

THE COMMONWEAL

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WEEKLY; ONE PENNY.

NOTES ON NEWS.

THE most noticeable event of the past week in England has been the introduction of Mr. Ritchie's County Government Bill, and the discussion thereupon. This great attempt at decentralisation is perhaps more interesting to us, because it shows how revolutionary all parties are now compelled to be, than for any other reason. Upon the ordinary political press it has come as a great surprise, and as a result the organs of "public opinion" have for the most part sought refuge in platitudes, and wait for the swing of the tide.

So far-reaching and "revolutionary" is the measure, and so inchoate withal, that it will take a good deal of thrashing out in Committee before we can quite see how much grain will come out and what of it is mere chaff.

No doubt a certain proportion of the Bill is mere "deck-load," put there on the chance of going through, and ready to go overboard when rough weather begins, but the bulk of it clearly shows that Mr. Ritchie is, up to his light, an honest and painstaking man, who has tried in all ways to be fair all round. With such a multitude of conflicting interests as he has had to consider, it is no marvel that his Bill looks by no means like an organic whole.

Publicans and teetotalers have, of course, at once fallen out over the clauses affecting them, and are, if we may trust their manifestoes, going to "fight to the death" in the matter. The Board of Works does not seem to have any fight in it; its impending fate seeming even to it, mayhap, to be richly deserved. Other "interests" will be heard from later on.

Against the proposal to leave the metropolitan police in the hands of the Government for the time being, our Radical friends may be trusted to strive with all their might; but in view of the fact that a Liberal Government would find such a weapon just as useful as do the Tories, and have done so many a time, and that all the forces of law'n-order will be arrayed against any proposal for placing the moral-miracles under popular control, there is little hope that they can succeed.

Meanwhile, the necessity of such control is being proved over and over again with every week that passes. On the 21st, "I. Warren," the Christian swashbuckler and bravo, who has been lately boasting of his divine mission to "save society" (*à la* Gallifet, apparently), met with a public rebuke from the mild lips of Matthews for his "want of decorum and good taste" in the case of St. Bloy. In the mouth of a man it would have been a stern rebuke, from the official it came as an apologetic reproach.

"I. Warren" had held an "impartial secret inquiry" into the conduct of a policeman, in which only police evidence was taken, and on the strength of this had insulted a magistrate for hearing other witnesses when they contradicted a moral-miracle. Upon enquiry, Mr. Matthews wriggled and shuffled and would not answer, but had it forced from him that Warren had shown a "want of decorum and good taste."

Just before this happened, another magistrate—Mr. Vaughan, of all men!—had fined a constable named Poole, and made him pay for damage done to a girl's dress. In doing so, he strongly commented on the "singular inhumanity" of the moral-miracle, together with other agreeable graces that will no doubt soon place Poole, along with Endacott and Bloy, on the roll of those whom Warren delighteth to honour.

A couple of day's afterwards at the Thames Police-court, the name of Dales was added to the list. In arresting a man for an alleged assault, he had beaten his victim's face into a ghastly mass of cuts and bruises. His plea was that the prisoner "resisted and assaulted" him, but he was unable to show a single mark of said "resistance and assault," or call a witness. Whereupon Mr. Bennett censured the constable and discharged the prisoner.

Having set his hand to the plough, of course the servant of the Lord(s) of the land may not look back. Or, in less biblical phrase, having taken in hand the task, for a consideration, of beating out rebellious brains, he cannot afford to lose any chance of strengthening

and making irresponsible the tools of his work. Wherefore we may look for more "secret and impartial" enquiries and further breaches of "decorum and good taste."

If his eye was on Ireland the other day he might have noticed a genius worthy to be enrolled a defender of Trafalgar Square—District-Inspector Hamilton, who "considered cheering for Mr. Blunt and Lady Anne Blunt worse than using sticks and stones!" And of such is the Arm of the Law!

At the meeting of the Ballinasloe Guardians on the 21st, the case of Peggy Dillon, the Aughrim midwife, was brought before them, as she had applied for outdoor relief. She is a highly respectable woman and a good midwife and could live very well until Balfour the Brave destroyed her livelihood for the sake of a rhetorical point. What a comment on the meanness of this "ruler of men"! His itching vanity can stoop to crush a poor woman to show his power and to repeat in parrot-fashion the "reasons" for his action put into his mouth by paid informers and men fitted to be even *his* tools!

In Dublin when he was there lately, a little story was floating about, which if *non vero* is at least *ben trovato*. Balfour is, or affects to be, under the impression that the whole Irish people is groaning under the "tyranny of the League," and that he is their true deliverer. Meeting at dinner a Bishop well-known for his wide knowledge of the land and people, he asked if it were true that the Irish people disliked him, whereon quoth the Bishop, "If they but hated the devil as they hate you, my profession would be gone!"

At the Mansion House on the 22nd, a "largely-attended meeting" was held on behalf of the "Irish Distressed Ladies Fund." The position of these poor people is, no doubt, pathetic; brought up from infancy to look for food without work, and now thrown upon the chance of charity. But one is constrained to think of the thousands, *not* ladies, who are distressed and starving in Ireland and England also, to whom no Mansion House is open wherein to beg or be begged for.

Mr. W. E. H. Lecky made an ill-omened remark in the course of his speech. "He thought that the distress resembled in some degree that which occurred a hundred years ago when French refugees flocked to England." And none who heard him said *Absit omen!* at least, aloud.

Jus takes a new departure in the last number that will make some of its readers sit up. I am glad to see that the smart pens which do the leaders for *Jus* are no longer to be trammelled by respect for the prejudices and selfish greed of the large majority of the L.P.D.L. An honest enemy is the very thing that we need most, and if *Jus* can only cut loose from the Lords of Land and Lust, and stand out squarely on Individualist lines, pandering to no man's pride, and paltering to no man's prejudice, it will receive no heartier welcome than from the men it seeks to oppose. The extract in another column looks as if this were to happen.

S.

THE NATIONAL DEBT AND ITS CONVERSION.

It has been well said that Usury is the grand means by which nations are plundered and peoples enslaved. It has been the curse and scourge of the human race. It was one of the primary causes of the ruin of all the States of antiquity, and it is ruining all the States of Europe. It binds the nations in a bondage more iniquitous than that of the Israelites of old, and dooms to slavery tens of millions yet unborn. And all for the benefit of a few great vampires.

As the question of the English debt is so prominently before the public, it may be as well to take a glance at the debt and see whether repudiation would not be the proper course to pursue.

Many people believe that the National Debt represents so much money lent to the Government. And the money having been lent to the Government—for whatever purpose—it is a debt of honour, and ought to be held sacred. Even the measure of Goschen is condemned as an act of injustice towards the fund-holders, as an act which working men above all ought to condemn. Nay, even working men condemn the measure as one of robbery, of wilful spoliation. That any men, and especially working men, should be so blind to their own interests, so ignorant of the facts of history, indicates at once the great need

there is for a thorough examination of the various means by which the wealth-producing classes are robbed of the great mass of the wealth produced by their labour. Very many years ago, it was pointed out by the old Radicals that while the army and navy belong to the Crown, the Church to the Crown and the aristocracy, and the land with all its minerals to the aristocracy, the Debt belonged to the people. The people need to bear these facts in mind when talking about this debt and its conversion.

The national debt, with the modern funding system, dates from the period of the revolution of 1688, and was the result of the great "No Rent" manifesto of 1660, when the landlords in Parliament assembled, repudiated their feudal obligations, and placed on the shoulders of the people the expenses of government. One feature in the funding system is that the lender is always credited with more than he lends, and the nation always has to pay interest on money the government never received. As, for instance, during the reign of William III. the government borrowed £34,034,518, but the lenders were credited with £44,100,795, and the nation had to pay interest on the latter sum. Take the case of Turkey. In 1874, her debt amounted to £182,981,782, but over fifty-seven millions of that she never received. As samples, take the three great loans. In 1865, there was a loan of £36,363,362, of which she received only £17,272,717. In 1873, another loan of £28,000,000, of which she got £18,240,000. And in 1874, a loan of £40,000,000, of which she only received £16,140,000. But if we turn to Egypt the case is even worse. Up to 1882 the total amount received by the Egyptian Government was only a little over *forty-nine millions*. She had repaid over *seventy millions*, and still owed over *ninety-eight millions*.

Let us now take the English debt. In January 1816 the funded debt was returned at £816,311,939. But no one pretended for a moment that the Government had received that amount. Still for many years the country knew but little about what the Government did receive. It was known that the stock representing the old debt up to 1792 had been converted into new stock, and the eight hundred and odd millions really represented new debt. The late Thos. Attwood and other leading authorities always contended that the debt did not really represent more than four hundred and eighty millions, but when the accounts were published the case was even worse, and stood as follows:

Funded Debt	...	...	£816,311,939
Paid into Exchequer	...	...	476,721,058
Difference	...	...	£339,590,881

Forming a large part of the debt was what were termed the Three Per Cents, amounting to

Paid into the Exchequer	...	...	£580,916,019
Paid into the Exchequer	...	...	348,519,612
Difference	...	...	£232,396,407

The arrangement was this. Every person lending to the Government £60 was credited with having lent £100, but lent at 3 per cent. But in paying them off, £100 (and not £60) was to be paid.

