

Hannah for D. J. Nicoll!

THE COMMONWEAL

The Official Journal of the Socialist League.

VOL. 3.—No. 63.

SATURDAY, MARCH 26, 1887.

WEEKLY; ONE PENNY.

NOTES ON NEWS.

THE press has of course busied itself over Mr. Gladstone's speech, and various meanings favourable to this or that hope in the present crisis have been drawn from it, with more or less ingenuity; which ingenuity, to say the truth, has not been less wasted that that which enables people to write the Lord's prayer on a threepenny piece. Any one of the guests at the dinner might have said, like Tennyson's Northern Farmer, "I thought he'd said wha a' ought to have said, and I comed awa." Mr. Gladstone had to say something, and make some show of seeing through a grindstone, and giving those not gifted as himself the advantage of his vision. It was a matter of course that he should accomplish this feat with his usual skill in such exercises.

What his speech really amounted to was party defiance to the Tories; civility to the wavering Unionist Liberals; and a statement that he was in favour of Home Rule, and was prepared to make some concessions. Since all this had to be said, let those of us who have read his speech be glad that we have not got to do so again, and forget it.

Speaking, after all, will not change the position of affairs, which quite simply is this. The feeling for Home Rule is spreading among the English democracy; everybody is noting that; therefore the Unionist Liberals are in terror for their seats, and in terror at the prospect of eating their bold words. The Tories, who vaguely hoped that they wouldn't have to bring in a Coercion Bill, find they have got to do so, and know that it will undo them; and all English political parties are shuffling about from one foot to the other in an anguish of doubt, because they know that the land question must be dealt with by one party after the other, each of whom will make a helpless mess of it.

Needless to dwell long on the fact that all this is accompanied by rather more than the usual amount of conventional twaddle and lies to conceal the fact that the mighty British Empire and its glorious Constitution is being pushed against its will into what, considering its circumstances, are revolutionary measures.

The new Irish Secretary is beginning about as well as possible for the Nationalist cause. The arrest of Father Keller will answer its purpose as far as the Irish are concerned. The setting the seal of Peterloo on the police murder at Youghal by open approval of it, the threats of violence and "thorough,"—all this will help to bind the English democracy to the Irish cause. Certainly Mr. Balfour is turning out the very man that the Parnellites would have picked out if they had had to choose.

W. M. O'NEILL

In contravention of the Corporation byelaws, a man at Newcastle sent two children into the streets to sell matches. He was prosecuted, the magistrates thought the byelaws invalid, but "stated a case." The case was heard the other day in the Queen's Bench and the byelaws were declared invalid.

Whereupon our Individualist contemporary, *Jus*, raises a shout of delight, and says that the judge "is entitled to the love and gratitude of all little boys and girls."

Anything which tends towards freedom—of exploitation!—is hailed by Individualists as a boon. But the unhappy victims of such freedom? Who looks after *their* liberty?

About the end of last month, Tantia Bheel, the celebrated robber-chief of Central India, was reported to be on the war-path, and to be plundering right and left. This is a crude uncivilised way of acquiring the product of other men's labour, and the Government is therefore anxiously seeking him out in order to duly impress upon him the folly of his behaviour.

He could so much the more profitably employ his "superior ability" in business, and amass ill-gotten wealth "by way of trade"!

Yet Socialists may be pardoned for hesitating ere they write down Tantia Bheel beside the exploiting Bourgeois. There is at least some manliness left, even amid brutal violence, in the man who takes and gives hard blows, and stakes his life upon the game.

But in the Bourgeois who, entrenched behind his money-bags, from the misery and helplessness of others makes wealth flow to him, his coward skin quite safe the while, we are constrained to recognise the abstracted dehumanised power of capital alone.

The one depends upon a clear head and strong arm. The other upon the class-monopoly of the means of life—a monstrosity begotten of ignorance and greed.

H. H. Sparling

More talk about extension of the punishment of flogging. The benevolent cleric Horsley indeed expressly included this in his *Pall-Mallian* scheme of improved prison discipline. Thus can the brutal instinct, even in parsonic minds, "abide so fierce and fell." That the advocates of organised torture can proclaim their views without a blush at the end of the nineteenth century is interesting to the Socialist. But in spite of our antipathy to judicial torture as part of a system, we admit that there are cases where it might be useful. For instance there are certain administrators of the law, chairmen of Quarter Sessions, and at least one ex-Home-Secretary upon whom twenty-five lashes with the "cat" might have a "deterrent" effect. There are some natures you can only appeal to through their skins. We promise these gentlemen that should the revolutionary tribunal of the future commune of London decree them some such punishment, we will not interfere with any of the sentimental arguments they so much deprecate.

E. B. Cox.

SOCIALISM IN DENMARK IN 1886.

SOCIALISM was rather long in finding its way into Denmark, notwithstanding the close connexion between this country and Germany. It was not until 1871 that a real Socialistic movement arose, but it looked so trifling that at first it was rather disregarded, the red spectre might easily be exorcised. But the scattered seed came to a fine growth, new seed was disseminated, and the bourgeoisie became aware that its most dangerous enemy had been acclimatised in Denmark. A little newspaper, *Socialisten*, began to issue, and worked well to rouse the working men. As in all other countries, the International was outlawed in Denmark also, but instead of being suppressed Socialism by this even got a new lift.

On the 10th of May, 1874, the first number of the *Social Demokraten* appeared. The paper was a little daily, with but few subscribers. It soon got wind, however, and, notwithstanding the attacks of our adversaries, it succeeded in riding out the storm and clearing the most dangerous rocks and cliffs, so that on the 26th of July, 1885, it could issue a jubilee number with a map, showing the extension of Socialism in Denmark. In 1874, the paper had 3,300 subscribers; 26th of July, 1885, 20,000; now it has about 22,000 subscribers, and its size is augmented three-fold.

It was of the greatest importance for the working-men party to get political influence, and particularly to bring forth their demands in Parliament, and at last in 1884 it succeeded in getting two of the leaders, Holm and Hørdum, elected as members of the Folkething, and the honour thereof is due to Copenhagen.

The political situation here in Denmark:—Ministers governing in spite of Parliament through provisional laws and royal resolutions; the press of the opposition fettered in all ways; and a free word incurring the danger of strong punishments; has made it impossible to obtain anything for the working-men by way of legislation.

In respect of the economical situation the year 1886 began as it ended, with want of employment, and this want surpassed all former like experiences in extent, and made hunger a daily guest of thousands of our comrades. The summer brought a little better situation, but the want of employment did not cease completely, and when the rougher season returned misery seized her victims to a much larger extent even than in the beginning of the year. At least 12,000 men and women in Copenhagen are completely unemployed.

Of course both the political and the economical situation has in the past year had influence on the actions of the Social Democracy. The first thing that our party did in 1886 was to spread a summons for assistance to the unemployed, but out of this private assistance the party has tried to get help by way of politics.

At the end of 1885 the Folkething had voted a bill giving the unemployed direct assistance from the public exchequer, and a great many meetings about the country had declared their agreement with

the bill, but the bill was rejected in the Landsting, according to the wish of the Government.

In Copenhagen the want of employment was hardest, and as this community is one of the greatest employers, it was but a consequence to try to get its magistrate to do something for the working-men. Five different entreaties were transmitted during the winter to the authorities, but these had only fine words, no help to give. Private subscription was the only thing left, and by the 1st of May there was collected 98,419 Kr. 42-Ore (£5,467 14s. 2d.), out of which the Working-men's Unions had collected 45,667 Kr. (£2,537 12s. 3d.).

In October, the Parliament assembled, and the Social Democratic members, together with three other Opposition members from Copenhagen, moved some bills, giving assistance to the unemployed from the public exchequer; a bill for the building of dwellings for working-men and regulation of the over-populated and noxious quarters of Copenhagen; restriction of working on Sundays and holidays; and that alms received from the public and not repaid shall not invalidate electoral franchise. But there is no hope for these bills being sanctioned by the Government, which only thinks of using the country's money and forces for totally destroying the country and the people by fortifying Copenhagen, the military expenses already devouring $4\frac{1}{2}$ times as much as education.

The Socialists tried to get members on the magistracy of Copenhagen. The members being elected by men of 25 years of age who in the past year have paid tribute on 1,000 Kr. (£55) income, most of the working-men are excluded from influence on communal affairs. In the month of March it was tried to get two men of the party elected, but though they got 2,320 and 2,270 votes, we did not succeed; but these numbers, however, give good hope for the future.

Several meetings held during the year also show how our party is increasing. Especially it was evidenced by the grand feast of the 5th of June. This feast in past years has been celebrated by the Socialists in a forest, five English miles from Copenhagen, but in 1886 the number of partakers was so great that the railway and the steamers could not transport them, and therefore it was celebrated on the plain for exercising soldiers outside the town. The show of the working-men through the town therefore was the greatest that Copenhagen ever saw. It numbered 30,000 partakers, divided in 137 unions, and it took one hour fifteen minutes for the show to pass a single point. In the place for the feast were gathered about 80,000 men and women, and order was in every respect perfect because the police let the working-men themselves keep order.

In the provinces, too, we get many fellows and comrades. Especially the meeting at Horsens, a borough in Jutland, on July 18, is remarkable. 16,000 comrades were gathered here and declared their adherence to Socialism. In 1885 there were branches of the Social-Democratic Federation in 24 of the 63 boroughs in the country. In 1886 three new branches have been formed in Kolding, Vejle, and Fredericia; branches also are found in several villages. In the whole country there are 50 Social-Democratic unions (having only political purposes), and in Copenhagen itself there are 60 working-men unions, besides a great number in the provinces.

In the past year the agitation has been carried on as usual; but one of the most effective agitators has for a long time been hindered from travelling about the country, having been kept in prison for his activity in the service of the party.

