

THE COMMONWEAL

The Official Journal of the Socialist League.

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SATURDAY, JANUARY 15, 1887.

WEEKLY; ONE PENNY.

NOTES ON NEWS.

We can believe that our old acquaintance Mr. Phillips really was sorry that he could not help the unemployed men who applied to him to help them, and were waiting to see if they could get a job in clearing off the snow, because he seems to have some appreciation of the condition of the unemployed at present. He appeared to relish the job of blowing to pieces a lie that appeared in the respectable *Times* to the effect that "although a large number of persons were wanted to work to clear the snow from the streets on Boxing-day, only three applied, and they were under the influence of drink." Mr. Phillips said that the Town-hall was not open on that day, neither was any notice given that men were wanted on that day. Mr. Phillips, much to his credit, stigmatised this as a deliberate lie, and a libel on the working classes—"in fact a malicious libel." It is, however, the kind of lie which is very commonly accepted as gospel truth in these winter days, as anybody can bear witness who has an opportunity of listening to the conversation in a second-class carriage on the District Railway.

"Infamy" has different meanings to different minds, it would seem. To Mr. Mansfield, for instance, it appears to have meant the other day the extremity of poverty which forces a man to beg in the streets in order to get a little victuals for himself and three little children. "Your conduct is simply infamous," said the "worthy" magistrate. On the other hand, others (myself amongst them) might think the title of "infamy" fairly well earned by the magistrate who from his unanswerable position goes out of his way to insult a poor man, even supposing that he was compelled by a stupid and brutal law to send him to prison for what was no offence.

W. M.

One of the "swell" kind of emigration-touts, Mr. David Buchanan of the New South Wales Parliament, had a rather stormy reception when, at St. James's Hall on Friday week, he started out to prove New South Wales a veritable heaven for working men. For twenty-five years a political trickster, his long experience served him in good stead when he came to solid, right-down lying as to the condition and resources of the colony. "Enormous tracts of alluvial land which could produce forty bushels of the finest wheat to the acre" laid promiscuously around and waited to be picked up. "Not one of the really industrious" was suffering or ever had suffered from distress there. John Norton, the N.S.W. workmen's delegate, G. Lansbury, and our comrade Somerville, opposed the lecture, and a very stormy scene followed, which was only terminated by turning out the gas.

A good illustration of the "ministerial meaning" of a political speech was given in the Northern police-court of Dublin during the examination of Sir Michael Hicks-Beach on the 7th in the case against John Dillon and his comrades. When "Mickey the Botch," as he is called in Ireland, was referred to the speech he made at Bristol on November 13, and asked what he meant by saying "the Government have brought what pressure they could within the law to bear upon those few landlords who would not follow the example of their more generous fellows," he would only respond, "Exactly what I said," and would give no clue as to what "pressure within the law" meant. Now, either the "pressure" was a mere figure of speech (and this after all is almost a certainty) or it was not. If it was a reality and "within the law," why hesitate to speak of it? If it was not "within the law," how comes it that a government which to curry popular favour and prolong a shaky existence will overstep the law, will yet seek to punish others for following its example?

The Irish papers last week were lively reading. What with the miserable floundering of perjured police witnesses under the searching cross-examination of Mr. Healy and the other counsel for the defence; the "fun of the (proclaimed) fair" at Gorey; John Dillon's meeting at Arklow, and W. O'Brien's at Fairymount, they overflowed with interest for any one not wholly dead to the cause of the people in its various phases.

The "majesty of the law" asserts itself in many ways. Mr. Bowler, counsel for the defence in the case against the chairman of the Waterford Tenants' Association, while the case was proceeding was twice threatened with violence. District Inspector Davis, provoked by an allusion made to him in the counsel's speech, shouted that "if I wasn't in court I'd wring the head off you," and was with difficulty restrained

from attempting to carry his grotesque threat into execution. While struggling with those who interposed he shouted again that he "would pull the throttle out of him," and so on. Information against him was applied for and refused, the impartial magistrates apparently believing that any treatment was good enough for a Nationalist.

The Plan of Campaign has scored another triumph. Lord Dillon, who so stoutly refused 25 per cent. reduction, and "would die first," has now agreed to accept an abatement of 20 per cent. all round, re-instate all evicted tenants, and pay all costs incurred on either side in the whole affair.

S.

LIBERTY AND PROPERTY DEFENCE LEAGUE REPORT FOR 1886.

WHOEVER has drawn up the above Report deserves credit for having concocted a most formidable and imposing document, which will doubtless comfort and gladden the hearts and brace up the nerves of the weaker brethren, as they read the record of the heroic resistance offered by the redoubtable knights, Wemyss, Pembroke, Fortescue, and Co., to the advance of the terrible *Spectre Rouge*.

Putting aside the ineffable disgust which every honest intelligent person must feel at the shameless pretence and gross hypocrisy of this league of monopolists posing as friends of freedom and champions of the oppressed, there is much in the Report to gratify and encourage all who work and hope for the Social Revolution. Allowing considerable discount for bombast, bunkum, and soft sawdust, there yet remains the solid fact that our Cause has grown so stout and strong as to tax the energies and resources of a wealthy and "influential" organisation like the L.P.D.L., with its 71 federated bodies, to cope with it.

By far the larger part of the Report is taken up with a record of Parliamentary Bills rejected or mutilated through the action of the League Parliamentary Committee. As, however, even the best of these Bills, emanating from the hopelessly corrupt bourgeois parliament at Westminster, are and could be nothing more than miserable make-believe make-shifts, anything that the League could do in regard to them is of comparatively little importance, except as showing the real spirit that governs its action. I do not propose, therefore, to occupy space and time in commenting on the forty odd Bills enumerated in the Report, but will confine my observations mainly to two—viz., The Shop Hours Regulation Bill and the Coal Mines Regulation Bill. With regard to the former, the precious committee of loafing landlords and landsharks showed their devotion to Liberty by contending for the right of greedy grasping shopkeepers to drudge their unfortunate youthful assistants, male and female, as many hours as they choose. There is, however, a curious admission in the Report, to the effect that "after consultation with the Shopkeepers' Defence Committee, your Committee concluded that it would not be practicable to oppose the Bill *in toto* with any certainty of success." They therefore confined their efforts to securing modification of the Bill, whilst their "agents attended meetings held by the promoters for the purpose of moving resolutions against the Bill; and the principle of the Bill was attacked by the League speakers on various occasions in workmen's clubs in different parts of the metropolis." What other interpretation can be put on this than that the evidence disclosed such a state of things that even the tough consciences of the middle-class M.P.'s felt a twinge? Yet these gentlemen of the L.P.D.L. did not scruple to take advantage of the need of some of the more cunning among the proletariat to use them as agents to delude their ignorant and simple fellow-men into supposing that in opposing the curtailment of the shopkeeper's power of exploiting his assistants, they were maintaining their own freedom.

Their action in regard to the other Bill—that of the Coal Mines Regulation—calls for somewhat fuller comment, inasmuch as it concerns the vexed question of female labour, the particular instance being that of the employment of women at the pit-brow. I quote a sentence from the Report which is pregnant with meaning and deserves the serious consideration of the workers for more reasons than one: "A miners' conference at Birmingham in January, under the presidency of Mr. Thomas Burt, M.P., having passed a resolution in favour of the legislative suppression of women's labour at the pit-bank, a member of the League specially experienced in the matter wrote a letter to the *Manchester Examiner and Times*, warning the pit-brow women of the impending danger, and appealing to the public to assist them in retaining their freedom of labour." Before dealing with the main question,

it is worth while to note how freely the columns of even such Radical papers as the *Echo*, the *Examiner*, and others are placed at the disposal of the enemies of labour. And now observe the audacity of the attempt to divide the interest of working women from that of working men, and to divert attention from the real motive—i.e., to maintain freedom of trade in cheap labour, à la John Bright, under pretence of maintaining the personal freedom of the women. This was a particularly crafty move, in view of the fact that certain worthy people like the Rev. Stewart Headlam and certain advocates of advanced theories, whose sympathies with the cause of the people none can question, were thus secured as allies in an apparently righteous cause. The result of such action, however, by whatever motives prompted, must necessarily be to play into the hands of the exploiting classes, to intensify the labour struggle, and lower the standard of living amongst the workers. It is most essential to point out that fine phrases and exalted motives do not alter the character of the results which follow from a particular mode of action. And to use an apt if well-worn illustration, if black swans will consort with crows, they must not wonder if they be mistaken for them occasionally, with possibly very unpleasant consequences. The fact is, as Louis Blanc has well said, "as long as competition exists, freedom is impossible." The freedom of the mine-owner to employ these women because they are cheap, and the freedom of the women to sell their labour-power cheap (because only for that reason are they preferred to men), means necessarily a denial of the freedom of the husbands, fathers, and brothers of the women so employed. These are placed by the competition of the members of their own families still further at the mercy of the employers. To talk of the freedom of the women under such circumstances is outrageous humbug. The fact is that they are driven (in the vast majority of cases) to seek by their labour to augment the scanty wages which the men are receiving, and by so doing help to maintain a supply of cheap labour for the exploiters. The "impending danger" which the "experienced" member feared, the workers may feel assured, was as to the effect upon the rate of wages more than from any genuine concern in the freedom or wellbeing of the women. These latter were patronised and photographed, and their habits and habiliments became for a short time the fashionable theme of conversation amongst the ladies of the idle classes, many of whom doubtless were deriving a considerable portion of their wealth and luxury from the liberty to labour cheaply which they were so anxious to maintain—for their poorer sisters. The result of the agitation was that the clause was struck out before the introduction of the Bill into Parliament, and the pit-women, after being trotted out to suit the purposes of their exhibitors, were left to pursue their unwomanly occupation, and to live their hard and unlovely lives as best they may.