Again, the great bulk of the debt was incurred when all the necessities of life were at famine prices; or in other words, the bulk of the debt was contracted in a depreciated currency, when cash payments were suspended, and the country flooded with a paper currency, to enable the Government to carry on the war against Napoleon. But the bondholders had to be paid the interest in gold, and after 1823 cash payments were resumed and the £1 notes in England withdrawn. Prices of all commodities were brought down and the wages of labour everywhere reduced. Rents also fell, but not in proportion to the fall in prices. But the debt was kept up to its full nominal amount. In 1856 Mr. Ed. C. Cayley, of the Inner Temple, in the second volume of his *European Revolutions*, shows that the debt, if it had been reduced to a gold standard like everything else, the £476,000,000 paid into the Exchequer ought to have represented about 40 per cent. less, when the debt of £816,000,000 would have represented only £332,000,000. Yet see how the matter stood in 1881: Interest paid, 1801 to 1881, £3,231,900,000, and debt still due £768,703,692. Since then we have about £174,000,000 more, and still the debt remains. Here is plunder on a gigantic scale! More than £2,405,000,000 paid on a debt of £332,000,000, and about £760,000,000 still owing!!

And what is conversion? A practical recognition that the debt is not a just one. In 1717 the 6 per cents were reduced to 5; in 1727, to 4; and in 1749, to 3, reducing the charge for the debt £1,230,000 a-year. In 1822 £152,000,000 of 5 per cents were reduced to 4½, and by 1854 to 3 per cents. In 1824 another £75,000,000 of 4 per cents reduced to 3½, and in 1854 to 3 per cents. These and other reductions reduced the charge from £32,100,000 to £27,550,000, being a saving of £4,550,000 annually. In 1873-74 Gladstone dealt with nearly £200,000,000, and now Goschen proposes to deal with £458,000,000, which will take from the bondholders another £2,800,000 per annum. Now, all these conversions are so many repudiations. And if a part can be repudiated, so can the whole. And as the interest paid already amounts to more than *seven times* the amount of the debt when reduced to a gold standard, in which the interest is paid, it is a total and not a partial repudiation that ought to take place.

As to the mass of the population, it had no voice whatever in the matter. Even as far as parliamentary representation went, it was simply a sham. Out of 658 in 1830, 87 English peers returned, 218 members; 21 Scotch peers, 31 members; and 36 Irish peers, 51. Thus 144 votes returned 300 members to the House of Commons. Then 171 more were returned by 125 great commoners, and the government nominated 16.

Nor could the people protest by public meetings or otherwise. The Habeas Corpus Act was suspended for nine months in each of the years 1794, 1795, 1798, 1799. In 1800 for nine months; in 1803 for six months; and in 1806 for six months. The press, too, was gagged in the most effectual manner in 1795. Neither by public meeting nor through the press could the people protest.

The people, then, are under no obligation with regard to the debt. They never sanctioned it, they never recognised it. And even on the old constitutional principle that taxation without representation is tyranny, the debt ought to be swept away.

The funding system is a gross swindle, a gigantic scheme for the plunder of the workers. Coupled therewith is the whole system of usury, which takes from the people at least *two hundred and fifty millions a-year*, the profits of the Stock Exchange alone, according to Mulhall, taking *one hundred and fifty-five millions six hundred thousand a-year*.

J. SKETCHLEY.

REVOLUTIONARY CALENDAR.

WEEK ENDING APRIL 7, 1888.

1 Sun.	1282. Sicilian Vespers. 1815. Bismark born. 1820. Radical disturbances in Glasgow. 1848. Republican attempted invasion of Belgium. 1872. F. D. Maurice died. 1878. Greek Insurrection.
2 Mon.	1793. Great Slave Trade Debate. 1865. Richard Cobden died. 1871. Versailles attack Paris. 1878. Lord Leitrim killed.
3 Tues.	1854. Wendell Phillips and Theodore Parker tried for aiding runaway slaves. 1871. Gustave Flourens killed.
4 Wed.	1774. Goldsmith died.
5 Thur.	1794. Danton and Desmoullins died. 1814. Napoleon banished to Elba. 1820. Battle of Bonnybridge.
6 Fri.	1669. Rousseau born. 1780. Commons vote that influence of Crown should be diminished. 1809. Arrest of Sir F. Burdett.
7 Sat.	1772. Fourier born. 1820. Klapka born. 1881. Irish Land Bill introduced.

Radical Disturbances.—As a demonstration in favour of reform, the working-classes of Glasgow and its neighbourhood, for the most part struck work on April 1, 1820. Weavers, colliers, cotton-spinners, machine-makers, and founders all came out. Thereupon great "military precautions" were taken, the "mob" harassed in a hundred ways, and the "ringleaders" arrested, in order to provoke a riot. As, however, they failed to do more than get up a passing disturbance, the people never losing their self-control, the "saviours of society" made the remark now grown so familiar, that if they had been in earnest they would not have been so quiet!—S.

Republican attempt to invade Belgium.—The Republican attempt to invade Belgium in order to overthrow the Monarchy is known in history under the name of the Affair of Risquous-tout, the little frontier village where the whole affair was fought out. Lamartine, the head of the French Government, having allowed all the unemployed foreigners living at Paris to be sent back to their respective countries at the expense of the French Budget, some 2,000 Belgians intended to return home; but, imbued as they were with the new ideas prevailing in France, they tried to enter their native country determined to proclaim a Belgian Republic. Delescluze, later a member of the Paris Commune, being at that time General Commissioner of the French Republic in the North Department, ordered guns to be distributed to the Belgian legion as it came through Lille and Valenciennes. However, the Belgian Government having been informed of the attempt by the very commander of the legion, Colonel Belvaque, sent to the spot a regiment of infantry and some two or three batteries of artillery, under the command of General Fleury-Duray. They met at the village of Risquous-tout, and the Republicans were easily defeated. The battle only lasted half-an-hour, with a few dead and a few wounded on both sides. In its issue of April 3, 1848, the *Debat Social*, a Radical paper issued at Brussels, publicly accused M. Frère-Orban, then Minister of Public Works, of having concocted the whole affair with Colonel Belvaque, but he, of course, emphatically denied the statement. Thirty-six years afterwards, in 1884, the same Frère-Orban, then Premier of Belgium, openly avowed in the Belgian Chamber that he really had bribed Belvaque, and by so doing had "saved" his beloved country from the horrors of a Republican invasion!—V. D.

Death of F. D. Maurice.—John Frederick Denison Maurice, born at Normanston, near Lowestoft, Suffolk, 1805; the son of a Unitarian minister. Entered at 18, Trinity College, Cambridge, but not caring to subscribe to the 39 Articles, left without going up for his degree; repented of this, however, and took his B.A. in 1831 and his M.A. in 1855; was appointed chaplain and reader at Lincoln's Inn, and then theological professor in King's College, London, 1846, but his hell, not being hot enough for the very orthodox, the usual cry of the bigot was raised and he retired. He was a voluminous writer. One biographer says "he published too much; he had a very imperfect sense of historical development and his theological works . . . are very difficult to understand;" perhaps holding the professorship of moral philosophy and giving a course of "Lectures on Casuistry" may account for the mental fog. Our chief concern with Maurice is that in conjunction with Tom Hughes, Kingsley, Gerald Massey, and others, he was concerned in the "Christian Socialist" movement of 1848-50, which did so much directly for the co-operative movement and indirectly for Socialism. With the men just mentioned he was concerned in publishing *Politics for the People*—of which seventeen numbers appeared—and the *Christian Socialist*. He was one of the prime movers in founding the Working-men's College, Great Ormond Street, which has done a really great work in popularising education; also in founding Queen's College for women. In 1828 was for a short time editor of the *Athenæum*; in 1839 editor of the *Educational Magazine*. After a busy life, pretty equally divided between doing away with our hell upon earth competition civilisation, and preaching away a possible hell after earth, he died April 1st, 1872, and was buried at Highgate Cemetery.—T. S.

Death of Richard Cobden.—Richard Cobden was born on June 3, 1804, at Heyshott, near Midhurst, Sussex. He was fourth of a family of eleven. His father, a small farmer, was an affectionate but somewhat too easy going sort of man to deal successfully with short crops and a long family, which in 1813 was broken up by ruin and sale of the farm. By this, Richard's spells of dame-school and sheep-tending were ended, and he was sent by an uncle to Yorkshire, where for five years he received "a disgusting mockery of an education." Next he was some five years in the counting-house of the same uncle, and in 1825 was promoted to the position of commercial traveller and saw much of the United