Of course our party has felt the effect of the ministerial methods of legislation. In order to crush the opposition and our party, the Government already in 1885 had issued their Provisional Penal Law and Press Law, and one of our comrades, piano-maker Holst, was imprisoned a few days after the law had been issued. On 9th January 1886 the editor of the *Social-Demokraten*, S. Olsen, was charged for some articles in that paper, and since then accusations and imprisonments have followed each other quickly, as far as the Provisional Law permitted. On February 20 Holst was charged again, and in July Olsen was imprisoned and condemned by the Court of First Instance to 13 times 5 days imprisonment with only bread and water. The highest court reduced these punishments, but Olsen was imprisoned in July 1886, and did not come out of prison before the 15th of January this year.

The Government also has tried to get Hørdum, M.P., condemned according to the Provisional Penal Law for some expressions of a meeting in Aarhus, the largest borough in Jutland. But though the two first courts absolved him, the judges have been cunning enough to condemn him in costs: a quite new invention this, to be obliged to pay money simply because Government takes a fancy to accuse a man of violating a law, and the judges declare the charge "not proved." Many other instances of prosecution we omit.

The branch-movement has tended to strengthen the organisation. More smaller strikes have been necessary to force the masters to perform their duty toward the workmen, not only in Copenhagen, but also in the boroughs, and some of them have brought a raising of wage. The most important strike in the year was that of the working women at Rubens weaving-factory. Having lasted for four weeks, it ended through mediation with a small increase of pay. This strike acquired importance through the attention it called forth in respect to the bad payment that the rich capitalists offer to working women.

The Danish workingmen-party partook through 14 representatives in the branch-congress at Goteborg in Sweden, August 27-29. Thereby was the band of fraternity tied more tightly between the workmen of the North.

At the end of the year a permanent commission for the working-men-unions' common action was established. In order to acquire the greatest advantages during the present capitalistic system, the "Work-

men's Bakery" was also erected, and the purchasers of its bread are so many that the bakery must be enlarged.

On January 28 the elections for the Folkething took place, and our party proposed four candidates, the two former members of the Chamber, P. Holm and C. Hørdum, in the 5th and 9th wards of Copenhagen. Moreover were proposed the journalist A. C. Meyer for the 8th ward of Copenhagen and J. Jensen, principal leader of the Painters' Union, for Odense in Fyn; the former candidate for the 8th ward of Copenhagen only being released from prison the day after the elections. The result of the elections was not so successful as of the former ones, for we only succeeded in electing one of the candidates—P. Holm, in the 5th ward of Copenhagen. So we lost one of the representatives elected 1884, Mr. Hørdum. However, this was not occasioned by any relapse on the part of Socialists. On the contrary, our candidates got everywhere more votes than before. But our reactionary adversaries made use of the bad economical situation for rigorously squeezing the workingmen and thus forcing part of them to vote for the reactionary candidates. The votes for the Social-Democratic candidates were: P. Holm was elected by 6757 votes (5385 in 1884); C. Hørdum got 975 (920 in 1884); A. C. Meyer 540 (Holst in the same ward got 500 in 1884); J. Jensen, the first Social-Democratic candidate, who has been proposed for Odense, 136 votes.

Thus we have no reason for looking upon the future as gloomy. By further elections we certainly shall not only recapture the lost, but gain new wards for our great cause.

For the General Council Social-Democratic Federation,

Copenhagen, March 7, 1887.

P. KNUDSEN.

WHITE SLAVERY.

THE following letter, sent to the editor of *Truth* by a trustworthy correspondent, should be carefully read by folk who up to now have believed in the various "homes," etc., that drive a roaring trade in exporting orphans and other defenceless children:—

"I regret to learn that another batch of little waifs collected from our big cities is about to be sent to Canada. These poor little folks whose lot here is, indeed, hard enough, have at least in the land of their birth the sympathy and companionship of their kind. Transported to the backwoods of Canada, amid drear and strange surroundings, they are there doomed to pass their unhappy childhood and youth, chopping wood; in fact, doing the meanest work, clad in the coarsest raiment, and subsisting on the roughest fare, not always plentiful. The average Canadian rivals the Yankee in his eagerness for the dollar, and he spares neither himself nor others, painstaking, scraping, nor protracted toil. Although Canadian couples are usually blessed with large families, these orphaned waifs are readily 'adopted,' under Dominion law, into the poorer households. Any one who has visited the country districts of Canada cannot but have observed the daily drudgery to which these 'adopted' ones are subjected. Their lives are, indeed, sunless, and the bread given them that of charity. The so-called benevolent scheme for bettering their lives, in the majority of cases, seems to me a cruel sham.

"Let me briefly describe a scene of which I was an eye-witness, and which occurred a few years ago. A lady arrived in Woodville, North Ontario, with a number of little English children for 'adoption.' On the same day she gave a very touching and eloquent description of the way the children had been collected and shipped to Canada. The following morning the little boys and girls were placed 'on view' in the village schoolroom, ranged in a row, as slaves used to be down South, for inspection. The news had been passed about, and the farmers and tradespeople had gathered to make choice. Among the group of little ones were two little twin brothers, who did not seem to realise what was taking place. A farmer 'adopted' one of them, another farmer took the second, the homesteads of the two men being nearly a hundred miles apart. The hour had now come for them to be parted, perhaps for ever, and at any rate their very names to be changed and their identity lost. No one, save an eye-witness, can imagine the look of sorrowful amazement depicted on the little fellows' faces when they realised, in their babyish fashion, what it all meant. A mother, I think, would rather see her children taking the chances of the London streets, than doomed to the soul-starving existence of a Canadian homestead." M. B.

A "GODLY COMPANIE."—Several "noble-minded" gentlemen connected with the City Companies banqueted on the 18th inst.; and curiously enough, though they were labelled as belonging to the various crafts—as, e.g., "Master of the Shipwrights' Company"—yet the names given were all those of persons well known as never having done a stroke of real work in their lives, and who would feel very much insulted if any simple-minded person, in his ignorance of "the ways of the world," were to suggest that they had. These fine fellows, having made themselves happy and comfortable by partaking of the good things—a process all the easier effected from their not having to pay for them—proceeded to smile complacently across the table at one another, and to say many good things of themselves and their friends, commencing with the "Jubilee Queen," and proceeding *seriatim* down to the "small fry." The Master of the Loriners' Company spoke in "cordial terms" of the Mayor, and the Mayor performed the same good office for the Master (or, "You scratch my back and I'll scratch yours," as they term it in Scotland). In fact, they were all "honourable, straightforward, and upright men." Sir Robert Fowler spoke in high praise of the "hospitality" of the City Companies—and he ought to know; and a M.P. whose name is not familiar—and whose speech afforded a very sufficient reason for the same—made some original remarks about "the greatest legislative assembly in the world," and ventured his opinion that the charge against the Corporation was "a great mistake." But the feature of the evening, perhaps, was the statement of a gallant gentleman, who said—"tis true it was late on in the evening's festivities—that the Corporation "was daily gaining in strength and in the admiration of Londoners." All which was made to redound still more to the credit of the Corporation by being reported by at least one "daily" parallel with the enquiry into the charges of malversation against that honourable body.—W. B.

ROBERT BURTON.

THE sixteenth century was three-quarters gone; Sir Thomas More had been dead for forty years; Francis Bacon, a boy of 16, was still at Cambridge, where his dissent from the then orthodox philosophy was beginning to attract attention; Philemon Holland, "Translator-General of his Age," was in the height of his activity; Nic. Grimald was dead, but his translation of Cicero's 'De Officiis' was running through edition after edition; the "Judicious" Hooker was at Oxford, where the next year would see him Fellow of his College; when at Lindley, in Leicestershire, was born "of an ancient and genteel family" one who was destined to touch well-nigh the supreme point of the older learning and render mighty aid in the beginning of the new; one who should do more than but the rarest of them to draw together the threads spun after the fashion of a bygone time, and to further the weaving of a garment for the science that was growing.

A wondrous fermentation was going on in thought and life alike; the old forms of creed or practice were being broken up, to be recombined in a new Society. Still stiffened by the manner of the mediæval schoolmen, drawing the matter of their learning from mediæval and classic sources, the men of this time were yet quickened by the new discoveries of their day, and were fulfilled of the forward-looking, deep-searching spirit, that has produced since then so many marvellous extensions in our knowledge of the universe.

Eastward and westward wended a myriad explorers upon the quest of strange wealth. From all directions came continually tidings of new discoveries of lands unseen hitherto, and of peoples unheard of, or at most but dimly described in some ancient legend or half-mythical tale. Just as the foreign markets thus provided gave the essential stimulus to individual enterprise and the rise of the commercial system, so the increase of knowledge and consequent widening of ideas aroused the minds of men to an intense degree of activity in all conceivable directions.

Among the many books produced at this period that, written as they are while the very substructure of the present system was being built, look beyond it to that which shall succeed it, Robert Burton's 'Anatomy of Melancholy' is one of the most notable. Its author was possessed of encyclopædic learning, had read well and widely for thirty years, when he took paper and pen to analyse the melancholy from which he suffered, and in so doing analysed the weaknesses and failures of men and of Society. "Learning hath gained most," said Fuller, "by those books by which the printers have lost," but this book had falsified his dictum ere it was uttered, for it made its publisher's fortune, and, were all its editions collected together, they would fill a fair-sized set of book-shelves. To justify his assumption of the pen-name "Democritus Junior," Burton in his preface described the society he saw around him, and asked: "Who would not laugh at such a mad world?"

"How would our Democritus have been affected to see a wicked caitiff, or fool, a very idiot, a fudge, a golden ass, a monster of men, to have many good men, wise men, learned men, to attend upon him with all submission, as an appendix to his riches, for that respect alone, because he hath more wealth and money, and to honour him with divine titles, and bombast epithets, to smother him with fumes and eulogies, whom they know to be a dizard, a fool, a covetous wretch, a beast, etc., because he is rich? . . . To see so many lawyers, advocates, so many tribunals, so little Justice; so many Magistrates, so little care of the common good; so many Laws, yet never more disorders. . . . To see a lamb executed, a wolf pronounce sentence; *latro* arraigned, and *fur* sit on the bench; the Judge severely punish others, and do worse himself. . . . Laws altered, misconstrued, interpreted *pro* and *con*, as the Judge is made by friends, bribed, or otherwise affected as a nose of wax—good to-day, none to-morrow; or firm in his opinion, cast in his. . . . Laws are made and not kept, or if put in execution, they be some silly ones that are punished."