The Report makes considerable mention of the amount of lecturing done by their speakers in workmen's clubs and elsewhere. I should fancy this to be the most unsatisfactory item of the League's work as far as regards return for the outlay incurred. The ignorance and gullibility of the workers is, unfortunately, very great; still it is difficult to believe that the utterances of paid agitators—that is to say, agitators paid to preach what they do not believe, and therefore cannot put any heart into—can have any weight with the masses of the people. It is, doubtless, a degraded means of getting a livelihood; but the condition of Society compels all more or less to occupy false positions, and, after all, it may be that in taking the pay of the L.P.D.L., these men, or some of them at any rate, deserve our pity rather than our blame.

As a printer, I am naturally interested to read that on the day following the West-end riots on Feb. 8th, 3000 handbills were sent to the house-owners and shop-keepers in the West-end, and that 100,000 bills were distributed in connection with the Lord Mayor's Show demonstrations. It might be worth the while of my fellow-compositors to give the Socialists a lift, even from a business point of view.

There is just one other matter on which I cannot forbear to say a word or two. It is contained in a little paragraph which is so naively funny that I quote in full: "The foundation of a working-men's Individualist Club in London two years ago was an indication that the aggressiveness of the Socialist propaganda was beginning to produce a reaction. The recent opening of the club in more commodious premises in the City Road is a proof that this counter-movement has taken root and is spreading."

Conceive the ridiculousness of the proposition involved in the foregoing paragraph, that in order to avoid the presumption that they were Socialists it became necessary for certain working-men to distinctly label themselves *Individualists*. Now the only individualism possible to working-men, as such, is to hold themselves aloof from their fellows, and to make terms with the employers, each for himself, without any regard to the welfare of his neighbour; to be, in fact, a "rat" or "scab"—in plain language a traitor to his class, and an enemy to the common weal. It is quite in accord with the short-sighted selfish policy of such individualist working-men that they should be constantly on the alert for any chance of plundering those who employ them to betray their comrades. Where the carrion is, there will the crows be gathered together. The L.P.D.L. and the 71 bodies federated with it must be simple indeed if they are deceived, or think to deceive any *bonâ fide* working-man, with such a silly story as that of the foundation and progress of their individualist club. The real danger against which the workers will need to be on guard is the unscrupulous hypocrisy of these wolves in sheep's clothing. The devil can quote Scripture for his own purposes; and even so, the L.P.D.L.

will, we may be sure, in the future as they have done in the past, make use of the noblest maxims to cloak their nefarious designs, and will seek in the name of Liberty to keep the people in bondage.

T. BINNING.

THE WORKHOUSE; OR, JOHN POORMAN'S REST.

(Concluded from p. 11).

How strict and cruel the enforcement of the house test often is, two instances cut from *Truth*, September 10, 1885, will prove:—

"In the first, the Rev. J. Swire, Rector of Newbury, brought under the notice of the Board of Guardians, Wantage Union, the case of a man named Thomas Bolton, who is over eighty years of age and lives with his old wife. The two receive, it appears, 3s. a-week, and three half-gallon loaves. This is all they have to live on. But the old man could occasionally obtain a little light work, which he is at all times most willing to do. Mr. Swire, therefore, thought that the Board might see their way to exercise a little discretion, and by slightly relaxing their rules, give the poor old fellow a chance of earning a little money, and ending his days in comparative comfort 'outside the house.' He was fortified in this hope by the knowledge that a similar request had met with the ready sanction and approval of the Guardians in a neighbouring union. But the only reply he received was a curt communication from Edward Ormond, clerk, to the effect that 'one of the great principles of the Poor Law is not to grant relief to any person in aid of wages, and that, therefore, they are unable to allow Thomas Bolton to work whilst he is in receipt of relief.' The second case, brought by the same gentleman before the same Board, is even still more astounding. In this instance one William Bolton, who is between seventy and eighty years of age, and quite incapable of work, is the happy possessor of a weekly allowance of three shillings and sixpence, the result of money he has paid into a club from his youth. He also receives from the Board two loaves per week. Believing that Bolton had been a hard-working man all his life, Mr. Swire thought that he was a worthy object for the consideration of the Guardians, so he asked them to supplement his limited means by a small allowance. Again Edward Ormond, clerk, wrote and informed Mr. Swire 'that the full allowance to William Bolton would be two shillings and two four-pound loaves weekly, and as he is provided with three shillings and sixpence weekly from a club, the Guardians have allowed him two four-pound loaves weekly, making his weekly income three shillings and sixpence and two loaves instead of two shillings and two.' In view of such a monstrous decision as this, how can we expect our working-classes to become thrifty? In fact, by saving sufficient to provide himself with an allowance in his old age of three shillings and sixpence a week, this unfortunate man Bolton has deprived himself of all chance of receiving any assistance from his parish."

To return to John Poorman. After waiting for an hour or two among a little crowd of applicants as wretched and hopeless as himself, he sees the guardians, and is given an order for the house, and with it a sentence to imprisonment and a decree of divorce from wife and children. In anti-black-slavery times piteous pictures were drawn of the grief of the "man and brother" at parting from wife and child, and an evangelical rhymist moved the hearts of English folk by the assurance that "affection dwells in white and black the same." The poet has yet to come who shall move us to sorrow for the white slave of the Poor Law, and show to us the dehumanising circumstances of poverty's dungeon. The stories known to workhouse visitors of mothers pining in dull-eyed grief for the embraces of their children who are fretting into illness because denied sound of their voice and touch of their hand, are among the saddest told in the tear-blotted annals of the poor. Even the intercourse sanctioned by the regulations is often discouraged and sometimes virtually refused.

Mr. Towle describes the "spirit of the workhouse as one of cheerless comfort"—the comfort, let me add, mostly absent. The character of the houses varies considerably. In some good fires are the rule, in others there is a severe economy of coal. In many the provisions for personal cleanliness are insufficient to a disgusting degree. A respectable, well educated, sober, godly man, who was for a time an inmate of a house in the west of England, said to me, "When I first went in I thought 'all these people are rotten.' When I had been in a week I found I was as foul as they were." The reason is plain to those who know what prison regulations are and what workhouse practices are not.

The aim of the Poor Law, as stated by the Commissioners, is to "subject the pauper inmate to such a system of labour, discipline, and restraint as shall be sufficient to outweigh in his estimation the bodily comforts which he enjoys." A favourite form of labour is oakum-picking, which is "chosen because it causes real suffering. The fingers become sore, and a painful sensation is produced at the tips of the fingers and thumbs, which is acute and peculiar to that occupation" (Dr. Nicaise, quoted in *Standard*, September 4, 1885). Life in the house is intentionally made dull and cheerless, and even in the case of the children the monotony of life is painful and benumbing. The atmosphere of the place is tainted with vice, and the moral contamination prevalent meets with but slight opposing influences. The want of moral classification in nearly all workhouses is a source of positive pain to clean-minded persons, and makes a prison far preferable to such.

The "bodily comforts" provided are about as kind as the tender mercies of the wicked. They consist of clothing which is a badge of social leprosy and of food which, though sufficient to maintain existence, frequently fails painfully to satisfy appetite. The dietary is calculated by science for the needs of the average man. Now the average man is a purely imaginary being. Real men sometimes come short of his stature, and others exceed it. If the food placed on the workhouse table were given to each according to his wants, there would

be enough for all. The Poor Law, however, sternly forbids such communism. The man who cannot eat all that is set before him must leave it for the pigs; he who has more than the average appetite by law established must go hungry away. Many, especially in the early days of their residence, do go hungry, desiring a little more bread as the prodigal in the Syrian land desired the husks that the swine did eat. Now as then, there is more care for pigs than men. The story is part of the old, old story of man's inhumanity to man. Charles Dickens gave voice to the cry of the pauper for "a little more bread" years ago, but still it falls on ears that do not hear, because the cry comes from the ward of an English workhouse, and the Pharisees of Christian England believe that "the poor in the lump are bad."

Mr. John Bright, speaking at Birmingham Nov. 5, 1885, audaciously said: "The prayer that is taught us by the divine mouth, 'Give us this day our daily bread,' has been answered, and we have taken it from the New Testament and have placed it in a clause of an Act of Parliament, and there it remains for ever in the constitution of the country."

The cries from starving London and from the wynds of Glasgow, from Staffordshire chain-makers, and not least the cries for a little more bread from the workhouse ward, refute Mr. Bright's boast, and bid us prepare for a war against poverty more earnest and more radical than the struggle against the Corn Laws.

Meanwhile whenever you think of State charity, remember, again, to quote Charles Dickens, that "we have come to this absurd, this dangerous, this monstrous pass, that the dishonest felon is, in respect of cleanliness, order, diet, and accommodation, better provided for and taken care of than the honest pauper."

After his incarceration, John Poorman from time to time made attempts to obtain work outside his "voluntary" prison. These efforts were hampered by the fact that the officials always treated him as a person who desired to desert his wife and children, and were made fruitless by his utter inability to find the means of again furnishing even a home of one room. The outcome was that John resigned himself, as requested by the chaplain, to "the will of God."

One dolorous day in November John asked to see the doctor—an ill-paid official, much worried by the guardians of the public purse because of his tendency to ask for quinine, opium, port wine, and other medicines which heaven obviously intended only for the well-to-do. Being sent into the sick ward, John's dietary was greatly improved, and a temporary return of strength was the consequence. His surroundings in the ward were unpleasant, and the death of a man in the bed next his own, who died unsheltered from his gaze, greatly shocked him. The nurses were mainly paupers, quite unqualified for the work entrusted to them. While John was in the ward, a little child who was ordered a warm bath was scalded to death, and an old man who was ordered a cool bath was given one so cold that he died of congestion of the lungs. (This is no romance, no exaggeration. The documents that prove my statements are in my own possession.)

At last John died, and was buried in that pauper grave in which one in every fourteen of our brothers and sisters find their final rest.

