

THE COMMONWEAL

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WEEKLY; ONE PENNY.

A WRITTEN DEBATE

BETWEEN MR. C. BRADLAUGH, M.P., AND E. BELFORT BAX.

SUBJECT:

“Will Socialism Benefit the English People?”

III.—*Affirmative*: E. BELFORT BAX.

I AM sorry that Mr. Bradlaugh is dissatisfied with my opening statement of the Socialist position, wherein I sought to show the historic evolution of the present system of society, more especially with reference to England, and thence to deduce the Socialistic as the only issue possible to benefit the English people. But Mr. Bradlaugh, I am sure, is aware of the disadvantage under which the opener of a debate on a subject like the present labours. As it is, I had to trespass on his courtesy by taking up more space than was originally agreed upon for my still necessarily incomplete survey. To judge from Mr. Bradlaugh's remarks, he would have had me eliminate *holus bolus* the historical side of the question. This I could under no circumstances have done. The Socialism I am defending is indissolubly bound up with the past as well as the present of human society, and is incomprehensible except as the result of an historical development. I must therefore respectfully urge upon Mr. Bradlaugh to deal with the historical side of my article, as upon this the theory of modern Socialism largely hinges. I am quite willing for him to confine his attention to England, since this country may quite well be taken as typical; but I must protest against one of the most important parts of my argument being waived aside with the epithet “inexact,” or with mere bald denials of the facts contained in it.

I will now proceed to deal with Mr. Bradlaugh's paragraphs *seriatim*. Nos. 1 and 2 I have animadverted upon in opening these remarks. (3 and 4) I contend that my definition of Socialism is perfectly clear—*i.e.*, as clear as any definition can be which does not assume the proportions of an exposition. I do not see that Mr. Bradlaugh's definitions are as definitions any clearer than mine, but with them I will deal in the proper place.

No 4 consists of a play upon the words “goal” and “basis”—this at least is all that I can make out of it. The economic “basis,” I thought I made tolerably evident, was that historic development of industry up to modern capitalism, which Mr. Bradlaugh objects to discuss; the “goal” is of course the Socialism which we contend is its outcome. My whole article consisted in an endeavour to state the “basis” and the “goal.” The statement of the “basis” Mr. Bradlaugh has ignored; the statement of the “goal” he has understood variously, but never, I think, according to the ordinary sense of the words used by me.

(5, 6, 7) The relation between utopian and scientific Socialist theory is that they are both products of the same intellectual movement at different stages, just as astrology and astronomy, alchemy and chemistry are alike products of the scientific spirit, the one of its infancy, the other of its maturity. The attempt to reform the world by founding model communities or otherwise by groups of individuals is analogous to the attempt of Goethe's Wagner to “distil” a human being out of a retort. Mr. Bradlaugh is right in taking me to imply that this quasi-practicality is at least one distinctive feature of Utopianism.

(7, 8, 9) By Socialism being “nothing if not international,” I certainly meant that there is no possibility of the definite establishment of Socialism anywhere without a concurrent movement among the proletariat of the whole *civilised world*. I cannot regard England or any other western country as isolated from the general movement of civilisation. The condition of the civilised world as a whole is the immediate basis on which modern Socialism founds. This basis is the capitalistic system, the growth and nature of which I have already sketched. By the “break up of nationalities” I refer to the existing centralised State-systems of Europe. At present, although for obvious reasons each nationality has to work out its own Socialist movement more or less independently, yet this independence is recognised by all Socialists to be only provisional—that the centralised State of to-day will eventually be merged in a federation of all socialised communities. The *centre* of the larger (as opposed to the smaller or communal) social organisation will be shifted from the nation to the group of nations constituting the socialised world. But, says Mr. Bradlaugh, how long after the first establishment of Socialism will this political readjustment take place? Will a period of six weeks and three days elapse, or seven weeks, or how long? I am very sorry, but I really cannot inform him. The two events may be simultaneous or they may not,

according to the circumstances under which the crisis of the social revolution accomplishes itself. I can only affirm the fact of the logical connection of the events, and that the one must follow sooner or later upon the other. Would the “break up” be a slow and peaceful process? asks Mr. Bradlaugh. Possibly yes, but probably no.

(9) Mr. Bradlaugh rightly conceives that I deny the possibility of any social change being effected by isolated individuals or groups. The word “abstractedly” which he alleges, however, to be meaningless, contains the gist of the whole note, which affirms the impotence of individual effort *abstracted* from social condition. In answer to Mr. Bradlaugh's strictures I may say that “isolated and individual effort” has never been (and never can be) effective save as the expression and outcome of an underlying social movement. It is the social circumstances and intellectual atmosphere of his age which makes the individual what he is. The mere aggregate of individuals existing at a particular moment does not constitute society, any more than the mere aggregate of cell and tissue here and now constitutes the man—in both cases, it is the structural *synthesis*, the organic *form*, which determines the *reality* of the *thing*. I am sure if Mr. Bradlaugh considers the matter he will see that his “innumerable instances” of individual initiative, as contributing to progress, simply resolve themselves into cases of individuals having given *voice* and *definiteness* to tendencies already *born* of that social and more particularly economic development which maintains itself as *one* movement irrespective of the individuals, generations, and even races, through which it is manifested. My contention is that if people cut themselves off from the main stream of this development their action is futile.

(10, 11) I submit that Mr. Bradlaugh's first definition of a “Socialistic State” (which he would substitute for my own) is much too vague to be of any use for purposes of discussion. As it stands certainly no modern Socialist would accept it. His second is open to less objection, and taking the words in their ordinary meaning, I should not be indisposed to adopt it¹ as it is little more than a blurred re-statement of my own definition. The explanatory rider is of course indefensible. “*Everything* common as to its user” forsooth!—that's just what it wouldn't be. Mr. Bradlaugh really seems to credit Socialists with the fatuous absurdity of advocating a general scramble for hats and coats. The *use* of a thing as to its being “individual” or “common,” must be entirely determined by the nature of the thing itself—whether it is a palace or a pair of boots, for example. It is quite true that Socialism by implication affirms that personal possession shall be limited to objects of personal use, but certainly does not imply that every pocket-handkerchief, coat, hat, stocking, petticoat, chemise, “shall be common as to their user.” The remark, however, is obviously only one of those touches of playful humour which for those who can appreciate them, lend a charm to so many of Mr. Bradlaugh's speeches and articles; and I should not have essayed to refute it but for the fact that the British public is so dense at seeing a joke. Again, as to all labour being State-controlled, it is only necessary to say that after Mr. Bradlaugh had performed his share of the work necessary to the maintenance of the community of which he was a member, he could labour as uncontrolledly as he pleased under a Socialistic *régime*. With regard to Socialism and Communism I may say that the words Socialism, Communism and Collectivism are with me interchangeable, and mean economically the communisation of the means necessary to production, distribution, and exchange—and nothing else. You may of course affirm if you like that this would eventuate in the communisation of the product to a very large extent, but this would be an after and indirect and not an immediate and direct result of Socialism.

(11) By the “assumption of, etc.,” I mean the taking away from the present owners by any means constitutional or otherwise, as circumstances may dictate, of the means of production, etc., now in the hands of private persons or syndicates. Socialism only proposes to confiscate wealth used for production on a large scale, *i.e.*, as capital, in the fullest sense of the word.

(12) *How* the new social order is to be inaugurated, to wit, by the taking over of capital in the above sense, I certainly thought had been sufficiently indicated by me in more than one place. As to the benefits thence resulting to the English people, I also thought I made sufficiently clear that since the capitalist system with its results as described, is so fully developed in England that *ergo* the English people must especially benefit by its abolition.

(13) Civilisation means primarily the domination of property as held

¹ In saying this, I assume that “all labour” means all social labour, not the labour an individual might perform for his own amusement.

privately, with the corresponding distinction of a propertied, dominating class and a propertyless, dominated class. It is seen fullest developed in the modern capitalist world—with its empire of profit-mongering. Hence the abolition of capitalism implies the abolition of the last phase of the civilised or State-world which is based on the above class-antagonism.

(14) The private enterprise I referred to is that which has material personal gain for its end. I see no reason why under Socialism any other form of private enterprise should be extinguished.

(15) I must again ask Mr. Bradlaugh to deal with the historical side of my paper.

(16) That the early Christians as a matter of temporary convenience believing the end of the world to be at hand, chose to form a mutual benefit society does not affect in the least the principles and ultimate tendencies of Christianity. That its principles were not communistic would be, for that matter sufficiently proved by Acts v. 4, if Mr. Bradlaugh regards the book of 'Acts' as having any special historical value. As our friend William Morris remarked to me the other day, the vaunted communism of the primitive Christians is essentially the same as the donation of a thousand pounds by a Birmingham manufacturer to a cause he takes an interest in. The self-sacrifice might have been greater in the former than in the latter case, but the transaction is identical in kind.

No 17 I will bear in mind, though as regards the statistical Fabian Tract I have seen it in a place I should have thought not altogether inaccessible to Mr. Bradlaugh.

(18) I must confess I was somewhat staggered by Mr. Bradlaugh's challenging my statement that the large capitalist swallows up the small one. This everyday occurrence seemed so incontrovertible, and has never to my knowledge been questioned by any one. Probably Mr. Bradlaugh's own constituents at Northampton could tell him something about this in connection with the boot-making industry. I will, however, endeavour to satisfy his passion for figures by procuring some on the subject in my next article. Meanwhile, surely Mr. Bradlaugh will admit that goods can be thrown on to the competitive market cheaper and more rapidly when produced with large capital than with small, and if he admits this he admits that the result described *must* ensue. Is there not now less pauperism in proportion to population than forty years ago? Very possibly less pauperism, but certainly more poverty. The middle-classes have taken care to suppress pauperism and reduce the rates at the same time by wellnigh abolishing out-door relief and making the workhouses worse than prisons. What has Mr. Bradlaugh to say about the perennial unemployed question?

Space presses, but I shall revert to No. 18 in my next unless Mr. Bradlaugh should prefer to restate the points there raised by him in his reply to this.