"To see a poor fellow or an hired servant venture his life for his new master, that will scarce give him his wages at year's end; a country colone [clown] toil and moil, till and drudge, for a prodigal idle drone, that devours all the gain, or lasciviously consumes with phantastical expenses."

Since Burton's day we boast of our advance in "civilisation," of our enlightenment, regard for justice, and so on, but his bitter indictment remains true as when he wrote it:

"A poor sheep-stealer is hanged for stealing of victuals—compelled, peradventure, by necessity of that intolerable cold, hunger, and thirst, to save himself from starving; but a great man in office may securely rob whole provinces, undo thousands, pill and pole, oppress *ad libitum*, flea, grind, tyrannize, enrich himself by the spoils of the commons, be uncontrollable in his actions, and after all be recompensed with turgent titles, honoured for all his good service, and no man dare to find fault, or mutter at it."

"*Necessitas cogit ad turpia*, poverty alone makes men thieves, rebels, murderers, traitors, assassins, because of poverty we have sinned, Eccl. xxvii., I, swear and forswear, bear false witness, lie, dissembel, anything, as I say, to advantage themselves, and to relieve their necessities. *Culpæ scelerisque magistra est*, when a man is driven to his shifts what will he not do?"

"Many poor men, by reason of bad policie and idle education (for they are likely brought up in no calling), are compelled to beg or steal, and men hanged for theft; than which, what can be more ignominious—'tis the governours' fault. They had more need provide there should be no more thieves and beggars, as they ought with good policy, and take away the occasions, than let them run on, as they do to their own destruction."

"But whereas you shall see many discontents, common grievances, complaints, poverty, barbarism, beggary, plagues, wars, rebellions, seditions, mutinies, contentions, illeness, riot, epicurism, the land lie untilld, waste, full of bogs, fens, deserts, etc., cities decayed, base and poor towns, villages depopulated; that kingdom, that country, must needs be discontent, melancholy, hath a sick body, and had need to be reformed. Now that cannot be effected till the causes of these maladies be first removed."

Nor has the system of competitive trading in the fullness of its development at any time belied his description of it while yet green and growing:

"Either deceive or be deceived; tear others, or be torn in pieces themselves;

like to many buckets in a well, as one riseth another falleth, one's empty, another's full; his ruine is a ladder to the third; such are one's ordinary proceedings. What's the market? A place, according to *Anacharsis*, wherein they cozen one another, a trap; nay, what's the world itself? A vast chaos, a confusion of manners, as fickle as the air, *domicilium insanorum*, a turbulent troop full of impurities, a mart of walking spirits, goblins, the theatre of hypocrisy, a shop of knavery, flattery, a nursery of villainy, the scene of babbling, the school of giddiness, the academy of vice; a warfare, in which kill or be killed; wherein every man is for himself, his private ends, and stands upon his own guard. . . . In a word, every man for his own ends. Our *summum bonum* is comunity, and the goddess we adore *Dea Moneta*, Queen Money, to whom we daily offer sacrifice, which steers our hearts, hands, affections, all: that most powerful goddess, by whom we are reared, depressed, elevated, esteemed the sole commandress of our actions, for which we pray, run, ride, go, come, labour, and contend as fishes do for a crum that falleth into the water. Its not worth, virtue (that's *bonum theatrale*), wisdom, valour, learning, honesty, religion, or any sufficiency for which we are respected, but money, greatness, office, honour, authority; honesty, is accounted folly; knavery, policy; men admired out of opinion, not as they are, but as they seem to be: such shifting, lying, cogging, plotting, counterplotting, temporising, flattering, cozening, dissembling, that of necessity one must highly offend God if he be conformable to the world, *Creteizare cum Crete*, or else live in contempt, disgrace, and misery."

He sketches briefly but with firm touch in his preface an utopia, in which all things shall be justly done. He will not have bourgeois benevolence in it; needed erections shall not be

. . . "built *precario*, or by gouty benefactors, who, when by fraud and rapine they have extorted all their lives, oppressed whole provinces, societies, etc., give something to pious uses, build a satisfactory alms-house, school, or bridge, at their last end, or before perhaps, which is no otherwise than to steal a goose and stick down a feather, rob a thousand to relieve ten."

For our opponents of the "thrift" and "be content" school he has this reply, setting forth their case as though it were his own, and then turning upon himself with conclusive refutation:

"I say then, *Non adice opes, sed minuc cupulitates* ('tis Epicurus' advice), and no more wealth, but diminish thy desires; and as Chrysostom well seconds him, *Si vis ditari, contemne divitias*; that's true plenty, not to have, but not to want riches, *non habere, sed non indigere, vera abundantia*: 'tis more glory to contemne than to possess; *et nihil agere, est deorum*, "and to want nothing is divine." How many deaf, dumb, halt, lame, blind, miserable persons could I reckon up that are poor, and withal distressed, in imprisonment, banishment, galley-slaves, condemned to the mines, quarries, to gyves, in dungeons, perpetual thralldom, than all which art thou richer, thou art more happy, to whom thou art able to give an alms, a lord, in respect, a petty prince: be contented then, I say, repine and mutter no more, 'for thou art not poor indeed but in opinion."

"Yea, but this is very good counsel, and rightly applied to such as have it, and will not use it, that have a competency, that are able to work and get their living by the sweat of their brows, by their trade, that have something yet; he that hath birds, may catch birds; but what shall we do that are slaves by nature, impotent, and unable to help ourselves, mere beggars, that languish and pine away, that have no means at all, no hope of means, no trust of delivery, or of better success? As those old Britons complained to their lords and masters the Romans oppressed by the Picts, *mare ad barbaros, barbari ad mare*, the barbarians drove them to the sea, the sea drove them back to the barbarians; our present misery compels us to cry out and howl, to make our moan to rich men: they turn us back with a scornful answer to our misfortune again, and will take no pity of us; they commonly overlook their poor friends in adversity; if they chance to meet them, they voluntarily forget, and will take no notice of them; they will not, they cannot help us. Instead of comfort they threaten us, miscall, scoff at us, to aggravate our misery, give us bad language, or if they do give good words, what's that to relieve us? According to that of Thales, *Facile est alius monere*; who cannot give good counsel? 'Tis cheap, it costs them nothing. It is an easy matter when one's belly is full to declaim against fasting, *Qui satur est pleno laudat jejunia ventre*; 'Doth the wild ass bray when he hath grass, or loweth the ox when he hath fodder?' Job vi. 5. *Neque enim populo Romano quidquam potest esse laetius*, no man living so jocund, so merry as the people of Rome when they had plenty; but when they came to want, to be hunger-starved, 'neither shame, nor laws, nor arms, nor magistrates, could keep them in obedience.' Seneca pleaded hard for poverty, and so did those lazy philosophers; but in the meantime he was rich, they had wherewithal to maintain themselves; but doth any poor man extol it? There "are those (saith Bernard) that approve of a mean estate, but on that condition they never want themselves; and some again are meek so long as they may say or do what they list; but it occasion be offered, how far are they from all patience?" I would to God (as he said), 'No man should commend poverty but he that is poor,' or he that so much admires it, would relieve, help, or ease others. But no man hears us, we are most miserably dejected, the scum of the world. *Vix habet in nobis jam nova plaga locum* (There is no space left on our bodies for a fresh stripe). We have tried all means, yet find no remedy; no man living can express the anguish and bitterness, of our souls, but we that endure it; we are distressed, forsaken, in torture of body and mind, in another hell, and what shall we do? . . . The devil and the world persecute us, all good fortune hath forsaken us, we are left to the rage of beggary, cold, hunger, thirst, nastiness, sickness, irksomeness, to continue all torment, labour and pain, to derision and contempt, bitter enemies all, and far worse than any death; death alone we desire, death we seek, yet cannot have it, and what shall we do?"

Those who can find opportunity to delve in this mine of learning and good counsel, to them a never-ending store of delight is open, but its chief interest for us as Socialists, as that of the writings of More, Hall, Harrington, Earle, Feltham, Fuller, Browne, and Walton, and their kindred, lies in the germ-ideas it contains that have since brought forth such fruit, and in the eager insistence we find in it, as in all great writers of transition periods, upon the social side of human life, and the ideal of Society as a fellowship of men and not a medley of murderers. The international feeling of Burton especially is strongly manifested again and again, in one sentence he sums it:

"'Tis no disparagement to be a stranger, or so irksome to be an exile."

These men were the product of a time of stress; neither they nor those around quite saw what events were bringing forth, but we looking back upon what they were and what they did and what came after, noting also the strong likeness of our own time and the men of it to theirs and them, may well take heart of hope, and fervently work on for the new birth of society that shall supplant bourgeois domination as that supplanted feudalism. H. HALLIDAY SPARLING.



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

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

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

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

Subscriptions.—For Europe and United States, including postage, per year, 6s. six months, 3s.; three months, 1s. 6d.

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

TO CORRESPONDENTS.

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

Periodicals received during the week ending Wednesday March 23.

