant Mr. Parnell, since it tends to stiffen whatever of revolutionary or at least progressive in the Irish movement. The cleavage between Whiggery and Revolution is growing wider daily.

W. M.

"THAT BLESSED WORD."

TALKING with a friend some time ago, the observation was made to me, how easy it was to evoke emotion by using traditional channels. My friend went on to relate that he was addressing a public meeting a few days previously and was trying to show that the Liberal Party did not always express sentiments favourable to the cause of labour. In the

course of his remarks he quoted some observations from a speech of a well-known Radical leader, which were not of a nature to stimulate the enthusiasm of a working-class audience. The views enunciated were, as might have been expected, being vigorously hissed, when some one rose and challenged him to give the name of their author. No sooner had he done so, than the hissing changed to equally vigorous cheering. The familiar sound which had been cheered so many times before was quite irresistible. The emotion responded to it by a sort of "reflex action." The same phenomenon may be traced through everything. "Mesopotamia" is by no means the only "blessed word" in the economy of human emotion.

Take the case of jokes (as my friend further remarked). Look through the comic papers, go to any circus or music-hall, and you will find the old story perennially evoking the old merriment; the time-honoured *dramatis personæ*, the mother-in-law, the drunken man trying to open the street-door with his watch-key, the husband who kisses the housemaid on the sly—things that have been laughed at ever since man first began to make jokes.

Again, in literature and in art how many people persuade themselves they admire what they think they ought to admire, with the most lamb-like simplicity? Quote the merest fustian, and cap it with the "blessed word" Shakespeare, and see if he won't "tumble" to it! Or quote Shakespeare and tell him it is an inferior modern versifier, and see if he will not display emotion accordingly!

But it is in the realm of moral and religious sentiment that "blessed words" most of all assert their efficacy. Hence the success of "revival" and similar movements. Hence also the popularity with lecturers or popular orators of phrases about "him who had not where to lay his head," invocations of "our common Christianity," and the like. (An amusing illustration of the possible dangers in the use of the "blessed word" under new conditions was afforded by Mr. Burt at the Trades-union Congress at Paris in 1883. The English "labour representative" wound up his speech on the claims of labour with an eloquent peroration in which "our common Christianity" played an important rôle. Poor Mr. Burt doubtless thought this touching allusion would "melt" the French proletarian conference as though it had been a "Liberal" meeting of English philanthropic shopkeepers. His interpreter, however, knew better, and to save Mr. Burt the humiliation of having his oration greeted with a storm of hisses, omitted the Exeter-Hall-stirring climax.)

There is a tendency in all successful movements to form deposits of "blessed words," which stir up a kind of bastard enthusiasm or melting emotion by their mere sound and apart from any intellectual meaning being attached to them. As already hinted, modern Christianity is a mere coagulation of "blessed words," as any one may convince himself by listening to a sermon any Sunday morning.¹ In France the Great Revolution has left behind it a plentiful crop of such words. How many journalists and platform orators attach any particular meaning to the words "La République" or "La Révolution"? The proof of their fatuous nature in the mouths of many persons is shown by the fact that they are employed where an effect has to be produced indifferently by Conservative and Radical Republicans and Socialists, and sometimes even by Imperialists. They all know the magic in the words, the ringing applause which greets them, their potency in filling up a vacuum in a discourse or newspaper article!

Now all this explains the "pull" which the conservative forces of society have over the revolutionary. The former possess an enormous reserve force of these blessed words, the emotion connected with which is inherited, which the latter do not possess. The fact is, most men resent being made to evolve their emotion out of their own thought. It gives them trouble, which they are saved when they can have the emotional tap instinctively turned on by a phrase. Every Socialist agitator knows the extreme difficulty of divorcing the working-man from the "Liberal party"—how after apparently enthusiastic insight into the fact that the welfare of his class must be sought outside the ranks of current political parties, he will yet at every election return (like the dog of holy writ) to his Liberal vomit. He cannot bring himself to separate from what its adherents are pleased to term the "party of progress," or to risk the horrible danger of letting in a "reactionary," a "Tory," who in the general way would be found, in reality, neither more nor less reactionary than his opponent, if the principles of both were compared. But for the revolutionist there is also another side to the matter. Although the average man doesn't want the trouble of thinking, although, unlike the Athenians of old, he doesn't want to hear some new thing, but at most only the old things or phrases put in a slightly new setting, yet none of the "blessed words" in which he delights can in the end resist the solvent influence of the genuine thought which is the expression of new conditions. Disheartening as it may be to the propagandist of a new truth to find the apparently overwhelming influence of the emotional prepossessions attaching to old jingles and catchwords, yet every time the new truth is proclaimed by tongue or pen something crumbles off the surface of the time-worn phrase. Our propagandist may therefore safely adopt the attitude of the villain of transpontine melodrama, and shaking his fist at the crowds applauding the opposition leader, the popular preacher, etc., which he sadly compares with his own "good meetings" of thirty people, may enunciate in the deep and measured tones of real conviction, "Never mind—a time will come!" for assuredly it will—when the tables will be turned.

¹ For instance, the darker sides of savage ritual surviving in the Christian dogma of the Atonement—the efficacy of blood, washing with blood, etc.—would strike the wives and daughters of the suburban villa as very nasty if they fully realised what it meant—as they would but for the conventional associations connected with it and the stereotyped phraseology in which it is couched.

Let us always remember that most of these "blessed words" have had a meaning once. Although the men who use them now don't think, yet their fathers who invented them have thought. They prefer using hereditary to self-acquired notions. That much abused word Liberty, as implying "freedom of contract," had, as I have before pointed out, a very real meaning when the claims of a superannuated Feudalism were felt to be "the enemy." Even the "blood of Jesus," sin, holiness, etc., were not as now mere jingle—evocative, if of anything at all, of nothing but a mawkish sentiment, empty of all intelligible meaning—to the subject of imperial Rome in the first century, who first used it, with the notion of bloody sacrifice confronting him at every step, and with his disgust at the decaying forms of ancient city-life driving every serious-minded man to seek satisfaction in self-brooding. As before said, there is a tendency in all great popular movements to form these crystals of "blessed words" which produce emotion by reflex action. The modern Socialist movement is no exception. How often are not the phrases "emancipation of labour," "social revolution," "revolutionary crisis," "Socialism and Individualism," "Communist-Anarchism" (!) in the mouths of those for whom they are no better than "blessed words"? This is inevitable to some extent, I know, but for a young movement it is eminently desirable to prevent this process of crystallisation as much as possible by continually driving into its phrases the fresh air of intelligence. After all, it were perhaps not an altogether unreasonable hope that Socialism might form an exception to the general rule of popular movements in the matter of "blessed words," and rely for its strength rather on the realities implied in its conceptions than on the words connoting them. The extinction of class-society with all that this society involves, and the rise of a new social order; the equalisation of the material conditions of human happiness; the abolition of "shams," speculative as well as practical; the installation of realities in their place,—this may be difficult for all to fully grasp, but I think we have a right to expect that everyone who calls himself a Socialist, and still more who professes to preach Socialism, should form for himself some conception of what all this means.

While we are on the subject of "blessed words," it may not be out of place to make a few suggestions on the question of sincerity and insincerity or humbug on the part of those who are or profess to be influenced by them. It is a common thing for Socialists and Free-thinkers to hurl the accusation of hypocrisy at Individualists, Malthusians, Liberals, etc., and at Christians. This accusation is of course indignantly repudiated, and plausible cases are adduced in plenty of persons alleged to be undoubtedly sincere who hold Liberalism or Conservatism (as the case may be), Malthusianism, profit-sharing, or what-not, to be really conducive to the welfare of the people, and Socialism as "impracticable" and "pernicious"; or, who believe the Christian theology to enshrine "eternal virtues."

Now it may be said are these people all humbugs? Their arguments are for the most part little else than "blessed words" spread out thin. But, then, may not they really find satisfaction in them? The question, in spite of its plain appearance is a complex one, and not susceptible of a simple Yes or No answer. I offer the following as a tentative solution:—Insincerity, Humbug, Hypocrisy, may be divided into four kinds or classes—(1) There is the conscious, deliberate, intentional pretence to opinions known or believed to be false for direct personal ends—the humbug or hypocrite of this class is, of course, never anything more nor less than a rogue or scoundrel; (2) There is the adoption of views, or sentiments, which the adopter or holder would like to believe were true or correct, because the holding of them redounds to his interest, and which by a process of self-deception he often does really come to think he believes. This is the unconscious humbug of a very large class, the great historical type of which may probably be found in Mr. Gladstone. Each of these types, the conscious and the unconscious humbug, has its pendant. In their simple and primary form it is individual interest which is the object sought after; in their secondary and derived form it is not necessarily individual interest directly, but *class-interest*. No man to-day dare openly confess that he cares only for his own class. No man dare say with Foulon "let the people eat grass." As a consequence, the man who is only capable of that extension of self-interest of which class-interest consists, must hide the latter like the former under the mask of interest in truth, or in the commonwealth, as the case may be. It is to the conscious humbug of this kind that the philanthropic moderate Liberal politician usually belongs. He knows that his nostrums are simply so much dust thrown in the eyes of the working classes, with a view of allaying discontent and bolstering up class-society, just as in his heart he despises the dogmas promulgated by the missionary society at whose meeting he presides, but which he thinks a desirable adjunct to the bayonet in procuring fresh commercial outlets. The first concern in such a man as this is very often not personal interest *per se*, but personal interest as identified with class-interest. As to those whose humbug is based on unconscious class-interest their name is legion, embracing as they do the bulk of the middle-classes. Very good people they are too, some of them, in themselves, but so blinded by class-prejudice inherited or acquired, or both, that they instinctively wince at truths which tell against the interests of the dominant classes, and instinctively accept fallacies which tell in favour of those classes. They cannot see straight. Arguments which on an indifferent matter would at once carry conviction to them, in this case appear inadequate; on the other hand, arguments on the other side, which on an indifferent matter would appear grossly inadequate, now carry conviction. Most of the "undoubtedly sincere" belief in the religious world may be reduced to unconscious humbug, having its root

in class-interest. The feeling that religion is "respectable," i.e., proper for the dominant classes to profess, and that it is desirable that the poor should be taught to look to heavenly rather than earthly joys for compensation, is what lies in the background of conscience of many a "gentleman" or "lady" who tries more or less successfully to persuade himself or herself that it is true, or at least that there is "a sort of something" in it.