(19) Mr. Bradlaugh "doubts" but does not criticise certain historical truisms put forward by me. He also alleges that I have failed to show their connection with the subject in dispute. But surely before one can judge whether Socialism will benefit the English people it is desirable to show why its antithesis, capitalistic individualism, *hasn't* and *won't* benefit the English people.

(20) Mr. Bradlaugh further characterises a paragraph of mine as "an accumulation of inaccuracies." I can only say I am prepared to stand by it to the very letter. I never said anything about "monopoly of labour." The "unnamed individuals" constituting the capitalist class have a *monopoly* of the means by which alone labour can become economically productive, which of course gives them a *command* over those who possess nothing but their labour-power. The margin of the final profit may, as Mr. Bradlaugh says, be very small or *nil*, and yet the rate of exploitation or of the production of surplus-value may be a hundred per cent., as Marx has conclusively shown ('Capital,' vol. I. c. ix. p. 201 *et seq.*). I am surprised to find this confusion between the concepts surplus-value and profit in a person of Mr. Bradlaugh's acuteness. However, there it is. Then, again, the final sentence. On the hypothesis that the whole community owns and works the means of production, etc., for its own behoof, to whom, I would ask, are the "expenses" named to be incurred? Surely there is here also some confusion of ideas.

In conclusion, if I might do so without giving offence, I should like to ask Mr. Bradlaugh to formulate his objections in a more comprehensive and less detached fashion. It is easy to fire off thirty or forty questions in two columns, which it would take thirty or forty to answer properly. With fair play given me to reply to a series of such articles as Mr. Bradlaugh's last, I have my misgivings lest the English people might have established Socialism before I had succeeded in convincing Mr. Bradlaugh that it would benefit them.

E. BELFORD BAX.

The McGlynn and George party becomes more turbulent and Socialistic daily.—*Daily News* Correspondent.

FATHER M'GLYNN ON MR. O'BRIEN.—NEW YORK, June 6.—Mr. O'Brien's refusal to attend the labour demonstration here on Saturday night is the subject of general discussion to-day. The members of the Labour Union are outspoken in their opinions, and consider themselves affronted. The matter was debated at a largely-attended meeting of the Anti-Poverty Society yesterday, at which Mr. Mackin, chairman of the Labour Demonstration, and Father M'Glynn, spoke in condemnatory terms of Mr. O'Brien. Father M'Glynn said: "O'Brien is himself a landlord at heart. It is only a question of 10 or 25 per cent. between O'Brien and Lord Lansdowne. They are birds of a feather. Mr. O'Brien blackguards Lord Lansdowne because he cannot jew him down 25 per cent. O'Brien admits that the land belongs to Lord Lansdowne. We say it does not belong to him. We therefore intend to take it from him."

HOW WE LIVE AND HOW WE MIGHT LIVE.

(Continued from p. 178.)

LET those be types of the consumer: but now for the producer; I mean the real producer, the worker; how does this scramble for the plunder of the market affect him? The manufacturer, in the eagerness of his war, has had to collect into one neighbourhood a vast army of workers, he has drilled them till they are as fit as may be for his special branch of production, that is, for making a profit out of it, and with the result of their being fit for nothing else; well, when the glut comes in that market he is supplying, what happens to this army, every one of whom has been depending on the steady demand in that market, and acting, as they could not choose but act, as if it were to go on for ever? You know well what happens to them; the factory door is shut on them; on a very large part of them often, and at the best on the reserve army of labour, so busily employed in the time of inflation. What becomes of them? Nay, we know that well enough just now. But what we don't know, or don't choose to know is, that this reserve army of labour is an absolute necessity for commercial war: if our manufacturers had not got these poor devils whom they could draft on to their machines when the demand swelled, other manufacturers in France or Germany, or America, would step in and take the market from them; so you see, as we live now, it is necessary that a vast part of the industrial population should be exposed to the danger of periodical semi-starvation, and that not for the advantage of the people in another part of the world, but for their degradation and enslavement. Just let your minds run for a moment on the kind of waste which this means, this opening up of new markets among savage and barbarous countries which is the extreme type of the force of the profit-market on the world, and you will surely see what a hideous nightmare that profit-market is: it keeps us sweating and terrified for our livelihood, unable to read a book or look at a picture, or have pleasant fields to walk in, or to lie in the sun, or to share in the knowledge of our time, to have in short either animal or intellectual pleasure, and for what? that we may go on living the same slavish life till we die, in order to provide for a rich man what is called a life of ease and luxury; that is to say, a life so empty, unwholesome, and degraded that, perhaps on the whole, he is worse off than we the workers are: and as to the result of all this suffering it is luckiest when it is nothing at all, when you can say that the wares have done nobody any good; for oftenest they have done many people harm, and we have toiled and groaned and died in making poison and destruction for our fellow men.

Well, I say all this is war, and the results of war, the war this time not of competing nations, but of competing firms or capitalist units: and it is this war of the firms which hinders the peace between nations which you surely have agreed with me in thinking is so necessary; for you must know that war is the very breath of the nostrils of these fighting firms, and they have now, in our times, got into their hands nearly all the political power, and they band together in each country in order to make their respective governments fulfill just two functions; the first is at home to act as a strong police force, to keep the ring in which the strong are beating down the weak; the second is to act as a piratical body-guard abroad, a petard to explode the doors which lead to the markets of the world: markets at any price abroad, uninterfered with privilege at any price at home, to provide these is the sole business of a government such as our industrial captains have been able to conceive of. I must now try to show you the reason of all this, and what it rests on, by trying to answer the question, Why have the profit-makers got all this power, or at least why are they able to keep it?

That takes us to the third form of war commercial: the last and the one which all the rest is founded on. We have spoken first of the war of rival nations; next of that of rival firms; we have now to speak of rival men. As nations under the present system are driven to compete with one another for the markets of the world, and as firms or the captains of industry have to scramble for their share of the profits of the markets, so also have the workers to compete with each other—for livelihood; and it is this constant competition or war amongst them which enables the profit-grinders to make their profits, and by means of them to take all the executive power of the country into their hands. But here is the difference between the position of the workers and the profit-makers: to the latter, the profit-grinders, war is necessary; you cannot have profit making without competition, individual, corporate, and national; but you may work for a livelihood without competing; you may combine instead of competing. I have said war was the life-breath of the profit-makers; in like manner, combination is the life of the workers. The working-classes or proletariat cannot even exist as a class without combination of some sort. The necessity which forced the profit-grinders to collect their men first into workshops working by the division of labour, and next into great factories worked by machinery, and so gradually to draw them into the great towns and centres of civilisation, gave birth to a distinct working class or proletariat: and this it was which gave them their mechanical existence, so to say. But note, that they are indeed combined into social groups for the production of wares, but only as yet mechanically; they do not know what they are working at, nor whom they are working for, because they are combining to produce wares of which the profit of a master forms an essential part, instead of goods for their own use: as long as they do this, and compete with each other for leave to do it, they will be and will feel themselves to be simply a part of those competing firms I have been speaking of; they will be in fact just a part of the machinery for the production of profit; and so long as this lasts

it will be the aim of the masters or profit-makers to decrease the market value of this human part of the machinery; that is to say, since they already hold in their hands the labour of dead men in the form of capital and machinery, it is their interest, or we will say their necessity, to pay as little as they can help for the labour of living men which they have to buy from day to day: and since the workmen they employ have nothing but their labour-power, they are compelled to underbid one another for employment and wages, and so enable the capitalist to play his game.

I have said that as things go, the workers are a part of the competing firms, an adjunct of capital. Nevertheless, they are only so by compulsion; and even without their being conscious of it, they struggle against that compulsion and its immediate results, the lowering of their wages, of their standard of life; and this they do and must do, both as a class and individually: just as the slave of the great Roman lord, though he distinctly felt himself to be a part of the household, yet collectively was a force in reserve for its destruction, and individually stole from his lord whenever he could safely do so. So here, you see, is another form of war necessary to the way we live now, the war of class against class, which, when it rises to its height, and it seems to be rising at present, will destroy those other forms of war we have been speaking of; will make the position of the profit-makers, of perpetual commercial war, untenable; will destroy the present system of competitive privilege, or commercial war.

Now observe, I said that to the existence of the workers it was combination, not competition, that was necessary, while to that of the profit-makers combination was impossible, and war necessary. The present position of the workers is that of the machinery of commerce, or in plainer words its slaves; when they change that position and become free, the class of profit-makers must cease to exist; and what will then be the position of the workers? Even as it is they are the one necessary part of society, the life-giving part; the other classes are but hangers-on who live on them. But what should they be, what will they be, when they once for all come to know their real power and cease competing with one another for livelihood? I will tell you: they will be society, they will be the community. And being society—that is, there being no class outside them to contend with—they can then regulate their labour in accordance with their own real needs. You have heard of supply and demand, but the supply and demand usually meant is under the sway of the gambling market; the demand is forced, as I hinted above, before it is supplied; nor, as each producer is working against all the rest, can the producers hold their hands, till the market is glutted and the workers, thrown out on the streets, hear that there has been over-production, amidst which over-plus of unsaleable goods they go ill-supplied with even necessities, because the wealth which they themselves have created is “ill-distributed,” as we call it—that is, unjustly taken away from them. Well, I say when the workers are society they will regulate their labour, so that the supply and demand shall be genuine, not gambling; the two will then be commensurate, for it is the same society which demands that also supplies; there will be no more artificial famines then, no more poverty amidst over-production, amidst too great a stock of the very things which should supply poverty and turn it into wellbeing. In short, there would be no waste and therefore no tyranny.

WILLIAM MORRIS.

(To be continued.)

LITERARY NOTICES.

‘The Life of Ernest Jones,’ by Fred. Leary (*Democrat* office, New Bridge Street, 1s.), is about to be published, if enough copies are subscribed for to ensure the writer against loss. It is surely time that an account of the life and deeds of this great man should be published, and everybody should help to that end who can.

‘The Irish Question’ (3d.), by our comrade Sketchley, has been revised and reissued, and any one hitherto unable to obtain it may now do so from the author, at 8 Arthur Place Parade, Birmingham. A large part of the pamphlet is taken up with statistics very ably handled.