ENGLAND		HOLLAND	
Justice	Boston—Woman's Journal	Hague—Recht voor Allen	
Jus	Denver (Col.) Labor Inquirer		ITALY
Norwich—Daylight	New Haven (Conn.)—Work-	Rome—L'Emancipazione	Naples—Humanitas
Cotton Factory Times	men's Advocate		SPAIN
Worker's Friend	Chicago (Ill.)—Vorbote	Madrid—El Socialista	Cadiz—El Socialismo
Leicester—Countryman	Milwaukee (Wis.)—Volkblatt		PORTUGAL
Glasgow—Pioneer	Detroit (Mich.)—The Advance	Voz do Operario	
	and Labor Leaf		AUSTRIA
INDIA	Fort Worth (Tex.)—South West	Arbeiterstimme	Vienna—Gleichheit
Bankipore—Behar Herald			ROUMANIA
	FRANCE	Jassy—Lupta	
SOUTH AUSTRALIA	Paris—Cri du Peuple (daily)		GREECE
Adelaide—Our Commonwealth	Le Socialiste	Athens—Ardin	
	Guise—Le Devoir		
UNITED STATES			
New York—Volkzeitung	BELGIUM		
Freiheit	Brussels—L'Avant-Garde		
John Swinton's Paper	Liege—L'Avenir		
Der Sozialist	Antwerp—De Werker		
Truthseeker			

THE SCHOOLMASTER ABROAD.

A PAPER entitled *School* has lately been started, as "a medium for the ventilation of all matters of educational interest." We are informed in the editorial column of the February number that the paper has met with most gratifying success, "not the least flattering, perhaps, of the letters received being some in which capitalists have proposed to become possessors of the journal." And certainly *School* seems determined to deserve well of the capitalists; for among the questions "ventilated" we find Socialism occupying a prominent place, it being the contention of the writer in *School* that teachers ought to take the earliest opportunity of impressing the minds of their pupils with detestation of the Socialist doctrines. "It is to be regretted," he says, "that while counter influences are daily acquiring greater strength, correct ideas of their moral and social obligations are seldom systematically instilled into the minds of the rising generation in our schools. Most boys are taught that particular acts of theft from their schoolfellows are wrong, and they are punished accordingly. They may still, however, grow up to have very erroneous ideas regarding their moral obligations to society in these respects, and not scruple in after life to advocate wholesale plunder." It will be observed that the writer of this passage quietly assumes that the Socialists, and not the capitalists, are the "plunderers," and thus begs the whole question which is at issue, thereby illustrating at the outset his profound ignorance of the subject which he essays to teach. He proceeds to urge that both churches and schools must do their utmost "to enforce those correct principles by which legitimate authority and just rights in property can be maintained, and without which the fabric of society would fall to pieces." The *Times* being quoted as a reliable exponent of the enormities of French Communism, principals of schools are earnestly exhorted to inculcate an abhorrence of such revolutionary ideas, and are warned against the peril of engaging French and German masters who may be Socialists in disguise and may thus insidiously corrupt the minds of the schoolboys with their dangerous doctrines. "Quite recently," adds the writer, "the police-reports contained an account of an ex-minister of the Commune who was sentenced for a brutal assault on a woman in this country." The relevance of this remark is not very obvious; for there is, unfortunately, no need to go across the Channel for instances of immoral conduct, which have sometimes been observed even in the case of capitalists and ex-ministers of her Majesty's Government. But we presume that the writer in *School* is of opinion that any stick is good enough to beat a dog with, and that in abusing Socialists the silliest and grossest statements may be usefully employed. All of his "Remarks on Socialism" are characterised by the same mixture of malignity and stupidity, and would be a disgrace to the dullest of the schoolboys whom he wishes to instruct.

Side by side with the misrepresentation of Socialist doctrines, it is the fashion nowadays in our public schools to establish what are known as "school missions" in the poorer quarters of London and other large towns, the object being to make the youthful capitalist take a philanthropic interest in the condition of the working classes. The movement is doubtless well meant, and some little good may possibly come of it indirectly. Nevertheless it is impossible not to feel a certain amount of impatience and indignation at such childish trifling with questions of paramount importance. What is the result of all the subscription-lists and parish visitings, and sermons in the school chapel descriptive of what has been done among the "poorer brethren" of the relieved district? Mainly this; that our pampered and luxurious schoolboys give back in "charity" to the working-classes a very small fragment of the immense sum which their parents annually extort. They establish a "mission" among the very people by whose life-long labour and suffering they are fed, clothed, housed, educated, and supported in every sort of comfort and affluence; and having done this, they naturally and inevitably feel a glow of honest satisfaction and pride; for, as we all know, it is more blessed to give than to receive. With consciences thus made easy, they can devote themselves more unreservedly to the real business of their lives—eating, drinking, sleeping, idling, and self-enjoyment. The position of these school-missions in relation to the working-classes may be aptly illustrated by the American story of the man who relieved the hunger of his dog by cutting off its tail and giving back the bone in "charity" to the original proprietor, after himself enjoying a dish of soup extracted therefrom.

After all, it may at least be said on behalf of our public schools that indirectly and unconsciously they are often powerful revolutionary agencies. The bigotry and intolerance of the tone that is prevalent in these educational centres, the wasteful luxury and gross idleness of the boys, and the rank commercialism of the spirit in which these schools are conducted, are quite sufficient to disgust any thoughtful person who happens to be brought into contact with them, and to set him wondering how and why it is possible that such shameful scandals can exist in this enlightened age. By drawing attention to the connection between Socialism and "matters of educational interest," the writer of the article in *School* may possibly be doing less service than he intended to the sacred cause of capitalism. H. S. S.

'AN UNSOCIAL SOCIALIST.'

ONE result of the spread of Socialist opinion, and the interest thus excited in Socialist affairs, has been the development of the so-called "Socialist Novel," several works of fiction thus described having already been put before the public. For the most part they have been catch-penny impostures of the most shameless description, made for the market, and compiled by people whose knowledge of Socialism was limited to its name. Another variety, not so numerous, has been the would-be-propagandist novel, with interminable soliloquies and arguments, and innocent of interest in character or plot. It is therefore with very great pleasure that we are enabled to call our readers' attention to a novel, none the less instructive because it is humorous, and none the less interesting because it is intended to instruct.

In 'Cashel Byron's Profession,' Mr. George Bernard Shaw looked at Society as it is through the eyes of a healthy unsophisticated barbarian, and strange enough some familiar things looked when seen through that medium. In his present book the medium is an 'Unsocial Socialist,' a millionaire member of "the International" (which appears in a shape of Mr. Shaw's own invention), a self-dissector and cynic; a strange contradictory product of the "storm and stress" period between the decaying and the coming systems.

Those who already know Mr. Shaw and his work do not need to be advised to read "An Unsocial Socialist." Even those who have read it in periodical snippets should take the opportunity of perusing it as a whole. Those who have not read it should do so as soon as may be, whether they be Socialists or no. Mr. Shaw's view of life is essentially individual and fresh; not invariably of the widest, but still one worth close consideration and some study. Finally, to those whom ill fortune has compelled to read the average novel, into the composition of which the author's theory of political economy has been worked, we would say: Read this, if only to see that economics in fiction need not become stupidity, nor depth of intention be necessarily synonymous with didactic tediousness. S.

The subscriptions in aid of the crofters sent to the *Glasgow Weekly Mail* now amount to £330.

I see that Baron de Worms fell back upon Macaulay in a speech that he made last week to a Primrose Habitation in Marylebone. He might, he observed, say of the Liberals, as Macaulay said, "The bigots pleaded in extenuation of persecution the vices that persecution had created." Might not the passage be better paraphrased thus, "The Tories pleaded in extenuation of coercion the vices which coercion had created"?—*Truth*.

A SOCIALIST BAKERY.—The Fulham Branch of the S.D.F. have passed the following resolution:—"That the Fulham S.D.F. having held two meetings respecting the subject of the Socialist Co-operation, do heartily agree and offer their support to all other Socialist Branches respecting the bakery scheme, and hopes that all other Socialist bodies will forward some practical measure that cannot fail to strengthen and further our Cause, and hopes that all Branches will try and do something toward establishing a Socialist bakery."—T. WHITE, Sec. Fulham S.D.F.

A GOOD HEALTHY WAR.—The following is the cheery way that the *Natal Witness* has of looking at things: Telegraphic advices from home indicate that rumours of war are prevalent, and that foreign bourses are depressed in consequence. A good healthy war just now would relieve the existing depression at home, by keeping down the population, stir up insurance companies, liven up things generally, besides giving journalists something to write about, and removing a few "specials" to other regions, allowing of occupation for other war correspondents.—*The Cape Argus*.

SOCIALISM FROM THE ROOT UP.

CHAPTER XVII.

SCIENTIFIC SOCIALISM—CONVERSION OF CAPITAL INTO MONEY.

SAYS MARX: "The circulation of commodities is the starting point of capital: the production of commodities, their circulation, and that more developed form of their circulation called commerce, these form the historical groundwork from which it rises. The modern history of capital dates from the creation in the 16th century of a world-embracing commerce and a world-embracing market."

The great representative of this circulation is *money*, which is the first form in which capital appears. In history, *money* presents itself to us as opposed to *land*: the merchant is opposed to the landowner; an antithesis which struck people so much at one period that they expressed it by means of a double proverb—"No land without a lord," and "Money has no master." This is, in fact, another way of stating the antithesis between the Mediæval basis of property, viz., *status*, a recognised position in the great feudal hierarchy, and *contract*, the commercial basis, on which is built the position of the modern exploiter.

We must now see how capital is born, and the manner in which it works after it has been born.

It is born out of the operation expressed by the formula $M - C - M$, which we had to take note of in our last chapter. The M in this operation, as we stated before, implies always quantity and not quality; the second M not representing merely the money the operation was begun with, but an increased sum, otherwise the operation would be meaningless. It remains to be seen how this increase has taken place.

It cannot have happened by the mere process of exchange; because that would mean that the whole capitalistic class was living by getting the better of the whole capitalistic class, which is impossible. The increase of money in the capitalistic process must come out of the labouring or productive class.

The *modus operandi* of this capital-making must now be noted. The labouring class is necessary to the production of capital, and the labouring class in a peculiar condition: the labourer, to be fitted for the purpose of the capitalist, must be submitted to the operation of the free competition of the capitalist in the market; that is, his labour-power must be; for with the *man* himself of course the capitalist has nothing whatever to do; neither will his own position as capitalist allow him to consider himself as a man; according to the well-known proverb "Business is business." This position of the labourer is what is understood by the phrase of a "free labourer": his labour-power must be bought and sold in the market on the same terms as any other commodity; there must be no interference with his selling it at the price which it will fetch, a high price when the competition among the capitalists is brisk, a low price when it is slack; and as he has no other commodity to sell except his labour-power, he is *compelled* so to sell it—to be a "free labourer."