These, then, are in the view of the present writer, the four forms of humbug, insincerity, or hypocrisy, and for one and all of them "blessed words" are godsend. To one or other of them may be reduced well-nigh all the fallacies and superstitions influential in the modern world. The first kind is brutally apparent, and easily recognisable; the third, which corresponds to it, is also easily detected. In both of them the insincerity is intentional. In the second and fourth, on the other hand, when it is more or less unconscious and unintentional in the subject of it, there is much greater difficulty in deciding in any individual case. But here also, it must be remembered, that the humbug although unconscious is none the less there. The thought, or action, is not straight, direct, and clear—is not what it professes to be—but directed by a definite pervading tendency, to wit, the inordinate love of self or class as such.

E. BELFORT BAX.

GENERALITIES AND PARTICULARITIES.

In hearing speeches and in reading books and articles in which the evils of social life are dealt with in a generalising, categorical manner, our sense of the actual enormity of those evils is but faintly appealed to. When we listen to a platform speaker as he alludes to "the poor," "the have-nots," "the unemployed," we do not, as a rule, consider the full significance of these phrases. We do not pause to think of the wealth of honest endeavour and the volume of desperate, desolate penury comprehended in the words "the poor." We do not think of the misery endured by the workman who goes from shop to shop, from yard to yard, in quest of employment, only to meet with rebuffs, refusals, or the mockery of an invitation to "look back in a few days," and who goes home at night, jaded and heart-sick, to his patient, careworn wife and hungry, whimpering children, with no word of hope or cheer to make their suffering more bearable. When we speak or hear of "the tramp," our thoughts do not always go out to the thousands of homeless wretches who trudge along our streets and highways, moved on by policemen, harshly roused up from their unquiet slumber by hedge-side and dyke-side, or hunted out from pent-houses, lobbies, and staircases, where they have essayed for a while to stretch their weary limbs,—every man's hand against them, and their own hands—oftenest thrust into what remnants of pockets their looped and windowed raggedness may contain, but if sometimes meddling with that which is called "not theirs," what wonder? When in the writings of economists we meet with such phrases as "the iron law of wages," in spite of the grim significance of the combination of words, we receive them with scarce a thought for the system of grinding pressure which they denote. By constant repetition from press and platform we have got familiarised with the idea of the slums and their denizens and the pittance wages paid to the sempstress and the maker of match-boxes. We can even read in a "high-class" poem of the couch of incest that crowds the warrens of the poor without any very insupportable thrill of horror and indignation being aroused in our minds against the social system that breeds and fosters these things. Aye; and the words "class-war" convey but a vague conception of the bitterness which is growing up against those who live by the spoliation and degradation of their brothers and sisters.

The ordinary economist, and indeed some of ourselves unavoidably, have got into the habit of theorising, regarding human beings as if they were so many quantities in a mathematical problem. As a nation we have got accustomed to the idea of having in our midst thousands of men without work, food, or shelter—with little save a brute-like envy, a vague sense of wrong suffered by them, and an inarticulate hatred of those who have more than they need and a thousand times more than they deserve. Our magazine-writers and our ordinary politicians speak and write of all this suffering and degradation with placid gravity, as if they considered such things disagreeable developments, certainly, of our civilisation, but just what was to be expected since the masses will go on breeding at such a scandalous rate and wasting their earnings on drink, and since those foreign paupers (princes not included!) will continue to pour into Free Britain. As middle and upper-class men they know little of the actual pinch of poverty, and feel as little for those who do; and their readiness to throw the blame of the poverty suffered by the masses on the masses themselves is only equalled by their eagerness to demolish any proposal for social amelioration put forward by those whose humanity is not wholly withered up by selfishness nor stifled by conventional cant.

Our sensibilities are blunted and our enthusiasm for the cause of humanity is in danger of being abated by mere theorising and generalising. We require to have our sympathies refreshed by occasionally bringing ourselves face to face as it were with the details of nineteenth-century barbarism; and it is well for the cause of the dispossessed that every now and again some iniquity grows too murderous to be kept out of sight any longer, and obtrudes itself upon the attention of the public, to startle it to a sense of how its social and economic "laws" are working among men, women, and children. When, it may be, a "Bitter Cry of Outcast London" comes from the press some morning, or when a report is published of how men are sweated and bled and fleeced in the dark places of Christian Uncivilisation—then,

and not till then, do we realise anything of the meaning of "the struggle for existence," "the iron law of wages," the "law of rent," "freedom of contract," and the rest of those generalities that flow with such cultured deliberation from the lips of our sweaters and fleecers. Through the medium of quiet, unadorned, sometimes official, prose, we gather an idea of the ghastly realities; and once in a while when the picture is more than ordinarily revolting we will choke down the lump that rises in our throat, vainly trying to ease our feelings with a curse on the taskmasters. I cannot conceive a man with a heart taking things quietly after reading a narrative like the following, which is by no means an extraordinary newspaper "swatch":—

"There is no exceptional distress in the metropolis; but on one night seven men and one woman were refused admission to a single casual ward on the ground that it was already full. On the following morning one of the men was brought before a magistrate and charged with 'not having any home or any visible means of existence,' because he slept in the street. The crime of homelessness," adds the writer, "is doubtless a heinous one; but one may surmise that James Dirole would have preferred a comfortable bed under shelter to the pavement of Lucretia Road, Lambeth, had the choice been open to him, and that his crime was, therefore, of the involuntary kind. It makes the heart sick to think of these roving homeless creatures, tossed from casual ward to casual ward till too weary to tramp further, and then when they curl themselves up on the pavement to sleep, dragged off by a policeman to the station, and charged before a magistrate on the following day.—In another case a man named William Hyde was refused admission at four casual wards, and at last despairingly threw a stone at a public-house window in order that he might be locked up and so obtain food and shelter. 'The man,' said the constable to whom he spoke, 'appeared to be starving and very much cut up.'—Another man, name unknown, who did not make his way to the gaol-refuge, was found lying on the pavement dead; the medical evidence showed that for years the man had been in a state of destitution, and death was practically due to starvation.—In yet a fourth case, a hawkier out of work had for some time been dependent on his wife's earnings, who kept him and seven children by preparing toothpicks, receiving 5d. for 1,200. By very hard work she could get through 3,600 a-day, and so earned 1s. 3d. On this the nine persons 'lived'; but the other day James Lockyer grew weary, and was found dead in his bed when the February light struggled into his hovel."

It would be mightily easing to one's conscience if one could get oneself to believe that these persons reduced themselves to their wretched pass by drink, or that their misery was caused by overpopulation, by the appreciation of gold, or by the depreciation of silver, and so on, and so on in the same vein. I can almost envy the person who believes that such work can be put an end to by shutting the public-house, or by prohibiting the immigration of "destitute foreigners." But when I read in the same publication that "the late Baron Herman Stern has just transmitted to his heirs the sum of £3,541,366 19s. 0d. as his nett personal property in England," I set my teeth for the quite other "methods" which lie before us.

It is a faithful saying and worthy of all acceptance, though it came from Whig-Malthusian Macaulay, that in description the particular exceeds the general in the vividness of impression which it creates.

JAMES LEATHAM.

DANIEL O'CONNELL.

A correspondent who dissents from the view taken of O'Connell in the Calendar note by T. S. a few weeks ago, sends the following letter, written in 1884, by Ainge Devyr, the writer of the powerful "Odd Book," who knew more than any one other man of the Irish and English movements half a century ago. The letter is worth reprinting, and is here given:

SIR,—I have received the *Newcastle Weekly Chronicle* of October 21, containing the first instalment of extracts from my 'Odd Book.' I write this to request that you will allow me to state the *why* I call O'Connell an 'evil man,' otherwise many good men, ignorant of his career, will think me, not him, the evil man.

1. In 1798, O'Connell entered the Lawyers' Corps to fight the United Men.
2. To emancipate a few lords and loungers he sacrificed 100,000 forty shilling freeholders, and as a condition to emancipation swore every one of the emancipated to become a spy of the Government.
3. On the lapse, by termination, of the Tory coercion law, he voted and spoke for its continuance—when the Whigs were in power in 1834 or '35.
4. He voted to pay the debts of Victoria's mother, who could not live on £30,000 a year. He would not see his Queen's mother distressed.
5. He voted for £70,000 worth of new stables for Prince Albert, and to add £10,000 to his salary.
6. He offered 500,000 pikemen to push the Chartists into the sea, for daring to disturb "the quiet of his dear little Queen."
7. He offered to pull down the American eagle and put the British lion up in its place; and to raze "with fire and sword the midnight homes of New York State, if she dared to touch a hair of M'Leod's head."
8. He ridiculed Sharman Crawford and tenant-right; and at every adjournment he made a new humbug society to ask another trial for the Whigs.