‘Confessions of an Anarchist’ (Clarke, High Street, Chelmsford) is a small paper-covered volume of forty-three sonnets, most of which give token of some power, the third being really fine. Some of the sonnets are of the kind that raise the question as to their reason of being, and we advise the writer to be more sparing in production and more lavish in workmanship. Forty-three sonnets in nine months is “over-production.”

‘Our Christianity tested by the Irish Question,’ by Josephine E. Butler (Fisher Unwin, 6d.), is an admirable exposé of the hypocrisy, cruelty, and fraud perpetrated upon the Irish people in the revered names of law and order and Christian charity. In reading such pamphlets as this, or indeed anything bearing upon the same question, the wonder seizes one that one folk should possibly be able to inflict and one to endure such hellish misery.

John Mitchell’s ‘History of Ireland’ is too well known to need much comment at this time, but the enterprise of Messrs. James Duffy and Sons (15 Wellington Quay, Dublin), calls for a word of praise. They are advertising an edition of Mitchell’s ‘History’ at 5s. complete. For those who can better afford to buy it in parts, it may be had in sixteen numbers at 3d. or four parts at 1s. Any one desirous of reading up Irish affairs during the most important period could very easily do worse than invest in Mitchell.

‘Edward III. and His Wars,’ by J. H. Ashley, M.A., and ‘The Misrule of Henry III.,’ by Rev. W. H. Hutton, M.A., are part of a series called ‘English History from Contemporary Writers,’ edited by F. York Powell, M.A., and published by David Nutt (207 Strand) at 1s. per vol. The series aims at presenting the happenings of each period as they appeared to the living onlookers. The extracts are from good writers, references to authorities are numerous and complete, great impartiality is shown, salient events are illustrated. The books are well printed and bound, and altogether this forms one of the best series yet submitted to the public. S.

SONNET.

Woe to you rich who eat but will not toil;
Whose hands with plunder of the poor are filled,
Alms-givers in the sight of men, who build
High churches with a portion of the spoil,
Whose greedy souls not deepest Hell could soil
Blacker than their own hue: the life blood spilled
Has cried aloud for vengeance, and has thrilled
The heart of Justice, whom ye shall not foil.

Lo, from the ocean of the worker’s tears
Riseth the tempest cloud of discontent,
Darkening the sun of your false lives with fears,
Anger and sorrow in its frowning blent,
Hiding within its midmost heart of gloom
The lightning of the people’s wrath, your doom.

FRED HENDERSON.

THE UDSTON DISASTER.

THE Udston Colliery disaster brings home to the workers, in terrible reality, the price they have to pay for liberty to exist under present competitive capitalist conditions. The mines, it is said, could be worked in safety with electric light, but competition has cut the profits so low that it would not pay the capitalist to furnish such security, and these disasters help to clear off that surplus labour which, Mr. Bradlaugh affirms, has a tendency to outgrow the needs of society. The capitalist, of course, loses something by the damage and stoppage of his works, but he looks upon it as an insurance premium, for he gets a compensation in the increased security he derives from the workers not becoming too numerous for his purposes. His purposes are best served with just enough workers to enable him to get his work done for the lowest subsistence wages, but not enough to drive them desperate and goad them to the resolve of “if we cannot share your heaven, you shall share our hell.”

A glance at the ages of the victims caught in this disaster should strike a warning note both to the capitalists and the workers. It tells us that the contented workers of the uneducated past are now almost killed out, and the young on whose shoulders the burden of this important fundamental industry now rests can read and think for themselves. Already they are asking, “Our fathers! where are they?” They see that length of days is not theirs, neither are the products of Nature, and they want to know the reason why. They recognise that a ton of coals firmly embedded in the bowels of the earth is of little value to society until their labour is expended on it, and they are quite sure the Duke of Hamilton has no right to receive a larger share than they while he renders no assistance and runs no risks in securing the prize. The Duke of Hamilton’s income is “the lives of men and boys,” and so are the incomes of all who take from society that for which they render no equivalent service. The collier receives less for digging, filling, and hauling a ton of coals in the bowels of the earth in this dangerous part of Scotland, than a coal heaver gets in Glasgow for carrying, free of danger, the same quantity to a cellar from the street.

It is very suggestive that none of the victims of this disaster had reached over 60 years of age, and that only one-third was over 30 years. The list as published in the capitalists’ organ shows 50 killed under 30 years, and 25 between the ages of 30 and 60 years. The injured numbered 40 under 30 years, and 20 between the ages of 30 and 60 years. It is also very suggestive to read that the majority of the young victims were “the only support of a widowed mother.” A study of these points will suggest where and how their fathers are gone, and reveal conditions of existence not altogether worthy of praise in the Jubilee year.

We read that wee Jamie Gaw, aged 13 years, had escaped the pursuit of the School Board officer, who was searching for him. His widowed mother having need of the wages had sanctioned his going to the pit. Poor fellow! he has now escaped the officer’s grasp, and his widowed mother has to lament the loss of her help and hope. A collier’s widow always needs help, for his wages are calculated in snug and well-furnished offices in proportion to the price of provisions. His wages are calculated in the same manner as the upkeep of a machine. A large colliery manager told his men lately that 14s. per week according to the present price of provisions was sufficient to keep a collier and his family. Economists put the labourer and what he produces on the same footing—supply and demand—but, they forget, the product cannot revolt and the man can. Man is not a commodity to be thus disposed of. He is the being for whom all other commodities exist.

GEORGE MCLEAN.

Jamaica Place, Cambuslang.

It is worth while putting on record some words of a magistrate in Hull. The Hull German Communist Club has been the victim of a police plot, by which two detectives obtained drink from the steward at a dance held on the premises. The steward and secretary were summoned for a breach of the licensing laws, but were eventually discharged, Mr. Twiss, the magistrate, saying that those belonging to the club had taken very great pains to keep it as a club. In his opinion it was not a bogus club at all, and he had nothing to do with their principles or politics. Rather rough on the promoters of the prosecution, who have tried this game on several times, hitherto without success. Unfortunately, however, they have succeeded in breaking up the club for the present.—E. T.



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

Communications invited on Social Questions. They should be written on one side of the paper, addressed to the Editors, 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.

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Business communications to be addressed to Manager of the COMMONWEAL, 13 Farringdon Road, E.C. Remittances in Postal Orders or halfpenny stamps.

Periodicals received during the week ending Wednesday June 8.

ENGLAND		Denyer (Col.) Labor Enquirer	ITALY
Jus	Chicago (Ill.)—Vorbote	Chicago (Ill.)—Vorbote	Brescia—Lo Sperimentale
Norwich—Daylight	Milwaukee (Wis.)—Volksblatt	Milwaukee (Wis.)—Volksblatt	Marsala—La Nuova Eta
Londoner Arbeiter-Zeitung	Fort Worth (Tex.)—South West	Fort Worth (Tex.)—South West	AUSTRIA
Bretherhood	New Haven (Conn.)—Workmen's Advocate	New Haven (Conn.)—Workmen's Advocate	Vienna—Gleichheit
Church Reformer	Hamptonton (N.J.)—Credit Foncier	Hamptonton (N.J.)—Credit Foncier	Brunn—Volksfreund
Freedom	Albina (Oreg.)—Weekly Courier	Albina (Oreg.)—Weekly Courier	SWITZERLAND
Personal Rights Journal	Genevati (S.)—Unionist	Genevati (S.)—Unionist	Zurich—Sozial Demokrat
Justice	Philadelphia Carpenter	Philadelphia Carpenter	Geneva—Bulletin Continental
INDIA		Detroit (Mich.)—The Advance	SPAIN
Bankipore—Behar Herald	San Francisco (Cal.)—The People	San Francisco (Cal.)—The People	El Productor
Allahabad—People's Budget	FRANCE	Allahabad—People's Budget	Madrid—El Socialista
Bombay Gazette	Paris—Cri du Peuple (daily)	Bombay Gazette	PORTUGAL
SOUTH AUSTRALIA		Le Socialiste	Lisbon—O Protesto Operario
Adelaide—Our Commonwealth	Le Revolte	Le Revolte	Voz do Operario
CANADA		Lille—Le Travailleur	ROUMANIA
Toronto—Labor Reformer	Guisse—Le Devoir	Guisse—Le Devoir	Jassy—Lupta
UNITED STATES		BRUSSELS	DENMARK
New York—Freiheit	Brussels—L'Avant-Garde	Brussels—L'Avant-Garde	Social-Demokraten
Truthseeker	Liege—L'Avenir	Liege—L'Avenir	SWEDEN
Der Sozialist	Antwerp—De Werker	Antwerp—De Werker	Stockholm—Social-Demokraten
Tax Reformer	HOLLAND	Tax Reformer	NORWAY
Volkszeitung	Hague—Recht voor Allen	Volkszeitung	Kristiania—Social-Democraten
Leader		Leader	
Boston—Woman's Journal		Boston—Woman's Journal	

NOTES ON NEWS.

SPEECHES of Mr. Chamberlain; letter of Mr. Bright; Birmingham meeting, and solemn sermon by the Birmingham organ of Coercion Joe; Glasgow anti-coercion meeting; progress of Mr. Gladstone, once the Liberal King, now a kind of rebel leader, striving rather for a glorious end than for his lost crown. These are the preparations for the Liberal reunion, the hope of which some persons cling to so fondly. It does not directly concern us Socialists much, as after all it only forecasts the formal inauguration of the reactionary party which has been in working order some time already. But indirectly it will, one may hope, add to the confusion and ineffectiveness of Parliament, and so tend to disgust the people, and at the last disgust them so much that they will relegate it to its due place as a mere rowdy debating society, that sensible persons will give a wide berth to, till the happy day comes when one can squelch out its noisome existence.

"Over the whole plain of labour and trade you saw society in conflict. No arms were used, and yet men were struck down; no blood was spilled, and yet men died. Neither giant nor feudal lord was any longer there; a new tyrant reigned in their stead, more omnipresent and pitiless than they, whose name was Capital."