I conclude with the words of Mr. T. Illingworth in a letter to the *Manchester Guardian* dated February 19, 1886:

"The thought that one in 14 of our fellow-countrymen die in a workhouse cannot be a pleasant one. It is nevertheless a fact that in wealthy England after 40 years unparalleled increase of wealth, and according to Mr. Giffen 40 years of unexampled progress of the working classes, one in every 14 freeborn Englishmen dies a pauper's death in the workhouse. How much suffering and wretchedness these facts reveal it is difficult to comprehend. Mr. M'Dougall, of the Manchester Board of Guardians, says that not more than 2 per cent of the pauperism of Manchester can be traced to hereditary taint. What is true of Manchester pauperism will be a good guide as to the pauperism, in respect of this feature of it, throughout the country. The knowledge that of those born in this country one in 14 will die a pauper is enough to stir up the feelings of the fathers and mothers to cry with lamentation over the possible future of the children they nurture so fondly and of whom they expect and hope such bright futures—alas! only to be disappointed. If the progress of civilisation can show no greater things than this, well may there be grave doubts as to the security of the principles on which it is based. Probably the results may be as we find them because it is based on no principles whatever but those of brutal selfishness and oppression; humanity and justice could never bring one in fourteen to a pauper's grave."

I will only add words of warning you will mock at until too late you find them true: Our civilisation is a sham; our Christianity is an hypocrisy. Unless we learn to do justly and love mercy, the earthquake and volcano of God will shake our social structure into ruin and consume it with flame.

WILLIAM SHARMAN.

At the meeting of the Trades Assembly, held at Chicago last Sunday, the Radical and Socialistic element secured complete control. The representatives of some organisations withdrew after the election of officers.

The sixth anniversary of the death of Blanqui was celebrated by the Socialists of Paris in the usual way by speeches over his tomb at Père-la-Chaise and wreaths deposited thereon, the crowd at the cemetery being more than usually numerous this year. Among the red wreaths, beneath which Dalou's bronze statue was soon completely hidden, were those deposited by the "Comité révolutionnaire central," the *Cri du Peuple*, the "Comité révolutionnaire du XIXe. arrondissement," *L'Intransigeant*, the "Comité ni Dieu ni Maître" of Lyons, etc. Most of the orators made allusion in their speeches to the probability of European war, urging all Socialists therefore to make the most of their opportunities and take advantage of the times in which they found themselves. Before leaving the cemetery most of those gathered together paid a visit to that scene which is among the last scenes of the drama of 1871—where those remaining of the defenders of the Commune were shot down unnumbered by the Versailles.

"Homo sum, nihil, a me alienum puto."

—SENECA.

I am a man; to me all men are dear;
So said the Roman Stoic; so say I;
So said the holiest One while He was here,
And lived for men and dared for men to die;
So let me strive for men, whate'er befall
Myself, still working for them all I can,
Still crying, "All for each and each for all!"
And aiding men because I am a man.

And, if my wages be their hate and scorn,
If they know not their brother, well, what then?
Shall I give hate for hate to any born
With me to share the brotherhood of men?
Let me still keep the truth clear in my soul,
And serve my brothers every way I can;
The whole for each and each one for the whole,
That be my faith because I am a man.

W. C. BENNETT.

THE KELTIC LEAGUE.

We have received the following statement of the aims of the Keltic League:—

"To promote the Party union of the Scottish and of the Welsh Members of Parliament respectively, and to organise co-operation between the Scottish, Welsh, and Irish Parliamentary Parties, with respect not only to the common general objects of Home Rule, and thorough-going settlements of the Land Question, but with respect also to the special questions more urgently demanding solution in the Highlands, in Wales, and in Ireland respectively. With respect to the same common general objects, and special national questions, to organise co-operation also in the country between the Scotch, the Welsh, and the Irish; and thus to give such a lead to the divided English Liberal Party as will transform the better elements on both sides into a New Radical Party with a definite programme, economical, ecclesiastical, and political. To create a spirit of brotherhood and solidarity, not only between the different branches of the Keltic race in these islands, in the colonies, and in America, but also between the more Keltic and the more English sections of a population which is everywhere mixed, and Anglo-Keltic, rather than Anglo-Saxon."

With its platform, of course, we are not quite in sympathy; but in these times any union of peoples, apart from their governments, cannot fail of being revolutionary in its tendency.

S.

The Unemployed.

THE unemployed question is again coming to the front. A gentleman connected with the Kensington Vestry wrote to the *Daily Telegraph* last week stating that in spite of the great deal of talk about the number of men out of work, it had no foundation in fact, as the vestry wanted five thousand men to clear the roads from the accumulated snow and could only get three hundred. The Stratford board of guardians complained that in answer to a similar request only three unemployed turned up, and they were drunk. Both these statements have been contradicted by facts. On Wednesday week the Kensington Vestry wanted some "unemployed," and they got them—more than they wanted. Over a thousand appeared, and they would not find work for them. The gentleman who writes these letters to the newspapers under various names had better confine himself to the truth in future, or lie within bounds in the leader columns. He had said they could find work for five thousand. The bumbles of Stratford have been equally unfortunate. Mr. Phillips, the West Ham police magistrate, has from the bench stigmatised the statement published in that upper middle-class paper the *Times* as "a deliberate falsehood." The distress hourly grows worse; thousands of families are starving for the want of the barest necessities; and meanwhile the gentlemen said to be appointed for their relief are employing themselves in inventing "deliberate falsehoods" about the unfortunates consigned to their tender mercies. Why don't the "unemployed" help themselves? That they will get no other help is evident.—D. N.

LITERARY NOTICES.

To-Day for January has a poem by our comrade Maguire, the continuation of "Eros or Erin," a somewhat weak presentation of an old problem that may be guessed from the title, and a calmly-stated but crushing reply to Mr. Marson's attack upon Socialism, by E. Belfort Bax. Edward Carpenter also contributes a good article on "Trade."

Articles in the January reviews likely to interest Socialists are:—*Nineteenth Century*: "The Government of Ireland; a reply," John Morley; "Rural Russia," Lady Verney. *Contemporary*: "Jubilee-Time in Ireland," T. M. Healy. *Fortnightly*: "The Iron and Steel Trade," Sir Lothian Bell; "Womanhood in old Greece," by E. Lynn Linton. S.

THE SOCIALISTS IN HOLLAND.—THE HAGUE, Jan. 10.—The Court of Cassation has affirmed the sentence of one year's solitary confinement which was passed in the Lower Court last June, and subsequently confirmed by the Court of Appeal, upon M. Domela Nieuwenhuis, the Socialist leader, for the publication of insulting expressions against the King. Jan. 11.—Domela Nieuwenhuis attended a meeting last night. He said that he would endure his penalty with resignation, being convinced that he had received it solely for deserting the ranks of the capitalists and espousing the cause of the people. M. Vanbeveren, of Ghent, stated that Socialism in Belgium had gained fresh strength since the condemnation. A resolution pledging the meeting to continue the propaganda was carried.



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

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

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

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

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TO CORRESPONDENTS.

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

Periodicals received during the week ending Wednesday January 12.

ENGLAND	Chicago (Ill.)—Vorbote	ITALY
Justice	Milwaukee (Wis.)—Volksblatt	Milan—Il Fascio Operaio
Norwich—Daylight	Portland (Oreg.)—Avant-Courier	Turin—Il Muratore
Londoner Arbeiter-Zeitung	FRANCE	Rome—L'Emancipazione
Personal Rights Journal	Paris—Cri du Peuple (daily)	SWITZERLAND
Practical Socialist	Le Socialiste	Zurich—Sozial Demokrat
To-Day	Le Revolte	SPAIN
National Review	Guise—Le Devoir	La Justicia Humana
Radical	Lille—Le Travailleur	Madrid—El Socialista
Worker's Friend	BELGIUM	Cadiz—El Socialismo
Jus	Brussels—L'Avant-Garde	PORTUGAL
UNITED STATES	Liege—L'Avenir	Villafranca de Xira—O Campino
New York—Volkszeitung	Antwerp—De Werker	Oporto—A Perola
Truthseeker	AUSTRIA	ROUMANIA
Der Sozialist	Vienna—Gleichheit	Bucharest—Francul Roman
John Swinton's Paper	Arbeiterstimme	DENMARK
Boston—Woman's Journal	HOLLAND	Social-Demokraten
Cincinnati (O.)—Unionist	Hague—Recht voor Allen	
Toledo (O.)—Industrial News		

THE POLITICAL CRISIS.

It is difficult to write about the "Political Crisis" seriously, except so far as contempt may be serious. The bespattering with flattery for their patriotism of those members of the Government who are wanted to take themselves off; the flutter among the lesser men lest they too should be pulled off their perch and be boiled down for gravy for the new coalition pie; the terror of some Conservatives, like the *Standard*, lest Mr. Chamberlain should climb half-way down the tree; Mr. Goschen's anxiety that his position should not be misunderstood, whereas all the while it is as plain as the nose on Mr. Goschen's face that he is a high Tory reactionist. All this is sufficiently grotesque, and once more illustrates happily enough the dignity and honesty of Parliamentary Government, but otherwise does not concern us in the least.

All this on the Tory side; the Liberal position is perhaps a little more noteworthy, but also considerably more discreditable. The confusion in the Tory camp has given them hopes of success once more, and it is quite clear that most of those who may be called the responsible men of the party do in consequence look upon "compromise" in quite a different light from that in which it showed a few weeks ago. There are rumours afloat that Mr. Gladstone is prepared to cut down his Home Rule Bill, feeble as it is already, so that it would amount to nothing but a perpetual English-Irish squabble in the Westminster Parliament. This rumour the *Daily News* denies with all official solemnity; but as it admits the almost plenary power of the "Conference" to be held presently, which will have only one sincere Home Ruler (Mr. Morley) in it, this denial is not of much significance. Mr. Labouchere put the matter on a reasonable footing in his Reading speech when he practically pointed out that no conference between those who were for Home Rule and those who were against it could mean anything but surrender on one side or the other.