Kingdom. With two others he soon began business, and in a letter by himself dealing with this part of his life, is a passage which should give a shock to some of the people who talk so much of what can be done by "thrift":—"We introduced ourselves to Fort Bros., and we told our tale honestly, concealing nothing. In less than two years from 1830, we owed them £40,000 for goods which they had sent to us in Watling Street, upon no other security than our characters and knowledge of our business." . . . "Not possessed of £200 each." The venture turned out all right, but "thrift" had not much of a show there. That besides being a busy, shrewd business man, he was an earnest student there can be no doubt. Thorold Rogers says: "If exact and careful knowledge of history constitutes learning, Cobden was during the years of his political life the most learned speaker in the House of Commons," not that he confined himself to history, for his field covered political economy, international commerce, and general politics. He was also an accomplished linguist, and well read in several foreign literatures. In 1833 he visited France, the next year France and Switzerland; in 1835 he crossed to America; and in 1836 he had a six month's tour to Lisbon, Cadiz, Cairo, Egypt, and Turkey. In this same year he published a pamphlet on Russia, giving anonymously some rather novel views on the Russo-Turko-Anglo question, which excited much attention. Up to the time of issuing this work, he had not done very much public work except quite locally on municipal and educational affairs, but in 1837 he was candidate for Stockport, and fairly launched in public life. He was badly beaten at this election, only receiving 418 votes, although, just as if to show what representative government was in 1837, 17,000 people subscribed one penny each for a testimonial to him. At the presentation of the piece of plate Dan O'Connell was one of the speakers. Naturally, Cobden spoke much on the need of "vote by ballot." In the autumn of 1837, Cobden conceived the idea of using the Manchester Chamber of Commerce as an organisation against the Corn Laws, but later on it seemed better to form an association for the special purpose, and on the 10th January, 1839, a meeting was held which was really the formation of the "Anti-Corn Law League." Cobden recommended those present to invest part of their property, to save the rest from confiscation, and the advice was so far taken that £1,800 was at once subscribed, raised within a month to £6,136 10s. This shows there is warrant for saying that the Anti-Corn Law movement materially helped to break up the Chartist movement, and favoured the "Bagman's Millennium" of Free Trade, to the disadvantage of the greater changes aimed at by the Chartists and the Owenites. Compared with the Chartists, Cobden and his co-workers were as butter-milk to nitric acid; yet in the eyes of some to repeal the Corn Laws was revolution. In 1839, a deputation was emphatically told by a nobleman on whom they waited, that they would "as soon overturn the monarchy as effect the repeal of the Corn Laws." In seven years one job was done; pity not born. However one may regret the effect the Corn Law agitation had in killing the Chartist agitation, there can only be admiration for the splendid manner in which Cobden and his colleagues carried their work on; there has never been a movement with so small a scope and aim that has had the support, financial and otherwise, accorded to this; men of the ablest, and money without stint; at one meeting, for instance, £60,000 subscribed in an hour and a-half, and inside a month £150,000 raised. In 1841, Cobden was returned for Stockport. The first division on Mr. Villiers' annual motion against the Corn Duty after Cobden's return to the House, the Repealers were beaten by the tremendous odds of 393 to 30. "Impossible!" "Impracticable!" "Robbers!" "Murderers!" "Assassins!" Such were the greetings and charges, yet 26th of June, 1846, Cobden wrote to his wife, "Hurrah! hurrah! the Corn Bill is law, and now my work is done." In this last he was wrong, for he was concerned in many other important matters. The Free Trade Hall, Manchester, stands on the ground where in 1819 was done the massacre of Peterloo. Cobden bought and gave this site, and the hall was opened in 1848 with a League meeting. Cobden was a pretty constant opponent to England's Jingo policy, and in 1857 had the honour of beating Palmerston's Ministry and causing a general election, which resulted in Cobden, Bright, and others of the Peace Policy being left out in the cold. Financial trouble fell upon Cobden just now, and the great hold he had on his co-workers' esteem was proved in the subscription of £40,531 odd, which was very privately subscribed to repair his losses, made by railway speculations in America. He had had £78,757 presented to him in 1846. In 1859 he was re-elected, and pressed by Palmerston and Russell to enter the Cabinet, but refused. His next great work was the commercial treaty with France. His was the influence which did away with the need for British subjects to carry passports in France, and reduced cost of postage. On several occasions he was proffered government place and pay, but refused. He died on Sunday, April 2, 1865, and is buried at Lavington, near a much loved son who had died young in 1856. About a year after his death his friends and co-workers founded the Cobden Club, "to encourage the growth and diffusion of those economical and political principles with which Mr. Cobden's name is associated." To estimate how much the Cobden Club is behind Cobden, it is only necessary to recall that the Duke of Argyll is one of their pamphleteers, expressing views which would make Cobden squirm in his grave could he but know. There is no doubt but that Cobden was far in front of most of the annual Cobden diners of to-day; so is a good man scorned by his admirers.—T. S.

Lord Leitrim.—A hard landlord, exacting from his tenants not only their rent to the uttermost farthing, but a more shameful tribute from their wives and daughters; pitiless and revengeful when thwarted, Lord Leitrim had made himself the best-hated man in Ireland. He had been a lieutenant-colonel in the army, and was physically daring, always went heavily armed, and had escaped former attempts. This time the "doers of wild justice" were determined to make sure, and esconced themselves in Cratlaghwood, a plantation four or five miles from Milford on the road to Derry. Lord Leitrim, with his confidential clerk, was being driven on an outside car to Derry to consult his solicitor—no doubt on more devil's work to be done on his estate. His valet, following in another car about a mile behind, came up to find the landlord and his clerk dead and the car-driver dying. The slayers meanwhile had escaped in a boat across Mulroy Bay, and were never traced. The whole country-side was with them.—S.

Bonnybridge.—On the morning of April 5, 1820, a member of the Kilsyth Stirlingshire Yeomanry, going to join his troop at Falkirk, was stopped by an armed party of Radicals who demanded his arms, which he refused and fled back to Kilsyth. From the commanding officer there he obtained ten men and a sergeant of the 10th Hussars, and the same number of Yeomanry to escort him, and an orderly who was going to Stirling on their way. They found that the Radicals had taken post on Bonnymuir, and when called on to surrender said they had come to fight. The Radicals then advanced to a stone dyke between two heights and fired some shots. The cavalry horses would not leap the dyke, and had to seek a gap; here the two parties met and a fierce fight began. After a good many wounds had been given and taken, the Radicals broke and ran, several being taken prisoners.—S.

Trial of Socialists.—At the Old Bailey, before Mr. Justice Cave, began the trial of John Burns, Henry Hyde Champion, Henry Mayers Hyndman, and John Edward Williams, for uttering seditious words and conspiring together to utter seditious words on February 8th in Trafalgar Square. Attorney-General (Sir Charles Russell, Q.C.), R. S. Wright, and Charles Matthews conducted the prosecution on the part of the Crown. Let their names be knitted in. W. Thompson appeared in defence of Burns and Williams; Champion and Hyndman fought their own fight. Mr. Justice Cave proved himself an impartial judge, and after a five day's effective Socialist propagandist exhibition, reported

by the column in every sort of paper, the accused were declared "Not Guilty," and Socialists scored once more against Government. (See REV. CAL., *Commonweal*, 11-2-88, Feb. 17th).—T. S.

Irish Land Bill introduced by W. E. Gladstone.—Ruin, famine, revolt, coercion, and grudging concession—such is the cycle of what is called "Government" in Ireland. Doses of murder by starvation and its fever, alternating with murder outright by bullet and bludgeon; "Don't hesitate to shoot." In 1870, a really important Act was passed, important in conception and draft, but minimised much by self-interest; between 1871 and 1880, 28 or 30 different bills were introduced by the Irish party to secure a reality of justice to their constituents, all without avail. In 1879 Ireland's people were again in the pangs of famine. In 1876 the potato crop was valued at £12,464,382; in 1879 the value was £3,341,028! In weight the average for ten years was 60,752,910 cwt., while in 1879 the yield was only 22,273,520 cwt. Well might Cobbett call the potato "a cursed lazy treacherous root." The natural outcome of this was fearful suffering throughout the whole of Ireland, some struggles against death—crime, outrage—and then more outrage—this time called Law and Order. The Land League is formed and gets strong. Suddenly, March, 1880, having been doored over the Water Monopoly Swindle, Disraeli appeals to the country with a violent Anti-Irish Manifesto, and gets a worse knock-down blow, for May, 1880, saw Gladstone Prime Minister once more, and a stronger Irish party ready to make things lively for the Irish Secretary, and Buckshot Forster ready to make things lively for the Irish party, which he did—as the State-trials record shows. Thursday, January 6, 1881, a new Session begins, begins in the maddest fashion ever mad man conceived—a positive threat of a strong Coercion Bill, and a positive promise of a sound Land Bill; ushers in the bitterest struggle since members of Parliament held the Speaker in his chair. Suspensions carried on wholesale and retail; members named one after the other and then done by batches, suspending even some miles away; such is Parliamentary representation under a brute majority, and so is another Coercion Act passed. This done Mr. Gladstone gives the sugar candy to take the taste away. From April 7th to July 29th another fight, and then is passed on to the Lords the very worst pill that they ever had to take since they were abolished totally. They slaughtered the Bill—naturally—sent it back to the Commons—who restored it to its former shape—and then the Lords, scared by the rumble of coming revolution, which, in spite of the new Coercion Act grew louder and yet louder, passed the Bill on August 22nd, and broke the back of landlordism.—T. S.

People who do not work have plenty of time to hatch up schemes by which to secure the earnings of those who do, and they call this business.—New Zealand Watchman.

CAPITAL'S CURE-ALL.—Having clubbed and bludgeoned the unemployed out of Trafalgar Square and forced them into hiding, the "better classes" of London are now declaring that there is no unemployed class. The sores having been hidden from sight, it is now in order to declare that Lazarus's wounds were mythical.—Canadian Labour Reformer.

"TIME BRINGS REVENGE."—"If this kind of thing goes on, I shall change my name." Such is the bitter cry of Mr. Lewis Morris in the columns of the *Manchester Examiner*, which has been attributing to the author of the 'Epic of Hades' certain "extreme" views lately propounded by the author of the 'Earthly Paradise.' It is too bad, certainly; but the hardship is not all on one side, for was not Mr. William Morris recently taunted by another journal for that he, a Socialist, had been inditing a 'Silver Wedding Ode'?—*Pall Mall Gazette*.