And these are only samples of what he did. He was a bred Bourbon Tory, and brought home those principles from St. Omer, where he was educated. He abused the trades unions in Dublin, had the Chartist delegation sent from Newcastle mobbed by his followers, and said their leaders' heads ought "to roll on the scaffold." Had I not reason, Mr. Editor, to call him an evil man? Now, had he backed Sharman-Crawford when I was in London in 1833 he would have secured a tenant-right that would, through its improvements, have saved every life that perished in 1847. What could I call him but an evil man?

DEVYR.

Green Point, New York, Nov. 3.

METROPOLITAN PAUPERISM.—The weekly return of metropolitan pauperism shows that the total number of paupers relieved in the second week of the current month was 98,038, of whom 56,698 were indoor and 41,340 outdoor paupers. The total number relieved shows an increase of 5,768 over the corresponding week of last year, 7,575 over 1886, and 10,937 over 1885. The total number of vagrants relieved on the last day of the week was 1,019, of 816 were men, 180 women, and 23 children under sixteen.



HAVE YOU NOT HEARD HOW IT HAS GONE WITH MANY A CAUSE BEFORE NOW: FIRST, FEW MEN WROTE 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 Farrington Rd., E.C., and accompanied by the name and address of the writer, not necessarily for publication.

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Too late—Thomas (Ipswich).

Periodicals received during the week ending Wednesday May 30.

ENGLAND Die Autonomie Justice Leaflet Newspaper London—Freie Presse Labour Tribune Norwich—Daylight Railway Review Worker's Friend NEW SOUTH WALES Hamilton—Radical SOUTH AUSTRALIA Adelaide—Our Commonwealth INDIA Bankipore—Behar Herald UNITED STATES New York—Der Sozialist Truthseeker Volkszeitung Boston—Woman's Journal Liberty Chicago—Labor Enquirer	CHICAGO (Ill)—Vorbote Buffalo—Arbeiter-Zeitung Detroit—Der Arme Teufel Fort Worth (Tex)—South West Milwaukee (Wis)—Volksblatt Arbeiter Zeitung Providence (R.I)—The People Paterson (N.J)—Labor Standard St. Louis (Mo.)—Die Parole Coast Seaman's Journal	SWITZERLAND Zurich—Sozial Demokrat ITALY Gazetta Operaia Milan—L'Emancipazione Rome—L'Emancipazione Marsala—La Nuova Eta Cremona—La Freccia SPAIN Madrid—El Socialista PORTUGAL Lisbon—O Protesto Operario AUSTRIA Arbeiterstimme Brunn—Volksfreund BOHEMIA Jassy—Muncitorial DENMARK Social-Demokraten SWEDEN Stockholm, Social-Demokraten Malmo—Arbetet
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NO COMPENSATION.

THE supporters of the liquor interest, now threatened by a Bill before Parliament, are clamouring about "confiscation" and calling for "compensation." To this the temperance folk retort with a cry of "No compensation," and to-day (Saturday) a motley crowd of Socialists, Radicals, temperance advocates, and others are met together to lend their voices to the shout. No compensation for the refusal to renew a bargain—that is the meaning of to-day's meeting.

By law the drink traffic has been made into a monopoly, and the "licenses," of which we are hearing so much, are merely the tokens of admission into the ring of monopolists. Knowing the highly profitable nature of liquor-selling, the Government has retained the control of it in its own hands, restricted the number of those engaged in it, made them pay for the privilege, and terminated its exercise when they abused it. The licenses have to be renewed annually, or, in other words, the share which every publican holds in the great drink monopoly is only hired by the year and not bought outright. He has no more "vested interest" in it than a yearly tenant has in the house he rents, or any other hirer of any other article when the term of his hiring has expired. This has always been the legal view of the matter up to the present. But then the monopoly brings in to the governmental coffers the sum of thirty millions per year, and the small monopolists are anxious to share even more largely than they do in the plunder obtained from it.

What the particular proposals are on either side does not much matter; what they mean is simply that the shares in the monopoly are on the one hand proposed to be reduced in number, and heightened in productiveness and price, and on the other hand it is asked that they be left as they are, or that any present shareholder shall be "compensated" when his time of holding is over should the bargain not be renewed. Very naturally and rightly it is being pointed out by opponents of "compensation" that the publicans have no prescriptive right beyond the time for which they have bargained; that the power which gave has the power to take away; and that in the exercise of their monopoly they have as a class somewhat more than "compensated" themselves already. Further than that go many of the opponents, who point out also that the "value" of a public-house is not made by what is put into it, in fact is not in itself at all; that its "value" as a profit-making concern is dependent on the people who by necessity or convenience are compelled to make use of it; that the profit of the publican and the "magnificent revenue of the Chancellor of the Exchequer" come alike from the pennies of the consumer or the wages of the producer. Between the worker who brews the beer or distils the spirit, on the one hand, and the consumer who

drinks either on the other, there stand in line the capitalist brewer or distiller, the publican, and the Government, who each have a finger in the pie and take out a plum as it passes.

The teetotaler adds another plea: that the effect of the traffic is mischievous and degrading, and year by year inflicts misery and want upon millions and entails enormous loss upon the country at large; that anything which tends to its restriction is good in itself, and that the man who has been allowed, "for a consideration," to take part in it has incurred a heavy responsibility rather than acquired a right to further reward. One of the features of to-day's demonstration was to be a van-load of poor children, ragged and woe-begone, with the legend in large letters, "Who is to compensate all these?"

With all these pleas the Socialist has to avow his sympathy, but he is at the same time compelled to say that they are unsound if taken on the basis of the present property system, and are not carried to their logical conclusion if accepted as binding on their own merits. The conditions upon which all property, landed and other, is held to-day are virtually the same as those upon which the drink monopoly is maintained. All the material resources of the country are held as a monopoly by a class; Government levies a toll upon each man's share of this monopoly, protects him in its exercise, and interferes with its abuse (sometimes). If Lord Coleridge may be trusted, there is no legal right to compensation on the part of any man whose share is curtailed, taken away, or otherwise interfered with; but the whole of society to-day goes upon the assumption that each man's share is "his own to do what he likes with," and to be heavily paid for if taken from him. It is "his own" just in the same way and no other as that in which the publican's share in the drink monopoly is his; for so long as the community agree to give it him. If it be decided that property in land, or factories, or machinery, or, as it really is, in the power which these things give of extorting wealth from the workers, is to carry the right of compensation, then also must property in the liquor trade. So that our friends who cry "No compensation," being landlords or capitalists of some kind, had better reconsider their position, and reflect they are departing from the standpoint of the property-system of to-day, which, if they accept it, would make them "give compensation" whenever a monopoly was interfered with, or an abuse rectified. But if they have thought out the matter and still hold to "No compensation" and the rest of it? Then they must carry out their principles to their logical conclusion, and become Socialists. This a good many are very unlikely to do, but there are some who may be able to see the case clearly when it is put before them. First, the stern teetotaler who puts the publican beyond the pale of consideration because the very existence of his class implies widespread poverty with all its evils. Even granting for a moment that some part of the poverty is "due to drink," is not a much larger part due to the existence of a capitalist class which consumes without producing, and therefore lives upon the workers? For every ten the publican has killed there have been a thousand slain by the landlord and the capitalist; should not these men's power be broken? And of the proletariat whom these men have plunged in misery, "who is to compensate all these?"

The "value" of property in land, or houses, or machinery, or anything else, is not inherent in it, or put into it by the holder, but depends on how much the holding of it will enable its "owner" to exploit from other people. Between the producer and the consumer stands the capitalist, saying "Producer, you shall not produce; Consumer, you shall not consume, unless I also share in the wealth produced." Suppose the producer and consumer combine in refusing to let him share any longer, will our friends then join us in crying "No compensation"? All this which is now agitating the public mind is, when all is said, but a small part of the monopoly which oppresses us, which is being increasingly felt and will be questioned more closely day by day. The more closely it is questioned, the more clearly it will be seen to be merely a vast engine for robbing or defrauding the workers of the fruit of their labour. Whether directly by actual taking away the product of their toil in the workshop or on the land, or indirectly by fooling them out of their scanty pay in the grog-shop, the same thing is done—the producer is fleeced of the product. For laying a finger on part of the vested right of robbery, the people are asked to "compensate" those they disturb. Many people are advising the people not to do so, but of all these the Socialist alone is clear-headed or honest enough to freely explain the reason and set forth its application. S.

THE HISTORY OF A SWEATER.

HIS DEVELOPMENT.

(Concluded from p. 162.)

I now tried to get employment in the West-end, having an ambition to get into a better position, and I was taken on by a sweater in Warwick Street, Regent Street, at 7s. 6d. a-day, from seven till nine. I still continued to live in the East-end, because I could not tear myself away from all the familiar surroundings; but after awhile the strain became too great to get to work by seven, and get back at night. So I came to live up town, and began to consider myself a great person. Soon after, something happened which interested me greatly. A friend of my master's, hearing of and seeing me at work, conceived the idea of sending and offering me more money to leave my then employer. I foolishly told my master of it, and he was so en-

raged at the treachery of his friend that when he saw him again he threatened him with all kinds of things. But for some reason or other he would not raise my wages; so I left him at the end of the week, without saying anything, and went to work for his "friend," and received 8s. a-day.