Clearly whatever comes of it the Gladstonians are anxious to surrender, if only they can put a good face on it and hoodwink the rank and file of their party to the extreme baseness of the proceeding;

otherwise they would have insisted on genuine Home Rule being made the basis of the Conference. It can scarcely be doubted that the Responsible Liberals will, if they dare, heave the Irish Jonah overboard; the only thing which will prevent them from doing so will be their fear of the consequences of their being accused of his murder when they reach the shore. Even if they do not they will have weakened themselves by their shilly-shally ways; if they do, no man with even the remains of wits in his head will take the trouble to distinguish them from their Tory competitors for loaves and fishes.

The moral to be drawn from these corrupt and degrading dodgings and shirkings is simple. Let the genuine Radicals turn from the collection of incompetent tricksters, and the battered and disgraced idols whom they hold up to our worship, and concern themselves with the serious questions of the day. Shall England make alliance with reactionary powers to crush out Revolution? Must we always have some piratical war on hand in order to conquer a fresh cheating-market for the harm of barbarous countries and our own unhappy population? Must we always have a mass of unemployed workmen hanging about, till to many of them, by the force of habit, work becomes impossible, and they are turned into mere loafers, a constant disgrace and a periodical terror to Society? Are we to be ever satisfied with bestowing "mere subsistence livelihood" (i.e., semi-starvation) on the lower part of our labouring classes? Are the members of the artizan class for ever to be condemned to live poorly, without leisure or pleasure, in constant anxiety of falling into the gulf below them? Is the lower middle-class for ever to be stupid, vacant, and vulgar, and the upper middle-class to oscillate between blank Philistinism and simpering preciosity? In fine, why are these "classes," and what end do they serve? Let them face these questions unconventionally, and in the spirit of men who have abandoned the idea of finality in politics and social matters, and the old parties will soon be united in desperate opposition to the one Party of Progress, the Socialist Party.

WILLIAM MORRIS.

A DREAM OF JOHN BALL.

(Continued from p. 13.)

He said: "Many strange things hast thou told me that I could not understand; yea, some my wit so failed to compass, that I cannot so much as ask thee questions concerning them; but of some matters would I ask thee, and I must hasten, for in very sooth the night is worn old and grey. When thou sayest that in the days to come, when there shall be no labouring men who are not thralls after their new fashion, that their lords shall be many and very many, it seemeth to me that these same lords, if they be many, shall hardly be rich, or but very few of them, since they must verily feed and clothe and house their thralls, so that that which they take from them, since it will have to be dealt out amongst many, will not be enough to make many rich; since out of one man ye may get but one man's work; and pinch him never so sorely, still as aforesaid ye may not pinch him so sorely as not to feed him. Therefore, though the eyes of my mind may see a few lords and many slaves, yet can they not see many lords as well as many slaves; and if the slaves be many and the lords few, then some day shall the slaves make an end of that mastery by the force of their bodies. How then shall thy mastership of the latter days endure?"

"John Ball," said I, "mastership hath many shifts whereby it striveth to keep itself alive in the world. And now hear a marvel: whereas thou sayest these two times that out of one man ye may get but one man's work, in days to come one man shall do the work of a hundred men—yea, of a thousand or more: and this is the shift of mastership that shall make many masters and many rich men."

John Ball laughed. "Great is my harvest of riddles to-night," said he; "for even if a man sleep not, and eat and drink while he is a-working, ye shall but make two men or three at the most out of him."

Said I: "Sawest thou ever a weaver at his loom?"

"Yea," said he, "many a time." He was silent a little, and then said: "Yet I marvelled not at it; but now I marvel, because I know what thou wouldst say. Time was when the shuttle was thrust in and out of all the thousand threads of the warp, and it was long to do; but now the spring-staves go up and down as the man's feet move, and this and that leaf of the warp cometh forward and the shuttle goeth in one shot through all the thousand warps. Yea, so it is that this multiplieth a man many times. But look you, he is so multiplied already; and so hath he been, meseemeth, for many hundred years."

"Yea," said I, "but what hitherto needed the masters to multiply him more? For many hundred years the workman was a thrall bought and sold at the cross; and for other hundreds of years he hath been a villain—that is, a working-beast and a part of the stock of the manor on which he liveth; but then thou and the like of thee shall free him, and then is mastership put to its shifts; for what should avail the mastery then, when he no longer owneth the man by law as his chattel, nor any longer by law owneth him as stock of his land, if the master hath not that which he on whom he liveth may not lack and live withal, and cannot have without selling himself?"

He said nothing, but I saw his brow knitted and his lips pressed together as though in anger; and again I said: "Thou hast seen the weaver at his loom: think how it should be if he sit no longer before the web and cast the shuttle and draw home the sley, but if the shed open of itself and the shuttle of itself speed through it as swift as the eye can follow, and the sley come home of itself; and the weaver standing by and whistling *The Hunt's up!* the while, or looking to half-a-dozen looms and bidding them what to do. And as with the weaver so with the potter, and the smith, and every worker in metals, and all other crafts, that it shall be for them looking on and tending, as with the man that sitteth in the cart while the horse draws. Yea, at last so shall it be even with those who are mere husbandmen; and no longer shall the reaper fare afield in the morning with his hook over his shoulder, and smite and bind and smite again till the sun is down and the moon is up; but he shall draw a thing made by men into the field with one or two horses, and shall say the word and the horses shall go up and down, and the thing shall reap and gather and bind, and do the work of many men. Imagine all this in thy mind if thou canst, at least as ye may imagine a tale of enchantment told by a minstrel, and then tell me what shouldst thou deem that the life of men would be amidst all this, men such as these men of the township here, or the men of the Canterbury guilds."

"Yea," said he; "but before I tell thee my thoughts of thy tale of wonder, I would ask thee this: In those days when men work so easily, surely they shall make more wares than they can use in one country-side, or one good town, whereas in another, where things have not gone as well, they shall have less than they need; and even so it is with us now, and thereof cometh scarcity and famine; and if people may not come at each others' goods, it availeth the whole land little that one country-side hath more than enough while another hath less; for the goods shall abide there in the storehouses of the rich place till they perish. So if that be so in the days of wonder ye tell of (and I see not how it can be otherwise), then shall men be but little holpen by making all their wares so easily and with so little labour."

I smiled again and said: "Yea, but it shall not be so; not only shall men be multiplied a hundred and a thousand fold, but the distance of one place from another shall be as nothing, so that the wares which lie ready for market in Durham in the evening may be in London on the morrow morning; and the men of Wales may eat corn of Essex and the men of Essex wear wool of Wales; so that so far as the fitting of goods to market goes, all the land shall be as one parish. Nay, what say I? Not as to this land only shall it be so, but even the Indies, and far countries of which thou knowest not, shall be, so to say, at every man's door, and wares which now ye account precious and dear-bought, shall then be common things bought and sold for little price at every huckster's stall. Say then, John, shall not those days be merry, and plentiful of ease and contentment for all men?"

"Brother," said he, "meseemeth some doleful mockery lieth under these joyful tidings of thine; since thou hast already partly told me to my sad bewilderment what the life of man should be in those days. Yet will I now for a little set all that aside to consider thy strange tale as of a minstrel from over sea, even as thou biddest me. Therefore I say that if men still abide men as I have known them, and unless these folk of England change as the land changeth—and for sooth of the men, for good and for evil, I can think no other than I think now, or behold them other than I have known them and loved them—I say if the men be still men, what will happen except that there should be all plenty in the land, and not one poor man therein, unless of his own free will he chose to lack and be poor, as a man in religion or such like; for there would then be such abundance of all good things that as greedy as the lords might be, there would be enough to satisfy their greed and yet leave good living for all who laboured with their hands; so that these should labour far less than now, and they would have time to learn knowledge, so that there should soon be no learned and unlearned, for all should be learned; and they would have time also to learn how to order the matters of the parish and the hundred, and of the parliament of the realm, so that the king should take no more than his own; and to order the rule of the realm, so that all men, rich and unrich, should have therein; and so by undoing of evil laws and making of good ones, that fashion would come to an end whereof thou speakest, that rich men make laws for their own behoof; for they should no longer be able to do thus when all had part in making the laws; whereby it would soon come about that there would be no men rich and tyrannous, but all should have enough and to spare of the increase of the earth and the work of their own hands. Yea surely, brother, if ever it cometh about that men shall be able to make things, and not men, work for their superfluities and that the length of travel from one place to another be made of no account, and all the world be a market for all the world, then all shall live in health and wealth; and envy and grudging shall perish. For then shall we have conquered the earth and it shall be enough; and then shall the kingdom of heaven be come down to the earth in very deed. Why lookest thou so sad and sorry? what sayest thou?"

I said: "Hast thou forgotten already what I told thee, that in those latter days a man who hath nought save his own body (and such men shall be far the most of men) must needs pawn his labour for leave to labour? Can such a man be wealthy? Hast thou not called him a thrall?"

"Yea," he said; "but how could I deem that such things could be when those days should be come wherein men could make things work for them?"

WILLIAM MORRIS.

(To be concluded).

CORRESPONDENCE.

JOIN HANDS ALL ROUND.

It is known to the readers of 'Josephus' that the cause of the Jewish defeat by the Romans was due to the differences which existed between their various sects, which, instead of uniting together to fight the enemy, exhausted their strength in fighting with each other. The above statement ought to serve as a lesson to us Socialists, Anarchists, Communists, etc. It is painful to see the discord between the various sects, how one attacks the other, and how each one pulls in a different direction. Can any one suppose that with such actions we will ever reach that for which we strive?

We find among us: State Socialists, Revolutionary Socialists, Christian Socialists, Anarchists, Communists, Communistic-Anarchists, Socialistic-Anarchists, and Collectivists; each one of these denounces the others. Yet we are all the children of the same parent, namely—The Present System, and we all aim to free humanity from its chains of slavery. But it may be said: "How can we unite together when we disagree in the *means* and in the *ends*?" Nonsense! There are no such differences between Socialism and Anarchism which should render their advocates so antagonistic. It is only owing to the ambition of idealists, who wish to show their ideas superior to those of others; it seems as though we all intended to spend our time, talents, and energy in discussing ideas and deserting the *real work*.