So says Mr. G. J. Holyoake in his prose poem on co-operation; nor is the picture overdrawn. But will not his words serve to describe the present as well as the past? Surely our own Labour Struggle column is enough to answer that question. It is true that the rule of the "tyrant" is now questioned, but no longer by the co-operationists but by the Socialist. The former seem to have a veil cast over their eyes which makes them see their old tyrant in very different colours to what they used to; for they can scarcely deny that he is there still.

✶ The fact is, the very success of co-operation shows how very far it is from being a solution of the labour question. Let us admit that they have exploded the superstition that workmen could not combine in production and distribution, that the autocratic one-man capitalist was a necessity for carrying on a business successfully: but with all their success, what else have they done? They have shown us that co-operation is desirable; but they are not allowed to co-operate: they must borrow money and pay interest, they must hire premises and pay rent to an individual or a company, they must buy the land that is theirs and the factories that they have made; they must pay a profit on every thing they buy outside their own association, either to consume or to transform into other wares. In short, not being allowed to co-operate, they have acted as all people *must* do under our present

system—pay tribute to the owners of property for being allowed to live. And meantime they have established a form of joint stockery differing slightly (scarcely at all in most cases) from that already established; which to some of us cannot but seem a rather pitiful outcome of those perfectly genuine hopes for the regeneration of society which they began with earlier in the century, and all the energy developed from those hopes. Let them now, without casting aside the individual advantages they have gained, turn their eyes to Socialism, the real movement of labour, which will make the workers the arbiters of their own destinies.

The *Engineer* says, apropos of the Belgian strikes:

"Capital does not receive the common interest of the country when laid out in the coal mines, the workmen and their families cannot possibly subsist on a pittance of 1s. 6d. to 2s. 6d. at most a-day for ten hours' work in a deep mine, and the price of coal cannot be raised if it is to be disposed of. If economy in plant and working is no further possible, the look-out is a dreary one indeed."

Just so; and if "economy in plant and working" can be carried further than at present by squeezing the ingenuity of the capitalist and the terrible dull patience of the workman to the utmost, how long will the new improvement in the prospects of the coal capitalist last? Just as long as the increased competition which will immediately spring up will allow it. The look-out is dreary indeed—to the capitalist. But to the Socialist, even when viewed through all the suffering of low wages and strikes, and riots consequent on the tyranny of the last squeeze of despairing capitalism, it is not so dreary—because he can see the end drawing near: the capitalist, finding his profits cut down by competition, while the workman, growing more and more enlightened, claims more and more.

Mr. Haigh, of Barnsley, in speaking to a large number of miners and the officials of the Yorkshire Miners' Association, complains bitterly of the bad effect on trade of the high mining rents and royalties in Great Britain. He explains the depressed state of the coal trade by the depressed state of the iron trade, and he uses the following remarkable words:

"Whilst as a nation we were almost the sole makers of iron and steel, and had no foreign competitors, we could supply our home trade and other countries without feeling the effect of these royalties and charges quite so much; but the moment we are face to face with a foreigner in the markets of the world, who has very small rents and royalty charges to pay—and even these charges go into the national exchequer to assist in meeting the expenses of the State—we are run out of the foreign markets, and even driven from our own."

The readers of the *Commonweal* are pretty familiar with this view of the state of trade and the prospects of capitalism in Great Britain; but as an utterance from the capitalist side it is worth noting. And what is to be done, pray, Mr. Capitalist?

For why should we take the profit from the poor land-owner, who is already moaning dejectedly in another corner of the field about the pining away of his rents? Some of our non-Socialist working-men friends will say and think that the British working-man will get something out of it. Will he? To do justice to the paper who reports Mr. Haigh's speech, *The Engineer*, it can see through the flimsiness of that hope: "The speaker did not explain how it was that in spite of all this, the Belgian workman works for starvation wages."

Yes, indeed, that is what it must come to in one way or other as long as we work for the profit of a master. At the best, one group of workmen thriving somewhat at the expense of another, that is what *has been* in this country, and what the "patriots" of all countries put before them as an ideal to be striven for, blind fools as they are! What most certainly *will be*, and before very long too, if the Social Revolution does not intervene, is that all workmen throughout the world will be reduced to a "dead level," not of "mediocrity," but of starvation for the satisfaction of the tyrant, Capitalistic Competition.

International Capitalism and the workman a hungry machine; International Socialism and the workman a free man and the master of his own destiny—it must be one or other of these two. All the feeble compromises that aim at checking the power of the capitalists, and yet allowed them to keep their position, will be speedily found out, one after another, by the monster which the Age of Commerce has made by dint of such mighty effort and cleverness, and which it must now feed by anything that may be handy. Honour, justice, beauty, pleasure, hope, all must be cast into that insatiable maw to stave off the end awhile; and yet at last the end must come, and the sooner it comes the less of a desert the world will be after the storm which is inevitable.

WILLIAM MORRIS.

WHAT THE WORD "HIRE" MEANS.—"The labourer is worthy of his hire. Yes, but the word 'hire' means not what he usually gets for his labour, but what he really should get for his labour. It is the violation of this simple law that has ruined several nations and is now breeding barbarians in our midst. No man should give his labour to any one for one penny less than it is worth. And all working-men should strive to abolish the present system of competition, which makes it impossible for them to demand the real value of their labour. Remember Christ's teaching. Take up the cross of the new crusade, and in a little while you will see that the old monks were right when they taught that 'laborare est orere'—to labour is to pray."—*Dr. McGlynn.*

THE REAL IRISH QUESTION.

LITTLE as the Irish may think it, it is not coercion that makes them worse off than slaves, nor being governed by a foreign nation. Nor is it on the other hand, as some affirm, obedience to the pope or to political agitators. The origin of their slavery is neither religious nor political, it is social. Here is the latest symptom of social slavery amongst the Irish. It refers to an attempt to benefit Ireland by philanthropy, instead of justice; an attempt which, though probably well meant, is practically nothing but an offer of gall and vinegar to the tortured nation, to ease somewhat the otherwise unbearable oppression. I copy from the *Daily News* of May 19th:

"One of the drawing-room dresses has a special patriotic interest apart from its artistic beauty. It is the work of the Irish embroiderers employed by the Donegal Industrial Fund, 43 Wigmore Street, in whom the Queen and the Princess of Wales have taken a warm personal interest. The train was of hand-spun linen, wholly covered with Kells embroidery. . . . This is a new form of lace, called the "Kells," introduced by the Donegal Industrial Fund with the object of founding a new Irish industry, for which workers are being trained under the auspices of Mrs. Ernest Hart in order to rival the Austrian laces now so much worn."

How "patriotic," truly! How kind of the Queen and Princess of Wales to take such warm interest in the poor Irish, and how charitable of the lady who wore the dress (doubtless too busy to make her own dress) to permit the Irish embroiderers to earn a little money so that they need not starve! Is it not a merciful dispensation which enables a woman to combine charity with the convenience of getting other women to do her a service? Perhaps some one who "takes a warm interest" in industrial matters will answer me this question: Why should not Irish women and girls,—all with immortal souls in them, and with possibilities for looking quite as pretty and behaving quite as becomingly as any English ladies—why, I ask, should not they be making lace for themselves to look nice in; if indeed it should be really necessary to take so much trouble about it? Or at least why, since no one will attempt to argue that they do it from anything but sheer necessity, why should there be any necessity for Irish women to toil in poverty to make other women look becoming? You cannot lay this to coercion, nor to foreign rule, nor yet to the pope and political agitators. No; the cause is social injustice, of which all political grievances are only the outside shell.

An unbiassed man, not up to the doctrine of "Rewards for abstinence" and the rest of it, would be inclined to say (in his ignorance) that it was a monstrous thing for one woman to be able to persuade many more (by terror of possible starvation if they did not comply) to make finery for her, while they had scarcely clothes enough to cover them. Probably if any should expostulate with him and tell him about the rights of landlords, he would ask, How the devil the landlords got such rights? And then they would have to refer him to the devil for an answer, for I am sure no other authority knows at all why one man should grow potatoes, and instead of satisfying his hunger with them in a reasonable manner sell them and give the money to another man; going hungry himself unless his wife can earn some of that money back again by making lace for the other man's wife; or his daughter by cooking the other man's dinner for him. I doubt if the devil himself could persuade an unbiassed man that such a position for the workers was aught but slavery and injustice, and it is high time our Irish friends recognised that, as Coercion and Castle Government have not caused it, neither will Home Rule cure it. It is true that English Government is favourable to it, and seeks to perpetuate it by means of Coercion, and consequently that Government must be replaced by Home Rule. But it will then be time for the Irish people, having cracked the political shell, to deal with the social kernel of the question, and they will discover that misery like theirs is not to be met by any tinkering philanthropy, however well meant;—that, in fact, it is no good to "make work" for them;—the cultivation of their land and beautifying of their homes will be plenty for them to do; and what they need is to have the produce of their labour for themselves, so that their wives and daughters may adorn their own persons and cook their own dinners; leaving their whilom employers to go and do likewise, if they want dinner and clothes. This problem, which is already before England, will face Ireland too as soon as she has got Home Rule; and it is our duty to educate, agitate, and organise, so that when the time comes the democracies of the two countries may unite in one sufficient effort to shake themselves free of this slavery, and institute the reign of freedom and social equality.

Then will it be seen with perfect clearness how much assistance the working-classes will owe to that "warm" (very warm) "personal interest" which not only the Queen and the Princess of Wales, but the whole of the "upper" classes are sure to acquire in the cause of the suffering workers.

GEORGE STURT.

Mr. John Roland Phillips, the West Ham magistrate, is dead. He was one of the few, the very few, honest and impartial men upon the bench. Even Socialists when they came before him received fair and courteous treatment, and he never followed the dishonest lead of those who made themselves counsel for the prosecution and forget their judicial functions.—S.

It is but seldom that a member of the wealthy class lets out anything tending to cast a doubt on the purity of motive which leads his class to take up charity-work, but this is what Mr. F. B. Grotrian, M.P. for East Hull, did the other day at the annual meeting of an orphanage in Hull. He expressed the opinion "that the philanthropic spirit of the present generation was the effort of the rich and cultured classes to escape from the dull inanities and the purposelessness of an idle life." A Socialist could not have put the thing straighter than did this Tory M.P.—E. T.