It is clear that this relation between the capitalist and the labourer is a conventional and not a natural one; nature does not produce men who from the first are possessors of money which it is their business to turn into capital, nor on the other hand does she produce men who are possessors of labour-power which they are compelled to sell in the free and open market to other men. As a consequence this relation is not common to all historical periods; but has developed from many economical revolutions, which have successively extinguished prior forms of social production.

It will be seen, then, that in the fully developed commercial period the capitalist, the reason for whose existence is the turning of money into capital, and who is the owner and the organiser of the whole of production, cannot carry on his business without having ready to his hand a class who are an adjunct of the machinery necessary to his business, and who, on their side, have no other reason for existence, so long as they are duly obedient to the system under which they live, save acting as such portion of this machinery.

We have now come to the subject of surplus-value, from which is derived profit, rent, and interest. This will form the subject of our next chapter.

E. BELFORD BAX AND WILLIAM MORRIS.

I am convinced if anything is to be done for the great mass of the people—if you are to secure any reform of magnitude—it is to be done by the people resolving to secure it, and totally disregarding the convenience or the existence of political parties in the House of Commons.—Richard Cobden.

A MIDNIGHT WALK.

(By G. HERWEGH. Translated by J. L. JOYNES.)

I wander, when the world is all asleep,
At midnight through the quiet streets at will.
How loudly did these sleepers laugh or weep
A few short hours ago! Now all is still.
Their joy is like a poor plucked flower foredone;
Their fullest cups have ceased at last to foam;
Their troubles have departed with the sun;
The world is weary, let it dream of home.

How all my fretful anger fades away,
Now the loud tempest of the day is o'er;
The moon sheds softly her forgiving ray
On roses ruined by fierce suns before.
Swift as a sound, and silent as a star,
Lit by the pale moon's visionary gleam,
My spirit, conscious of no earthly bar,
Can see through sleep's most inly secret dream.

My shadow creeps behind me like a spy;
I pause before a dismal dungeon den;
In chains a patriot is doomed to lie;
Alas! he loved too well his fellow men.
He sleeps—and does he dream of happier things?
Of oak leaves waving o'er a woodland stream?
Dreams he that Victory folds him in her wings?
O God of Freedom, let him always dream!

Gigantic looms the palace of a lord;
My spirit sees behind its purple curtain,
How one in sleep is clutching at a sword
With look of guilty fear and grasp uncertain.
Pale is that face with fright and helpless wonder;
He harnesses for flight his swiftest team;
He falls to earth; the earth is burst asunder—
O God of Vengeance, let him always dream!

That cottage by the brook—small is its space;
Virtue and Hunger share the peasant's bed;
But God has granted to the poor man grace
To quench in dreams the cares that crowd his head.
He sees the fields through eyelids slumber-furled
Grow ripe and rich with harvest's golden gleam;
His narrow cottage widens to a world—
O God of Pity, let the poor man dream!

At this last house, upon the bench of stone,
One moment I must rest in earnest prayer;
I love thee true, my child—nor I alone—
My love with Freedom's shalt thou ever share.
A dove-drawn cradle bears thee to the skies;
For me wild coursers champ and foam and steam;
I dream of eagles, thou of butterflies—
O God of lovers, let my darling dream!

Thou star, that shinest through the cloudy haze,
Thou night in pall of deepest purple furled,
Too soon O let me not awake to gaze
On that sad face of the dawn-wakened world.
For fancy's dream to daylight's deed must yield;
On tear-drops sparkles the sun's earliest beam;
Freedom to Tyranny resigns the field—
O God of dreamers, let us always dream!

FRANCE.

CARCASSONE.—At the recent municipal election the Socialist list has been much more successful than the Opportunist one, nine Socialists having been elected.

PARIS.—Last week an "Extra-parliamentary Commission" was busy over the proposed national monument in commemoration of the Revolution. It is proposed to erect it on the grounds of the former palace of the Tuilleries; all latitude is left to the artists and architects, who may decide upon one single edifice or several, the principal monument may be either purely symbolic, or may consist in halls in which would be placed statues and bas-reliefs illustrative of the men and scenes of the Revolution. The Commission will ask for a grant of twelve millions for the execution of the plan. We confess to a cold shudder in reading of the "symbolic monument," from bitter knowledge, foreseeing what crime modern sculptural art can perpetrate when it strays from what it is fit for—*i.e.*, executing a faithful and skilful likeness of a "social benefactor" or city alderman, frock-coat, trousers, and all, when it strays from this, the realm of everyday life, to that of false sentiment and humbug. Let us hope that the Government will refuse the grant, and waste the national money some other way, and that we may be spared the pain of a "symbolic monument" raised by hypocrisy and cant.

At the Chateau d'Eau Theatre in Paris a performance of Felix Pyat's "Chiffonnier de Paris" was organised last week by the *Cri du Peuple*, in aid of the families of those who suffered in the St. Etienne explosion. The theatre was crammed, and the performance successful. Several revolutionary songs were sung, and finally, amid great excitement, and the general uprising of the audience, the orchestra played the "Marseillaise." We English folk cannot quite realise without seeing it what an effect this song has on a large French crowd. For the "Marseillaise" sung in England, where we don't know the French words, and find it impossible to shove in all the translated ones in place and time, is a very different thing from the "Marseillaise" sung by a French choir, or played as orchestrated by H. Berlioz and listened to by an emotional crowd who join in with the refrain with a fervour and a precision which is indispensable to the dramatic effect of this fine tune. We should owe a good deal to an English Rouget de Lisle who would come forward with the discovery or invention of a tune as fine, and words more befitting the present period. He would be doing no inconsiderable service to the English revolutionary parties, for no one can deny the utility of appropriate music to any large congregation of folk.—M. M.

THE LABOUR STRUGGLE.

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

BRITAIN.

The Lanarkshire miners are working upon the advance of 6d. per day demanded by the men.

The weavers strike at Ashton is still unsettled, but the Central Committee of the Northern Counties' Association are determined to carry it on until success is achieved.

The turners and throwers in the Alloa Pottery have struck work and will be supported by the Glasgow Association, as to a dispute regarding the size of certain pots made at Alloa.

At the quarterly meeting of the Boldon Co-operative Society, on Saturday, it was decided to send £100 to the Northumberland miners, and £25 to the deputies.

The miners on strike in Northumberland have voted by a decided majority against the arbitration proposals, notwithstanding that the third distribution of strike money only allowed of 2s. being given to each adult and 6d. to each child, and after this the funds will be practically *nil*. A special report on the Northumberland miners will be found in another column.

It has been decided by ballot to forward the sum of £1000 from the funds of the Durham Miners' Association to assist the Northumberland men on strike, and that each lodge shall make a special levy on its members, or a donation from the local funds. Lodges have previously contributed upwards of £200.

A large number of miners, who are unemployed through the flooding of the shaft at Exhall Colliery, Warwickshire, paraded the adjacent villages on the 11th inst. harnessed to a waggon, and soliciting funds for their subsistence. Their novel appeal was liberally responded to, the waggon being hung with joints of meat, loaves of bread, parcels of tea, coffee, sugar, etc. The proceeds were distributed at the close of the day.

The London Council of the Amalgamated Society of Engineers have instructed the members of the society that they cannot be members of the Labour Federation and retain their membership of the Engineers' Society. It is stated that the matter will not rest here, for notice of appeal will at once be given to the general council of the Engineers' Society, as a large number of the members of that society have already joined the National Labour Federation.

There is a strike at the Carnarvon Copper Works, Wales, and, owing to the manager importing fresh men to take the places of those out on strike, disturbances have occurred, the men demanding the immediate discharge of the new comers. It was with great difficulty that the new hands could escape from the works, and three of them suffered rather severely in endeavouring to reach the railway station. The workmen now demand that the remainder should leave the valley, and offer them a chance of going unemployed.

The ironworkers are making efforts to bring together their somewhat shattered organisations. We are not referring to such men as mechanics and ironfounders, or moulders, who already have strong unions. The classes we refer to are the puddlers, millmen, rollers, and others, who, with the exception of those in Darlington, have in recent years gone very much to pieces. They are purposing to form a national association. It is rumoured that the Knights of Labour are making efforts to establish English lodges amongst this class, but nothing definite appears as yet to have been accomplished. On all sides there appears to be a general stirring of dry bones towards unionism as a force for lifting up the workers.—*Cotton Factory Times*.

THE YORKSHIRE MINERS.—The report to the members of the Yorkshire Miners Association for the past two years, which is signed by Mr. Benjamin Pickard, Mr. John Frith, and Mr. William Parrott, says: "The condition of the miner, taking all things into consideration, is not much if any improved since the year 1871. At that time the men were as well fed and as well housed in the majority of cases as they are now. Their work and wages compared more favourably then than now. If a dispute was entered into then they had not the fear of eviction before their eyes, as they now have at a large number of collieries. The Denaby Main and those evictions in Durham have opened our eyes to the extremes to which colliery-owners will go in order to defeat and punish the men, if they dare to stand up for and defend their rights. Many attempts have been made, in almost every part of the country, to solve the labour and wages question. Sliding-scale, arbitration, conciliation, strikes, and lock-outs have figured conspicuously, and have as signally failed to secure the desired end. It was quite clear from the demand of the owners in Northumberland for a reduction of 15 per cent. in their men's wages, that in the very country where the men are the most ardent advocates of and the most loyal to its principles and results, that a sliding scale, even without a minimum or maximum, neither can nor does absolutely meet any condition of labour and wages where there is no check (or determining power) by such sliding scale on the selling price of coal. Here we have a sliding-scale which has been in operation for a considerable time. The owners have been in a position to go into the market and compete with other mining counties most keenly, and, as the sequel proves, most disastrously both for themselves and their employes." One would naturally think the foregoing doleful confession of the absolute failure of the orthodox nostrums to settle the labour question would be the prelude to the advocacy of a new departure. But no; the same feeble platitudes and foolish hopes for an impossible "good time coming," with which we are all too familiar, is all that these "blind leaders of the blind" have to offer. Sixteen years of wealth-production unparalleled in the history of mankind leaves the Yorkshire miners still as poor, as badly fed, clothed, and housed at their close as at their beginning, and yet the poor simpletons go on opening their mouths and shutting their eyes to see what God or the Devil will send them, instead of banding themselves together like men to get the reward of their labour and to send their exploiters to the right-about.—T. B.

