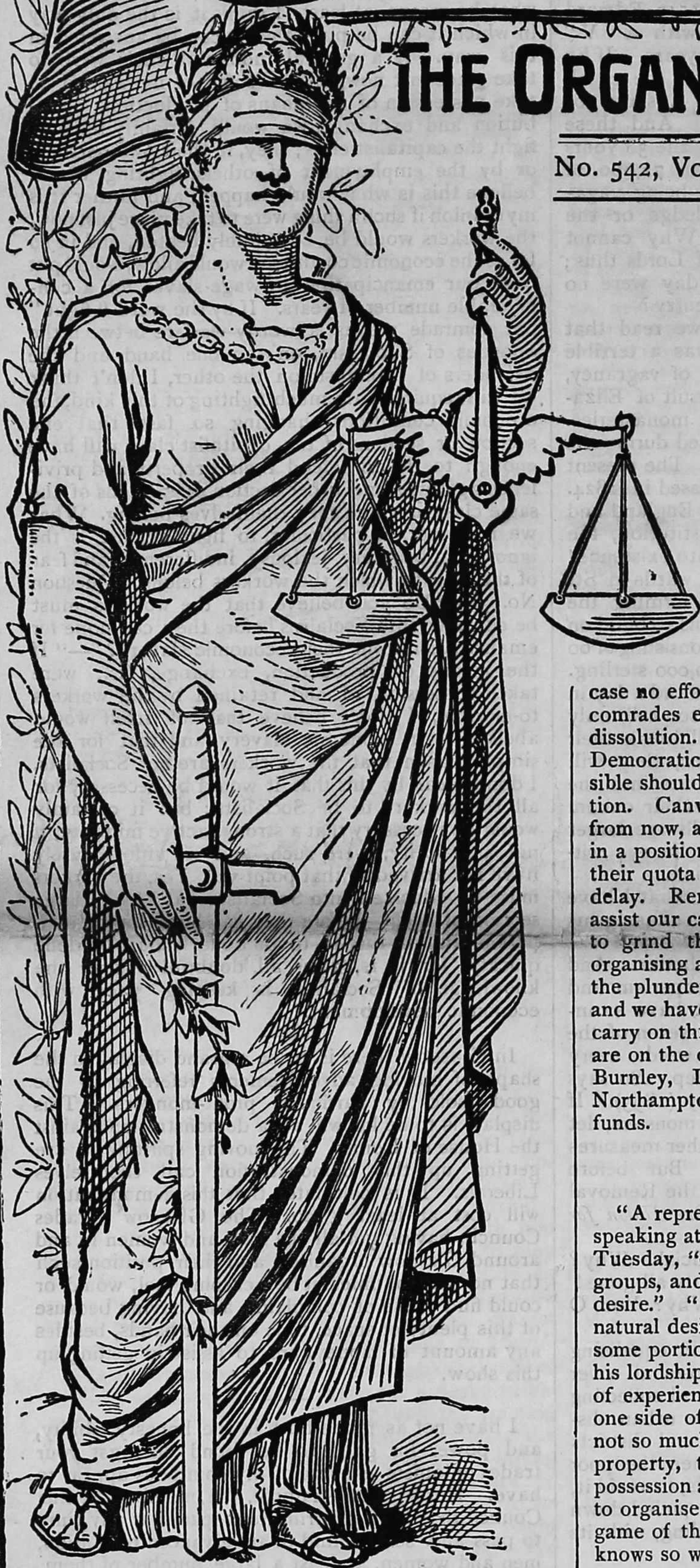


JUSTICE

THE ORGAN OF THE SOCIAL DEMOCRACY.

No. 542, Vol. XI.] LONDON, SATURDAY, JUNE 2, 1894. [PRICE ONE PENNY.



FIAT JUSTITIA RUAT CÆLUM.

S.D.F. CENTRAL HALL,
337, STRAND, W.C.

SUNDAY, JUNE 3rd, 1894,
A. S. HEADINGLEY
"The Miners' International Congress at Berlin."

SUNDAY, JUNE 10th, 1894,
A. K. GHOSH,
"India."

Doors Open at 8 p.m. Commence at 8.30 p.m.
Admission Free.