MR. BRADLAUGH ON CAPITAL AND LABOUR.—Mr. Bradlaugh, M.P., lectured recently concerning "Labour Problems," and remarked that "there was a very dangerous tendency on the part of a very large number of working men, and a still more dangerous inclination on the part of those who assumed the position of their leaders—Cardinal Manning for example—to look to the State to provide employment for the unemployed. The workers could alone effectively improve their condition by voluntary association and organisation; and it was a regrettable fact that, taking labour all through Great Britain and Ireland, the large proportion of labourers did not belong to any trade organisation at all. A limitation of output in the case of mines, and of shorter time in the case of factories, were suggested as remedies for existing evils; but it was questionable whether a lessened production might prove remunerative to the capitalist for the wear and tear of plant involved and the amount of capital embarked. Some men said capital ought to have nothing, but in that case they would have neither machinery nor mines. It was quite possible that if they destroyed all remuneration to capital they would destroy the capitalists; but they could only do this by reverting to barbarism themselves." That is to say, Mr. Bradlaugh first tells working men not to ask the State to help them, and next tells them not to help themselves, lest they hurt the capitalist. Sound reasoning, truly!—*The Miner*.

"*Jus* has from first to last spoken out frankly and unequivocally against State-backed religion. And for this reason it has been boycotted by an influential section of the Liberty and Property Defence League. It is true that *Jus* is represented on the Council of that body; but the position seems to be a false one. Half-hearted and one-sided individualism is not the doctrine we have set ourselves out to preach. If the doctrine is good for anything, it is good for everything. A body which flaunts the flag only on suitable occasions, when the rich, the strong, and the privileged may benefit by the adoption of the principle, but which remains silent when it cuts the other way, cannot be expected to welcome an organ of the press which positively declines to stoop to political dodgery. If it is true, as its enemies declare, that the League has got into the hands of large landowners, who intend to square individualism with hereditary legislative privilege, with strict settlements and bolstered-up families and estates, and with State-fomented superstition for the degradation and enchaining of the people—well, the sooner it speaks out clearly the better. Anyhow, *Jus* will not hesitate. If the League has really made up its mind to pervert the noble principles of liberty and property to ignoble uses, it will do well to dispense with an organ of the press altogether. Diplomacy and duplicity and chicanery and insincerity and hypocrisy are more suited to the platform than to the press. 'O, that mine enemy would write a book,' is the wish of one who knows his enemy to be dishonest. The honest have nothing to fear from writing a book. Similarly, the society which fears to commit its present contentions to print tacitly admits that it may be convenient to express the contrary opinions to-morrow. If the League sinks again into silence, its attitude will not be misconstrued. It has turned its back on the Individualist Club from its earliest foundation, and working-class individualists understand the reason. If the League survives the clamours of its enemies, as we trust it will, it will also have to survive the counsels of some of its friends."—*Jus* (March 23).



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

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

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

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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.

RECEIVED with thanks, but found unsuitable for various reasons—A Working Woman; G. T. (Norwich); T. L. (Glasgow).

T. M. (Leeds).—Poem accepted; with thanks; article waits Morris's return. We have not seen the comrade you ask for since about a week after he came up.

Periodicals received during the week ending Wednesday March 28.

ENGLAND	Chicago (Ill.)—Knights of Labor	Milan—Il Fascio Operato
Die Autonomie	Denver (Col.)—Labor Enquirer	Marsala—La Nuova Eta
Jus	Port Worth (Tex.)—South West	Cremona—La Feccia
Justice	Milwaukee (Wis.)—Volksblatt	Bani—Municipal
Leaflet Newspaper	N Haven—Workmen's Advocate	SPAIN
London—Freie Presse	St. Louis (Mo.)—Die Parole	El Productor
Labour Tribune	San Francisco Arbeiter-Zeitung	Madrid—El Socialista
The Miner	Coast Seaman's Journal	PORTUGAL
Norwich—Daylight	Free thought	Porto—A Revolucao Social
Railway Review	FRANCE	GERMANY
Worker's Friend	Paris—Cri du Peuple (daily)	Berlin—Volks Tribune
NEW SOUTH WALES	La Revolt	AUSTRIA
Hamilton—Radical	L'Autonomie Individuelle	Arbeiterstimme
INDIA	Le Coup de Feu	Brunn—Volksfreund
Bankipore—Behar Herald	Journal du Peuple	Vienna—Gleichheit
Madras—People's Friend	Guise—Le Devoir	HUNGARY
UNITED STATES	HOLLAND	Arbeiter-Wochen-Chronik
People	Hague—Recht voor Allen	DENMARK
New York—Freiheit	BEELGIUM	Social-Demokraten
Der Sozialist	Ghent—Vooruit	SWEDEN
Truthseeker	Liege—L'Avenir	Stockholm, Social-Demokraten
Volkszeitung	SWITZERLAND	Malmo—Arbetet
Boston—Woman's Journal	Zurich—Sozial Demokrat	NORWAY
Liberty	Pzedsirt	Kristiania—Social-Democraten
Chicago—Labor Enquirer	ITALY	
Vorbote	Gazetta Operaia	

SOCIALISM IN SOLUTION.

WHILE fully agreeing with those Socialists who would avail themselves of all, even the most apparently trifling, efforts tending to raise the present condition of the working classes, and which are therefore Socialistic in tendency, if not in fact; yet nevertheless I think too strong a protest cannot be raised against the habit of either blinking or minimising the ideal which all true Socialists (i.e., all who are not using the word Socialism as a tag—pace Sir William Harcourt's "We are all Socialists nowadays") have in view. It is undeniable that there are certain well-meaning but "philistine" persons who are for ever going about with tongue and pen trying to convince weak-minded and timid hearers or readers that the modern proletarian mountain is after all only pregnant with a sort of big mouse. The way they do this is sometimes specious, and hence it is difficult to convict them in flagrante delicto. For instance, their first proceeding is to draw a ring-fence round economics and insist that Socialism is economical and has nothing to say on any other aspect of human life than that of the production and distribution of wealth. Now it is so far true that modern Socialism is a theory of human society based on an economic evolution—that is, it sees in economics the keystone of the social arch. But that is a very different thing from being itself simply an economical theory and nothing beyond, as it is commonly represented to be. Then when this position is granted they proceed elaborately to whittle down the economic revolution itself till they have succeeded in reducing Socialism to modern civilised society with some trifling changes in detail. Mr. Kirkup's 'Enquiry into Socialism' in many respects illustrates both these tendencies.¹

It would be unfair to deny that there is much useful information to those unacquainted with the subject in the book or that the preface and sundry other passages give hopes of better things than is made good by its general tenour, with its painful and laborious effort to prove that Socialism means nothing in particular.

Let us take Mr. Kirkup's chapter on Current Views on Socialism. (1) Mr. Kirkup starts with the marriage question. The opposition between the "bourgeois property marriage" and that which will take its place is of course sought to be toned down. While admitting that most leading Socialists have attacked the modern or Christian marriage

with its indissolubility or quasi-indissolubility, Mr. Kirkup "cannot see that as a theory of economic organisation Socialism can have any special teaching adverse to marriage and the family." (The italics in this passage are our own.) Now this is because Mr. Kirkup chooses to set up his ring-fence again, ignoring his own definition of Socialism given above as "a theory of social organisation, based on a new scheme of economic organisation." The passage quoted above implies that there is only one form of marriage and the family, that of the modern Christian and bourgeois. Of course, as a "theory of economic organisation," "Socialism need not have any special teaching adverse" to this; but as a matter of practice the modern marriage and modern family is sustained by the modern system of property, and when the latter gives place to something else, so must the former: but what special form the new institutions will take neither Socialists nor any one else can tell. It is also not true to say that the views on this question of the "leading Socialist writers" referred to as attacking the present marriage system, have been "strenuously opposed within the Socialist schools." I challenge Mr. Kirkup to show a single case in point. But I shall have occasion to revert to this again directly.

(2) Socialism is "by many" believed to be hostile to Christianity, etc. Of course here Mr. Kirkup must step in and plead that "the connection with views of this nature is purely accidental." It is on a par with the attempt in the 'Britannica' article (vol. xxii. p. 220) to make out that Socialism is not more international than any other movement (artistic or literary, for example). So here, Mr. Kirkup trots out his favourite notion about Socialism not being more hostile to Christianity than Continental Liberalism. It is difficult to believe that a man of Mr. Kirkup's reading can fail to see that the Internationalism, like the anti-Christianism of Socialism, is a very different thing from the Internationalism of art or commerce, or the anti-clericalism of the Radical. Of course, having drawn his ring-fence round the economical theory of Socialism, it naturally follows that he can exclude everything else but pure economics from the essence of Socialism. But this economic-and-nothing-but-economic Socialism is a "metaphysical abstraction." One of the greatest insights of Marx was that of the connection of the economic with the other aspects of human life. And Socialism as a revolutionary theory of society implies an ethical, religious, and political revolution as a consequence of the economic one. As such its opposition to the present forms of these things, which in their turn are based on the economics of present society, is a matter of Socialistic principle and in nowise "non-essential" or merely a question of temporary policy as with the Continental Liberal, who, for the rest, never contemplates anything but the curtailment of clerical influence. I would put it to Mr. Kirkup and those other professors of the "science of Socialism made easy to the middle-class philistine," whether they think it would be compatible with Socialism to have a clerical class setting themselves up as spiritual teachers and living on the labour of others or even to allow the small minority (the bulk of whom Mr. Kirkup must allow would be hostile to the economic change) who habitually frequent "places of worship" to monopolise lands and buildings for the purpose of their cultus. As to Internationalism, Mr. Kirkup ought to know by this time that the formal and explicit recognition of the solidarity of labour irrespective of frontier, and as definitely opposed to bourgeois patriotism, forms part of every Socialist pronouncement in which the subject of external politics is touched upon at all; and further that this international question was the great cause of antagonism between the Lassallians and the Eisenachers, an antagonism which was only overcome by the adoption by the former of the international principle, as embodied in the programme of the present German Social Democratic party.