I now began to feel that I could raise myself still higher in the social scale, so I avoided card-playing, lotteries, and other kinds of gambling, dressed myself well, and saved my money. Several interested people now broached the subject of matrimony to me, but I was too intent on money-getting, and gave them no hopes. I had also by this time disregarded the teachings of the orthodox religion, as I found that it interfered very much with my efforts to live with, and like, the majority, who seemed to be only striving after gain.

About this time my hitherto successful efforts received a severe check, as I fell ill through some sudden violent exertion which injured me internally, and I was obliged to go to the hospital at Dalston. I now thought that my race was run. My people had disowned me for being too atheistic, which is the greatest offence possible among the Jews. After two months I was discharged, and it was now in the slack time of the year. I did not relish the idea of going to work at the slop-work again, and so I lived a few weeks on my savings. I longed to be home again, but I dare not return to my native land, for fear of being punished and sent to Siberia as a deserter.

I now thought that I should make the attempt to start on my own account. I unfolded my plan to an acquaintance of mine, who was a tailor, but had been a few years before, in his own country, a tanner; and we decided to start that very day. So we came up to the west, and I, being the better dressed, went into many of the fine shops, applying for work as a first-class coat-maker. My efforts were successful, and I got the promise of plenty of work at prices about half what the tailors' log came to. We looked about for a suitable place in the vicinity that we could use for a work-room, which we found through looking in at a baker's shop window near Regent Street, where I noticed numerous advertisements stuck up, calling for the help of persons of both sexes at different branches of many occupations. As we were, we could not ourselves have made a coat, as I could only machine and he baste; we needs must have a good tailoress to make the button-holes and sew on the braid, etc. To discuss this and sundry other matters over we adjourned to a neighbouring coffee-tavern, and there made our plans for the future. We were sorely in need of the necessary capital, but we soon borrowed five pounds from some friends on the strength of our expectations, which was enough to get a table, sleeve-board, irons and lamps, etc., and a machine from the Singer Machine Company, which we got for ten shillings down and half-a-crown a-week after until all the purchase-money (£7, 7s.) was paid.

I now began to dream of a glorious future, that would be possible if we could only get sufficient hands and work enough. I was now a sweater. Through the agency of the baker's shop we were able to get a really good tailor—a poor, ragged fellow, who was too dirty to get work in any of the West-end shops, and so was glad to come and work for me for 5s. 6d. a-day from eight till nine. We also got a good tailoress, who was in the same deplorable condition, whom we paid 3s. 6d. a-day, from eight till eight. These two caused us great inconvenience and anxiety, as they invariably stayed away from work drinking on Monday and Tuesday, especially when we were busy. This was rather curious to me, because they were so much in need of money that they would ask for "the boot" (advance) on the first day that they started work. Well, these two and my partner, with myself and a girl, who did our house-work and went to and from the shop that we worked for, we managed to turn out nearly thirty garments a-week, and we nearly always managed to have £4 a-piece each week after paying all expenses.

This went on for some time, when one day the foreman, who up till now had hardly spoken to me, asked me to make an overcoat for him. I joyfully consented, and when it was finished I took it myself to his house. He did not ask me for the bill, and I did not like to ask him for the money, so he never paid me for that coat, as well as for others that we made for him. Now of course I felt more familiar with him, and so one night I invited him to a good supper, with wine, etc., à la carte, when he promised to give me as much work as I wished—for a consideration, of course. It is needless for me to relate the exact words that passed between us, but I agreed to pay him a percentage of 2s. for every £ that I earned; he on his part promising to give me the easiest and best paid for work of that he had under his control. We parted, and we both fulfilled our parts of the arrangement.

I now had to get a larger workshop and more people; and from this time I worked the machine no more. I also got a quantity of stock coats to make, which I brought home, and after extracting the sewing-silk, etc., from each bundle, gave them out to several of my friends to make, and paid them 20 per cent. less than I received, I taking the difference for my trouble. This is, correctly speaking, pure "sweating." I soon afterwards bought out my partner, who continued to manage my workroom, for which I paid him well. I was now clearing about £7 a-week. This went on for two or three years, when I had to my credit in the Post Office Savings Bank a comfortable sum. So I began to look round for some means of investing "my" money. I was recommended to buy a small cigar business, which, after due investigation, I bought, my sweating concern going on all right in Golden Square.

Sometimes now I think of the fate of my unhappy country, and I help in many ways the Nihilist movement. I try to treat my employees as well as the best of employers, and I am always ready to "help a lame dog over the stile."

Communicated by HENRY SAMUELS.

INTERNATIONAL NOTES.

FRANCE.

The glassblowers strike of Pantin, near Paris, or rather the lock-out organised by the masters against 3000 workers, has come to an end, and we are glad to say that the glassblowers have won their battle on all points. All the furnaces are to be worked again; all the working-men, without exception, resume work; and Amiable, the foreman against whom the workers of one of the factories made complaints, has to be removed to some other department. During this struggle, the French workers generally, and the blowers of Lyons in particular, have shown a great and admirable sense of solidarity.

Another strike which has lasted over six weeks has ended with the victory of the workers—namely, that of the slate-quarries of Rimogne (Ardennes Department). There also the masters have been compelled to re-engage all the workers, without exception.

GERMANY.

We need scarcely say that the police persecutions and arrests of Socialists are going on as usual in Germany. Last week at Berlin several comrades had their houses searched by the Naporras of the Spree, and were arrested afterwards. Two other comrades were sentenced to several months' hospitality in his Majesty's prisons for having distributed the *Freiheit* and the *Sozial Demokrat*. Those who have been lately arrested for the distribution of that leaflet, of which 40,000 copies fell into the hands of the police, will be tried for offence against the general press laws, against the anti-Socialist laws, against the Kaiser, for secret conspiracy, and for some other reasons. All that for a leaflet! This week we will have at Leipzig a trial with 43 accused Socialists only, all of them being concerned with the wholesale spreading of a pamphlet remembering the 18th of March. A fortnight or three weeks ago, 18 stonecutters were tried for "secret conspiracy" and 13 of them sentenced to several months of jail. And so forth, everywhere throughout the jolly blessed land. But how long is it going to last? We feel somewhat inclined to cry to our friends there over the Rhine: "Get up, Lazarus!"

It is expected that in a few weeks there will be all through Germany a considerable strike of ironfounders. These workers are pretty well organised, and have prepared themselves for the last six months to that effect. Last week a secret gathering of delegates of the German ironfounders was held at Chemnitz, in Saxony, and important resolutions taken concerning the forthcoming struggle. It appears likely that the workers of Magdeburg, where several thousands of foundrymen are at work in the Gruson factories, will commence the battle against their exploiters. During the last few months, several delegates of the German foundrymen have also acquainted their comrades of the same trade in other countries with their plan of action. We will soon have, in all probability, somewhat more to say about this very important affair.

In the districts of Glauchau and Meerane, mostly devoted to the textile and weaving industry, there is a considerable amount of poverty and misery among the workers. More than one half of the people are out of work, and those who have managed to remain at their occupation earn somewhat over sixpence a-day. But even in good times these poor weavers, for fourteen and sixteen hours daily work, do not get more than from £15 to £20 yearly. They have often tried to ameliorate their miserable condition by convening meetings, in order to take some steps which could lead to a bettering of their lives, but the "authorities" are still more barbarous there than elsewhere; never do the workers get the necessary authorisation for combining. They are left to starve in their dens, hopeless and desperate. Could not the German Socialist deputies do better work there than in Bismark's Reichstag, where they can do nothing whatever for the sake of these unfortunate beings? They would also find good work to do in some other districts where the weavers are badly off, as for instance at Crefeld where 7,000 frameworks are at a standstill, at Sanct-Tonis where there are 800, and at Süchteln where there are 1,000 in the same condition.

AUSTRIA-HUNGARY.

The last issue of *Gleichheit* (Equality) has again been confiscated; but it was soon followed by a second edition, duly expurgated according to the wish of the "authorities."

Comrade Ignatius Bluch, one of the most energetic and intelligent propagators of Socialism in Austria, died at Dornbirn at the beginning of the month, after a long and painful disease.

BELGIUM.

The *Avant-Garde* (the Vanguard), organ of the *Parti ouvrier* at Brussels, has breathed its last, owing to the modification introduced in their daily paper, *Le Peuple*, the size of which has been considerably enlarged.

The members of the Belgian *Parti ouvrier* are very busy just now in wasting their time. They run candidates for the provincial councils, who are to be defeated on the 27th inst., and candidates for parliament, who will meet with the same fate on the 12th of June. And if they were not to be beaten the whole affair would exactly amount to the same result: Nothingness.

At the same time the *Parti ouvrier* has decided to commence propaganda work on a large scale among the labourers of the agricultural districts throughout the country, in order to win them for the Socialist ideas. That is useful business, provided they refrain from all parliamentary ramblings.

NORWAY.

One of the most prominent forerunners of the revolutionary Socialist cause in Denmark died in the beginning of this month at Bergen, in Norway. Comrade Sophus Pihl was born at Copenhagen in 1840, and was initiated in the doctrines of Socialism by Ferdinand Lassalle, whom he knew, in the year 1863, at Frankfort-on-the-Maine. One of the founders of the International Workingmen's Association in his country, he represented his fellow-comrades at the Congress of The Hague in 1872, where he came into contact with Marx, Engels, Longuet, and several others. In the same year he was tried at Copenhagen in consequence of a revolutionary speech delivered before 50,000 workers, and sentenced to one year's imprisonment. After many other prosecutions inflicted upon him by the Danish Government, he went to South Africa, where he resided over seven years. He then came to Norway, and became editor of the *Friend of the People*, published at Bergen. He organised there the Socialist Workingmen's Club, which soon became very flourishing. Having spent all his money in the service of the Cause he died a very poor man, and his Socialist friends had to pay the expenses of his burial. Sophus Pihl was a most eloquent speaker, and an organiser of great ability, who fully deserves to be remembered by the proletariat of all countries.