I will now endeavour to show the identity of Socialists and Anarchists in *means* and in *ends*. Socialists accuse Anarchists as preachers of violence, but Anarchists never preached unreasoned violence as the means of overthrowing the present system. They are as intelligent as Socialists, and they know that through riots we shall not gain our demands; they preach that violence should be met with violence, and who is justified in asserting the contrary? Anarchists attack Socialists as depriving them of individual liberty. What is individual liberty? Every individual should have liberty to live on this earth; every individual should have liberty to work; every individual should have the liberty to enjoy all the wealth he has produced; and every individual should have liberty to obtain education according to his or her talents. Does not Socialism grant all these liberties? What is the individual liberty which one would not be able to exercise under Socialism? Such individual liberties through which the liberties of others are injured of course would be denied, but this Anarchists admit.

Again, Anarchists are scared at the Socialistic laws, State, Government, but forget that although the same in name it will be different in nature. As regards laws. I do not see what they are afraid of; if they would only carefully consider the Socialistic plan they would realise that laws as they exist now shall cease. In fact, I do not see a necessity for any laws; when you examine the present laws you find the greatest part of them treating on private property; laws regulating capital and labour; laws of bankruptcy, strikes, boycotts, etc.; laws about armies and navies, and so forth. All these, and many others, could not exist under Socialism, and therefore laws will be out of place. The State will not be what it is now, it will merely be as a committee in a society to transact the business of the society. What can such a state do to oppress the people? Even according to the Anarchistic theory there must be some appointed to carry on the business of the group, I mean a medium who shall collect the products from the producers and distribute it to the consumers.

After all, let us not forget that the chains of oppression will be broken, and all will have liberty to live according to their pleasure. There will be no Russian despot or Bismark to prevent. Why should we quarrel about such details while the principal thing is yet so far off? Agitate the Social Revolution to the down-trodden workers and to all other people of sorrow; let us all unite, and thus be better able to fight the enemy. Having said so much, I venture to suggest that a Conference should take place of all the various bodies under the banner of revolution, also such as Trade Unionists, Knights of Labour, at which should be considered the best method for the emancipation of the workers, even the adoption, perhaps, of one common platform for which we could work, so that we may not be like scattered sheep, each going a different direction, but all united under one banner and one name we should march toward the Golden Future. J. FINX.

Boston, Mass., Dec. 2, 1886.

"THE PINCH OF POVERTY."

It is pleasant to see how, as soon as one sets to work seriously to consider the present condition of things, he is immediately led towards Socialism. Geo. R. Sims, who has floundered into the question of our present social system, in his article "The Pinch of Poverty" in the *Daily News*, after telling the world, "We cannot get rid of poverty altogether," has contrived to discover "any one who wishes to invite the co-operation of the governing classes in attacking the causes of poverty must be hampered by the knowledge that he is inviting the men upon whose support he relies to smash, destroy, and pulverise some of their most cherished and venerated superstitions. Many of the altars upon which the poor are sacrificed are the altars of the very gods whom the rich regard as the presiding deities of their own prosperity;" that "the causes of a vast number of cases of distress among working people" are "too many children and too much rent," and that "one cannot be satisfied with the state of affairs as it now exists." Without entering on his ideas with regard to working folk having too many children, which seem to me to resolve themselves into the belief that working-men and women have no right to the physical constitution of human beings; or else, that there should be greater prostitution; it is well to observe that he has come, somewhat late perhaps, to the conclusion. "Directly we have found out how to give the poor three or four rooms for the price they are now paying for one or two we have commenced operations against one of the attackable causes of over-population." Moreover, "the conditions under which the poor are compelled to live cause them to be vicious, drunken, and improvident. They are housed in a condition favourable to vice, their surroundings are favourable to drunkenness, and the lack of protection given to their earnings and their savings is favourable to improvidence. The poor are systematically overcharged for lodging and for food, and there is little or no security for their savings." In an earlier portion of the same article he says, "Divide a given quantity of anything among a certain number of people, and, if some have considerably more than their share, then some must have considerably less." A truism, certainly, yet one not obvious to all. This sort of writing is surely a mark of progress, coming as it does from one whose delight seems to be his apparently self-assumed, office of Advertiser-in-Waiting to the Court. G. P.

THE LABOUR STRUGGLE.

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

The Strike Committee.

The Committee during the past week have received correspondence from various centres of industry which has been acted on. A leaflet on "Strikes and the Labour Struggle," has been issued which the committee will be pleased to send to any one willing to distribute it at places where strikes are taking place. Arrangements have also been made for the distribution of literature at the miners' conference at Birmingham on Jan. 12. Mainwaring gave in a report of the work he had been able to do on behalf of the committee in South Wales. He stated that there was good ground for the propagation of our ideas, the workers having given up all hope of bettering their condition as the struggle is now carried on. H. A. Barker having been elected general secretary of the Socialist League, resigned from Strike Committee. J. Lane was appointed secretary in his place. The committee would urge all those in sympathy to give what financial aid they can that the work may be carried on effectively.

J. LANE, Gen. Sec.

THE GLASS-BOTTLE MAKERS.

A lock-out which will affect between 4000 and 5000 men and boys has taken place in the Yorkshire glass-bottle trade. All the masters who are connected with the Yorkshire Glass-Bottle Manufacturers' Association have intimated to their men that from this week their wages will be reduced, the proposed reductions being 3s. per man per week, and 1s. per gross on the overwork. This reduction is declared on all wages irrespective of amount, so that the bottle-makers, who earn 30s. per week, the bottle-blowers, who earn 28s., and the gatherers, who earn 25s., will be equally affected.

At Mexborough, Swinton, Conisborough, and Kilnhurst, the glass-works have been stopped.

At Messrs. Redfern's, Old Mill Glass-Works; and Messrs. Wade and Dobson's, Oak Glass-Works, Barnsley, the men ceased work on Friday, having failed to come to any terms with their employers.

A conference of glass-blowers took place at Mexborough on Saturday afternoon. The proceedings were private, but it would seem that the men are almost unanimous in favour of "holding out"—for a few weeks at least. Some say that the masters will be ready enough to send for the workmen to return at the old rate of wages after the lapse of a few weeks, and those who thus speculate are desirous to exert their influence in preventing any concession being made by the glass-blowers. On the other hand, the manufacturers assert that they cannot continue operations unless the men meet them in a reasonable spirit, owing to the keen competition in Lancashire and elsewhere, where the wages are from 3s. to 4s. per week lower.

From 15 to 20 firms in different parts of the country will consequently suspend business to a great extent, although in many cases the "green-flint" hands will continue working. The men have been in the habit of working nine hours and a quarter per day per week of five days.

THE NORTHUMBERLAND MINERS.—Last Saturday, the Northumberland miners met the coal-owners, on the latter demanding 15 per cent. reduction. The men made a counter proposal, which was rejected, and the negotiations were broken off. The owners then held a consultation, and decided to issue on Thursday, Jan. 13, a fortnight's notice to the miners to terminate their contracts, as a result of their non-acceptance of the reduction demanded. Twenty thousand men are affected.

COLLIERS' STRIKE.—Fifteen hundred men and lads came out on strike on Monday at New Seaham Colliery, the property of the Marquis of Londonderry, owing to the dispute between union and non-union men. Last night the unionists held a meeting and decided to remain out until the masters undertook to see that the non-union men descended the pit apart from the union men.

SLATE QUARRYMEN.—At the Carnarvonshire quarries of Lord Penrhyn, the output for many months has been limited to four days; and in the Festiniog district short time is also being worked, many of the smaller quarries being altogether closed. The North Wales Quarrymen's Union is assisting its members to emigrate to the Welsh colony in Patagonia.

THE TINPLATE WORKERS.—An amicable arrangement has been arrived at in the settlement of the dispute between the Pontypool Tinplate Company and their workmen, the latter agreeing to make a slight concession. The works, which give employment to over 1000 hands, have been stopped for six weeks, and the consequence has been a large amount of distress and destitution. It has been arranged to re-open three large mills on Monday next.

THE LANCASHIRE WEAVERS.—At an important meeting of the Northern Counties Weavers' Associations, held at Blackburn last Saturday, a proposal was made that in consideration of the weavers' associations bringing out the weavers at the Burnley mills, where the overlookers are on strike, the overlookers' association should also bring out overlookers at Ashton, where the weavers have struck, the object being to stop all mills in Burnley and Ashton where strikes exist, with a view to ending these disputes. It was decided to test the feeling of the operatives before taking action.

CHEAP PRINTING.—In pursuing my inquiries into the system of working in offices where labour is so wretchedly underpaid, I almost invariably find that the character of most of the work done is "religious." Thus 90 per cent of Hazell, Watson, & Viney's printing consists of magazines with pious-sounding titles, and which doubtless do much to inculcate doctrines of the "do your duty in that state of life in which it shall please God to call you" order; and other of the goody-goody class of literature, such as *The British Workman*, which, while indulging in fanciful woodcuts of the model carpenter returning from a job with his basket of tools over his shoulder, holding out one hand in virtuous indignation on seeing a mate quenching his thirst with a modest half-pint of fourpenny, teaches the beautiful doctrine of "Knowing our proper stations, And blessing the Squire and his relations," and "being content, let come what may, With doing our work for four shillings a-day."—*London Correspondent of Scottish Typographical Circular.*

MR. BRIGHT AND THE TRADES UNIONISTS.—At a meeting of the Birmingham Trades Council last Saturday night, Councillor Granger presiding, a lively discussion took place respecting Mr. Bright's letter on the wages question in the Nottingham lace trade, in which he deprecated the unwise restrictions on labour resulting from the combinations of workmen. Several speakers condemned Mr. Bright as one of the bitterest enemies of trades

unions, and it was eventually resolved, with only one dissentient, "That while recognising the very eminent political service rendered by the Right Hon. John Bright to the country, this meeting cannot but express its very deep regret that he should allow himself to be drawn into a correspondence condemnatory of the principle of trades unions, seeing that in his long public career he has had so many opportunities of measuring the enormous benefits these combinations have conferred upon the wealth-producing portion of the community wherever they exist." [Socialists found out long ago that Mr. J. Bright was a fraud, and they got roundly abused in consequence of mentioning the discovery. However, his own household are now awakening, and the above report is instructive. "Let him down gently, Shelve him with care, Fashioned so selfishly, Old and so rare."]