Mr. Kirkup further states that Socialism "has also been associated with Christianity, Catholic, and Protestant." Now in how far is this true? In the same sense in which it has been associated with orthodox views as to the family, etc. The fact of the matter is this: Socialism has by a process of natural selection become the name for a great movement beginning with the present century having for its end the re-organisation of human life, moral and material, on a basis of equality of rights and duties. This movement, on its theoretical no less than on its practical side, is distinguished by certain well-marked stages. The theory of Socialism as a coherent doctrine began with the three great utopist systems of Robert Owen, Fourier, and St. Simon. Not one of these systems took what I may term the abstract-economic view of the subject. They all regarded human life as an integral system, and never dreamt of separating its several aspects. They were all anti-Christian, all opposed to the modern form of marriage, and if not explicitly international they were at least implicitly so. The later schools of French Socialism have always had something to say in the same sense on the subjects of religion, marriage, and racial boundaries, that is, always in a sense hostile to the existing forms of these institutions. Finally, modern "scientific" Socialism, while accentuating the economical revolution implied in the word, has none the less insisted on the fact that the other aspects of human life must undergo a corresponding change.

So much for the growth of Socialist theory. But—and here lies the equivocal of Mr. Kirkup's position—concurrently with the later forms of this development of true theoretical Socialism there has been a series of spurious and bastard systems, clearly distinguishable as such, and which have sprung consciously, or unconsciously for the most part, from a dread of the true economic change. They may be known by this very sign, that they appear to adopt the economic side of Socialism while overtly rejecting the notion of the other social changes which that side implies. But when more nearly viewed, it will be found that they do not really accept the economic revolution at all,

¹ 'An Enquiry into Socialism.' By Thomas Kirkup. Longmans.

but merely some scheme which can be made to bear a superficial resemblance to it. Like Pharaoh's soothsayers, the bourgeois also "did so with their enchantments." "Christian Socialism" such as that of the Comte de Mun in France on the side of Catholicism, or of Herr Stöcker in Germany on the side of Protestantism, the various co-operative schemes with which the working-classes have been from time to time deceived, belong to this spurious Socialism. As the devil of mediæval fancy, on Walpurgis night, travestied the proceedings supposed to take place before the judgment-seat of God, so the modern bourgeois travesties the aspiration of the real proletarian movement in a series of artificially produced counter-movements. In this sense only can it be said that Socialism has been "associated with Christianity both Catholic and Protestant." Is it not easy to understand that those desirous of maintaining a class society, and recognising the importance and "danger" of Socialism, think that if they but hold the proletariat in leash tied to three venerable institutions, "the hearth, the throne, and the altar," or any one of them, that that proletariat is by the very fact rendered harmless. "Oh, drudge, where is thy sting? oh, slave, where is thy victory?" Not under the ægis of Christian, philanthropic, or co-operative "Socialism" we may rest assured.

And now, let us enter Mr. Kirkup's economic enclosure, and see what we find there. On page 96 we read, "It is even quite consistent with the theory of Socialism that there should be private ownership of land and capital, provided it be under collective and equitable control." This may be a new development of Henry Georgism, but it will hardly be recognised by most people as Socialism. The most extraordinary statement, however, is to be met with on pages 102-3, and is as follows: "Though Socialism most naturally allies itself with the advancing democracy, there is no absolute reason why the actual control of the movement should be democratic (!). In Germany it is quite possible to imagine with Rodbertus that it might proceed from the Emperor (!). . . Such an empire served by capable officials like the present (*sic*), and supported by a people and army inspired with the enthusiasm of a better social order, might find its strength and stability immeasurably increased" (!!). Further criticism is surely unnecessary!

I have desired under the form of a review of Mr. Kirkup's new book, where the practice appears in its rankest form, to call attention to the illegitimacy of the attempt so often made nowadays to limit the word Socialism, in a mechanical manner, to the sphere of economics—while objection is taken to its being applied to what the economical change implies in other departments of human activity. Such a limitation is neither logically nor historically valid. As before said, economics taken by themselves are an abstraction. In the real world they are only present as an element in a whole—to wit, human life and society. Historically, as I have pointed out, the word Socialism, which originated with Robert Owen, has never been used in this abstractedly limited sense until quite recently. If Socialism is what Mr. Kirkup represents it to be in certain passages of his book (which it is only fair to say are quite inconsistent with the wider view taken in other passages), then we can readily understand why "we are all Socialists now-a-days," since in this case there is no special reason why Rothschild, Vanderbilt, or Jay Gould should not turn Socialist on the spot. On the whole, we would advise those who hold "current views on Socialism" to stick fast to them until they get something better than Mr. Kirkup's rectification.

E. BELFORD BAX.

TOWARDS REVOLUTION.

I.

HAVE you not heard the new gospel we are preaching?
We will not reproach you, brother, once we had not heard it;
Though now it seems our breath of life, the world's one hope,
Once it was strange to us as it is strange to you.

Or perhaps you have been told that it means violence, strife, class-hatred,
A loosing of the bonds that hold Society together,
A sudden and complete destruction of all the marvellous slow upbuilding of
centuries,
A swift return to barbarism, each man's hand against his neighbour.

Nay, but it means something far different from this,
It means that the secret strife of the present shall be open, declared, final;
It means that the false bonds be severed, the true bonds made manifest,
A destruction of all that in civilisation which is artificial,
A return to that which is natural, and the recognition of human relationship.

II.

See here, it is strange if you have overlooked us, we are everywhere,
Where civilisation spreads, we spread, its mortal foe,
Evolved out of its own bosom, its foe and yet its friend,
For we accept all that which is good in it, rejecting only that which is bad,
We take the honey and leave the sting.

And slowly but surely that which we believe is becoming that which all believe,
Consciously or unconsciously people are looking to it as the only true solution.
It is in the air, it is everywhere, it filters through the world as the morning
twilight,

It moulds and colours our thoughts, speech, acts, aspirations,
It finds its way where it has so long been a stranger, into the pulpit, press,
platform, Parliament,
It is the issue to which all things are tending.

III.

I tell you that all that has gone before has been but a preparation for this,
That all the early savagery, fierce hunger and thirst, tribal feuds, despotisms,
All the oppressions and exactions of kings and nobles, the wars, civil wars, and
popular insurrections,

Have had no other object for their existence than to render this finally possible.

In the earliest ages of the world man did not consciously distinguish himself
from his fellows,
He shared in common with the rest of his kin their lot of pain and pleasure,
But as Society grew more complex, and each individual became more distinct,
and his sphere more distinct,
The individual became more and more the end and object of his own existence.

But now in the process of time this individualism has wrought its own contra-
diction,
The separation of class from class, of man from man, has intensified and grown
unendurable,
And now men's hearts are wildly throbbing for a newer Society of fellowship,
When the primitive community will again be realised, but on a higher level,
Each man conscious of himself, but joyfully merging himself in his fellows.

IV.

Let the Revolution come as soon as it may,
It will not come before it is wanted.

For ours is a society of slaves and slave-owners, whatever is said to the contrary
The rich who produce nothing and possess everything, but cannot enjoy it;
The poor who produce everything and possess nothing, and are miserable of
necessity.

And see how from this initial injustice spring all other injustices:
Our wars, crimes, murders, thefts, gluttonies, adulteries, prostitutions;
The refusal of our wares to those who need them and have made them;
The feverish eagerness to thrust them by force upon the simple savages, who
despise them;
The deadly competition of man with man, of master with master, of nation with
nation;
The poverty, filth, overcrowding, disease, anxiety, vice of the poor;
The langour, selfishness, arrogance, emptiness, cynicism of the rich;
The unhappiness of both classes, neither living wholesome human lives—
Only relieved by the blind longing for something clearer and better.

V.

Fruitful mother of all social evils,
Long lying hidden beneath shows of religious, legal, and political tyranny,
Social inequality comes forth stripped bare and recognised at last,
Holding in thrall the earth and the riches of the earth,
Made by all or by none, by which all alone all must live,
Giving to him who possesses them power over the lives of the people.

This initial inequality abolished,
What will happen but the disappearance of all the evils that flow from it?
What will happen but that a community of free friends will grow up on the earth?

Labour and pain will be common, but not grievous; joy and leisure also common;
Only that will be made which is needed, only that will be needed which is rational;
The hand of one man will no longer be against the hand of another;
One class will no more envy or despise another class (you shall look for classes
and you shall not find them);
One nation will no more provoke another nation, for all nations will desire peace
and the result of peace;
One by one the outlying peoples will adopt our mode of life, so winning, so clearly
to their advantage:
The world will become a brotherhood of freemen.

VI.

Doubtless to reach this many of us will have to undergo privation;
The social isolation, the prison, the false charge, the armed resistance, are
doubtless waiting for us.
That which is worth having is not to be had for nothing.

Nevertheless we know that the stars in their courses fight for us;
The Power behind Evolution has decreed the thing that we strive for;
Failure on failure may seem to defeat us: ultimate failure is impossible.

Seeing what is to be done, then, seeing what the reward is,
Seeing what the terms are, are you willing to join us?
Will you lend us the aid of your voice, your money, your sympathy?
May we take you by the hand and call you comrade?

REGINALD A. BECKETT.

CORRESPONDENCE.

Is the course proposed by F. Kitz in your issue for March 3rd the way to
help or to hinder the sale of *Commonweal*? And (what is more important)
is it the way to fight or to foster narrowness and intolerance? I had hoped
to see some answer to the recommendation that we should boycott hostile
newsvendors. As none has appeared, may I suggest that (to put the matter
on the lowest ground) by neglecting to encourage, or rather to gently force,
the newsgents who "would like to see the whole lot of us put down" to
supply "customers who deal with them for other articles" with *Commonweal*,
we not only lose new converts, but *deserve* to lose them? If the man who
"won't have it seen in his place" is paid back in his own coin, he will be as
hopeless an enemy (and as ignorant a one) this time next year as he is to-day.