'THE SERVICE OF MAN.'

SOCIALISTS must sometimes supply themselves with fugitive literature, however much against their will, as all modern writing contains references more or less direct to our propaganda and principles. This book is chiefly a summary of the argument against Christianity, but is chiefly interesting as embodying the views of an ordinary educated man on social matters. It is one of those numerous modern essays which conceal all manner of confusion of thought under a semblance of logical method, and is characterised by imperfect application of other men's science.

The chief aim of the book is to show how theologies have sacrificed the welfare of men to the service of gods, and that the tendency is now to reverse the process. This is a good positive idea, and is capable of great and suggestive application, which however it does not here receive. The negative critique of Christianity, which is the greater part of the book, is thin of its kind; many of the points are neatly put and several scientific analogies well worked out, but the basis of it is a repetition of old scandals of monks and nuns, and the popular theological slang of "heaven" and "hell." The author's mental confusion here is great. In some places he tries to show that religion discourages morality in favour of "salvation" (whatever that antithesis may mean), so that "penitence is everything and morality nothing"; and in others that the Christian standard of morality is too high,—expects people to be too moral, in fact!

It must be said that Christianity will not suffer much from attacks of this sort, its essential thought has not been touched; it is as if one were to combat Darwinism in the persons of those who profess to understand Darwin, but don't. Perhaps it would be fair in this connection to apply to himself the author's remark on people like Napoleon, who regard Friendship and Love as a snare and delusion; they are out of court, never having felt in themselves the emotions they despise. I think it unlikely that much enthusiasm will be aroused by the invitation to bow down to an inscrutable Something, "the impersonal and unknowable reality behind phenomena, which the last word of recent philosophy propounds as the only rational object of worship."

To come now to the surer and more familiar ground of sociology, our author states in his preface that he has been unable from illness to complete the work as he had intended, but shows pretty clearly the line he would have taken. He sees well enough the rottenness of the present industrial system, recognises the meaning of national competition for the world-market, but suggests this view with all the diffidence of an unsupported discoverer of truth. His complaint against the modern system is "not that it is ugly and destroys rural beauty (the artistic view); not that it makes a few capitalists very rich and many workmen very poor (the current Socialist view); but that it cannot continue upon its own line; it will be destroyed by its own inherent vices, for which there is no remedy." This is practically all that Marx has to say; yet Mr. Morison is not a Socialist; he says indeed that there is a Socialism of love and mutual helpfulness as well as a Socialism of hate and spoliation; but he does not show how we can realise the one without the other, nor does he even define their differences. His notions of the question appear to be derived from a study of the later literature of the Federation, such as letters in the *Times*, suggesting construction of artisan's dwellings, provision of meals in Board Schools, etc.; with reference to which proposals and similar ones he asks, Why not supply the working-classes with boots, corduroys, and, in fact, all other necessities or even luxuries at the expense of the well-to-do? Why not, indeed?

But in truth, the author's Socialism is but a name. What are we to think of a "scientific" man, who first talks about over-production of goods, and then of the rapid increase of population? The work is freely bespattered with the usual pseudo-scientific cant about "the survival of the unfittest"; and the writer has absolutely no suspicion that these "unfittest" have been rendered unfit by centuries of social wrong, or that a return to right and justice might stamp the brand of unfitness upon the class to which Positivist philosophers mostly belong.

After reading this book carefully the conclusion is that social evils have been laid bare rather well for a non-Socialist, but that, beyond vague talk of "the better distribution and moralisation of wealth," no remedy has been proposed. But to be exact, there is a suggestion that habitual criminals (nobody else at present) should be locked up, not as a punishment, but to prevent the propagation of their species. Great systems, like great men, often utter quite a series of last words before finally departing; and we may well hope that this is not the very last word of Positivist philosophy. If, however, this modern application of the ancient fable of Danaë should come to pass, doubtless Jove will still find means of deliverance.

REGINALD A. BECKETT.

A MAYORESS.—The first lady in the United States to be elected to the position of mayor is Miss Dora Salter, of Argonia, Kan.

INGERSOLL'S LOGIC.—Says Colonel Ingersoll in *North American Review*:—"In a world filled with millions and millions of acres of land waiting to be tilled, where one man can raise the food for scores, millions are on the edge of famine. Who can comprehend the stupidity at the bottom of this truth?" The same article contains also the following: "Will they (workers) ever feel and know that they have no right to bring children into the world that they cannot support?" Unless the average family of the working-men is over forty children at least, the fame of Colonel Ingersoll will hardly be perpetuated by such logic as this.—*Labor Enquirer*.

'The Service of Man.' By JAMES COTTER MORISON. (Kegan Paul and Co.).

THE LABOUR STRUGGLE.

BRITAIN.

A strike of riveters affecting about 900 men has taken place in the Rowley and Halesowen districts. The men want an increase of 30 to 40 per cent. on the present rates.

The annual report of the Amalgamated Society of Engineers states that the amount paid to unemployed members amounted to over £84,000, and the expenditure during the past year exceeded the income by £3,451 13s. 0½d.

The rivet workers in the Rowley, Blackheath, and Old Hill districts have given notice for a return to the old 4s. list of wages. It is declared by the operatives that rivets which used to be paid for at the 4s. list prices are being made as low as 2s. 6d. per cwt., showing a reduction of about 37½ per cent.

At a largely attended meeting of the West Lancashire Coalowners' Association, held on the 31st ult. at the North-Western Hotel, Liverpool, Mr. Alfred Hewlett in the chair, it was resolved that a reduction in the wages of the colliers was absolutely necessary; and a committee of the masters was appointed to meet the men's representatives on the subject.

FURTHER DIFFICULTIES IN THE CHAIN TRADE.—At a large meeting of chain-makers at Cradley Heath the other day, it was stated that in consequence of a section of the employers refusing to pay their workmen the recognised wages, it had been decided to institute legal proceedings, and that it had been found necessary to send the town-crier throughout the district requesting the operatives not to take out more iron until the four-shillings list of prices was conceded. It was resolved to continue the strike at several factories.

The Executive Committee of the Operative Spinners of Lancashire, Cheshire, Yorkshire, and Derbyshire on Saturday discussed the cotton corner in Liverpool, and the proposal to run short time to defeat it. A resolution was passed expressing sympathy with the master spinners of the four counties in the difficulties in which the position of the cotton market places them, and recommending the appointment of a committee to co-operate with the Masters' Association in carrying out any movement that may be decided upon.

The 59th Annual Report of the General Union of Carpenters and Joiners lies before us. In it occur statements which bear out the assertions we have so often made as to trades' unions. It says that a retrograde movement has been going on for ten years, and contrasts the state of the craft then with what it is now under the more strongly competitive system. It condemns piece-work as carried on at present, but looks forward to the "better times" always delusively dangled before working-men. Expenditure exceeded income during the year by over £450! How long is it that this kind of thing is to go on before trades' unions take the matter up in sterner fashion than hitherto?

THE TELEGRAPH CLERKS' GRIEVANCES.—The first-class telegraph clerks engaged at the Central Telegraph Office, having memorialised the Postmaster-General on the subject of their present unfavourable prospects in the service, have just received the following, in reply to their petition:—"I am directed to convey to you the Postmaster-General's decision, that after very carefully considering your claims, and while fully recognising the good service which you render to the department, he regrets that he does not see his way to recommend to the Treasury that any alteration should be made in your scale of pay.—I am, gentlemen, your obedient servant (signed), H. C. FISCHER, Controller."

THREATENED STRIKE OF MINERS.—A largely-attended and very unanimous meeting of miners employed at Monk Bretton Collieries, near Barnsley, was held last week at Barnsley, to receive the report of the deputation which had waited on the manager respecting certain grievances which have been the subject of discussion at several meetings. The deputation reported that the manager declined to remedy their grievances. It was therefore resolved that all the men, numbering five or six hundred, should give fourteen days' notice to leave work on the 15th June; further, that the grievances be laid before a meeting of the executive of the Yorkshire Miners' Association to be held shortly.

With regard to the strike in the Bolton engineering trade, there are some negotiations in progress with a view to a settlement of the dispute, but it is very doubtful whether in their present shape they will lead to any satisfactory issue. The employers are in no mood to depart to any material extent from the position they have taken up. During Tuesday night a number of windows were broken at Messrs. Wood's foundry, and it was found necessary to station a detachment of police on the premises. A number of Scotchmen who have been brought over by Messrs. Wood to take the place of the men on strike have very properly been boycotted by sympathisers with the strike hands, and they have found the greatest difficulty in obtaining lodgings.

STRIKERS AT BRISTOL.—In order to expedite the discharge of the grain cargo of the steamship *Worcester*, just arrived at Avonmouth from New York, the stevedores, Messrs. King and Sons, with the concurrence of the Bristol Docks officials, placed on board a steam elevator. The result of this was that a large number of men struck work, and caused the others on board to cease having anything to do with the elevator. Disorderly scenes and excitement ensued: the local police were called, and had to be strengthened by thirty others, who still remain near the ship to prevent breaches of the peace. Men from Liverpool to discharge the vessel were telegraphed for, but the strike was settled before their arrival by the firm agreeing not to use the elevator unless there is insufficient manual labour.

THE FORTH BRIDGE WORKMEN ON STRIKE.—The men employed at the Forth Bridge Works struck work on the 3rd inst., demanding an advance of wages to the extent of a penny per hour. They hold that owing to the dangerous nature of their occupation they ought to be better remunerated. The present rate of pay is—for carpenters, 7d. per hour; engineers, 6½d.; and labourers, 4½d. to 5d. The sudden action of the men took the managers of the various departments completely by surprise. An informal meeting of a number of the men was held at noon on Saturday at South Queensferry, and a deputation waited upon Mr. Scott, the manager of the works, to endeavour to arrange terms. The result was that the deputation were informed that the contractors will pay extra wages, on the recommendation of the foreman, to men engaged in difficult and dangerous work.