V. D.

THE LABOUR STRUGGLE.

BRITAIN.

The Bolton cotton spinners have resolved that notice for an increase of 5 per cent. in wages be served on masters on the 27th of June.

There is a dispute in the tailoring trade at Mullingar owing to the employers giving notice of a reduction of wages. The men threaten to strike.

All the furnace fillers at Shotts are on strike after having wrought a fortnight's warning. The men demand 6d. on their shift, or an extra man on the limestone.

The Hull moulders, who have been out six weeks on strike for an advance of 2s., have returned to work. They are to have a shilling advance in July, and a similar rise later on if the state of trade permits it.

A conference is being arranged between the Tee-side shipbuilders and men to settle the wages question. Should no settlement be arrived at, the men at Middlesbrough, Stockton and Hartlepool, will strike.

The employés at Carn Brea and Tincroft Mines, Cornwall, have received notice that their wages will be reduced from 60s. to 55s. per month. The men are very dissatisfied, and a strike is imminent.

At a conference of delegates of the Ayrshire Miners' Union last week at Kilmarnock, it was agreed to recommend the members to remodel the union somewhat on the lines of the Knights of Labour.

DUNDEE IRON SHIPBUILDERS.—The iron shipbuilders in three of the yards in Dundee have struck work in consequence of the masters refusing an advance of wages. The riveters ask an increase of 7½ and the caulkers of 5 per cent., while the time hands, whose wages were raised a month ago from 6d. to 6½d., now demand 7d. per hour. Messrs. Alexander Stephen and Sons have given the advance asked by the men.

OPERATIVE BOOT AND SHOE RIVETERS AND FINISHERS.—A conference of delegates met in Norwich last week, and in connection therewith a public meeting to further the cause of trades unionism was held. There were three Socialists among the delegates; our comrade Mowbray also addressed the meeting on the question of Socialism, which was well received. A large number of pamphlets and leaflets were distributed. A resolution pledging the meeting to promote the organisation of labour was passed.

STRIKE OF GRINDERS AND GLAZIERS.—The strike of grinders and glaziers at Mason's, Globe Works, Rochdale, still continues. It is now some weeks since the strike commenced, with no signs of any settlement up to the present. Some other portions of the work have been compelled to stop half-time, as the men are very determined, and very few of the stones are working. The cause of the strike was that the men wanted to be paid by the standard list paid by other firms in Rochdale—viz., 32s. per week—while the above firm have only been paying 30s.

STRIKE OF BIRMINGHAM LABOURERS.—About thirty men employed by the Corporation contractor to remove the macadam in Congreve Street, Birmingham, prior to laying down a wood pavement, struck work last Friday. T. Smith, 5 Court, 5 house, Bishopsgate Street, who writes for the men on strike, says: "Through the influence of one or two of the borough officials we have been reduced in our wages from 5d. to 4½d., and now they want us to work for 4d. per hour. In bad weather we are knocked off, and have no opportunity of obtaining extras. We are only poor men, and ask for a fair day's pay for a fair day's work."

THE WAGES QUESTION AT ROCHDALE.—The Warpers and Card and Blowing Room Association and the Operative Spinners' Association are co-operating in a demand for 5 per cent advance in wages. A Lancashire correspondent says the intimation that the employers of Oldham are not prepared to resist the application, has given the greatest satisfaction among the spinners and winders of North and North-East Lancashire. It is now probable that the advance will have to be extended all round in the spinning departments of the northern counties.

STRIKE ON THE TYNE.—There is a general lock-out in all the shipyards on the Tyne. Several thousand men are involved in the dispute, which promises to be prolonged and bitter. The beginning of the affair was the demand of the helpers in Jarrow shipyard for an advance in wages, which was refused, and the men struck work. Other shipbuilders, to support Palmer's Company, gave their helpers notice, unless Palmer's men withdrew their demand, which they refused to do and are still on strike. Efforts have been made to fill their places with men from Sheffield and Blackwall, with only partial success.

STRIKE OF BLANKET-WEAVERS.—The women employed in several of the Heckmondwike blanket manufactories have struck work against an attempt to withdraw the extra halfpenny allowed in certain cases for change of shuttle. The firms for whom they were working are Messrs. J. and T. Tattersfield, Staincliffe; Messrs. Jeremiah Tattersfield and Sons, Kilpin Hill; Mr. Joseph Tattersfield, Kilpin Hill; and Mr. William Crabtree, Dewsbury Moor. The weavers allege that the reduction is a halfpenny per watern of 6lb., equal to 2s. per week. They appear determined to stand out, but have no union of their own to provide them with funds.

COLNE—GARDEN VALE MILLS STRIKE.—This notable strike, which is now in its 27th week, seems likely before long to terminate in a victory for the workers. The moral effect is worth all that it is likely to cost. It is to be hoped there will be no slackening in the efforts of those who have up till now supported the committee in carrying on the fight. The 26th report shows that there are now fewer looms running than ever, a lot of the weavers having ceased working, as reported last week. The amount paid last week to strikers and their families, with expenses, was £98 10s. 5d. The total amount paid since the strike commenced is £2,529 3s. 2d.

THREATENED GENERAL STRIKE AT BLACKBURN.—The masters have declined to grant the demand of the loomers and drawers for a new standard list of prices and troublous times are expected. The employers are preparing for the conflict by the usual means, setting one portion of the workers against their fellows. It is stated that some of the mill managers are being allowed upwards of £10 per week for training traitors after the usual working hours in order that they may take the places of those who have given in their notices or have threatened to do so. It is rumoured in the district that an importation of East-end Londoners is contemplated to take the place of the strikers. Such a proceeding would cause extraordinary commotion, and the exasperation of the operatives would doubtless lead to serious results.

NUT AND BOLT MAKERS.—At a meeting of the nut and bolt makers, held at Darlaston last week, it was stated that the masters at the Staffordshire Works were willing to give the price-list to all their men with the exception

of three, who they said were apprentices; whilst Mr. Richards, of the firm of C. Richards and Co., refused to do anything in the matter until he had seen the other employers. He promised, however, to do the same as the others did. Mr. Robinson (Fallings Heath) had accepted the notice, but had subsequently expressed his willingness to pay the list; and Messrs. Cotterell had stated that they would pay the price asked for to all the employés except non-union men. A resolution was passed requesting all men who had resumed work on the understanding that the list price would be conceded, less 5 per cent., to leave work again after Saturday if they found then that the full prices were not paid to them.

MACCLESFIELD—WEAVERS' STRIKE.—The power loom weavers at Mr. Nicholson's still remain out. Mr. Nicholson has issued a statement that no trial has been made on the work, and that he offered to revise the price if it was shown that a good living could not be obtained. A reply has been issued by the weavers, in which they say they offered to weave the job in dispute for 20s. a-week, but he would not pay even that. (Mr. Nicholson's way of doing business seems to be more straightforward than some. He coolly tells his workers he will give them bread and cheese if they will allow him to sweat all he can out of them; and if they will show him they are not earning bread and cheese now—or a "good living," as he calls it—he may perhaps allow them a little more of their own produce. And yet there are no wage-slaves! The weavers should make offer to Mr. Nicholson to accept his standard of a "good living.")

IRISH WAGE-SLAVES.—An enquiry regarding the condition of the Lurgan linen-weavers has revealed a terrible state of destitution. In one house, a family was found huddled together in one room in which a loom was at work. The family consisted of father, mother, a girl ill with consumption, three very young children, and a boy of eleven. Most shocking of all is the statement that the latter was actually chained to his work at a wheel, the father keeping the key in his pocket. The mother was out at the time, looking for something to eat. The report denounces "those who, instead of letting the parents of these poor children earn a fair living, go on with their unjust dealings, heaping up their thousands and thousands of pounds, and building splendid mansions, each one grander than the other, and with everything possible to adorn and beautify their surroundings, never dreaming of that great and terrible day when they shall stand at the great bar, face to face with all their unjust actions and with the men and women they have so ill-used."

FOREIGN WAGE-SLAVES IN ENGLAND.—At Winsford, Cheshire, there is a large colony of Polish workmen employed in the salt manufacture. At the monthly meeting of the Winsford Local Board last week, the surveyor reported a case of small-pox at Meadow Bank. The patient was a Pole. Two slight cases of scarlet fever had also been reported at Meadow Bank; the victims were young children of English parents. He had made a midnight inspection of the cottages occupied by the foreigners at Meadow Bank. He found overcrowding everywhere. At the Cocoa-rooms he found in one room on the ground floor six men, one woman, and four young children, eleven in all, and in the lobby one man; in another room on the ground floor there were four men; and in another three men, one woman, and five children. Upstairs there were ten men in one room, and eight in another. At a cottage in the yard and adjoining the stables were three men in the front room, seven in another room, and one woman and two children in a back room. The rent was paid to a Mr. Falk, and he packed the people in, as many as he could get. He believed the system adopted was to take the money for lodgings out of their wages.