May I further call your attention to the discrepancy between the two
views of "splitting the party" held by the writer of the paragraph (March
3rd, too) about George Odger? In lines 17, 18, 19 Odger is "shamefully
sacrificed" to the false god of party; in lines 20, 21 Waterlow, who refuses
to listen to the cry "Don't split the party," and so prevents Odger's winning
Southwark, is a very wicked person indeed!
Nottingham, March 18.

WILLIAM THOMPSON.

LITERARY NOTES.

'An American Journey,' by Edward Aveling (Reeves, Fleet Street, 1s. 6d.),
is a rather sketchy but eminently readable account of the sights he saw and
the things he heard in his recent lecturing tour in the States. It strips
away a good many of the illusions created by the ordinary travellers' tales,
and gives a striking and unpleasant view of the American bourgeois, who
seems to be far worse than even his English congener.

'The Progress of Socialism,' by Sidney Webb, LL.B. (Modern Press, 1d.),
is an eloquent and searching study of the subject its title tells of.

THE LABOUR STRUGGLE.

BRITAIN.

There is no improvement in the velvet trade at Oldham.

The moulders of Warrington have decided to strike for an advance of two shillings weekly in their wages.

The outlook for the weavers at Clayton-le-Moors is reported as very serious, several pairs of mules having been stopped at Victoria Mill during the past week.

The strike of weavers at Messrs. Smith and Wiseman's still continues, with no prospect of an early settlement. The knobsticks are guarded by police.

The strike of twisters at the Albany Mill, Oldham, has collapsed. Owing to the weakness of their organisation, the workers have accepted the employer's terms.

The strike of weavers at Victoria Works, Rossendale, still continues. The company are said to be incurring heavy loss through the stoppage of the machinery, whilst the increase sought is very slight.

A strike of miners at Ardsley Colliery, near Leeds, which commenced last November, has terminated by the men accepting the reduction proposed by the masters.

The wages paid at the Clarence Mills, Bollington, are reported to be very unsatisfactory, in some portions of the spinning room being so low as 10s. per week for 2,500 spindles. The Spinners' Association have the matter under consideration.

The Bolton and District General Labourers and Drillers' Union, recently formed in Bolton as a result of the late strike in the iron trade, is progressing satisfactorily. The Secretary is Mr. Ralph Howcroft, 10 Winders Court, off Slater Street, Bolton.

DISCHARGE OF GOVERNMENT EMPLOYEES.—Two hundred and twenty-five workmen who have been employed in connection with the Royal Alexandra Victualling Yard at Haulbowline have received written notices that their services will be dispensed with from Saturday next.

SOUTH STAFFORDSHIRE IRON TRADE.—The Bilston ironworks of Messrs. W. and J. S. Sparrow have been permanently closed, owing, it is said, to low prices and severe competition. Trade is very bad throughout the whole of the district.

THREATENED STRIKE IN THE COTTON TRADE.—There is great dissatisfaction at several mills at Bolton, owing to the bad material supplied to the spinners and the consequent low wages. At one place notice has already been tendered, and it is expected others will follow unless some arrangement is made.

CLOSING IRONWORKS IN WALES.—The iron and steel works at Gowerton, belonging to Messrs. Wright, Butler, & Co., were closed on Tuesday and all the workmen paid off in consequence of the continued depression in trade. The ironworks of the New British Iron Company at Ruabon are also permanently closed. Several hundred workmen are thrown out of employment by these stoppages.

EXTENSIVE DISCHARGE OF WORKMEN AT SHEERNESS.—An Admiralty Order was received at Sheerness Dockyard on Saturday morning directing an extensive discharge of men employed in the yard craft department. The Admiralty consider the vessels attached to the various dockyards are overmanned compared with steamers in the mercantile marine, and have directed that their crews be reduced by one-fourth, which will effect a saving of over £7000 per annum.

AMALGAMATION.—It is with very great pleasure I learn that a fusion has taken place of the Shaw Cord and Blowing Room Association with the Oldham Province. Strained relations have for some time existed between the two associations, arising out of misunderstanding during the late strike; since which time the Shaw association resolved itself into a thoroughly independent organisation. It has been admirably managed, and at the present time has 500 members. Negotiations have been going on, and the Oldham society has on two occasions sent deputations to confer with the committee of the Shaw association. The gratifying result has been that old scores have been wiped off, and at a large meeting held last week at Crompton the proposal for amalgamation was adopted almost unanimously.

ANOTHER "SELF-HELP" COTTON SPINNING COMPANY.—Another co-operative company has been started in Burnley. This makes the fourth got together during the last two years. All the weavers and others employed must either be shareholders to commence with, or become so soon after starting, on terms similar to which people become members of distributive co-operative stores. This is a form of self-help infinitely better than the mean, selfish struggle to "get on," associated with the names of Samuel Smiles, Samuel Smith, Jago, and other eminent individualists. It is in this direction of self-employment that the workers should devote all their energies, preparing the way for the Social Revolution, which will once for all get rid of the odious relationship of master and servant, to replace it with the only one consistent with human dignity—that of citizens of a Co-operative Commonwealth.

WALSALL DISTRICT IRONWORKERS.—On Saturday night a largely attended meeting of ironworkers belonging to the Walsall district was held at the Priory Hotel, Mr. Ray presiding. Mr. Kirkham proposed, "That this meeting of the Walsall district is of opinion that the time has arrived for a reconsideration of the wages with a view to an advance and hereby instructs its district representative on the Board to give the requisite notice." He urged that wages should be fixed by the selling price of iron free of deductions. The resolution was carried unanimously, as was another appointing Mr. Jno. Williams, of Pelsall, as the representative of the district. Mr. E. Trow delivered a stirring speech, condemning both Liberals and Tories and urging the men to back up their representatives with a powerful organisation, so that they might be the more able to meet the employers and make the Board a reality and not a sham as at present. A unanimous vote of confidence in Mr. Trow was passed. Mr. Capper afterwards addressed the meeting.

UNION AGAINST UNION.—The necessity for federation is once more shown by what is just now taking place in Blackburn in the engineering trade. Until a week or two ago a strike had been going on amongst the mechanics of a firm in Blackburn for an advance of 2s. per week. Recently the firm offered to pay 1s. per week to commence with, and the other some time in June. This arrangement was accepted by the Steam-Engine Makers' Society, and its members resumed work. The Association of Amalgamated Engineers have, however, a number of members employed at the firm, and as the

executive were not consulted on the terms of settlement, they have sent down word that their members must come out until the 2s. are granted. This the men have done. Now, both the societies are connected with the same business, and the members work side by side in almost every workshop. It is therefore very regrettable to find them pulling different ways. This is a very serious hindrance to the cause of labour emancipation, and it is to be hoped that those who have the cause at heart will strive to bring about an understanding quickly. United we stand. Divided we fall.

THE LOCKOUT IN THE NORWICH SHOE TRADE.—At a meeting of the men locked out by Messrs. Haldenstein & Sons, a resolution was passed "That we the riveters and finishers and citizens of Norwich deplore the action taken by Messrs. Haldenstein & Sons at this critical season of the year, and desire a settlement by arbitration." Whilst, under the circumstances, supporting the resolution, E. Burgess and C. W. Mowbray forcibly pointed out the unsatisfactory action of Boards of Arbitration in securing favourable terms for the workmen. It is foolish of the workers to trust to the generosity of the masters or to find fault with their action. The relation of Labour and Capital is that of war, and till the workers combine to conquer their rights, they will have to submit to whatever terms are imposed upon them. I hear that another firm, that of Messrs. Holblacks Brothers, have taken advantage of the fact that a large proportion of their men are non-unionists, to effect a reduction in prices. My informant calls the men "poor fellows." I agree with him; they are indeed very "poor fellows" if they have not brains and brotherhood enough to support their trade society.

RAILWAY EMPLOYEES AND THEIR HOURS OF DUTY.—Copies have been issued of a return, moved for in the House of Lords by Earl Delawarr, giving a number of statistics in connection with railway servants who were, during the months of July 1886, and January 1887, on duty at the railways of the United Kingdom for more than 12 hours at a time, or who, after being on duty more than 12 hours, were allowed to resume work with less than eight hours' rest. The following companies employed drivers and firemen for eighteen hours and upwards: Eastern and Midlands, 90 occasions; Furness Railway, 101; Great Eastern, 3,102; Great Northern, 2,271; Great Western, 1,107; London and North Western, 1,002; London and South Western, *nil*; London, Brighton, and South Coast, 597; London, Chatham, and Dover, 440 (in this case there are only 633 such servants employed altogether by the company); Manchester, Sheffield, and Lincolnshire, 983; Metropolitan Railway, *nil*; Metropolitan District Railway, *nil*; Midland Railway Company, 2,481; North Eastern, 1,876; North London Railway, 14; Caledonian, 723; and the North British Railway, 1,487. A large number of the men have also been employed between 12 and 18 hours; and the occasions on which signalmen have been employed for 18 hours and upwards are far too numerous to be compatible with the public safety.