THE TYPOGRAPHICAL CONFERENCE.—The Report of the Conference of Typographical Societies of the United Kingdom, held in London at the end of October of last year, has just been issued to the members of the different unions. At this Conference several important trade matters were discussed, and resolutions adopted on the following subjects:—The gathering of non-unionists into the ranks; arbitration in the settlement of disputes; the unfair use of stereotype in newspapers; the employment only of *bona fide* machine men on newspapers; reciprocity between the various unions in the matter of the dispensing of society benefits to members; the formation of a national federation; against the systematic working of overtime; a guaranteed minimum number of hours in night work, and payment for standing time; the placing of female compositors on the same status as journeymen; the placing of restrictions on the employment of apprentices; inter-communication between British, Colonial, American, and Continental Societies; the establishment of a weekly trade newspaper (which I should very much like to see); and, of course, the never-failing votes of thanks all round. At the conclusion of the Conference, the delegates were entertained to a dinner by their London brethren, and passed a pleasant time in saying many complimentary things of each other in language usual on such occasions. I note with considerable disgust that the company preceded their after-dinner speeches by the stale, hackneyed toast of "The Queen and Royal Family." Surely the workers might be content with having to support the Queen and her large family, and could very well leave the toasting of her health to dukes, lords, and the Guildhall turtle-soup gentry. "The Cause of the Workers" would have been a toast more worthy; the idlers have always known how to take care of themselves.—W. B.

WAGES IN THE NOTTINGHAM LACE TRADE.—At a largely attended meeting of the Levers branch of the lace trade last Saturday night to hear reports from delegates to the Board of Conciliation as to their acceptance of a reduction of 12 per cent. in order to check the removal of machinery from Nottingham, and enable the manufacturers of the town to compete with those in outlying underpaid places, it was resolved to repudiate the action of the delegates, and to resist the reduction. The threatened strike or lock-out has, however, been averted. The majority of the men have accepted the ruling of the Board of Conciliation and the Lace Operatives' Council, and resumed work under protest.

The effects of competition are being felt by the Nottingham lace-makers in a severe fashion. Their report for 1886 shows that in the last week of November 334 were idle, and this had been the average for two months. The amount paid to the unemployed was very large. The local newspapers remark that in maintaining the unemployed the unions are doing good work by effecting a saving in the rates. This kind of congratulation will show why trade unions are becoming less unsavoury to the middle-class nostrils. As the unions became powerful and kept up wages in Nottingham the masters resorted to the dodge of removing their machinery to districts where cheap labour could be found. This movement has not been very great, but still great enough to cripple the unionists and bring them to terms. The conduct of the "board of conciliation" has evidently not been very satisfactory to the men, who are in favour of continuing the strike now going on. They can only resume work at a reduction of twelve per cent, which will bring them to low enough terms. Anyhow the effects of competition in this case were plain and cruel enough to force the men to look beyond merely making the best of the present conditions.—J. L. M.

AMERICA.

NEW YORK, Jan. 5.—The strike among the coal dock-labourers has extended to the men at Hoboken and Newburgh. The Reading, New Jersey Central, and Lackawanna Railways are affected by the movement. Various collieries in Pennsylvania which ship their coal over the New York Central Railway have stopped work, owing to a strike among their labourers. Eight hundred miners have thus been thrown out of work.

ALBANY, Jan. 5.—The Governor of New York in his annual message to the State Congress makes special reference to the labour question, and advocates shorter hours and better wages for the working classes.

The K. of L. in Elizabeth, N.J., are preparing to start a factory to manufacture overalls, etc. It will start with thirty girls who were discharged from the cordage works.

As a result of the stock-yard strike a license has been secured for a corporation to be known as the Chicago Co-operative Packing and Provision Company. The incorporators are all Knights of Labor.

The K. of L. will operate the Clarksville mines in Arkansas.

Street car employees of Philadelphia propose to buy and co-operative control a street car line.

The Boston Central Labour Union calls on the women to boycott garter made from web manufactured by Thomas Martin.

Messrs. Childs & Drexel, master-printers in the State of Mississippi, have made a splendid gift to the Typographical Union of North America. They have sent a cheque for 10,000 dollars, without condition of any kind, in full confidence that the executive of the Union will use it for the general good.

THE GREAT TROY BOYCOTT.—The firm of Fuller and Warren Co., the contract-breaking stove manufacturers, closed their entire works. The boycott has been too much for them, and at last they have been forced by organised Labour to close their doors. They have been taught the lesson that honest Labour has rights which capital is bound to respect.

FLORIDA.—A correspondent at Narcoossee says: "The signs of it (the Social Revolution) are very visible even here in the pine-woods of this remote corner of the world. Florida is overrun with young Britishers of the middle-class on the hunt for a soft job, and when that is not forthcoming you not unfrequently see them working at hard manual labour in competition with negroes at a dollar a-day." He speaks of the gradual absorption of the "waste" lands of the continent, and says they will not long be un-monopolised, "and then we shall see what we shall see."

THE NEW CAR STRIKE.—BROOKLYN, Dec. 26.—After doing all that was possible to be recognised as an organisation the 2000 men on the Brooklyn City Railroad's lines struck on Thursday morning. There were grievances which they desired to have rectified, but President Lewis would not listen to the Executive Board of the Knights of Labour. He said he would have nothing to do with them. The organisation, he said, had no standing. He snubbed the Board more than once. On Wednesday night the Local Assemblies K. of L. of all the eleven roads met, and after a stormy session in more than one local, it was finally agreed to give the Executive Board power to "tie up." Representatives of the locals met afterward, and were in session until four o'clock Thursday morning, when the result was reached, and the order went out. A bitter fight is in progress. The City Railroad has a large surplus of money, the president and directors are determined to break the power of the Order in Brooklyn, and boast that they can get all the men they want. The police are doing duty on the few cars running. The men know that if the organisation is not recognised they may as well throw up their charters. They know, also, that if they are defeated their positions will be made unbearable by petty bosses, their hours will be extended as of yore, their wages cut down to the starvation line, they will be hounded and harassed, and life itself be not worth living. Would that by a stroke of our pen we could bring all the roads under city and State control. It must come to it. The sooner the better.—*John Swinton's Paper.*

FRANCE.

SEINE-ET-OISE.—A group of persons of this department have formed a society for Socialist propaganda amongst the working classes. It will be called the "Union of the workers of Seine-et-Oise."

MARSEILLES.—The cigar-makers of Marseilles to the number of 1200 are on strike. Some dispute arising in the factory, delegates went to the director who refused to receive them. The women then declared themselves on strike and repaired with their grievances to the Prefect of the town, who received the three delegates and heard their claims. Nothing is yet settled.

MALAKOFF.—Ever since 15th June some 15 unfortunate "navvies" of this community have been trying to reclaim from the mayor wages due to them for work in the cemetery. The contractor had declared himself bankrupt, and these workmen were of course among the creditors; but although the mayor was liquidator in the affair, and although moreover he had 25,000 fr. of public money in his charge for the works in question, not a centime could these men get out of him. The man who makes the communication says that he has lately applied to the prefect of the Seine, but without response. What answer could he hope to get from the clerkery at the Prefecture about "such a trifle" and so long ago?

Winter—that is, cold in addition to hunger—has made no effect on the strikers of the "Société Française." The fireless hearth as well as the cupboard without bread finds them standing firm. It is for the whole of the working-class that they have been struggling for months, and of this they are aware. We must not let them want for funds just at the decisive hour which is now approaching; for the month of January is the last delay possible for agricultural machines, which must be in readiness for the spring. Thus in about three weeks' time, either work will be resumed (not nominally but in reality this time)—and this means the capitulation of the masters and the triumph of our friends re-engaged—or else all's up with Arbel and Co., bankruptcy overtakes them, punishes them and avenges us.—*Cri du Peuple.*

The feverish activity which is caused in most of the Parisian trades by the provision for the frivolous purchases at the closing of the year is now over and past. The winter stoppage of work which is broken during the few weeks of December, becomes more severe than ever when January appears. The long days of 14, 16, 18 hours, the nights passed amid glaring lights tracing round the eyes circles of red, have given place to the hopeless idleness which empties the cupboard, exhausts credit, and extinguishes the fire on the hearth, killing with cold perhaps the latest born. For the artisan class all years begin again eternally, hopelessly alike. . . . Amidst all political commotions, diplomatic complications, while the low Parliamentary intrigues roll and unroll themselves, the condition of the worker remains the same. . . . On the other hand, in every stroke of speculation, of industrial invention, of war, or of famine, it is the worker, the worker alone who suffers. If cholera, smallpox, or any form of pest invades the country, it is again he who is most cruelly struck. There are no mistakes of the Government for which he is not punished, no national crime he does not expiate, no social evil which does not weigh him down! It is customary for us to be astonished at the patience and indifference of the people. Yet, if anything should surprise us, should it not be that the impulsive force of European nations is not stifled by discouragement and despair as it was stifled for centuries among the ancient races of Asia?—*Cri du Peuple.*

Here are a few extracts from one of the "Shops and Factories" series of articles in the *Cri du Peuple* which will assuredly interest our English readers. A man is giving his experience in an oil-mill in a letter written to the *Cri*: "In the N— oil-mills I was specially charged with the care of the machinery. The works are in action day and night, stopping three times a-day for oiling, and twenty-four hours every second Sunday. The work was done by two employés, myself and another, in spells of twelve hours alternately. . . . Having had bad coal for five weeks, and the shaft being broken off short in a storm, we had to force the fires, and very urgent reparations were necessary. I pointed this out to the director, laying stress on the fact that at the back of the boiler some fifteen men were at work in danger. He promised everything, but as at this season the least stoppage causes ten times more loss than in summer, he contented himself with promising." He goes on to say how he at last, alarmed at the dangerous state of the boiler, gives on his own responsibility the order to stop the machine. The case then appears before the "prud'hommes," the director refusing him his salary on the pretext that he was found wanting in his duty in stopping the works. The man simply demands seven days' wages at 6 fr. 50 c. The master demands, on the other hand, 275 fr. 50 c. for loss caused by his leaving. After hearing the for and against, the president asks the employé "How is it that your successor proceeds with the work if there was danger for you?" Shrugging his shoulders, the man answers by asking significantly, "For my words to be verified must one wait until a number of the men are killed?" Incredible as it may seem, the case ends by his being fined 5 fr. for leaving his post, and, it was added, "to establish a precedent." The master, too, is bidden to pay him his salary and expenses, which he leaves the court vowing he will not do, and promising to prosecute his employé. We must compliment the prud'hommes on the apparently limitless capacity for compromise in the sentences they pass on master and man. Here is a most obvious case of heartless carelessness on the part of the master, which yet goes not only without riprimand, but almost condoned!