SELF-HELP.—A question of considerable importance to the weavers of Burnley is growing out of the success of the Self Help companies in that town. Attempts have been made by some employers to induce their weavers to take up shares in their concerns. The operatives should be very careful in these matters. If it is desirable to extend the principle of self-help, the concerns by all means should start on a sound footing by getting new machinery, and not have old looms forced upon them at such a price that in a few years the looms will be done and the operatives bankrupt. The operatives at Nelson the other week declined to have anything whatever to do with a proposition simply because the price was too high for old looms. The Nelson weavers are evidently looking ahead. An attempt was made the other week to float another old firm in Whittlefield, the employer having purchased another shed in another part of the borough. The weavers refused to have it. It seems that private employers are not particularly fond of their workpeople becoming shareholders in new places. We have heard of some employers discharging their tacklers who have taken up shares in places other than where they are employed. This looks like vindictiveness, and private employers seem to be jealous that the trade is slipping through their fingers.—*Cotton Factory Times.*

FEMALE RAILWAY DETECTIVES.—The following excellent letter appeared in last Saturday's issue of the *Railway Review*:—"It was with feelings of shame for my own sex that I read in your paper last week an account of the wife of a railway detective having engaged herself to the North-Western Railway Company as a spy to find out little petty larcenies on the part of poor railwaymen, and I was more than grieved to find she had been what I suppose will be termed successful. Successful, indeed—in what? Read, my sister. Successful in getting the station-master at Perry Bar, not merely fined 40s. and costs, for that was comparatively trifling, but in losing him his situation and bringing disgrace and suffering upon himself and family (if he has one). Any female who can derive any satisfaction from such results of her action needs to have a better idea instilled into her of what true womanhood is. It is not a woman's mission to cause grief and trouble; it is no part of her duty to deprive a man of his daily bread. No! the womanly part is to do the very opposite, to carry peace and comfort wherever she can. Why couldn't this female detective have gone quietly to the station-master and given him a good talking to, and have pointed out the dangers he was risking? This would have been nobler than trapping him, yet nothing more than should have been expected from a true woman. As for Mr. Detective, I am surprised at him degrading his wife by sending her to such work, but I suppose he is like a deal more of his class. I sometimes hear spoken of—case-hardened and lost all fellow-feeling. If this sort of thing is to develop, I pray that wives will object to undertake such unprincipled work. I know that my husband has more respect for me than to ask me to do such a thing, and I fancy he knows it would be no use doing so; but if I was so engaged, I would go and warn every man beforehand, and those I couldn't get at I should refuse to entrap. Let my sisters show some courage over this matter, and not allow themselves to become degraded.—A SERGEANT'S WIFE."

REVOLUTIONARY CALENDAR.

WEEK ENDING JUNE 9, 1888.

3	Sun.	1793. Trial of D. I. Eaton for publishing 2nd part of the "Rights of Man." 1804. Richard Cobden born. 1849. Outbreak at Dresden. 1882. James Thompson ("B.V.") died. 1885. Police Outrage at International Club.
4	Mon.	1793. Adam Smith born. 1798. Sir E. Crosbie hanged for high treason.
5	Tues.	1817. J. T. Wooller tried for seditious libel. 1887. Great Socialist Feast at Copenhagen.
6	Wed.	1787. Trial of Lord George Gordon for libel on Queen of France. 1817. Wooller again tried for seditious libel.
7	Thur.	1649. Republican Thanksgiving in London. 1753. Dr. Archibald Cameron hanged for being "out in the '45." 1798. Execution of O'Coighly. 1832. First Reform Bill passed.
8	Fri.	1688. Imprisonment of 7 Bishops. 1809. Tom Paine died. 1831. Riot at the Forest of Dean. 1876. Georges Sand died. 1882. Garibaldi buried at Caprera.
9	Sat.	1817. James Watson, the elder and younger, Arthur Thistlewood, Thomas Preston, and John Hooper tried for high treason. 1870. Charles Dickens died. 1878. Colliery Explosion at Haydock.

Death of James Thompson.—The poet-pessimist, author of the "City of Dreadful Night," was born at Port Glasgow, November 23, 1834. His father, who held a post in the merchant service, and his mother, a zealous Irvingite, having both died while he was still a child, he was educated at the Caledonian Orphan Asylum. From about 1850 to 1862 he served as an army schoolmaster; on leaving the army he devoted himself to literature and journalism, contributing under the *nom-de-plume* of "B. V." (*i.e.*, Bysse Vanolis, in memory of Shelley and Novalis) to the *National Reformer*, *Secularist*, *Tobacco Plant*, and other papers. Owing partly to an inherited melancholia, partly to his severe bereavements and misfortunes, chief among which was the sudden death of a young girl to whom he was betrothed, Thompson's life was a singularly tragic one, an intense weariness of spirit underlying his natural gaiety of manner and brilliant powers of conversation. His opinions were of a strongly pessimistic cast; his belief, as expressed in the "City of Dreadful Night," and other writings, being that there is no real progress in human affairs, but only a seeming advance in a circle. Nevertheless, in nature and sentiment he was an ardent democrat, and his sympathies were wholly with the people; as may be seen from his prose phantasy, "In our Forest of the Past," and from several political poems. It is as a poet, and especially as the poet of pessimism, that Thompson will chiefly be known; but he also deserves record in the Revolutionary Calendar as a thorough-going revolutionist, and the most brilliant free-lance of the Secularist movement. Shelley, Heine, and Leopardi were the three writers to whom Thompson had most affinity in thought and temperament.—H. S. S.

The City Junket of 1649.—Of all years in the whole range of English history, none can in the least compare with the year 1649 for interest and instruction to the student of political and social organisations. Yet no year is more completely shrouded in mystery for all but a few persevering explorers into the records of the past. The "fierce light which beats upon a throne," poured now with ever-increasing effulgence upon that one short episode, the last dismal journey across St. James's Park and out of the window of what is now the Chapel Royal in Whitehall, performed by that cold-blooded coward, Charles Stuart, has thrown the balance of 1649 into a Cimmerian shroud. Yet the miserable fate of the "royal martyr" is of no importance to the bulk of us compared with many other doings of the year. The whole comedy and tragedy of the eternal social war was rehearsed on the English historic stage in that historic year. Not the least significant, in fact one of the most instructive, of public events, was the London Thanksgiving of the 7th of June. Just a week before the royal statues had been thrown down and the Republic proclaimed. Yet the hewers of wood and drawers of water were taught a sharp lesson that the revolution was not for them. No! no! it was for the over-gorged traders of the city and the new class of land-grabbers in the shires that the best blood of the land had been shed like water. Veteran heroes like honest John Lilburne, who had borne the brunt of battle, were told that though there was to be a levelling down of kings and nobles there was to be no levelling up of the great body of the people below. The Levellers were denounced from pulpit and parliament as disturbers of a happy family. Foremost in this infamous betrayal of the true cause of liberty and justice was the ever-infamous Corporation of London. Let not honest workers be deluded by boasts of turtle-soup guzzlers that the Corporation of London has been the champion of liberty. It is and has ever been the most venomous enemy of the industrial worker. It flaunts as its crest the accursed dagger with which a cowardly assassin and Lord Mayor stabbed the noblest champion of the English workers ever raised in the land. The City has been ever true to its heraldic device. At the epoch noted in the Calendar, it was instrumental in debauching and deluding the crowd to prevent there being a true revolution in England, cunningly reserving all benefit for the profit-mongers and land-thieves. The thanksgiving service was held in the Grocer's Hall, and Fairfax and Cromwell were given magnificent bribes for "putting down the Levellers," while great sums of money were sent about the town to induce the poor working slaves to sell their new birthright for a mess of pottage in the shape of a few pence for a day's roystering.—L. W.

James O'Coighly.—Born in County Armagh about 1762, educated in the Irish College of Paris, where his youthful efforts at reform embroiled him with his superiors, the outbreaking of the French Revolution forced him to fly homeward. On arrival he found persecution raging, and the result made even worse by Government intrigues, which fomented religious feuds in order to "divide and govern." With all the force of his ardent nature he flung himself into the breach, and succeeded for some years in bringing about relations between the Dissenters and Catholics that afterwards merged in the Northern United Irishmen. O'Coighly became connected with Napper Tandy, and placed him in communication amongst others with the Louth defenders. He was well known and thoroughly trusted by the united leaders, but for a long time was not in sympathy with revolutionary designs. But his fruitless efforts on behalf of the Orangemen or "Wreckers" of Armagh, 1794-5-6, made him a revolutionist. To cite only one of the cases will be enough to show how pure and unspotted are the loyalist saints who yell horror at the "Parnellite gang." A man named McVeagh at O'Nielland East was held prisoner by Orangemen, while four others held his wife before his eyes and outraged her in turn. For this offence by strenuous effort, O'Coighly and others managed to force a prosecution from the Government and a conviction from a packed jury; whereon the Government stepped in, took the prisoner from the hands of justice and sent him on board the fleet! O'Coighly after this became a trusted agent of the Ulster directory, going to France on their behalf, but on the occasion of his capture it seems well nigh certain that he was only fleeing from renewed persecution by those to whom

his former conduct had made him obnoxious. However, he was taken, "tried," and died like a hero.—S.

Trial of Watson and others.—This was for their part in the Spa-fields meeting, already spoken of, and resulted in a verdict of "Not Guilty." This result was largely owing to the fact that popular sentiment, even among the jury-forming classes, was on their side, as the "evidence" which the prosecution had prepared and produced was much more complete than had often served to hang men on. That they carried a tricolour flag inscribed "Nature to feed the hungry—Truth to protect the oppressed—Justice to punish offenders," would have served the purpose a little before, and would again a little after, but just then they escaped.—S.

C. A.—Of course the Calendar cannot be made complete "at one fell swoop." It is compiled from original sources, and the matter in it has never before been brought together. We have to rely on the few contributors we can get, and when any one of these is overpowered with private work his department of the Calendar has to go to the wall for that week. We hope to remedy most omissions by the time the volume appears.