THE PEOPLE'S BREAD COMPANY.—The inevitable tendency of the present industrial system to crush out the small capitalists and middleman on the one hand and to displace human by machine-labour on the other, although apparently denied by Mr. Bradlaugh in his debate with our comrade Bax in the pages of the *Commonweal* last July, is pretty evident to ordinary mortals who study the signs of the times. One of the latest manifestations of the system of "big fish eat little fish" is the formation of "The People's Bread Company, Limited," which swallows up 43 old-established bakers' businesses and a flour mill. The promoters estimate that by the economy in administration and by the use of machinery the profits of the company will admit of dividends of from 20 to 30 per cent. on the capital. We see here again an instance of the one-sided co-operation upon which capitalism is based. The socialisation of labour produces enormous wealth, but the people as a whole do not participate in the advantages accruing. On the contrary, as a rule big dividends and low wages go together. Nor do the consumers benefit, or but slightly if at all, by any cheapening of the products by so-called "People's" companies, which are floated and controlled by dividend-sharks and the usual crowd of highly-paid directors, secretaries, brokers, solicitors, etc. As showing the remunerative character of bread companies, the prospectus before me states that the last dividend paid by the Bred Company amounts to 22½ per cent., and that the Bristol Bred Company pays 35 per cent. per annum. Meanwhile the operative bakers are among the worst paid, over-worked, and badly treated of the working classes. I venture, therefore, to think, in spite of Mr. Bradlaugh, that they have some claim to share in the profits they have created, both in the form of increased leisure and higher remuneration. In other words, that the comfort and well-being of the workers and the satisfaction of the needs of the community must not be sacrificed in order to make big dividends for a comparatively small minority of the people.

MAGISTRATES AND CLEANING DURING MEAL HOURS.—Last week referred to the crusade being carried on by the Lancashire factory inspectors against the practice of cribbing time, and cited an instance of an employe being fined for allowing two young persons to clean the machinery during meal hours. It seems to be a common dodge for employers to shifteness responsibility by putting up bogus notices in the mills, and then when an inspector brings a case, the magistrates (who are frequently interested in the cases they have to adjudicate upon) tell him that he should have summoned the spinner instead of the employer. The *Cotton Factory Times* in an article on the subject, says: "Now, what does such advice mean? It means that the operative spinner must be held responsible for that which his employer compels him to do, or to leave his employment, and thus give a free for one who will strictly conform to instructions, regardless of the rigor wrong of the thing. Employers in the cotton trade know, or ought to know, that it is an utter impossibility for the operative spinners to do all the requisite cleaning and oiling of the machinery during the meal hour. They also know that the spinners are not allowed to stop their mules during engine hours for the purposes named, except in special cases, and they are also aware that the spinners are required to run the mules every moment they can to enable them to get out the requisite number of hanks, which they require off the mules. Knowing these facts, they wink at the practices which have to be resorted to in order that their desires may be gratified, and to make it appear that they don't countenance boys, girls, and women working in the meal hours, they put up notices prohibiting them from performing any labour in the mills during meal times, and they pretend to hold the overlookers in the various departments responsible for the due observance of the Acts by those employed under them. They declare that such notices are mere shams, and are only intended to throw dust in the eyes of the inspectors. Both employers, managers, and overlookers are fully aware that the boys, girls, and women are compelled to do prohibited work during meal hours, and there is not a magistrate who is a cotton spinner, but insists upon such work being done. In all the mills of the magistrates who recommended the inspector to summon the operative spinners, and not the employers, we are informed the little piece of paper is compelled to

work, and that this is done with the knowledge and assent of the employers and their managers. It is all moonshine for magistrates to air their innocence of the practices which they pretend to condemn when on the bench, and for a magistrate to declare that employers have as much difficulty as an inspector in trying to put a stop to infringements of the Act is more than we are prepared to accept as genuine, and we rather incline to think that the only anxiety which troubles employers is the anxiety how to prevent the inspector from detecting them in the act of evading the law. We hope the inspectors in Lancashire will not be deterred in the least from the active path of duty which they have pursued during the past year, notwithstanding the discouragement which they so often receive from magistrates who are employers of labour. Reports from all quarters testify to the wonderful improvement effected in the carrying out of the Act, in comparison to what obtained a few years ago." T. BINNING.

INTERNATIONAL NOTES.

BELGIUM.

The Brussels Federation of the *Parti ouvrier* has instructed their Committee of Legislation to publish a pamphlet on the question of *Minimum Wages* which is now very anxiously discussed among all the Belgian working-men's organisations. The work is nearly done, and will consist of one hundred pages, at the price of twopence. The contents will be: Introduction; history of the question; intervention of public authorities in economical matters; foreign competition; law of offer and demand; the wages and the labour prices; self-help; minimum wages at St. Josse, St. Gilles, Molenbeek, and Brussels.

On the 18th inst. a *rationalistic* feast was offered at Brussels to the children who do not wish to follow the mummeries of the Catholic Church. The *fete* was organised by the Section of Socialist women, and consisted, among other items, in refreshments being offered to the young lads and young girls; in an extraordinary meeting at the *Maison du Peuple* (the People's House), where V. Arnould, the chairman of the Freethought Society of Brussels, lectured on a subject fitted to the circumstances; and lastly in the presentation of diplomas to all those young people who have now promised to combat against all religious superstition and never to take part themselves in any ceremony whatever of a religious character.

On the 15th of May the Belgian organ of the Working-men's Party, *L'Avant Garde* (the Vanguard) will be transformed into a monthly review, to be entitled, "*Avant-Garde*, monthly review of international Socialism." Unlike the paper, which was of more polemical nature, this review intends to deal in an exhaustive manner with all the scientific questions of contemporary Socialism, the mere local and actual forthcomings in Socialistic life being left to be treated in the daily organ of the Working-men's Party, *Le Peuple* (the People) which appears at Brussels.

HOLLAND.

Comrade Domela Nieuwenhuis has been elected member of the Dutch Parliament for the district of Schoterland (province of Friesland) by 1167 suffrages, the numbers of the voters being 2203. The Dutch Parliament will now be composed of 1 Socialist, 45 Liberals, and 54 Catholic or Protestant reactionaries. In a few lines which appear in the last issue of *Recht voor Allen* (Justice to All), Domela Nieuwenhuis declares frankly that it will be impossible for him to do anything of practical use for the cause of Socialism in that Dutch Parliament composed of one Socialist and 99 reactionaries of all shades. But one thing at least he will do, so he says, and that is to *protest* on all possible occasions against arbitrary ruling and injustice. "My real place," he finally adds, "will always continue to be in the very ranks of the masses, and not at all in the files of these gentlemen who do not in the least represent the people of Holland." Now that our comrade has got a seat in that Dutch law-shop, we wish him to protest so loudly that all Europe shall hear it, and so he may do some good, although we must say our hopes are not very sanguine. V. D.

SPAIN.

NAVARRA.—The distress is great among the working population of this province, and we hear of the functionaries of the various parishes, while seeking somewhat to alleviate the hunger of some of the parishioners by doling out daily rations of bread and soup, at the same time informing them that some small sum must be paid for these rations in the autumn. This arrangement, we suppose, is to spare the feelings of the poor folk, for it is well known that indiscriminate charity is "demoralising and degrading." The delicacy of these local functionaries is most praiseworthy. We recommend them to the notice of our British C. O. S.

TARAGONA.—The late disturbances in this town have been the outcome of the long season of deprivation and hunger endured too long in silence by the working class. Even now, during the manifestations of distress, a local journal praises the manifestants for their "respect of private property" during the agitation. What, then! Do the army of the starved come out of their holes to *manifest* their submission and weakness, rather than their strength? that the slave-owners may laugh and say, "See these folk, they are starving, and yet so submissive to tradition and *our* will that they dare not harm us or ours! Much we have to fear from them, in truth!" The province of Oviedo has also passed a terrible wipter. M. M.

PORTUGAL.

The Portuguese workingmen's movement has in the last ten years lost much of its former straightforward Socialist character. The party leaders, to get influence in politics, have made compromises with the Republican party, and led the movement astray by devoting their forces to the organisation of co-operative experiments. Some of these last have been of a peculiar character, for it is said that in the Co-operativa Industria Social of Lisbon the workers were forced to strike, etc. At the same time the Portuguese people is not devoid of revolutionary spirit; revolts against overtaxation, etc., are frequent. The latest occurred at Cantanhede, and just now the government is doing its best to stir the people up; for a law has been passed enacting that every worker must take out a licence allowing him to work or else he will be fined or imprisoned. Meetings of protest against this unpopular measure are being held at Lisbon, Porto, etc. The Socialist press of Portugal consisted until lately of some lukewarm Socialist organs inclining to mere Radicalism; only one or two years ago more advanced papers—*A Gazeta*, and its successor *O Revoltado* of Lisbon, began to appear, but have since died. Since January 15th, 1888, however, a frankly Communist-

Anarchist paper, *A Revolução Social* is edited by the group of Porto, in which numerous translations of French articles on anarchist principles, a long record of the Chicago events besides local notes and polemics appear.

Just now the young Anarchist party is working under great difficulties, caused by the following events. A capitalist journalist, of Lisbon, Mr. Pinheiro Chagas, who had always insulted Socialism, published on January 25th an article in which he exulted over the cowardly attack made at Havre on Louise Michel, and glorified her assaulter. Enraged by this, a Lisbon Anarchist, Manoel Joaquim Pinto, fired two shots at and wounded him. This act of an individual, done at his own risk, provoked by the cowardly insults of Chagas, was of course the signal for a raging of the bourgeois press against the whole Anarchist party and their paper. Several other comrades were arrested, and the authorities would evidently like to imitate Chicago.

SWEDEN.