AMERICA.

In Paterson, N.J., 15,000 employes of the silk-works are still on strike for a reduction of 2½ hours, an increase of 1 dol. per week, and the employing of only union workers.

CHICAGO.—The new scale of wages for compositors has been established by joint agreement. Compositors will henceforth receive 46 cents per thousand *setns.* on morning newspapers, and 41 cents on evening papers. Advertisements will be set by the week. No change was made in the hours.

MILWAUKEE, March 1.—This afternoon the compositors in all the newspaper and job offices in the city went out on a strike for an advance of five cents in the price of composition. The proprietors offered to compromise, but the offer was refused by the Typographical union. The scale demanded is 38 for day and 45 cents for night work. The job scale 16 dols. per week.

WORCESTER, Mass.—The labour situation among the shoemakers at Spencer is serious. New workmen are coming in slowly, but have to be guarded by the police and the manufacturers' agents from the station to the hotel.

WHEELING, March 4.—The Labour Fair in this city netted the Trades Assembly 1600 dols. The greater portion of this sum will be used to furnish a hall and reading-room. In three weeks the Trades' Assembly will meet in the finest hall in the Ohio Valley, worthy of the thirty-nine organisations which it represents.

At Cincinnati the contracting bricklayers' association has allowed the demands of the union, which are—50 cents an hour for nine hours work, 4.50 a-day. First-class hands will increase their wages 2.70 dols. per week. The boss stone-masons have allowed the rate asked, which is 45 cents per hour. Stone-cutters will work nine hours.

The 2000 miners along the lines of the Peoria and Pekin, Toledo, Peoria, Warsaw, and Central Iowa railways, who have been out on a strike for several weeks, have reached a settlement with their employers. The miners are to form a co-operative association. The mines will be worked by them, the mine-owners getting three-fourths of a cent per bushel as rental.

ST. LOUIS, March 2.—At the present time almost every trade here is agitating the question of better wages or shorter hours. The carpenters led off with a demand for an increase of 5 cents per hour. It was granted. Wages now, 35 cents per hour, 9 hours a-day. The bricklayers have asked for 50 cents per hour, or 4 dols. a-day for 8 hours. The stove-moulders have asked for an increase, but the chances are that a lockout will result. It is expected that every union in this vicinity will be represented in the St. Louis Trades and Labour Assembly by May 1.

BELGIUM.

A strike of miners, numbering about 2400 has occurred in the Borinage district.

QUAREGNON (Borinage).—At the recent explosion in the mines of Quaregnon nearly 150 men and women and children were killed. Many of them must have guessed at a coming catastrophe, owing to the intolerable and ever-growing heat felt just beforehand. And yet they stayed on, rather risking their lives than risk forfeiting a day's pay!

After the Commission of Enquiry formed last year at the conclusion of the murderous exploits of Van der Smissen, the average wages of women and children working in the pits were fixed at the following prices for an average day's work of twelve hours: Boys from 12 to 17 years, 1 franc 30; women from 17 to 25 years, 1 fr. 45; girls from 13 to 15 years, 1 fr. 15. Such is the wretched sum for which women and children, whose fitting place would be rather at school or in the household, go to risk their lives during twelve or fourteen hours of the day! The report of the Commission even speaks of certain cases where children of 12 have to be in pits for sixteen hours. And yet those who among the men revolting last year in their desperation escaped the balls of the soldiery to fall within the claws of the magistracy, were accused of attempting the destruction of religion, property, and—always the same cry—of the family. Can these folks be said to have *familia*? Misery or demoralisation—mostly the two together—such is the picture formed by these same families that modern society shows itself so touchingly eager to protect—with words.

FRANCE.

SAINT-ETIENNE.—The director of the "Compagnie Beaubrun," by way of showing the paternal care that he lavishes on the men working for the company, apparently thinks he can do so no better than by diminishing the salaries of the men in No. 2 Chatelus Pit by 25 centimes a-day. It is asserted also that he intends to impose on the pitmen a gratuitous day's work to rectify the damage caused in this pit by the late disastrous explosion in No. 1 Pit. Bad luck to him!

MARSEILLES.—Citizen Jean Sitmane, on his way to attend the Algerian Working-men's Congress as French delegate, spoke well and ably at Marseilles on the labour question at a meeting there organised for him by the labour party. His discourse was followed by a discussion and asking of questions—a method of procedure more familiar to us in England than to our Continental friends. The interest of the meeting, which was numerously attended, was well-sustained, and the proceedings have produced a good impression in the town.

ITALY.

VERCELLI.—A button-factory here by Bona Bros. is quite a model "prison workshop," petty fines and Neronian orders succeeding each other day by day. Last week the "hands" were surprised by an order forbidding them to read the *Fascio Operaio*, all those discovered so doing to be instantly dismissed. A month back the women employed struck on account of a new rule which compelled them to pay 80 c. for thread to sew on the buttons, which thread could be procured in the shops for 40 c. Five mothers were dismissed in consequence of this manifestation of dissatisfaction, dismissed as "instigators of the strike."—*Fascio Operaio*.

ALESSANDRIA.—The hat-makers' strike here is terminated. The Cav. Borsalina refused to accede to the demands of the strikers, and these have in consequence, for the most part, gone off to other districts and have left the country rather than yield. There exist several labour societies belonging to the different trades in Alessandria, and as is seen in the result of the strike, a certain solidarity exists among the workers. Before the termination of the Borsalina strike (which was among the workers in black straw), the workers in white had paid each out of their weekly wage 75 c. in aid of their comrades. Last week they were assembled and warned that should they hereafter pay any sums to the society in aid of the strikers they would be dismissed. This is merely a sample of the treatment submitted to in Italian factories, where petty tyranny indeed reigns supreme and too often unquestioned.

You wise generations, who have made your god of a yelling steam-engine, and dwell in herds under a pall of soot, and call this—Progress! . . . There are two sides to the medal of Progress. Myself, I cannot see that New York is so much an improvement upon Athens, nor the Staffordshire potteries upon Etrurian Tarquinii. But then I am only an ignorant man, no doubt, who loves the happy laugh of the sun-fed children, and the unobscured smile of the azure skies.—*Ouida*: Crispin, in 'Ariadné.'

THE MINERS' STRIKE IN NORTHUMBERLAND.

PROGRESS OF THE SOCIALIST CAMPAIGN.

The importance of this struggle is being very much under-rated. It is now eight weeks since over 20,000 men went out on strike against a reduction of 12½ per cent. in their already miserably small wages. This reduction would affect all who earned over three shillings per day. It is nine years since the miners of Northumberland were on strike before, so that they cannot be charged with being quarrelsome. The failure or success of the strike may not be a matter of very great moment, but a study of the position altogether will be found very profitable, and a few frank words on the conduct of some of the people's friends will not be amiss.

At one time, and that only a few years ago, the miners were the best paid workmen in the country. From 12s. to 15s. per day was easily earned by an average man at hewing coal. They are now nearly down to the level of the English agricultural labourers or the Irish cottiers. For months past the average wage of the Northumbrian pit men has varied from 10s. to 15s. per week. If the deductions for powder, pick-sharpening, etc., were reckoned, it might fairly be said that 10s. to 12s. per week is the most that the pitmen have taken home to their wives. It is sometimes said that miners can earn 5s. 3d. per day, but this fact alone is misleading. Two or three days work a week is not uncommon, four days a week is a sort of godsend, and five days a week is what the miner may dream about but dare not hope to see. Besides, there are considerable deductions from the ordinarily stated wage. In some mines 6d. a-day for powder alone. I have asked a great number of men what was the average amount of money which they took home after paying sundry charges; the answers seldom varied a shilling, and I should say that 10s. per week is an excessive estimate.

A great deal of humbug has been talked about the "free houses" enjoyed by the Northumberland miners. These houses are mere huts; the outside of them look sadly dilapidated; the streets are shamefully neglected, no pretence of order or harmony in building the villages was ever thought of—in short, the general aspect of a colliery settlement is ugly, dirty, and depressing, chiefly on account of its gloominess and the evident lack of taste or pleasure in its arrangements. But for the co-operative movement hardly a hall could be found outside the town, and seldom even a reading room. The men have often to hold their meetings in publichouses, and this of course encourages drinking. Inside the houses a different picture is met with. The women of Northumberland are cleanly, industrious, and cheerful "beyond compare." Their thriftiness is beyond dispute, since, in spite of the small wage, the miners are as a whole a healthy and good-looking body of men.