A LETTER FROM CHICAGO.

STRIKES, strikes, and nothing but strikes—that is the present aspect of the labour movement in the United States. A struggle of some months' duration on the Pennsylvania and Reading Railroad, in conjunction with the coalminers in the Lehigh Valley and with the miners of the Reading system, started the fight between capital and labour this year. The men fought splendidly, but at last were beaten by circumstances and treachery, and now I read in a paper with reliable information the following paragraph: "The old employes of the Reading Railroad, who were discharged on account of the recent strike, have issued a circular stating that they are in abject want, and asking councils to provide them with employment. They say that the Reading managers will not take them back, and that their distress in consequence is deplorable. It is probable that councils at their meeting on Thursday will take some action in the matter. Many of the strikers with their families have been compelled to go to the almshouse."

No sooner was the strike on the Reading system declared off than we were confronted with a new strike. Two thousand engineers and firemen on the large Chicago, Burlington, and Quincy railroad left their jobs on account of inequality of wages. The men belonged to the most aristocratic labour organisation in the whole world—to the Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers, an organisation whose president, a Mr. Arthur, once made the assertion that a working-man who can earn 3 to 4 dollars a-day has nothing in common with a working-man who can only earn 1 or 1½ dollars a-day—in fact, that the interest of the former was diametrically opposed to the interest of the latter. The Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers is the richest, most powerful and compact organisation of labour in America, and has always been a favourite with the capitalist. Mayor Hewitt of New York, Chauncey M. Depew, and such like, have always flattered them, and Dick Oglesby, Governor of Illinois, one of the murderers of our comrades, at a dinner party invited all other labour organisations to follow the good example in the "law and order" line of the Brotherhood.

And to-day! Well, the table is turned. As soon as the men had left their places the vacancies were instantly filled by people out of employment. Of course these men could not work as well as the old hands, but after some weeks' struggle they knew the business sufficiently to carry on the traffic. This enraged the strikers. They attacked the scabs, shots got exchanged, some men were killed, they wrecked trains, and the locomotive engineers, once so well-beloved by all capitalists, are now declared to be "anarchists" of the worst type. Every day all capitalistic sheets are raising hell because of some act committed by the strikers. Such is the force of events. The strike, however, is practically lost, and the men had better look out for other jobs. This is the second strike the Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers has lost within a year.

The third big strike is the strike of the brewery workers. About two years ago the brewery bosses in Chicago signed a contract through which they recognised the union and pledged themselves to engage only union men. This contract expired about the middle of April, and the bosses refused to sign a new contract with the old conditions. The bosses had meanwhile organised themselves and had formed a pool. The fight was of two-fold character: first, to destroy the union; and second, the big bosses wanted to eat up the little ones. I watched the strike from the day it broke out, and I can frankly affirm I never saw a strike fought so gallantly as the strike of the brewery workmen in Chicago. About 550 men went out (about 650 men are engaged in the breweries), and of these 550 men, during a strike now lasting four weeks, only ten men went back. At the meetings always the greatest harmony and order prevailed. After about three days from the time the strike broke out every place was filled with a scab, and now the breweries are working with full force. Every organisation in Chicago supported the strikers with all the money they had in their cash-boxes. At the time the men went on strike they had about 120 dollars; and after four weeks' struggle, and after having assisted a good many families, they had about 1500 dollars to their credit in the bank. You will see from that how well the men were supported. And in spite of all these sacrifices, in my opinion the strike is already lost to-day. In New York and some other places the brewery workers were also forced to strike, and I hear that the situation is about the same as in Chicago—viz., practically lost.

Organised Capital has declared throughout the United States that Organised Labour will in future no longer be recognised. The war has been openly declared, and up till now Organised Labour has been defeated all along the line.

The time for strikes over here has passed. It has been calculated—and this calculation has been affirmed by Samuel Gompers—that there are at present nearly one million men out of work in the United States. Add to these the swarms of emigrants who land every day, and who are forced to accept work under any circumstances, and you will easily see that it is impossible to win any more a strike of any importance. Organised Capital can afford to spend some money in teaching scabs—and we cannot forget that scabs are also human beings—while on the other hand Organised Labour has very little money to fall back upon. I can see very clearly, and I have watched things with a great deal of interest, all labour organisations on the basis they are constructed to-day will be broken up one by one, and then let it be hoped that they will be reconstructed on a revolutionary basis
Chicago, May 10th, 1888.
HENRY F. CHARLES

THE SOCIALIST LEAGUE.

OFFICES: 13 FARRINGTON ROAD, E.C.

Executive.—At the meeting of Council held on Thursday, May 24, 1888, the following officers were elected for the ensuing year:—*General Secretary:* F. Charles, in place of H. A. Barker, resigned. *Treasurer:* Philip Webb. *Financial Secretary:* H. B. Tarleton, in place of J. Turner, resigned. Last week intimated to comrades that a report of the Conference would be given this week. The Executive, however, have decided to print as last year in pamphlet form the report of proceedings of Conference.—H. A. B.

East-end Propaganda Fund.—May 6, Collected at Princes Square Club, 2s. 8d.; Berner Street Club, 1s. 7d.; May 27, Victoria Park, 5s. 2d.; Mitcham, 1s. 2d.; total, 10s. 7d.—**JOSEPH LANE, Treasurer.**

REPORTS.

BLOOMSBURY.—On Thursday last, the quarterly business meeting was held. Very large attendance. On Sunday last we held two meetings in aid of the Leeds tailors, now on strike. Bartlett, Manley, and Mahon spoke at the Arches, and Mahon and Springfield at Ossulton Street. 6s. 4d. collected for strikers, and good sale of *Commonweal*.—W. W. B.

CLERKENWELL.—On Sunday evening, May 27th, good meeting on Green addressed by Blundell. In hall, J. Turner lectured on "The Control of Capital." Good discussion and fair sale of *Commonweal*.—B.

FULHAM.—Tuesday evening, opposite Liberal Club, meeting addressed by Catterson Smith and Groser. One member made. Sunday morning, Tarleton and Sparling spoke. *Commonweal* sold well, two members made, and 1s. 8d. collected. In evening, Beasley, Groser, and Tochaty spoke outside, and G. B. Shaw lectured in rooms on "Practical Socialism." Fry in chair. Several questions and some opposition well dealt with by lecturer.—S. B. G.

MITCHAM.—Sunday, good meeting on Mitcham Fair Green, addressed by Turner. Good branch meeting held in club-room in evening, and collected 1s. 2d. for propaganda.—F. K.

NORTH LONDON.—Good meeting at Ossulton Street on Friday evening, addressed by Blundell, who also sang some labour songs. On Sunday, Cantwell and Nicoll spoke at Regent's Park.

GLASGOW.—On Sunday at 11 o'clock, Pollock and Glasier held a good meeting on Jail Square. At 5 o'clock our usual meeting was held at Paisley Road, where Glasier and Pollock spoke to a large and attentive audience. Afterwards in our rooms, Glasier gave an account of the proceedings at the Conference.

LEICESTER.—We held our first open-air meeting this season Sunday morning in Russel Square, was well attended; good discussion. Speakers, Barclay and Robson; Gorrie, Evans, and Sandall supported. At night, Robson lectured at Highfields Working-men's Club, on "The Malthusian Error"; stormy discussion. Our branch intends to do more work this year, and show up better at next Conference and celebration of Revolution Centenary.—T. P. B.

NORWICH.—Good meetings held on Friday at St. Catherine's Plain by Poynts and Mowbray; on Sunday morning at St. Faith's and Catton by Poynts, Barker, and Morley. New station opened in morning at Bishop Bridge, large number present addressed by Darley and Mowbray; all papers sold we took with us. In afternoon and evening, large meetings in Market Place, addressed by Mowbray. We sold about 12s. worth of *Commonweal* during the day, and had very good collections.

WALSALL.—Last Friday, Sanders and Deakin visited Pelsall, and addressed meeting of miners and ironworkers. A most successful meeting was also held here on The Bridge on Saturday evening. On Sunday, Sanders spoke on the West Bromwich Road to good audience. Considerable discussion at the close.—D.

EAST-END PROPAGANDA.

Good meetings were held at all the stations last Sunday. Lane and Rochman at Leman Street, Shadwell, sold 19 *Weals*, and had in their audience about 20 policemen. Brooks addressed a fair meeting at Kingland Green, and Charles a similar one at Mile-end Waste. Mainwaring held a very large meeting at Salmon and Ball, and Parker also had a good meeting at Lea Bridge Road. In the afternoon a very large and successful meeting, lasting over four hours, was addressed in the Park by Brooks, Davis, Charles, Parker, and Mainwaring. 5s. 2d. collected towards East-End Propaganda, apparently contrary to some new-fangled regulation of the Board of Works, as upon the Christians calling the park-keeper's attention to the fact they took the names of Charles and Mainwaring, promising them some further attention during the week. In the evening a good meeting was held at the Gibraltar Walk, thanks to five policemen, who, standing together on the footpath, attracted an audience for us, which, after being addressed by Cores, Charles, and Mordhurst (of Hammersmith), adjourned to the Monarch Coffee House to hear a lecture by J. Lane on "Different Schools of Socialistic Thought." Brooks spoke to a fair audience on Stone Bridge Common, and Parker and Mainwaring finished up a good day's propaganda by addressing another very large audience at Stamford Hill. Literature sold well during the day, and we were assisted in our attempt to introduce the singing of revolutionary songs by some friends from Hammersmith. Davis being unwell in the morning, and Blundell missing some of our comrades, compelled us to drop two of our meetings; but we intend carrying them all on next Sunday, and

hope the police will turn up at them all in equal numbers, as we feel sure they will hear much to their advantage and ours.