BELGIUM.

GHEENT.—A considerable number of weavers have declared a strike at the Coster-Rousseau factory.

CHARLEROI.—Another strike is announced here, 200 workers employed in the mines have ceased work; some men in the mines of Vicoigne near Charleroi, have also stopped work.

AMERCEUR.—The miners of Amércœur are holding out firmly in spite of all tentatives on the part of the director. The miners claim 11 hours' work at 4 francs a-day; formerly they worked 16 hours, receiving only 2fr. 80c. The union of the miners of Gohyssart-Jumet held a meeting last week, at which it was unanimously decided to continue the strike until the miners get what they demand. All the unions and societies of the Centre are helping their comrades of Amércœur to the best of their ability, sending what money they can afford, the co-operative bakehouse of Jolimont sending bread. The strikers have held out for two months as yet.

AUSTRIA.

VIENNA, Jan. 6.—The exceptional Court has condemned Otto Steidl to five and Joh. Ondricsek and Jos. P. Schwarz to three year's imprisonment with hard labour, aggravated by one fasting in the month. These "Anarchists" have been accused because of forgery of coin they committed, in conjunction with Wilhelm Bachrelt, an engraver, who apparently played the part of an agent provocateur, and afterwards came forth as a witness for the prosecution. The Public Prosecutor endeavoured indeed to prove that the accused were tools in the hands of an alleged Anarchist party, but he failed completely, not even the Court, which commonly is no great friend of the Anarchists, adhered to this opinion, on the contrary stating that the crime was committed by the accused with the police for their teachers. From a previous letter you will gather that among us a union can only be formed with the permission of the Government. The Socialists are being *en masse* and always persecuted, because they are suspected of forming secret unions without the knowledge of the authorities. And the proofs upon which these arbitrary prosecutions are based? When you subscribe to an organ of the party; when you possess in your room the image of an eminent comrade; you are in peril of being accused of being a member of a secret union, as learned to their sorrow ten comrades of the Politic Union in Prague, of whom two have been under arrest during five months, the other two during seven months, before the bill of indictment has been handed to them! After this long inquiry, two have been condemned to 14 days' imprisonment and expulsion, a third to 3 weeks', and a fourth to 3 days' arrest. A letter from Prague states that in that town we have never less than fifty to sixty Socialists under arrest—a fine charitable institution in the ruling depression and crisis! Notwithstanding these obstacles, the party exists and grows ever stronger, though this growth cannot be always perceived on the surface, owing to the situation so often described in this paper. That the Austrian workers may more and more unite and adhere to our party fighting for their welfare, is our "happy New Years" wish.—F. S.

SPAIN.

M. DRID.—A goodly number of those soldiers who have been in prison since the insurrection in last September, have made their escape from the military prison at the San Franciscan convent in a simple and direct way, which does credit to the turnkeys of the prison, and makes one feel hopeful about the revolutionary sympathies of guard, sentries, etc. The simple, child-like method worked as follows: When the prisoners' friends, who are allowed to stay with them until the warders lock up at night, wanted to leave the prison in the evening, they found the inner door locked and no one near it. It was then discovered that turnkeys and gatekeepers had decamped, taking the seven revolutionaries with them, and thoughtfully locking the doors on the governor of the prison and the visitors, to release whom locksmiths had to be called in aid. "Singularly enough," as an English journal naively remarks, the military guard and sentries at the outer door noticed nothing unusual. "None so blind as those that won't see."

MR. HENRY GEORGE AND THE ROMAN CATHOLICS.—NEW YORK, Jan. 10.—Father McGlynn, who was summoned to Rome by the Pope to explain his advocacy of Mr. Henry George's land theories, has declined compliance with the request of his Holiness.

IRELAND.—On Friday week a process-server was on his way to serve some of the tenantry at Armagh, but the signal was given of his approach, and, as if by magic, about 300 women appeared and took possession of a bridge about a mile from the place. This was too much for the official, who fled incontinently. On the Saturday following nearly 500 people gathered near a bailiff's house on Lord Dillon's property, while many other groups gathered at given points, and their signal system was so perfect that the bailiffs could not evade them. A regular patrol system is kept up, and questionable individuals watched. At Fairymount, on the borders of Roscommon and Mayo, on Sunday week a great meeting took place, at which much money went into the hands of trustees. Meetings have been and are being still held all over the country, with the same result. During his examination on Friday 7, General Buller, in answer to the question whether certain correspondence had not passed between the Sub-Sheriff of Cork and Inspector Moriarty, said: "It is not correct to say that it passed, because, although that letter was written by Mr. Moriarty, it was apparently received by *United Ireland*, and not by the Sub-Sheriff of Cork." (Laughter.) "But it was sent?" "Oh, yes; and in due time it reached what many people believe to be the real centre of government!" In speaking of the evictions carried out at Cappagh, a wild and desolate district about eight miles from Killarney, the *Daily News* correspondent says: "Patrick O'Leary, who was first evicted, has nine children, most of them of tender years. His wife carried a young baby in her arms. The scene was of an exceptionally distressing character. The mother and children-cried piteously to be allowed in their homestead, but the bailiffs said they were instructed by the agent, Mr. S. M. Hussey, not to permit them in as caretakers. To add to the unpleasantness of the scene, the eviction was carried out under a heavy down-pour of rain, and the children, all of whom were barefooted, sought shelter by the side of the ditch. The next tenant evicted was a man named Timothy Looney, and here also a scene somewhat similar to the previous one was witnessed. Looney has seven children, his wife, and his father, an old man eighty years of age, who had to be assisted on crutches out of the house. As they also were not readmitted as caretakers they improvised shelter by the side of the ditch. Both tenants owed about three years' rent for a large tract of mountain land at £25 a-year."



OFFICES: FARRINGTON ROAD, E.C.

Library.—The librarians, May Morris and W. Chambers, attend on Mondays and Fridays from 7 to 9 p.m. A Catalogue has been printed and is now ready, price 2d. Country Branches can have parcels of books sent by paying cost of carriage.

Branch Subscriptions Paid.

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

"Commonweal" back numbers.

In future back numbers will not be exchanged dating back further than three weeks from current number. Branches are asked not to take more than they intend to keep of *Commonweal*.

STRIKE COMMITTEE.

P. W., 2s.; H. C., 2s.; S. M., 1s.; T., 1s.; V. D., 1s.; J. L., 1s.; C. W., 1s.; A. S., 1s. 6d.
T. BINNING, Treasurer.

"COMMONWEAL" PRINTING FUND.

M. M. (weekly), 1s.; H. Ch. (weekly), 1s.; E. B. B. (weekly), 1s.; Hammersmith Branch (weekly), 10s.; Bloomsbury Branch (weekly), 5s.; W. B. (three weeks), 1s. 6d.; Edward Carpenter, 1s.
Ph. W., Treasurer, Jan. 11.

BRANCH REPORTS.

BLOOMSBURY.—On Friday, Jan. 7th, A. K. Donald discussed the 4th chapter of the 'Socialist Catechism.'—L. W.

CLERKENWELL.—On Wednesday, January 5, Edward Carpenter gave very interesting and instructive lecture on "Railway Companies." He pointed out very clearly that the misery and hardships of the railway employes is due to the system which allows the shareholders and bondholders to take £3 for doing nothing, for every £2 received as wages by those who do all the work. Good discussion followed. The meeting closed with the song, "The Starving Poor of Old England." On Sunday, January 9, C. J. Faulkner lectured on "Inhuman Arithmetic;" brisk discussion ensued, and good reply. 48 *Commonweals* and several pamphlets sold. Members' Branch cards for 1887 are ready.—W. B. and T. E. W., joint-secs.

CROYDON.—Last Sunday evening, D. J. Nicoll gave an amusing address on "The Charms of Civilisation" as displayed in the manners and customs of our middle-class. Pagan festivities and the weather still militate against anything like good audiences, but making due allowance for these disturbing elements our audience was very fair.—A. T., ast.-sec.

HAMMERSMITH.—On Sunday, Jan. 2, J. L. Mahon lecturing on "Political Economy," recommended Socialists to read our comrade Carruther's 'Communal and Commercial Economy' as an able refutation of Mill and other orthodox exponents of the "dismal science," who, the lecturer said, were in the habit of ignoring other social systems than the present profit grinding commercial one, to which their theories almost exclusively applied. On New Years' day the Branch entertained themselves and their friends at an "evening party." The room was decorated with hangings, tapestries, and pictures lent by comrades Morris and Crane. Comrade Scheu sang Morris's "All for the Cause" to the new music by E. Belfort Bax. On Sunday, Jan. 9th, E. Belfort Bax gave us an interesting philosophical discourse, entitled "The New Ethic." He said that both the theological theories of Plato, the elder Stoics, Christ, and Buddha, and the materialistic ethics of Epicurus, Spencer, Comte, Bentham, and Mill, were developing into and being superseded by the new social morality, of which we see germs in the working-class movement of today, and which, unlike the elder systems, has for its aim the creation of an ideal individual through ideal society, and not an ideal society through ideal individuals.—W.