NEXT WEEK, No. II.

"WHY I AM A SOCIALIST."
E. BELFORT BAX.

CRITICAL CHRONICLE.

SOCIAL-DEMOCRATS AND THE DISSOLUTION.

The discussion on the Budget still drags on, and, although there is no immediate likelihood of its being passed, it would appear that the Government crisis, which a short time ago was so threatening, has been for the time being averted. It is nevertheless certain that the Government cannot hang on to office much longer, and even their most sanguine supporters do not expect that the dissolution will be deferred later than the autumn. Indeed, it is quite probable that it may take place sooner. In any

case no effort should be spared on the part of our comrades everywhere to be prepared for an early dissolution. In those constituencies where a Social-Democratic candidate is standing everything possible should be done to be in readiness for the election. Canvassing should be carried on vigorously from now, and, what is most important, all who are in a position to assist financially should contribute their quota towards the necessary expense without delay. Remember we have no wealthy people to assist our candidates, because we are not prepared to grind the axes of any rich people. We are organising a party to fight the battle of the poor, of the plundered proletariat against their plunderers, and we have to rely upon the pence of the people to carry on this fight. The pounds of the plutocrats are on the other side. The success of Hyndman at Burnley, Lansbury at Walworth, and Jones at Northampton should not be jeopardised for want of funds.

A DEN OF THIEVES.

"A representative chamber," said Lord Salisbury, speaking at a dinner of the Grocers' Company last Tuesday, "or, at all events, one side of it, consists of groups, and these groups have particular objects of desire." "They desire," said he, "and it is a very natural desire, it is universal—they desire to enjoy some portion of their neighbours' property." Well, his lordship ought to know; he has had a good deal of experience of the groups that make up at least one side of our representative chamber. But it is not so much that they desire to enjoy other people's property, the trouble is that they are already in possession and enjoying it. What we have to do is to organise another group that will upset the little game of the thieves and sharps whom his lordship knows so well and describes so truly.

LANSBURY FOR WALWORTH.

The meeting held on Monday at Browning Hall, Walworth, in support of the candidature of George Lansbury, was a great success. The hall was crowded. On its being known that William Saunders, M.P., had decided to speak in support of Lansbury, the Walworth Liberal and Radical Association made strenuous efforts to whip up all the Radicals they possibly could, not so much to oppose Lansbury, as to give William Saunders a warm reception. J. E. Dobson occupied the chair, and read a letter from Mr. Saunders, who stated that illness prevented his attending the meeting. This letter was received with groans from the Radicals, and there was a disposition on the part of some of the members to make the proceedings lively, but Lansbury soon silenced all opposition by the vigorous earnestness of his speech. Comrades Hyndman, Will Thorne, and others having spoken, a vote in favour of Lansbury's candidature was moved and seconded. To this an amendment was proposed by a Radical, who evidently had not his heart in the business. The

amendment was to the effect that they agreed with everything Lansbury had said, but that as he had no chance of being returned, the meeting pledge itself to support Colonel Reade. That is the sort of amendment which ought to be recorded and proposed at Col. Reade's own meetings, for he stands no earthly chance of winning. The amendment was, of course, rejected by an overwhelming majority, and the resolution in favour of Lansbury carried.

LAUNDRIES AND LEGISLATION.

By dint of persistent agitation Home Secretary Asquith has been induced to include laundries in the new Factory Bill. With the tendency to give way to the slightest opposition which has been so frequently manifested by the present Government, it is necessary that persistent pressure should be maintained until the measure has been passed into law or we shall doubtless have the Home Secretary abandoning the laundries out of deference to the capitalist opposition which is being offered to their inclusion in the Factory Acts. This Bill of Asquith's is a very weak, half-hearted measure after all we were led to expect from this extremely "advanced" statesman—with his exceeding great sympathy for labour. Such as it is, however, it is not worth while to have it watered down any more, and all possible support should be given to the Women's Trade Union League in the agitation they are carrying on to obtain some legal protection for the overworked women and girls in laundries.

THE CABMEN'S STRIKE.