JUNIOR SOCIALIST EDUCATIONAL SOCIETY.—Last Saturday night, Henderson opened a discussion on "Authority." Lefevre read his paper as part of the discussion, which was very interesting.—A. F.

L.E.L. CLUB AND INSTITUTE.—On Sunday last, T. Shore gave an interesting lecture to a numerous audience on "Socialism, its Present Crisis." The attention of friends is specially directed to next Sundays lecture (June 3rd) on "Socialist Co-operation," this being the first exposition here of the subject. A large attendance is expected.

DUBLIN.—At Industrial League, 75, Aungier Street, Tuesday, May 22nd, O'Gorman opened a debate on "Has Combination improved the Condition of the Working Classes," tracing the use of trades' unionism and advocating Internationalism. Hamilton, Tyrrell, P. Stephens, and several others spoke.

EDINBURGH.—Meetings for discussion well attended. Donaldson on 10th and Howie on 17th read capital papers. Only business meeting on 24th owing to holiday. Songs from Carpenter's book at all our meetings. Hope to begin regular open-air meetings on Sunday first. Smith, Bain, and others have been occasionally speaking on Meadows.

WOOLWICH.—Banner and Donald opened the summer campaign on Sunday at the Arsenal Gates. Towards the close of the meeting an attempt to create a disturbance was made by some Irishmen, who are under the delusion that the Irish people only have grievances.

LECTURE DIARY.

LONDON.

Acton.—17 High Street, Acton, W. (adjoining Purnell's Dining Rooms). Sundays at 8 p.m.

Bloomsbury.—Communist Club, 49 Tottenham Street, Tottenham Court Road. Thursday May 31, at 8.30, G. B. Shaw, a lecture. June 7. Dr. E. B. Aveling, "Evolution and Socialism." 14th. Mrs. S. Gostling, "The Period of Apathy?—1851-1871."

Clerkenwell.—Hall of the Socialist League, 13 Farringdon Rd., E.C. Business meeting every Sunday at 7. Sunday June 3, at 8.30, Free Concert by Wm. Blundell and Friends. Wednesday June 6, at 8.30, F. Henderson, a lecture.

Fulham.—8 Effie Road, Walham Green. Sunday June 3, at 8 p.m., Graham Wallas, "The History of the Chartist Movement."

Hackney.—28 Percy Terrace, Victoria Road, Hackney Wick.

Hammersmith.—Kelmescott House, Upper Mall, W. Sunday June 3, at 8.30, Percival Chubb (Fabian Society), "Democracy and its Aims."

Hoxton.—Labour Emancipation League Club and Institute, 1 Hoxton Square (near Shoreditch Ch.). Sunday June 3, at 8 p.m., A. C. Varley (Secretary Socialist Co-operative Federation) will lecture on "Socialist Co-operation."—On Sunday 24th the annual Excursion of members and friends will take place. The rendezvous is Walton-on-Thames. Brakes (four-horse) have been engaged, and there is, *Deo volente* and the weather permitting, every prospect of a pleasant day's outing.—H. A. B.

Merton.—Club-house, 3 Clare Villas, Merton Road.

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

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

North London.—The business meetings will be held on Friday evenings at the Autonomie Club, Windmill Street, Tottenham Court Road, after the open-air meeting at Ossulton Street. All members are asked to attend at Ossulton Street at 8 o'clock. Secretary, Nelly Parker, 109 Cavendish Buildings, opposite Holborn Town Hall.

PROVINCES.

Edinburgh (Scottish Section).—4 Park Street. Discussion every Thursday at 8. May 31, "Best Methods of Realising Socialism." June 7, "Socialism and Teetotalism." 14th. "Duty of Socialists with Regard to Interest-taking." 21st. "Socialism and Malthusianism."

Glasgow.—84 John St. Reading-room open 10 a.m. till 10 p.m. daily.

Leicester.—Hosiery Union, Horsefair St. Fridays at 8. **Lochgelly** (Scottish Section: Fife).—Secs. (*pro tem.*), John Greig and Hugh Conway, The Square.

Norwich.—Gordon Hall. Tuesday, at 8, a Special Meeting of Members—all comrades are requested to attend for important business. Wednesday at 8.30, Ways and Means and Literary Committees. Thursday, open from 8 until 10.30. Saturday, Co-operative Clothing Association, 8 until 10.30.

OPEN-AIR PROPAGANDA.

SUNDAY 3.

11 ... Turnham Green ... Front Common ... Acton Beh.
11.30... Hammersmith—Beadon Road ... The Branch
11.30... Hoxton Ch., Pitfield St. ... Pope & Barker
11.30... Mitcham Fair Green ... Davis
11.30... Regent's Park ... Brookes & Mainwaring
11.30... St Pancras Arches ... Henderson

11.30... Walham Green ... Fulham Branch
3... Euston Rd.—Ossulton St. ... Bloomsbury Brch.
3.30... Hyde Park ... Parker & Mainwaring
7.30... Clerkenwell Green ... Turner

Friday.

8 ... Euston Rd.—Ossulton Street ... Parker

EAST END.

SUNDAY 3.

Mile-end Waste	...	11	...Eden.
"Salmon and Ball"	...	11	...Turner.
Leman Street, Shadwell	...	11	...Parker.
Gibraltar Walk, Bethnal Green Road,	...	7.30	...Lane.
Well Street, Hackney	...	11.45	...Brooks.
Kingsland Green	...	11.30	...Cores & Samuels.
Wheler Street, Shoreditch	...	12	...Lane.
Victoria Park	...	3	...Parker, etc.
Stone Bridge Common, Haggerston.	...	7	...Mainwaring.
Triangle, Hackney Road	...	7	...Brooks.
Lea Bridge Road	...	11.30	...Charles & Cantwell
"Salmon and Ball"	...	7	...Parker.
Stamford Hill	...	7.30	...Charles.
Broadway, Plaistow	...	7.30	...Fuller.

MONDAY.

Near Bow Church ... 8.30 ...

TUESDAY.

Southgate Grove, Southgate Road.	...	8.30	...Lane.
Mile-end Waste	...	8.30	...Flockton.
Shacklewell Lane, Kingsland	...	8.30	...Charles.

WEDNESDAY.

Broadway, London Fields	...	8.30	...Mainwaring.
Broadway, South Hackney	...	8.30	...Davis.
Charlotte St., Gt. Eastern St.	...	8.30	...Lane.

THURSDAY.

Packington St., Essex Road	...	8.30	...Mainwaring.
Philpot St., Commercial Rd.	...	8.30	...Flockton.
Clapton Pond, Clapton Road	...	8.30	...Charles.

FRIDAY.

Tottenham Rd, Kingsland Rd	...	8.30	...Lane.
Union St., Commercial Road	...	8.30	...Charles.

SATURDAY.

Mile-end Waste	...	8	...Parker.
Ashgrove, Mare St, Hackney	...	8	...Lane.
"Weavers' Arms," Stoke Newington.	...	8	...Charles.

PROVINCES.

Glasgow.—Sunday: Jail's Square at 10.30; Paisley Road at 5.

Leeds.—Sunday: Vicar's Croft, at 11 a.m.

Leicester.—Sunday: Russel Square, at 11 a.m.

Norwich.—Friday: St Catharine's Plain, at 8.15. Sunday: Bishop Bridge and Catton, at 11.30; Market Place, at 3 and 7.30. Monday: Thorpe Village, at 8.15.

West Bromwich.—Near the Fountain, every Sunday morning at 11.15.

Smethwick.—Near Spon Lane, every Sunday morning at 12.

LEICESTER.—Secular Hall, Humberstone Gate, Sun. June 3, at 6.30, J. Sketehly (of Birmingham)—subject, "Rome and the Revolution."

WOOLWICH.—Arsenal Gates, Sunday June 3, at 6.30 p.m., J. L. Mahon. June 10. M. Manley.

VICTORIA PARK.—A large meeting will be held on Sunday June 10, to protest against the addition to the regulations, etc., of the Park with reference to making collections, at which Annie Besant and several other speakers will take part. We earnestly appeal to all our comrades to make this meeting known.

NEW BRANCH PREMISES FUND (CLERKENWELL).—Will Branch secretaries kindly make their returns as speedily as possible.—Acknowledged last week, 8s. 6d. Received, Bloomsbury Branch, 3d.; Hoxton (L.E.L.), 6d.; J. Turner, 1s. 6d.—J. TURNER, R. TURNER, J. FLOCKTON, W. BLUNDELL, Entertainment Committee, 13 Farringdon Rd., E.C.

The Annual Excursion of the United Socialists of London to Epping Forest (Robin Hood) will take place on Sunday 24th, for the benefit of the Revolutionary propaganda. Full entertainment in the Forest. Tickets, price 1s., at 6 Windmill Street, Tottenham Court Road, W.; or from the Club Morgenroethe, Prince's Square, Castle Street. TRAINS start from Liverpool Street station as follows: Morning, 8.50; 9.50; 10.30. Afternoon, 1.0; 2.20; 3.20; 5.40.

"Londoner Verlags-Genossenschaft."

"LONDONER FREIE PRESSE."

Excursion to Epping Forest

(HIGH BEACH)

ON SUNDAY 24th JUNE.

FULL ENTERTAINMENT. All Friends of the Socialist Movement invited.

THE COMMITTEE.

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