HACKNEY.—On Saturday we held our concert in aid of the club funds, which went off very successfully. On Sunday evening, H. Davis lectured on "Trade Unions, their Weakness and Strength." A lively and interesting discussion followed.—H. MATTHEWS, sec.

MERTON.—Last Sunday, comrade Mahon lectured upon "Working-class Orthodox Movements," passing in review the co-operative and trades union movements. He said that they failed to solve the labour problem, and only raised a few working-men into a better position at the expense of the mass. It behoved us to watch narrowly the attempts now being made to set the aristocracy of labour against those comprising the fringe, and to preach persistently the solidarity of the workers. Comrades Curtis, Harman, and Kitz also spoke.—F. K., hon. sec.

GLASGOW.—On Saturday evening, comrades Glasier and Downie addressed a good open-air meeting on Jail's Square. No open-air meetings were held on Sunday owing to the cold weather, but leaflets were distributed. On Sunday evening, in the Hall, Carlton Place, Dr. Cecil Reddie gave an exceedingly interesting and suggestive lecture on "The Anatomy and Physiology of Society." The lecturer drew an analogy between the animal and social organisation, from which he deduced an admirable plea for Socialism. A number of questions and considerable discussion followed the lecture.

LANCASTER.—The foe is already hard at work amongst those we have not so far reached, teaching them the "real truth" about Socialism, viz., that it is mere jealousy of other men's goods, and that, saving such dreamers as those who dote over Socialist ideals poetically, H. W. Beecher's advice as to exterminating them as copperheads and rattlesnakes ought stringently to be followed. However, as revolutionaries we are not too pale with paralysed fear at what we must naturally expect, and are actually working yet. Meetings at the small room, Market Hall Coffee Tavern, every Friday night. Last meeting, comrade Simpson was chairman, and Wyatt and Leonard Hall spoke.—LEONARD HALL, sec.

NORWICH.—We held meetings on Sunday as follows: Waterloo Road at 11 a.m., Sun Lane at 11.30 a.m., and Mill Hill at 12, addressed by Henderson; St. Mary's Plain at 11, by Mowbray; Market Place at 3, by Mowbray and Henderson; and Agricultural Hall at 7, by Mowbray; Mowbray gave a lecture at 8, subject, "Political Economy and the Labourers." Our meeting on Monday, Jan. 3, of unemployed, was attended by upwards of 6000 people, and was a great success. We held another unemployed meeting on Monday morning, which had not been announced, but was attended by over 1500 people. Several of our members are out of employment. Our comrade who took the chair at our meeting last Sunday night, was discharged next morning. We have started a fund to commemorate the Jubilee Year by building a Socialist hall. Slaughter is treasurer, Crotch, Mills, and Houghton trustees.—C. W. M., sec.

OXFORD.—The Branch had a social gathering on Thursday, Jan. 6, when nearly sixty members and friends sat down to tea. Afterwards we had singing, in which the "Marseillaise," "March of the Workers," and "England Arise" figured prominently, dancing, and short Socialistic speeches.—F. M., sec.

Notice to Provincial Branches, Members, and Correspondents.

At the suggestion of several country Branches, comrade Mahon has set off on a provincial propagandist tour. The route will be by Oxford, Bedford, Birmingham, Leicester, Nottingham, and Sheffield. At Manchester a few days' stay will be made, to work up the neighbouring districts. Liverpool, Preston (perhaps), and Lancaster will be visited next, after which Leeds will be made a centre of stay, and visits made to the Branches at Bingley and Bradford, and the districts of Shipley, Castleford, Wakefield, etc. After this Mahon will go on to the Hull Branch, and from thence up to Newcastle and Shields, returning by Hull to the Norwich and Ipswich Branches, and from thence back to London. Any Socialists or sympathisers willing to get up meetings at any place convenient to this route are invited to communicate with Mahon. Letters addressed to 13 Farringdon Road, London, E.C., will be forwarded.

LECTURE DIARY.

London Branches.

Bloomsbury.—Communist Club, 49 Tottenham Street. Friday Jan. 14, at 8.30. T. Binning, "The Irish Question from a Socialist Standpoint."
Clerkenwell.—Hall of the Socialist League, 13 Farringdon Road, E.C. Sunday Jan. 16, at 8.30. George Bernard Shaw, "Some Illusions of Individualism."
Wednesday 19, at 8.30. Edward Aveling, "Socialism in America."—Members are requested to take up Branch cards for 1887.
Croydon.—Royal County House, West Croydon Station Yard. Sunday, Jan. 16. R. A. Beckett, "Philoprogenitiveness."
Fulham.—338 North End Road (corner of Shorolds Road, opposite Liberal Club). Sunday at 8 p.m.
Hackney.—23 Audrey Street, Goldsmith Row. Club Room open every evening from 7.30 till 11. Discussions held every Sunday afternoon at 3 o'clock. On Sunday Jan. 16, at 8, S. Mainwaring, "Socialism."
Hammersmith.—Kelmescott House, Upper Mall, W. Sunday Jan. 9, at 8. A lecture.
Hoxton (L. E. L.).—Exchange Coffee House, Pitfield St., opposite Hoxton Church, N. Sunday Jan. 16, at 8 p.m. C. Wade, "England in the Fifteenth Century."
Merton.—11 Merton Terrace, High Street. Club Room open every evening. Committee every Thursday. Discussions held every Sunday morning at 11.—Sunday Jan. 16, at 8 p.m. H. H. Sparling, "Modern Cannibalism." 23. W. Morris, "True and False Society."
Mitcham.—Corner of Merton Lane and Fountain Place. Club Room open every evening from 7.30 till 11.
North London.—32 Camden Road. Fridays at 8.

Country Branches.

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

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

Edinburgh (Scottish Section).—4 Park Street. Meets every Thursday at 8 p.m. Reading Room and Library open every Wednesday evening, 8 till 10. The Treasurer attends for members' subscriptions first Wednesday of every month.

Glasgow.—Reading-room of the Branch, 84 John St., open from 10 a.m. till 10 p.m. daily. Saturday evening at 6 o'clock, open-air meeting on Jail's Square.—Sunday, open-air meeting on Jail's Square at 4.30 p.m. In the evening at 6.30, in Hall, No. 2 Carlton Place, Clyde Side, J. F. M'Haren will lecture on "The Scottish Land System."—On Tuesday 18, Monthly General Meeting of Members at 8 o'clock p.m.

Hamilton.—Branch meets every Thursday at 7.30 in Paton's Hall, Chapel Street, until further notice. Lectures and Discussions.

Hull.—11 Princess Street, off Mason Street and Sykes Street. Club Room open 7 to 10 every evening; Sundays 10 am. to 10 p.m.

Ipswich.—The Branch has left the George Inn, and has not yet procured fit premises for the club about to be formed.

Leeds.—New Fleece Inn, Pemberton St., Dewsbury Rd.
Lancaster.—Market Hall Coffee Tavern Lecture Room. Friday evenings at 8.

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

Manchester.—145 Grey Mare Lane, Bradford, Manchester. Club and Reading Room open every evening 6 to 10 p.m. Lecture and discussion every Wednesday at 8 p.m.—Comrade Parkinson will lecture at the Bee Hive Inn, Lower Broughton Road, Salford, on Sunday evening 16th inst.—subject, "Socialism and the Workers."

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

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

Open-air Propaganda—Sunday 16.

11.30...Hackney—"Salmon and Ball"The Branch
11.30...Hammersmith—Beadon Rd.The Branch
11.30...Regent's ParkD. J. Nicoll
11.30...St. Pancras ArchesThe Branch
11.30...Walham Green—StationThe Branch

PROVINCES.—SUNDAY.

Ipswich.—Old Cattle Market, 11; Ship Launch, 3 p.m.
Norwich.—St. Mary's Plain, 11; Market Place, 3.
Leeds.—Hunslet Moor, 11 a.m.; Vicar's Croft, 7 p.m.

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

CLEVELAND HALL, 54 Cleveland Street (near Portland Road Station).—Sundays at 11.30 a.m. Jan. 16, H. H. Sparling, "The Evolution of Cannibalism." 23. W. Morris, "Socialism: its Aims and Methods."

LONDON PATRIOTIC CLUB, Clerkenwell Green.—On Sunday morning, Jan. 16, at 11.30, Thomas E. Wardle will lecture on "The Truths of Socialism."

ENGLISH LAND RESTORATION LEAGUE.—Meetings on the Irish Question:—

- Jan. 15. Enfield Wash (John Morley Club).
 - .. 17. West Ham Radical Alliance.
 - .. 19. Woolwich District Radical Club.
 - .. 26. Central Finsbury Club, 81 Pentonville Rd.
 - Feb. 16. Dulwich Reform Club, Goose Green.
- Several other meetings are being arranged.

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

The Co-operative Commonwealth. By Lawrence Gronlund. Author's Edition, revised and enlarged. Paper covers, 2s.; Cloth, 3s. 6d.

The Labour Question from the Socialist Standpoint. By William Morris. 1d.

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

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

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

The Woman Question. By Edward Aveling and Eleanor Marx-Aveling. 2d.

Chants for Socialists. By William Morris. 1d.

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

Art and Socialism. By Wm. Morris. Bijou edition. 3d.

LARGE PAPER EDITION 1s.
The Aims of Art. By Wm. Morris. (*In the Press*). Bijou Edition, 3d.; Large paper, 1s.

"All for the Cause!" Song. Words by William Morris; Music by E. Belfort Bax. 4to, 4 pp. 6d. per dozen, 4s. 6d.

Mrs. Grundy (Cartoon). By Walter Crane. Fine hand-made large paper. 6d.