Last week a meeting of the workmen employed at Broomhill Colliery was held at Broomhill, to take into consideration the rent question, which is the cause of the stoppage at this colliery. It appears that, previous to the strike,

the owners were paying to their workmen living in rented houses the sum of 2s. per week. At the termination of the strike, they intimated that they would no longer pay 2s., but 1s. 6d. per week. There was a crowded attendance at the meeting. Mr. R. Robinson presided, and in opening the meeting said that as he was informed there were reporters present, he would ask them to leave the room, as the proceedings were of a private character. The reporters accordingly withdrew from the room. It is understood, however, that after a long and animated discussion, in which every point was fully dealt with, a resolution was passed that the men start work at 1s. 6d. per week rent, and arbitrate regarding the other sixpence.

AMERICA.

EIGHT HOURS IN BROOKLYN.—MAY 28.—Mayor Whitney yesterday notified the Brooklyn Park Commissioners that the employés of that department are entitled, under the law, to the benefits of the Eight Hour law. "Contracts between the municipality and its employés may provide for a term of daily labour not exceeding eight hours," writes the Mayor, "but overwork for an extra compensation, by agreement, is permitted. The rule should be made universal in all the departments, wherever practicable."

CHICAGO (ILL).—Serious trouble is expected here. A gigantic conspiracy is going on, which is likely to lead to strange complications. Sometime since the carpenters, to the number of 8,000, struck for shorter hours and higher pay. They were successful, and their example was followed by the painters and afterwards by the bricklayers. At last the bosses formed an offensive alliance and declared a general lock-out, to include all building trades. Not being successful (principally on account of the friendship for the men of the small contractors) they were joined by the real-estate men, the architects, and later by the manufacturers of and dealers in building material. It now looks as if united capital had made up its mind to strangle organised labour, and the struggle, which is exceedingly bitter, is rapidly extending to other cities. No man knows where it will end or what the outcome will be, and both sides are preparing for serious work.

NAUGATUCK, May 18.—A few days ago the boys employed in the card-room of the Dunham Hosiery Company went in a body to the manager and asked him to raise their pay ten cents a-day. They were receiving seventy-five cents. This he positively declined to do, and informed the boys that he could get all the boys he wanted to take their places for fifty cents a-day. The boys put on their coats and left in a body, and so far it has been found impracticable to replace them. The strike, of course, affects other departments in the factory, and interferes seriously with running the works. A man had been hired by the manager to work in another part of the mill, but was ordered to take the place left by the boys. This he refused to do, though earnestly besought by the manager, who finally offered three dollars a-day and two policemen to protect him; but even this would not prevail, and the man left the mill to seek employment elsewhere. The work for which he was offered three dollars was the same work the boys got seventy-five cents for.

NEW SOUTH WALES.

The New South Wales Government are making special efforts to dispose of the unemployed difficulty. Great distress is said to prevail among the unemployed at Bourke, and, in response to an urgent appeal by the mayor of that town, the Premier has authorised an expenditure of £500 for providing the men with food. With a view of finding work for about six hundred men who are now out of work in the metropolis, the Government have entered into communication with twenty-six municipalities, asking them to find employment on any works of improvement, and offering to pay 2s. 6d. a-day towards the wages of each man employed by the municipal bodies. Nearly 2300 men are now employed on the various relief works, the average wages earned amounting to 3s. 10d. per day, the expenditure on relief work thus being at the rate of about £140,000 a-year.

A UNION MAN.—A union man is one who insists that it takes two to make a bargain, and who combines with his fellows in order to maintain the equal right of the men with the bosses to fix the rate of wages and other conditions of work. The non-union man believes that it only takes one to make a bargain—and that the boss is that one.—*Grand Rapids Workman.*

Strikes are bad, as a rule, because they don't settle anything—that is, if the men strike with the intention of going back to work for the same parties again. All that is determined by such a strike is, which of the two parties is the stronger at that time and the better able to endure the fight. But if a trades' union have quietly laid up funds for the purpose of striking for keeps; if they have thus prepared to set themselves to work when they strike, and strike with the intention of hereafter working for themselves; if they take the capitalists at their word and let them "invest their capital in other business," as has been threatened, meanwhile producing co-operatively—as they can if they have the mind—all that the market needs; that were a strike well worth the while.—*Cleveland Workman.*

In the distant State of New Mexico there is a certain breed of mules that, when one of them is attacked, place themselves in a circle, with their heads to the centre, and kick at their enemies; then the air is thick with hoofs. Working-men do about the opposite. If one of them gets a slap in the face, he holds out his other cheek for more; and when they do kick they kick each other. That's just what the capitalists want. While the Irish, English, and German working-men are dividing on national issues, the capitalists are uniting, and always seek to create division among the workers in order to more easily conquer them. The French and German "governments" are doing their best to foment national hatred among the people, so that the blinded dupes of soldiers may distribute bullets among themselves while their masters divide the gold. There has been much nonsense told by the capitalist press about Socialists, and yet those "bloody" agitators—those "bloodthirsty" Socialists—are the only ones in Europe that have protested energetically against wars and massacres. They tried it in this country also, when they endeavoured to foment strife between this country and Canada on the fishery question, but they didn't succeed, and they won't. All that we want is that the labourer shall receive the full value of his labour, and still there are some who come with their courts of arbitration. Courts of arbitration are nonsense. I don't want any. Of what use are they when the commissioners are paid and bribed by the capitalists to decide against us? Away with them! Do business with the devil and you'll be swindled. The nationalisation of railroads and land cannot alone help us. We want the full value of our labour—that's all.—WALTER VROOMAN in *Workmen's Advocate.*

THE CO-OPERATIVE CONGRESS AT CARLISLE.

THE nineteenth Annual Co-operative Congress was inaugurated on May 28 by a reception concert to the delegates in the County Hall, Carlisle. Speeches were afterwards delivered by George Howard, Sir Wilfred Lawson, and Sedley Taylor of Cambridge. The latter stated that "Co-operation has a great goal, and it is no other than what is now called the emancipation of labour, the freeing of the working man from the kind of industrial bondage in which he now stands towards his private employer and labour."

On the same day an exhibition of co-operative manufactures was opened in the Drill Hall by Judge Hughes. The products shown embraced boots and shoes, cotton and woollen goods, cutlery, printing specimens, and furniture and household requisites. The latter goods were from the Strawberry Works, Newcastle, which was represented at the exhibition by Edward Pease (Fabian Society). The whole of the goods shown were of first-class character: just such as we may expect to see when production for use takes the place of production for profit only.

On Sunday 29th two Congress sermons were listened to by the delegates. The Rev. W. Labrum, Wesleyan, preaching on "Filthy Lucre," severely denounced various unclean modes of getting a living, such as by stock-jobbing, jerry-building, bread-adulterating, etc. At the cathedral, in the afternoon, the Bishop of Carlisle preached from Acts ii. 44, 45. As became a Galileean in receipt of £4500 a-year, he, of course, totally ignored his text, and said he felt quite sure that equality amongst men could never be brought about by an alteration of "the social basis of mankind." He finally recommended the co-operators present (Holyoake and Co.) to receive the Holy Ghost, as "co-operation would be dangerous unless inspired by" that shadowy particle. By the way, the "Holy Ghost" is a long time in moving the rev. bishop to part with his substance as his predecessors did.

On Monday morning the inaugural address was delivered by G. J. Holyoake in the Victoria Theatre. The pit was occupied by over 500 delegates from co-operative distributive and productive societies. The president in his opening remarks pointed out that "over the whole plain of labour you saw society in conflict. No arms were used, and yet men were struck down; no blood was spilt, and yet men died. Neither giant nor feudal lord was any longer there; a new tyrant reigned in their stead—more omnipresent and pitiless than they—whose name was Capital. It held in its hand the food of the people and the means of labour. In a population of thirty million persons equally invited to Nature's table, one million of fortunate persons commanded all the seats and thirty millions sat wistfully looking on, and the waiters never came their way. All that fell to them were crumbs from the trenchers of Dives."

This was a promising beginning, but when he wound up with the usual clap-trap glorification of "divi"—"oh, what a falling off was there!"

An agreeable change awaited us in the next speaker—Mrs. Failes, president of the Sociologic Society of America. In a paper on "the condition of the industrial classes of America," she remarked that "the competition which had produced good in the past was now reversing its action and militating directly against the progress of society, and its nature, as it worked itself out through advancing civilisation, was to break down and destroy weaker industries, and finally to concentrate wealth to such an extent as to injuriously affect the entire industrial and social system, and necessitate the re-organisation of society upon a co-operative basis."

M. de Boyve, of Nismes, a French delegate, followed next. His speech was somewhat reactionary after his fair predecessor. He remarked that "Revolutionary Socialism is increasing every day in the number of its disciples, gathered from all who were discontented and all who had nothing to do. To that they opposed the International Co-operative Union, which would be the enemy of disturbance," etc., etc.

The second day's sitting was presided over by Sir W. Lawson, who considered himself unfitted to preside at a working-men's gathering such as this one. Firstly, because he was a "country gentleman"—i.e., one who never did any work—and secondly, because he was a landlord, "and landlords at present were looked upon with distaste and suspicion throughout the whole civilised world."

In a discussion which followed on "Co-operative Production," a Leeds delegate gave some interesting particulars as to how about 200 Jewish tailors in Leeds had tried to start a co-operative workshop in order to free themselves from the yoke of the sweaters, but had failed through lack of funds. The Productive Committee intends to advance to them the requisite sum as a loan, so it is to be hoped they will have better success next time.

On the last day of the Congress "Co-operation and Agriculture" came in for a good share of discussion. A Darlington delegate declared himself strongly opposed to the principle of buying land for co-operative purposes. He advocated the principle that the land belonged to the people, and that private property in land was an injustice. Some reactionists tried to stop him here, but the chairman interposed in his behalf, so he had his say. Another delegate stated that landlords always asked an exorbitant price when co-operators wanted land.

The proceedings throughout were fairly harmonious. This might be due to a strong protest which was uttered early on. From it I gathered that a split was feared. That struggle I believe will be fought out sooner or later. It will be between the "butter and cheese" co-operator who would be content with distribution merely, and the "co-operator of ideas" who advocates profit-sharing production as a means, and the emancipation of labour as the end.