Could anything be more disgraceful than an attempt to make these men poorer than they are now? The miners have suffered one reduction after another till they can suffer no longer, and now a bitter fight has begun against any further impoverishment. How the fight will end no one can say. There are plenty of evil prophets declaring that the men will have to give in at the end, and advising them to do so speedily. There are some "candid friends" of the miners who are doing them a great deal of harm by telling the public how poor the men's resources are, and how great the power of their masters is. It is very dangerous to be too ready with advice and help and revelations in a matter of this kind. It must be agreed that the miners know their own business best. It is certain that no one else can teach them much. Two gentlemen (formerly workmen, but now fallen) at Blyth, did a great deal of harm one day last week with their candid and uncalculated advice. Their remarks included an extravagant denunciation of Socialism and the Socialist missionaries in the county. They were very frothy and very high-toned on the subject, so I sent one of them a civil challenge to make good his words in a public debate. However, he shirked the encounter, and said he was too busy in managing a soup-kitchen. Of course, a man who brags when his enemy is at a safe distance, and then takes shelter behind a soup-tureen when asked to fight, is not worth much notice. Then, the newspapers have set to work against the miners. They are overflowing with heart-rending accounts and sensationally written descriptions of the distress amongst the non-unionists. There is really no special distress amongst the people of Northumberland just now. There is always a great deal of poverty, and this is not generally noticed by the newspapers. But just at the critical time, when the success of the strike depended upon the firmness of the whole of the men, a great wailing is heard about their poverty, and shoals of letters full of the most silly advice, and all with the purpose of making out that the miners are unable or afraid to fight out the strike are readily inserted. This, however, will not effect its purpose. The miners are still determined to hold out and are likely to win.

The Labour M.P.'s are proving themselves a paltry spiritless set of creatures. Never a word in Parliament about the miner's condition, but all over the country is telegraphed the startling and important announcement that "Mr. Fenwick has got a cold" and Mr. Crawford's health has actually undergone a favourable change since his stay at Matlock! Strange days we live in! Hardly a word about the 20,000 men with families dependent upon them, who are being brought to Chinese level, while throat affections of their eminently respectable representatives are telegraphed all over the land as if they were royal princes. If Northumberland had had the good fortune to be situated in Ireland, the House of Commons and the country would be ringing with the tale of their wrongs. But alas! the workmen of England have only a few lispings weaklings to voice their demands. The people of the country do not fully know the condition of the miners, nor the nature of the struggle in which they are engaged. If Burt, Fenwick, Craw-

ford and Co. had any spirit or go in them at all they would kick up a row in Parliament, and follow it up with a stumping campaign through the provinces, and by doing so they would raise enough money to keep the strike going for three months to come at least, and raise a torrent of public wrath against the mine-owners and coal-agents, which would soon bring victory to the strikers.

However the strike goes now, it has given an opportunity for starting a Socialist movement, which will give new hope to the miners. During the past month meetings have been held all over the county at the rate of 12 to 15 per week, and all have been largely attended. Already the popular feeling is in favour of Socialism, and the keenest interest is shown in the discussion of the question. At Bedlington, for instance, on Friday the 18th, the large Co-operative Hall was packed in every corner, and hundreds could not obtain admission. The audience listened attentively for three hours and a half to speeches for and against Socialism. My two opponents were the village doctor and the village curate, both popular men. The rev. gentleman had some very cute and telling points to put, and he put them well; and to the satisfaction of every one, a debate was arranged for the following week between him and myself. The medical gentleman was rather hazy and confused in his ideas, but he at least contributed to the amusement of the audience. The doctor has a genial way of saying the most ruffianly things, and a profound way of saying the most stupid things, which, in a way, make him rather an attractive speaker. He writes poetry. I have read some of it—not much—and I don't intend to read any more, though it is rather good on the whole, quite up to the artistic level of "Tommy make room for your uncle." The meeting altogether was a great success, and did a great deal for the Socialist cause.

A county demonstration in favour of Socialism is being arranged, and steps for founding an organisation in the northern counties are going rapidly forward, and I feel sure that before long the miners of the North of England will be in the vanguard of the revolutionary labour movement.

Newcastle, March 22.

J. L. MAHON.

THE SOCIALIST LEAGUE.

OFFICES: 13 FARRINGTON ROAD, E.C.

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

Annual Conference.—The Third Annual Conference of the Socialist League will be held at 13 Farringdon Road on Whitsunday, May 29th. Branches are particularly requested to attend to the following arrangements, if they wish to be represented at the Conference: (1) To at once send a return of their membership to the General Secretary. The representation will be based on this return. (2) Branches cannot be represented unless all monthly subscriptions are paid up to March 31 by May 1st. (3) Notices of motion, amendment to Rules, etc., must be sent in six weeks before the Conference—i.e., not later than April 17th. (4) Agenda Paper will be forwarded on May 2nd to Branches complying with these arrangements.

Library.—The Library is now open to members of the Socialist League and affiliated bodies. Country Branches can have parcels of selected books by paying carriage to and fro. Rule III., relating to the renewal of books (each renewal representing fourteen days) must be rigidly adhered to. Books cannot be renewed more than twice. Members failing to comply with this Rule will be fined 1d. for every week that a volume is detained beyond the time at which its return is due. LIBRARY CATALOGUE, containing the Rules, 2d.

LENA WARDLE & WM. BLUNDELL, Librarians.

Lessons in French.—Comrade Victor Dave is now giving lessons in French at the offices of the League on Tuesday evenings, at 8 o'clock. The lessons are free to members, and those desirous of profiting by them should send their names at once to the secretary of the League.

Outdoor Propaganda.—The Council have passed the following resolution:—"That the speakers at Hyde Park invite the audience to keep within the railings so as not to obstruct the foot-paths; and that all members of the League attending such meetings be careful not to obstruct the foot-ways on such occasions."

Reports for "Commonweal."—Branch Secretaries are requested to make their reports as brief as possible, dealing with points of general interest as to the progress of the propaganda, rather than attempting to give the substance of the lectures, for which there is not space, even if it were otherwise desirable. Notices should be confined to purely business announcements and written separately. Reports and Notices should be addressed to the "Printer," and cannot be guaranteed insertion unless they reach the office by 2 p.m. on Tuesday.

BRANCH SUBSCRIPTIONS PAID.

Birmingham, Hackney, Hull, Leeds, North London, to August 31. Manchester, Merton, Norwich, to October 31. Bradford, to November 30. Croydon, Hammersmith, Leicester, South London, to Dec. 31, 1886. Lancaster, to January 31. Bloomsbury, Clerkenwell, Walsall, to February 28. Hoxton (Labour Emancipation League), Oxford, to March 31, 1887.

STRIKE COMMITTEE.

P. W., 2s.; E. P., 6d.; W. M., 2s. T. BINNING, Treasurer.

"COMMONWEAL" PRINTING FUND.

John Glasse, £5; "A Friend," £8. Hammersmith Branch (two weeks), £1. T. B. (weekly), 6d. W. B. (weekly), 6d.

PH. W., Treasurer, March 22.

THE NORWICH PRISONERS' AID FUND.

C. W. Mowbray and Fred Henderson, of the Socialist League, were sentenced at the Norwich Assizes on Jan. 20 to nine and four months' imprisonment respectively. The costs of the trial amounted to £60, and Mowbray's wife and five children must be provided for during his imprisonment, so that at least £100 will be required. The treasurer of this fund therefore appeals to every one to give all the assistance he can.

Already acknowledged, £30, 4s. 2d. Gleaner, 6d. Arthur, 6d. P. Webb, 1s. Merton Branch, 4s. 6d. Leeds Branch (two weeks), 4s. Glasgow Branch (three weeks), 6s. Socialist Union: W. J., 1s.; Jas. Macdonald, 1s.; D. Macdonald, 1s.; A. J. C. Macpherson, 1s.; Thomas Finn, 1s.; C. Fitzgerald, 6s. For Mrs. Mowbray—A few Fabians, per Annie Besant (weekly), 10s.—Total, £32, 0s. 8d. J. LANE, Treasurer.

BRANCH REPORTS.

CLERKENWELL.—On Wednesday, March 16, A. K. Donald lectured on "The Paris Commune" to fair audience. Literature has sold well.—W. B.

HACKNEY.—On Saturday evening we held a free concert to welcome our comrade James Allman on his release from prison, he having served a month for an alleged obstruction. Our room was quite filled by members of the League, the S. D. F., and other societies. Some capital songs were sung by members and friends, and Allman gave us his experience of prison-life, which was listened to with much interest. A collection was made for him, amounting to 9s. 3d. While thanking the friends for it, he refused to take it, and gave one-half to the *Commonweal* Printing Fund and the other half to the Hackney Branch. The singing of "The March of the Workers," "No Master," and "The Marseillaise," concluded one of the pleasantest evenings we have had at this Branch.

MITCHAM.—On Sunday evening in our club-room, T. E. Wardle lectured on "The Fallacies of Society." He pointed out that no hope of better times could be expected until the workers made a Society of their own. Good discussion. The following resolution was passed:—"That this meeting of Mitcham workers expresses its deep sympathy with the workers of Paris who fought and died in the Paris Commune, and expresses its great abhorrence of the capitalist murderers who shot down the workers in cold blood."

BRADFORD.—On Monday March 14 comrade S. A. Gaskell lectured at the Temperance Hall on "Socialism v. Individualism"; Dr. Rabagliati took the chair. The audience listened attentively. An animated discussion followed, which gave the lecturer opportunity to go more into details on several points. We sold a good quantity of literature.—C. H.

EDINBURGH.—In the Free Tron Hall, on Monday, March 21, Dr. Reddie read Percival Chubb's lecture on "The Inner Spirit of Socialism." A good discussion followed. Fair sale of literature.—G.

GLASGOW.—On Sunday, at one o'clock, Glasier addressed a good open-air meeting at Jail Square. No meeting at five o'clock owing to wet weather. In the evening in Hall, Carlton Place, James Mavor gave a lecture on "Miners' Wages and Living." The lecturer, who has been making a personal investigation into the economic condition of the miners, gave some interesting and useful information concerning the wages and subsistence of that class of workers. He showed that in some instances the gross earnings of the miners were so low that they had to subsist on a poorer fare than is given to convicted criminals in our prisons. A discussion followed.—J. B. G.

HULL.—On 21st we celebrated the Paris Commune, speeches being made by several of our members. We also had a short discussion with a sympathetic opponent of Socialism, who thought we could not expect to convert people to our views unless we had some detailed plan of the future Society, after the manner of More's 'Utopia,' and kindred ideal Commonwealths.—E. T.