When the London cabmen struck most people thought the dispute would be all over in a few days. The men have now been out over a fortnight, and there appears at present little prospect of a settlement. Both sides appear to be determined to fight it out to the end. As we said about the miners' lock-out we say with reference to the cabmen, as well play and starve as work and starve, and there is no doubt that cabbie's proportion of his daily earnings had sunk pretty well to starvation point. And yet what will be the upshot of this dispute? Even if the men are successful the greatest victory they can achieve on present lines will not be a great improvement on their position before the strike, and such as it is may very soon be lost to them. With the object lessons which are constantly presenting themselves on every hand of the futility of strikes, and the fleeting nature of strike victories when will men abandon so ineffectual a weapon, and combine and agitate for class emancipation instead of for a "living wage" which will barely enable them to live?

Another firm, Messrs. Fairburn and Hall, of Manchester and Stockport, have decided to try the 48 hours a week, giving the same wage as for the old 53 hours. Their men have intimated their intention of doing their best to make the scheme a success.

Some capitalists are grumbling, and asking how long the men will keep up the spurt which is necessary to make the eight hours system pay the employers.

When strikes are going on we always hear a great deal about "the deplorable rowdyism, the ruffianly mobs," who interfere with a "blackleg" whose only crime is that he is pluckily asserting his liberty to work (at starvation wages).

We always feel, irrespective of sympathy with strikers generally, that there is something unfair in this. There is no "per contra" to this account.

The object is, of course, to hold the wicked striker up to public execration; and the effort is often successful. But it is not fair. What we wonder at is the moderation of men on strike generally considering how maddening it is to see one's fellows playing into the enemy's hands.

SOME ANOMALIES OF THE POOR LAW.

BY H. R. G. GOGAY.
(Guardian of St. Saviour's Union).

V.

"Woe unto you also, ye lawyers! for ye lade men with burdens grievous to be borne, and ye yourselves touch not the burdens with *one* of your fingers."—Luke, xi., 46.

THE GROTESQUE REMOVAL LAWS.

The Removal Acts! Here indeed, is a happy hunting ground for the lawyers; these gentry swallow up no inconsiderable amount of the eleven millions per annum now paid by that patient ass—the public—for, ye Gods! "the suppression of pauperism." I have put the figure at eleven millions per annum; some say it is considerably more; probably it is. I think, however, my figures are not far out. In all conscience eleven millions sterling per annum are sufficient for the people to pay to those wasteful, idle, and thieving brood, forming officialdom, to "suppress" them?

The following will illustrate the brutality and costliness of these grotesque "laws." A man lives in London, Manchester, Liverpool, or Birmingham until forty years of age. Marries at thirty and has a family. Goes to Ireland (or anywhere else many miles from his native town), and remains there three years and a day, and thereby gains what these laws call a "settlement." Returns to London, &c., and dies ere a year expires. Should his widow unhappily apply to the poor law for relief, and accept the relief, which may be in or out of the "house," it may be only so little as a half crown, she and her little children, willy nilly, are forcibly removed to that part of Ireland (or anywhere else) in which her late husband lived for the three years. And this, too, although she, her children, and all her friends and relations were born in London. Is not this cruel? I hope to show directly it is not even necessary, if cruelty can be justified under any circumstances. But what will your readers say when I tell them it is possible in such a case to be more cruel, inasmuch had one or two of the children remained behind with friends, as is often done in these cases, the children so left behind would not follow the mother to her late husband's "settlement," but be taken to the workhouse in the union from which the father removed to go to Ireland or wherever it may have been. Thus, in such a case, the mother is parted from her children perhaps for years; it may be, perchance, for ever! "How this fellow is romancing," say the good people of the C. O. S! Am I? What I have stated here is happening in some unions, daily, throughout England and Wales!