T. MUSE.

A section of the Indian native press is against the extension of railways, on the ground that they only benefit British capitalists. The *Bangabasi* says:—"The English merchants wish the Government to extend railways on its own responsibility, and borrow money from British capitalists. Their desire would be satisfied if the Government would borrow forty crores of rupees. They have raised the question of the welfare of both England and India. They wish to prove that the natives of India will be benefitted by the extension of railways, and that the English people will also be benefitted by it. We have already shown that the English people only will be benefitted. We wonder at the argument set forth with a view to betray the natives of India and the Indian Government. The extension of railways will increase the sale of English goods. There is no necessity for raising the question of the welfare of the natives of India. Our Government will not do any good to the natives, even if it has the desire to do so. It must undertake work which will do good to the English people. So the railways will be extended. It is idle to talk of the welfare of the natives of India."—*Engineer*.—True, doubtless, but for one correction; it is not for the benefit of the people of England, but for the governing classes of England that all this is done.—W. M.

CORRESPONDENCE.

"THE IMMORALITY OF INTEREST."

SIR,—It is hardly necessary to say anything in reply to the letter from "A Professor of Science," after G. B. S.'s admirably lucid note; but as I am asked a direct question, I should like to answer it.

It could be neither through inadvertence nor design that I omitted to notice the defence of usury referred to, simply because I was unaware before reading the professor's letter that there was such a defence. Even yet, I am unable to see that it is worthy of serious consideration. His argument is, in effect, this: Usury of commodities is reasonable and right (the very proposition he ought to prove); money is a commodity; therefore, usury of money (I notice the professor uses "money" and "capital" as identical terms) is reasonable and right. Now I did not single out usury of money as specially deserving of disapprobation, but condemned usury of every kind as being morally indefensible, and criticised the stock arguments in its favour—the absurdity of which I am glad the professor recognises and admits. The matter standing thus, there is no call to discuss the laws of the variation of the rate of interest, or any minor point on which I may differ with him.

J. HALDANE SMITH.

MARX'S THEORY OF VALUE.

SIR,—Mr. Mallock in the current number of the *Fortnightly Review* attempts to disprove the theory of Marx and Ricardo, that the exchange-value of all commodities is measured by the amount of average human labour embodied in them. His strongest argument is derived from the statement of Mr. Laurence Gronlund ("The Co-operative Commonwealth," p. 35) that "the whole agricultural class in the United States, consisting of 7,600,000 persons, did not create more wealth in 1880 than our manufacturing operatives alone, 2,700,000 in number." Here, says Mr. Mallock, we have two aggregates of "common human labour measured by time," each embodying itself in a corresponding aggregate of commodities; and yet, though the labour embodied in one set is nearly three times as great as that embodied in the other set, the two sets of commodities are in value nearly equal. The Socialists, therefore, are evidently mistaken as to that primary fact of existing industrial life, on the analysis of which their whole system is founded.

I am myself a believer in the theory of Marx and Ricardo, but I must confess that the above appears to be a strong argument against it. Can you or any of your contributors show its fallacy?—I am, your obedient servant,
May 31.

E. PETERS.

"THE WESTERN AVERNUS."

SIR,—A book just published, entitled, "The Western Avernus; or, Toil and Travel in Further North America," constitutes a very clear exposure of the emigration fraud. The author—a man of education and culture, and of physical strength and pluck withal—tired of the soul-choking atmosphere of London life, resolved to seek for a freer, wider, and manlier one in America. He became a shepherd on the plains of Texas, farm labourer, contractor's labourer, and railroad navvy in Iowa and Minnesota, glad when by the hardest work he could gain a bare living, and quite elated when he had a dollar to share with a companion. In St. Paul, Minnesota, he got hired with about 100 more to go to the Rocky Mountain Section of the Canadian Pacific Railroad as a navvy. Amongst the magnificent scenery of the Rockies he worked for two months and then left, partly because he wanted to get further West and partly because of the domineering spirit of one of the "bosses." With a companion named Fritz he tramped across the Selkirk range of the Rockies to Kamloops, in British Columbia. For nearly two years he lived in British Columbia, Oregon, and California, working with farmers, in saw-mills, on railroads, in vineyards when he could find work, and half starving when he could get none. In the famous city of San Francisco he met with his bitterest experiences, loafing about with 20,000 other unemployed men vainly seeking for leave to toil. Then an avenue opened for him to get back to England and civilisation, and the companionship of uneducated men became intolerable to him. And so he swiftly returned to England, satisfied, I presume, that the commercial spirit rules as completely in America as in England, and that it is as difficult to live nobly there as here. The author is evidently a just and noble-minded man, whose right post is in the camp of the Socialists helping to establish an industrial and economic system in which honest men can lead honest lives. Young Socialists who have an eye towards America or the Colonies as a refuge from the depressing conditions of life here, should read "The Western Avernus," it may save them much pain and disappointment.

Carlisle, May 21, 1887.

G. D. LAWIE.

THE SOCIALIST LEAGUE.

OFFICES: 13 FARRINGTON ROAD, E.C.

London Members.—The first meeting of London Members will be held on Monday the 4th of July.

Resolution of Council.

At the meeting of the Executive Council on Monday evening the following resolution was passed: "That all monies collected at open-air meetings must be duly handed to the treasurer of the League, and the receipt of same acknowledged in *Commonweal*."

BRANCH SUBSCRIPTIONS PAID.

Birmingham, to August 31. Manchester, to October 31. Leicester, South London, to December 31, 1886. Bradford, Croydon, Edinburgh, Hackney, Hammersmith, Hoxton (Labour Emancipation League), Hull, Ipswich, Lancaster, Leeds, Marylebone, Merton, Norwich, Shields, to March 31. Bloomsbury, Glasgow, North London, Oxford, to April 30. Clerkenwell, Walsall, to May 31.

"COMMONWEAL" PRINTING FUND.

Hammersmith Branch (weekly), 10s. W. B. (two weeks), 1s.

FOR PROPAGANDA.

Collected at Walham Green, June 5, 3s. 9½d. Collected in Regent's Park, June 5, 10s. 3½d. PH. W., Treasurer, June 7.

THE NORWICH PRISONERS' AID FUND.

Salford Branch S.D.F., 3s. 6d. Pakenham Beatty, 2s. (£2 2s. instead of £2 should have been acknowledged last week). For Mrs. Mowbray—A Few Fabians, per Annie Bessant (weekly), 10s.—Total, 15s. 6d. J. LANE, Treasurer.

REPORTS.

BLOOMSBURY.—On Thursday, June 2, a business meeting was held at which the Conference delegates gave in their report, after which the Branch considered its position with regard to the decision of the Conference. The Committee of Management, consisting of the following officers, was then elected:—General Secretary: W. H. Utley; Lecture Secretary: T. E. Wardle; Lecture Committee: A. K. Donald and Shirley; Treasurer: Lena Wardle; Steward: Harnett; News-vendor: Shirley. The speakers of the branch held large open-air meetings on Saturday in Hyde Park; on Sunday, in Regent's Park, Hyde Park, and at St. Pancras Arches; and on Sunday night comrade Donald addressed an attentive and enthusiastic audience at the Peckham Reform Club.—A resolution was passed authorising the speakers of the Branch to make collections for the Propagandist Missionary Fund started some time ago, of which Lena Wardle is the treasurer.—U.

CLERKENWELL.—On Wednesday, June 1, William Morris lectured on "True and False Society." Good discussion followed. On Sunday, June 5, a business meeting was held, at which our Conference delegate presented report. Annie Taylor was appointed secretary in place of T. E. Wardle retired; W. Blundell re-elected treasurer; and T. E. Wardle, lecture secretary. After business meeting, members and friends attended a very successful concert held by the Branch. Literature has steady sale.—A. T. and W. B.

HACKNEY.—Lyons, H. Graham, and James Allman addressed an attentive audience at the Salmon and Ball, on Sunday morning. At the club in the evening, H. Sparling spoke on "Irish National Poetry," in the course of which he pointed out that some of the best poetry ever written has been composed by working-men. By special request of the audience this lecture will be repeated here in a few weeks time.

HOXTON.—On Sunday evening, a very interesting lecture was given by J. R. Macdonald on "The Signs of the Times." Good discussion after the lecture.

MARYLEBONE.—On Sunday afternoon, we held a very good meeting in Hyde Park, addressed by Mainwaring and Donald. Good sale of literature.—T. C.

MERTON AND MITCHAM.—Kitz and Eden spoke on Mitcham Fair Green last Sunday. Good attendance in our club-room. At night, a full meeting of members of both branches was held to discuss the situation of the branches, and agitation for the district.—F. Kitz.

NORTH LONDON.—On Sunday morning, at Regent's Park, a large audience listened very attentively to Donald's account of the miners' and chainmakers' circumstances; Cautwell and Brookes also spoke. 10s. 3d. was collected for the Propaganda Fund. Good sale of literature.—H. B.

EDINBURGH.—On Wednesday, June 1, in Scientific Hall, Dalkeith, Gilray read an essay on "Socialism," Tuke in the chair. Considerable interest was aroused on the subject. On Saturday, Tuke spoke at Loanhead, and disposed of about a quire of *Commonweal*. On Sunday afternoon, in Queen's Park, Smith, sen. and jun., Tuke, and Gilray spoke. Some opposition was offered at the close by a man who thought that the parable of the talents told against Socialism. This mistake pointed out, it was shown to the satisfaction of the audience that it was rather a dangerous thing for one to go to the Bible for arguments against Socialism. In the evening, Tuke spoke in the Meadows. Good sale of *Commonweal*.—J. G.

GLASGOW.—On Saturday, comrades Pollock and Glasier went to Motherwell—an important industrial town some 14 miles south-west of Glasgow—and addressed a meeting of some 400 working-men, who received their exposition of the labour question with great approval. On Sunday, at 1 o'clock, Curran addressed a good meeting on Jail Square. In the afternoon, Adams gave a lecture on "The Commune of Paris" to the Legislative Independence Branch of the National League, while Glasier gave a lecture on "The Majesty of Law" to Coatbridge Branch of the National League. No meeting was held on Georges' Square on Sunday evening, owing to the police having forbidden meetings of any kind being held there in future.