LANCASTER.—On Sunday, March 20, comrade A. Tarn addressed a meeting on the subject of "Modern Commerce" to a good audience.—J. H.

NORWICH.—We celebrated the Commune and publicly opened our new hall on Saturday evening. After tea a public meeting was held, the chair being taken by comrade Lane, and a resolution in favour of the workers of Paris was moved by Tochatti, seconded and supported by comrades Sparling, Williams, and Crotch. On Sunday six outdoor meetings were held, addressed by Lane, Sparling, Tochatti, and Williams; all spoke on the Commune. In the evening, Sparling gave a lecture on "Evolution of Cannibalism" to a large audience, which was well received. Monday evening, lecture on Commune by Tochatti. Literature sold well. Last Tuesday, a meeting of the Branch was held and re-organised, new officers being appointed.—A. SURTON.

GRIMSBY.—Last Sunday, several earnest men met at the Hall of Science and formed themselves into a society for Socialist propaganda. The question of affiliating with the Socialist League was held over until the members had studied carefully the 'Manifesto' of the League.—T.

SHEFFIELD SOCIALISTS.—On Monday night, March 14, the Sheffield Socialists rallied together in the Commonwealth Cafe, to hear Charlotte M. Wilson lecture on "The Revolt of the Workers in the Nineteenth Century." The lecture was a clever one, and was listened to with great attention. Socialism is making headway in this town.

PARIS COMMUNE CELEBRATIONS.

On Thursday March 17 a gathering took place of the London Socialist bodies, English and foreign sections, for the purpose of celebrating the Paris Commune, at South Place Institute, Finsbury, E.C. The meeting was a large and most enthusiastic one. Speeches in English were delivered by Annie Besant, Mrs. Wilson, F. Krapotkin, W. Morris, J. Lane, A. K. Donald, J. R. Macdonald, and Frank Kitz. Speeches were also delivered in French, German, and Italian. The great number of Commune celebrations this year is a sure sign of the increasing strength of the Socialist party in this country. Even the would-be silent bourgeois press is compelled to note this; and despite its abortive attempts to belittle the success of the movement here in England, the record which it itself does make, clearly shows that it is no longer possible to treat with supercilious indifference its growing strength.—H. A. B.

Celebrations also took place at many of the Branches of the Socialist League and Social-Democratic Federation. On Sunday afternoon last meetings of several thousands were held in Hyde Park. In the evening a large meeting was held in Cleveland Hall.

NOTTINGHAM.—The Nottingham Socialists gathered on the 18th of March in the Secular Hall to celebrate the Paris Commune by a tea-party and ball. After tea the chairman, T. Proctor, made a few remarks on the Commune, after which our French comrade Couteaux sang the Marseillaise. S. Whalley then gave a brief sketch of the history of the Commune. Mr. Dautrie, French comrade, and H. Cooper also addressed the meeting, interspersed with a few songs and recitations. At 9 p.m. dancing commenced, and was kept up till 1 a.m. next morning, when the company together sang the Marseillaise amid the waving of red flags. The hall was tastefully decorated, the names of Morris, Hyndman, and prominent Socialists on the Continent hung round the room between red flags and other decorations, across the hall being a large red banner with the words "Vive la Commune!" About 60 were present, and we had an enjoyable evening.—T. PROCTOR.

DUBLIN.—On Thursday March 17th an International Celebration of the Commune of Paris was held at 50 Dawson Street, the following nationalities being represented: English, Welsh, Scotch, Irish, French, Danish, Russian, and American. Addresses on the principles and aims of the Commune, the reason of its failure, etc., were delivered by Schumann and others. A telegram received during the evening from our London comrades was read amidst great applause. A most enjoyable evening was wound up by comrade Coulon singing the Marseillaise in French.—O. K.

LECTURE DIARY.

London Branches.

Bloomsbury.—Communist Club, 49 Tottenham Street. Thursday March 24, at 8.30, W. Utley, "Money."

Clerkenwell.—Hall of the Socialist League, 13 Farringdon Road, E.C. Sunday March 27, at 8.30 p.m. L. Gronlund, "The Familistere of Guise." Wednesday, March 30, at 8.30, Frank Kitz, "History of the Russian Movement."—Committee Meeting first Sunday in each month at 7 p.m.

Croydon.—Royal County House, West Croydon Station Yard. Sunday Mar. 27. T. Bolas, "The Aims of Socialists."—Committee Meeting every Friday at 8 p.m. sharp, at Parker Road.

Hackney.—23 Audrey Street, Goldsmith Row. Club Room open every evening from 8 till 11. Business Meeting every Tuesday at 8.30. On Sunday, March 27, at 8 p.m. A Lecture. On Saturday, March 26, an open-air meeting on Mile End Waste at 8 p.m.

Hammersmith.—Kelmiscott House, Upper Mall, W. Sunday March 27, at 8 p.m. C. J. Faulkner, "Inhuman Arithmetic."

Hoxton (L.E.L.).—New premises, 2 Crondall Street, New North Road, Sunday March 27, at 8 p.m. T. Shore (E.L.R.L.), "The Poetry of Revolt."

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

Mitcham.—Corner of Merton Lane and Fountain Place. Club Room open every evening from 7.30 till 11. Sunday March 27, at 8.30, F. Kitz, "The Russian Revolutionary Party."

Country Branches.

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

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

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

Edinburgh (Scottish Section).—4 Park Street. Meets every Thursday at 8 p.m. Reading Room and Library open every Wednesday evening, 8 till 10.

Fulham.—Address Sec., 34 May Street.

Glasgow.—Reading-room of the Branch, 84 John St., open from 10 a.m. till 10 p.m. daily. On Sunday, open-air meetings on Jail Square at 1 and 5 o'clock. In the evening at 6.30, in Hall, 2, Carlton Place, Daniel McCulloch will lecture on "Education from a Socialist Standpoint." William Morris lectures on Sunday, April 3, in Waterloo Hall, at 7 o'clock.

Hamilton.—Branch meets every Thursday at 7.30 in Paton's Hall, Chapel Street.

Hull.—11 Princess Street, Sykes Street. Lectures on Sunday at 7 p.m. Class for study of Carruthers' 'Commercial and Communal Economy,' on Thursdays at 8 p.m. Lectures every Sunday at 7 p.m. March 27, "Machinery and the Worker."

Lancaster.—No fixed meeting-place at present. On Sunday mornings at 11, meetings will be held on St. George's Quay. March 27, L. Hall, "Slavery and the Way Out."

Leicester.—Spiritualist Hall, Silver Street. Saturday, March 26, at 8 p.m. Geo. Robson, "The Population Fallacy." April 2, Thos. Barclay, "How to bring about the Great Commonwealth."

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

Norwich.—Gordon Hall, Duke St. Lecture and discussion every Sunday and Monday at 8 p.m. Reading-room open every evening. Sunday, Mar. 27, St. Mary's Plain at 11, Market Place at 3.

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

Open-air Propaganda—Sunday 27.

11.30...Hackney—"Salmon and Ball".....Westwood
11.30...Hackney—Broadway, Ldn. Fields. H. Graham
11.30...Hammersmith—Beadon Rd.The Branch
11.30...Hoxton Church, Pitfield StreetArnold, Pope
11.30...Garrett—Plough InnBartlett
11.30...Regent's ParkNicoll and Cantwell
11.30...St. Pancras Arches...Dalziel and A. K. Donald
11.30...Walham GreenThe Branch
3.30...Hyde ParkWardle and Mainwaring

PROVINCES.—SUNDAY.

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

FREE SPEECH DEMONSTRATION

IN VICTORIA PARK,

On SUNDAY March 27, at 3.30 p.m.,

To welcome Comrade JAMES ALLMAN from prison, and to protest against the interference of the police with the right of public meeting in the streets.

The following is the list of speakers: James Allman, H. A. Barker, H. Charles, H. Davis, H. Graham, F. Kitz, J. Lane, S. Mainwaring, W. Morris, and H. H. Sparling.

Proceedings will take place near the Band Stand.

CLEVELAND HALL, 54 Cleveland Street (near Portland Road Station).—Sundays at 11.30 a.m. Mar. 27. H. Charles, "The Coming Revolution."

SOUTH PLACE INSTITUTE, Finsbury.—A series of Debates on Socialism and Individualism will take place during March. IV. Sunday 27, at 4 p.m., Mr. H. H. Champion (S. D. F.) versus Mr. Wordsworth Donisthorpe (L. P. D. L.)

DUBLIN.—City of Dublin Working-men's Club, Wellington Quay. Saturday, March 26, "The Position of the Working Classes for the last Fifty Years." Free Debate.

Now ready, 240 pp., 1s. 6d., post free; Cloth gilt, 2s. 3d., post free.

A REVIEW OF EUROPEAN SOCIETY,

With an Exposition and Vindication of the Principles of SOCIAL DEMOCRACY.

By J. SKETCHLEY,

Author of 'The Irish Question,' 'The Funding System,' 'German Democracy,' etc., etc.

WITH AN INTRODUCTION BY WILLIAM MORRIS.

The Work treats of all the great questions of the day—political, social, and economical; of European thought during the present century; the revolutionary movements of 1848-49—why they failed; the Paris Commune of 1871; etc., etc.

"This book is a remarkable production."—*Christian Socialist.*

"Nowhere will be found so much important information in so short a space."—*Justice.*

"The book is admirable. It must be placed on the shelf of the library of every earnest student of Socialism."—*Commonweal.*

"A capital examination of civilised (?) society."—*Anarchist.*

Birmingham: J. Sketchley, 8 Arthur Place Parade.

SOCIALIST LEAGUE LITERATURE.

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

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

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

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

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

Chants for Socialists. By William Morris. . . 1d.

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

Art and Socialism. By Wm. Morris. . . . 1d.

The Aims of Art. By Wm. Morris. (*Now Ready.*) Bijou edition, 3d.; Large paper, 6d.

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

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

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

Printed and Published by WILLIAM MORRIS and JOSEPH LANE, at 13 Farringdon Road, London