The prosecutions of Socialists have begun in this country also. Palm, who has for some years been the chief propagandist in Sweden, was lately imprisoned some months, and now Danielson, the editor of the Socialist paper of Southern Sweden, the *Arbetet* (Labour) of Malmo, is sentenced to twelve months, because he had dared to criticise the scandalous action of the same court of justice which condemned him, in discharging the director of a prison who had stolen 5000 kr. from the result of the labour of the prisoners. Probably they intended to cut the life of the paper by this; it is, however, announced that *Arbetet*, hitherto weekly, will be issued thrice a-week from April 1st. There are now three other Social-Democratic papers in Sweden—viz., *Social-demokraten* (Stockholm), *Folkets Röst* (Voice of the People: Göteborg since 1887), and *Proletären* (Norrköping, since 1888). The 18th of March was celebrated this year the first time in Sweden by a public meeting in Stockholm. Z. Z.

THE NEW LABOUR PROBLEM.

THE problem of competition with "Chinese cheap labour" is about to be sprung upon the people of the British Islands in a way that seems to be eminently practical, and may prove even more vexatious than the form in which it has been presented on the Pacific Coast of the United States. It is reported that an association of English capitalists is in process of formation, if not already organised, for the purpose of establishing manufactures on a large scale in China, at or near Hong Kong. It is the intention to produce textile fabrics and metallic goods into which labour enters as the chief element of cost, so as to permit the importation of raw material, if need be, and still allow the enjoyment of a great advantage in competing with the products of Western Europe both in their home and in foreign markets. It is well known that the price of labour in China is exceedingly low, even as compared with those countries in Europe where it is the cheapest. A single cent is sufficient compensation for a day's labour in the interior of the Flowery Kingdom, and a few cents per head will hire all the labour that may be needed on the sea-coast in that country of perfect "protection" against foreign commerce, abundant population, and cheap living. Then the ingenuity of the Chinese in working to a pattern is notorious. They are said to excel the ordinary Caucasian workman in that respect, though incapable of originating new processes and slow at any kind of labour which is not strictly the following of a copy.

It is claimed that from the new vantage ground the proprietors of these factories will be able to make an immense profit though offering their goods at prices which defy British competition abroad and underselling the English manufacturer at his own doors. If this be found possible on a moderate scale at first, there need be no doubt as to its indefinite extension within the next few years. The capital of other countries will gravitate towards the place where it can be employed to the best advantage, and the labour which it now keeps busy will be obliged to follow the same road or submit to a radical reduction in the wage scale at home. The people of the old country are thus brought face to face with the question in a way that both trades' unions and combinations of employers will be alike unable to meet successfully. They may, perhaps, obtain protection from home invasion by these Chinese products by resorting to means already in force on the Continent of Europe, but this would be a reversal of the free-trade policy of more than forty years' standing under which they have attained a prominence and power that could never have been achieved by force of arms. And this would not conserve to them their foreign markets, the supplying of which has furnished the money required to buy nearly half the food of the nation from abroad. It is difficult to say what will be the outcome of these new conditions, but it can scarcely be other than a complete revolution in industrial processes, social and class gradations, and form of government.—*The Chicago Tribune*.

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OFFICES: 13 FARRINGDON ROAD, E.C.

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

Annual Conference.

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

REPORTS.

CLERKENWELL.—On Wednesday, March 21, W. H. Utley lectured on "Liberty, Equality, Fraternity." Sunday, March 25, A. K. Donald on "Punishment and Prevention of Crime." Brisk discussions.—B.

FULHAM.—Sunday morning, Catterson Smith spoke at Walham Green. Fair sale of *Commonweal*. In evening, Day (of the Acton branch) spoke in rooms on "Socialism, its Aims and Methods." Fair audience considering weather; several questions asked and answered.—S. B. G.

BRADFORD.—Mitchell lectured on 25th inst. at Debating Club in Chrontha Street on "Socialism v. Commercialism." Opposition easily disposed of. We intend having a reunion of Leeds and Bradford members on Easter Monday.—P. B.

GLASGOW.—On Saturday, Glasier, Pollock, and Downie held an outdoor meeting on Jail Square; and on Sunday, notwithstanding the severity of the snow-storm, 500 people came to a meeting in Waterloo Hall to hear William Morris lecture on "Art and Industry in the 14th Century." A resolution put from the platform, expressing the necessity for developing the communal spirit of the times, the overthrow of our present society and the realisation of a Socialist system, was carried unanimously.—S. D.

NORWICH.—Saturday last, branch members attended a meeting of the lock-out men in the boot trade, addressed by Mowbray. Sunday morning no meeting at Ber Street owing to wet; in afternoon good meeting in Market Place, addressed by Mowbray; no meeting in Gordon Hall owing to it being let that evening for another purpose. We held an outdoor meeting instead in the Market Place. Mowbray spoke on Socialism to a good audience, and was assisted by another branch comrade. Fair sale of *Commonweal*.

WALSALL.—Last Monday, Sanders opened a debate at our meeting-room on "Socialism: Political, Christian, and Spiritual," in answer to some recent remarks of a Town Councillor. Good discussion followed, and debate was adjourned until Monday next. On Saturday a large audience was addressed by Sanders in the open-air, and a good impression made. Fair sale of literature.—J. T. D.

THE STRIKE FUND.—The first of a series of weekly entertainments took place last Saturday evening. Notwithstanding the stormy weather, a very enjoyable evening was passed by the small audience who had the courage to come through a drenching rain. Don't forget next Saturday evening.

EDINBURGH.—On 22nd, Rev. John Glasse lectured on "The Relation of Socialism to Co-operation," and treated the subject from the point of view of a sound, robust Socialist, and did not hesitate to say plainly wherein co-operation is wanting. On 25th, Bain lectured on "Our Social Condition." Animated discussion the causes of trade depression. On 26th, in the Trades' Hall, comrade Morris had a fairly large and very appreciative audience, which received him with rounds of applause. He gave a delightful sketch of life as it should and might be; and though he asked his hearers to hold no one but himself responsible for his "dream" of the Society of the future, it was evident that not only the Socialists but many others were carried away by the beauty of that ideal of his, and were eager to adopt it and defend it as their own.—J. H. S.

LECTURE DIARY.

LONDON.

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

Bloomsbury.—Communist Club, 49 Tottenham Street, Tottenham Court Road. Thursday March 29, at 8.30, adjourned members' business meeting.

Clerkenwell.—Hall of the Socialist League, 13 Farringdon Rd., E.C. Business meeting every Sunday at 7. Sunday April 1st, at 8.30, Free Concert by Wm. Blundell and Friends.

Fulham.—8 Effie Road, Walham Green. Sunday at 8, Hackney.—28 Percy Terrace, Victoria Road, Hackney Wick.

Hammer-smith.—Kelm-scott House, Upper Mall, W. Sunday April 1st, at S. Miss E. Warlow, "The

Crofter Question." 8th, John Burns (S. D. F.), "Six Weeks in Pentonville." 15th, William Morris.

Hoxton (L. E. L.).—New premises, 1 Hoxton Square. C. J. Young, 8 Dunloe St., Hackney Rd., Secretary.

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

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

PROVINCES.

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

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

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

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

Cowdenbeath (Scot. Sec.).—J. Duncan, 30 Arthur Pl., sec **Dublin.**—Saturday Club, Central Lecture Hall, 12 Westmorland Street.

Dundee (Scot. Sect.).—Meetings every Sunday in the Trades Hall, opposite Tay Bridge Station.

Edinburgh (Scottish Section).—4 Park Street. Every Thursday at 8, class for study of Marx's 'Capital.'

Gallashiels (Scot. Sect.).—J. Walker, 6 Victoria St., sec. **Gallatown and Dysart (Scottish Section: Fife).**—Meet every Tuesday at 7 p.m. in Gallatown Public School. Secretary, A. Paterson, 152 Rosslyn St.

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

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

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

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

Norwich.—Good Friday—Market Place at 3. On Sunday will be held the second anniversary meetings of this Branch as follows:

- 11 St. Faith's—comrade Mowbray.
- 11.45—Ber St. Fountain—Mark Manly, of London.
- 3—Market Place—Mark Manly and Mowbray.
- 7—Agricultural Hall Plain—Mowbray.
- 8—Gordon Hall—lecture by Mark Manly.

Meetings will also be held on Monday being Bank Holiday. Tues. at 8.30, Members meeting. Wednesday at 8.30, Ways and Means Committee. Thursday at 8, Band practice. Friday at 8.30, Literary Committee. Saturday, open from 8 till 10.30.

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

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

Walsall.—Lecture Room, back of Temperance Hall. Mondays at 8 p.m.

West Calder (Scottish Section).—Sec., Robert Lindsay, West Calder.

OPEN-AIR PROPAGANDA.

LONDON—Sunday 1.

- | | | |
|-------|--------------------------------|----------------------------|
| 11 | ...Acton—the Steyne |Acton Branch |
| 11 | ...Turnham Green—Front Common |Ham'smith |
| 11.30 | ...Hoxton Church, Pitfield St. |Nicoll |
| 11.30 | ...Merton—Haydons Road |The Branch |
| 11.30 | ...Regent's Park |Parker |
| 11.30 | ...St. Pancras Arches |Bloomsbury Branch |
| 1.30 | ...Walham Green |Fulham Branch |
| 3.30 | ...Hyde Park |Mainwaring and others |
| 7 | ...Acton—Priory |Acton Branch |

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

The Strike Fund.—Entertainments will be given on Saturday evenings in the Hall of the League, at 8 p.m., in aid of the above Fund. Friends wishing to assist with songs, recitations, instrumental music, etc., should at once communicate with W. B. Parker, at office of League. Second Entertainment, March 31.

SOCIALIST CO-OPERATIVE FEDERATION.—Meeting at *Commonweal* Office, 13 Farringdon Road, on Sunday April 1st, at 3.30 p.m.

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