LEEDS.—This Branch held an open-air meeting on Hunslet Moor last Sunday morning. Comrades Paylor, Maguire, and Braithwaite addressed a very attentive audience. At the close of the meeting, 1s. was collected to help us furnish our new rooms. One quire of *Commonweal* sold. In the evening, comrade Paylor addressed a large and attentive audience in Vicar's Croft, on the attitude of the London police towards the Socialists. Comrades Maguire and Sollitt also addressed the meeting. At the close 1s. 8d. was collected to help us furnish our room.—F. C.

WALSALL.—On Thursday, several members of the Branch visited Cradley, and addressed the chain-makers on strike. We had a good meeting, and at the close a further list of names were given in towards forming a Branch there. On Saturday, H. Sanders spoke in the Market Place, Walsall. Fair sale of literature.—J. T. D.

DUBLIN.—On Sunday, June 5, a meeting was held by the Labour League at Howth, a fishing village about nine miles from Dublin. A special excursion steamer was run for the convenience of those attending the meeting. The principles of the League were ably expounded by Hall, Cautwell, Brown, Fitzpatrick, and others. At the close of the meeting more than fifty names were given in to form a Branch in the neighbourhood. Thousands of Socialist leaflets were distributed among the crowd.

THE SOCIALIST UNION.

BRISTOL SECTION.—A meeting was held in the large room of Stephen's Coffee Tavern, 45, Old Market Street, on Thursday, Mr. Blackmore being in the chair. After preliminary business the meeting considered "The Progress of the Socialist Idea for the last Fifty Years." It was shown that the "right" of man to own man was an inevitable outcome of the primitive state of society. Civilisation was an improvement on the old system; but a state of society founded on a competitive basis was not so great a step from the primitive as at first might appear, for although in the former man cannot possess man as property, and, may be, eat him, man does possess man in another way, and in such a manner not all in favour of those possessed. The slave under the old system had the care such as a master would pay to his horse. He would be brought up, and fed sufficiently to keep up his strength, whereas at the present time the worker was often starved out, and more often led a life of semi-starvation. Under the competitive system masters had found it cheaper to hire slaves than to buy them. Competitive civilisation was a state of warfare, and was an improvement on the old more in the freedom which must be the immediate result from it than in what it was in itself. The evils resulting from it had become so patent; just before the passing of the first Factory Acts, the fatality of children was so frightful under it, that the Legislature was bound to take cognisance of it, and in doing so made an onslaught on the so-called "freedom of contract," a precedent which had been repeatedly followed since, and which would be rapidly followed in the future. It was beginning to be seen that the antipodes of the primitive state lay in the direction that the weak should not be oppressed by the strong, which was a recognition of the truth of the Socialist idea, and of the necessity of progressive society travelling in that direction.

NOTTINGHAM SECTION.—Peacock and Proctor addressed a good audience in Sninton Market on Sunday morning. In the evening, Wane, Peacock, and Proctor lectured to a large audience in the Great Market. *Commonweal* sold well. Collection for propaganda, including morning meeting, 5s. 11d.—T. P.

NORTH ENGLAND SOCIALIST FEDERATION.

I have never known, through the whole course of my experience, any movement that has taken hold of the people with such earnestness as Socialism has done here. Whether it is that the working-men are becoming more intelligent, or that bitter experience has taught them that some change is necessary and that change will have to be brought about by their own action through some definite organisation, and which must put an end to all capitalists and profit-mongers, but certainly the people are taking to Socialism with astonishing rapidity. I spoke at Byker Bridge end last Sunday morning, and when I came to speak of the chain-makers, when I told them of the chains I had seen in the Socialist League office, they listened with marked attention. When I told them the conditions under which those poor wretches have to work, and the price they get for making the chains, several cried "Shame! shame!" I sold at this meeting a good many *Commonweal*; Donald's article on "Chains and Slavery" took well. I then went to the Sandhill, and had a good sale there. After that, I took the boat to Shields, where I met comrades Brown, Chorton, Wood, and a whole host of others, and nothing would satisfy them but a meeting in the "General Gordon," and a large and enthusiastic meeting we had. I held another meeting in the Market Place at night, where I spoke at some length, and sold all the papers, Donald's article again receiving a considerable amount of praise. Some disappointment was felt at the absence of Mahon in North Shields, but it has been arranged to meet there next Sunday for the purpose of fixing a date for his debate with Johnstone, the secretary of the Shields caucus. I hear they are doing all they can to pack the meeting when it takes place, but the North Shields comrades will not be slow to prevent such work as this. I believe that this debate will do a great deal of good to the Socialist movement.

J. H. STEVENS.

LECTURE DIARY.

LONDON.

Bloomsbury.—Communist Club, 49 Tottenham Street, Tottenham Court Road, W. On Thursday June 9 Rev. Stewart D. Headlam will lecture—subject, "Christian Socialism." On Thursday June 16 George Bernard Shaw will lecture—subject, "The Rent of Ability."

Clerkenwell.—Hall of the Socialist League, 13 Farringdon Road, E.C. Free Lectures every Wednesday and Sunday at 8.30 p.m.

Croydon.—Parker Road.

Hackney.—23 Audrey Street, Goldsmith Row. Club Room open every evening from 8 till 11.30; Saturdays, 7 till 12.30. Sunday June 12, at 8.30, Wm. Morris will lecture on "True and False Society."

Hammersmith.—Kelmescott House, Upper Mall, W. Sunday June 12, at 8 p.m. A Lecture.

Hoxton (L.E.L.).—2 Chandall Street, New North Rd. Club Room open on Monday, Wednesday, and Saturday evenings from 8 till 11. Singing Class every Wednesday at 8.30. On Sunday June 12, at 8 p.m., W. H. Utley will lecture, "Society of the Future." Members' Meeting on Friday June 17th, at 8.30

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

Mitcham.—Corner of Merton Lane and Fountain Place. Club Room open every evening from 7.30 till 11.

North London.—Communications to H. Bartlett, sec., 13 Farringdon Road, E.C.

PROVINCES.

Bingley.—Coffee Tavern. Every Monday at 7.30 p.m.

Birmingham.—Carr's Lane Coffee House. Every Monday evening, at 8.

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

Dublin.—Irish Labour League, 2 Bachelors Walk, every Thursday at 8 p.m. Discussion on all subjects connected with the Labour Question.

Edinburgh (Scottish Section).—4 Park Street. Meets every Thursday at 7.30 p.m. to transact business. Class for the study of 'Das Capital' at 8.30. (See "Open-air" below.)

Glasgow.—Reading-room of the Branch, 84 John St., open from 10 a.m. till 10 p.m. daily. Saturday's meetings will be announced in Rooms. On Sunday evening at 7, in our Rooms, Discussion. See "Open-air" below.

Hamilton.—Paton's Hall, Chapel St. Every Thursday at 7.30.

Hull.—Address all communications to E. Teesdale, 20 Shakspeare Street.

Lancaster.—Addresses every Sunday morning on the Quay Jetty.

Leeds.—17 Chesham Street, Sweet Street. Club and reading room open every evening. Business meetings every Wednesday at 8 p.m.

Leicester.—Office of Hosiery Union, Horsefair Street. Fridays at 8 p.m.

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

Norwich.—Gordon Hall, 5 Duke Street. Free Lectures every Sunday and Monday at 8 p.m. Reading-room open every evening.

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

Paisley.—On Friday at 7.30, open-air meeting at the Causewayside.

Shields (North and South).—Meetings every Sunday, Quay-side and Market Place. Branch meetings on Thursday nights at the "General Gordon," Bath Street, Maxwell Street, South Shields. Secretary, J. Hearne, 32 Clive Street, No. Shields.

OPEN-AIR PROPAGANDA.

LONDON—Sunday 12.

11.30...Garrett—"Plough Inn".....The Branch
11.30...Hackney—"Salmon and Ball".....Davis, Allman
11.30...Hammersmith—Beadon Rd.....The Branch
11.30...Hoxton Ch., Pitfield St.....Bariker, Wade, Pope
11.30...Mile-end WasteLene
11.30...Mitcham Fair GreenKitz & Eden
11.30...Regent's ParkMainwaring
11.30...St. Pancras ArchesThe Branch
11.30...Waltham GreenThe Branch
3 ...Hyde ParkNicoll
7 ...Clerkenwell GreenThe Branch
Tuesday.
8 ...Ossulton Street, Euston Road.....Sparling
Thursday.
8 ...Hoxton, Pitfield StreetWade & Pope

PROVINCES.

Cambuslang.—Saturday: at 6 o'clock.

Edinburgh.—Sunday: Queen's Park, afternoon at 3.

Glasgow.—Sunday: Jail's Square at 1 and 5 o'clock; Stobcross Street at 6 o'clock.

Motherwell.—Saturday: at 6 o'clock.

Paisley.—Friday: Causewayside, at 7.30.

Leeds.—Sunday: Hunslet Moor, 11; Vicar's Croft, 7.

Norwich.—Sunday: Market Place at 3; Agricultural Hall Plain at 7.

Hawick.—Persons in Hawick desirous of forming a Branch are requested to address the Secretary of the Socialist League, 4 Park Street, Edinburgh.

LEEDS BRANCH.—We have now secured rooms at 17 Chesham Street, Sweet Street, and would be glad of any little help in furnishing them. Books would be thankfully received to help form a library for the use of our members. The following papers and magazines have been promised by some of our members, and current numbers will always be kept on the table: *Weeklies*—Co-operative News, Reynolds's, Justice, Newcastle Chronicle, Brotherhood, Denver (U.S.A.) Labor Enquirer, United Ireland. *Monthlies*—Practical Socialist, Christian Socialist, Common Sense, To-Day, Financial Reformer, Our Corner, Freedom. Business meetings every Wednesday at 8 p.m.; club and reading room open every evening.—F. L. CORKWELL, sec.

HACKNEY BRANCH.—A Free Concert on Saturday June 18, at 8.30. All members of the League invited.

HOXTON (L.E.L.).—Excursion on July 10th to the Rye House. Those wishing to take part in it can obtain full particulars from the secretary.