Again. A widow, say, living in any union or poor law parish moves into the next. It may be only a few yards! Has not lived long enough to gain a "settlement" in the latter or even "a status of irremovability" by residing one complete year. Applies for a little outdoor relief. Accepts. She is forcibly removed back to the former. It may be the person has changed her residence for the convenience of her work, and cannot live again, therefore, in her settlement, without a great deal of inconvenience. For the purpose of the Act the recipient is taken to the workhouse door and asked if she wishes to remain. If she does not, she is allowed to go; but should this person apply to the union from which she was removed *within a twelve-month* she can be, and often is, prosecuted for obtaining money *under false pretences!* It will readily be seen how easy it is for unions to get into litigation in their anxiety to take advantage of the three years "settlement," and one year "status of irremovability" business. It will also be seen what splendid business it is for the lawyers where the unions fall out and disagree as to the settlement of the paupers. Recently, two London parishes, by taking the case of a poor old woman from court to court till they reached the "Lords," spent *two thousand pounds* of the ratepayers' hard earned money! And what was gained after all? Why the very same ratepayers had still to keep the poor woman—only *in another place!* Would this not be a farce were it not a barefaced robbery?

In the name of reason let me ask why should there be any need for the removal laws at all! The "settlement," like that noble pastime stone breaking, or that æsthetic occupation "oakum," is a survival of an old bad past.

The poor of England, till the time of Henry of pious memory, subsisted as the poor of Ireland till 1838, upon "private benevolence." When Serfs were no longer maintained by their "owners" the land was soon overrun with beggars, "sturdy rogues." By 23 Edward III., 1349, no one "upon pain of imprisonment" might give assistance to a beggar. "They must work," said the Act. And so this nonsense went on, vagrancy increasing galore,

till in 1530, after being whipped, a vagrant was to take an oath to return to the place where he was born or had last dwelt *for three years.* How fond the parsons still are of the "settlement." Oh ratepayers of England, Ireland, Scotland or Wales, why do you still elect these upas trees upon either Boards of Guardians or School Boards? Why? Echo answers that it is because you are wilfully blind, deaf and stupid!

After relieving myself thus, I will continue the evolution of the vagrant in England. In 1535 a vagrant a second time convicted was to lose the upper part of the gristle of his right ear; a third time the punishment was death. In 1547, Edward VI, a vagabond was to be branded with a "V" on his breast and be a slave for two years. If he ran away he was to be branded on the cheek with the letter "S" and adjudged a slave for life: for the third time it was death. And these miseries so increased that during the 38 years reign of Henry VIII no fewer than 72,000 of them were hanged for the crime of being vagabonds *i.e.*, being without the knowledge or the means of earning their bread. Why cannot we serve the members of the House of Lords thus; surely the poor vagrants of Henry's day were no more deserving of death than these gentry?

In the merry England of Elizabeth we read that on account of the beggars England was a terrible place to live in. This great increase of vagrancy, as I have said, was the immediate result of Elizabeth's pious father's robbery of the monasteries.

Other but milder "laws" were passed during the reigns of George II and George III. The present Vagrant Act is 5 Geo. IV, c., 83, passed in 1824. In 1865 there were 33,000 tramps in England and Wales. In 1869 that heaven-sent institution, the Charity Organisation Society, came into existence! Next week will be opened new casual wards in St. Saviour's Union which the officials forming the L. G. B. have "ordered" the Guardians to build on a new improved plan, this innovation consisting of 60 prison cells built at a cost of over £10,000 sterling. The wretched men will pass two nights and a day in this cell, differing in no way from a prison cell, only there is a back addition where they will break their 10 cwt. of granite which, when broken, they will have to pass through a fixed grating out into the yard beyond. The women will pick their oakum in the cell itself. For mothers the cells are larger to accommodate the children who will be eye witnesses of their poor mothers' degradation.

If any man of the L. G. B. can read what I have just written, without a blush of shame suffusing his manly countenance *he is a very devil!* and the sooner he seeks a congenial world the better. And yet in spite of all the repression, pauperism and vagrancy have not only survived, but have so increased that now, 1894, one in thirty-seven of the population is a pauper or, in other words, every ten adult males have a pauper to keep. So says a Government return issued last July (1893). If we are not a nation of idiots and monsters, let us then as speedily as possible adopt other measures for dealing with the unfortunate. But before that time arrives let us at once abolish the Removal laws, and make England and Wales *One Union for Poor Law purposes.*

"Can't be done," asserts the official. Why? Because the "makings" would be nearly all gone!

"Impossible!" yells the lawyer. Why? You, O readers can answer this gentleman

There should be no more difficulty in equalising the rate raised for Poor Law purposes all over England and Wales than in raising and collecting the Imperial taxes. Why should the urban districts keep people hunted out of the rural districts by landlord, parson and squire? When the poor rate was first levied, 1601, the landlords, to avoid it, not only ceased to build cottages, but pulled down those existing, thus causing overcrowding, with its consequent disease and immorality.

It is useless to tinker with the present rotten system; we must have something quite fresh and new. I will show what we could have in a future article.

(To be continued).

SCOTTISH NOTES.

The second question put by comrade Tallis is, "Is it capitalism we have to fight and defeat before the workers can alter their present conditions?" There appears to me to be two or three ways in answering this question. The easiest and curtest way to answer would be, "Capitalism has to be abolished before the present economic condition of the workers can be altered." If capitalism is meant as distinct from landlordism, and if by the word "fight" physical force be meant, I believe if force becomes active, the landlord class will be far readier to fight than the capitalist class will. The first mentioned class have for generations been trained in the art of butchering, and whatever else may

be said for or against them, there can be no doubt that as a class they have always given evidence of brute courage. If the landlords' class interests are suddenly and fiercely attacked, having at the same time some chance of success, that class will move heaven and earth to defend themselves, and will in their own persons if need be, fight to the death. The capitalists will also move heaven and earth, but as a class, are too cowardly to do any fighting themselves, and on the first evidence of defeat will be inclined to cave in. If by "capitalism" our comrade means all those who live or are dependent upon rent, profit, or interest—and I think this is what he means, at least, I think it is the only way in which it can be put—then it can be answered in this way. If a general industrial crisis were to take place just now, and if some of us wanted to take possession of the means of production, distribution and exchange, we would certainly have to fight the capitalist class; they, in their own persons, or by the employment of others, fighting us. I believe this is what would happen, and further it is my opinion if such a thing were to take place just now, the workers would be completely beaten, and in so far as the economic conditions would allow, would put back our emancipation as wage-slaves for a considerable number of years. If by the word "fight" our comrade means a wordy warfare between the apostles of Socialism, on the one hand, and the defenders of capitalism on the other, I don't think we will require to do much fighting of this kind, the economic conditions changing so fast that one section or sections of the capitalist class will have enough to do to defend their property and privileges against some other section or sections of the same class to which they themselves belong. What we have got, in particular, to fight against is the ignorance, brutality, jealousy, indifference, and fear of the class to which the workers belong. Question No. 3.—"Do you believe that the workers must be educated into Socialists before they can hope for emancipation from their economic slavery?"—"If the means of production, exchange, &c., were taken possession of and retained by the workers to-morrow, I don't believe that of itself would abolish their economic slavery, and that for the simple reason that the workers are not Socialists. I don't mean by this that it would be necessary for all the workers to be Socialists; but it certainly would be necessary that a strong, active minority, if not a majority, were such, and we unfortunately have not arrived at that point yet. Yes, the workers must be educated into Socialism—at least, a large section of them—before they can hope for emancipation, and if this is to be done it must be done quickly, for it is, after all, doubtful whether the knowledge of Socialism is keeping pace with economic development.

In Glasgow there is to be a grand display in the shape of moving advertisements referring to the goods sold by particular profit-mongers. This display is to be known as a demonstration against the House of Lords. The moving spirits who are getting up this demonstration call themselves Liberals. It is calculated that this demonstration will cost at least £120. The Glasgow Trades Council, having got all the men and women in and around Glasgow organised and their position such that no person, unless it be a carping fool, would or could find cause of complaint, and having because of this plenty of space, time on their hands, besides any amount of money, are to assist in getting up this show.

I have not as much faith in the honesty, ability, and power for good to be found amongst your trades unionists as some of my comrades appear to have. Here is, for example, the members of this Council that I am referring to prepared at any time to pass any sort or kind of an advanced resolution, men and women, at least a large number of them, who have been known at times to declare for Socialism, prepared by their presence and money to assist in a palpable fraud of this kind. I hear our comrades in Glasgow are to be there with an opposition platform. I hope this is true, and I also hope they will, as is their custom, make it hot for political frauds and social trimmers.

SANDY MACFARLANE.

HYNDMAN'S ECONOMIC LECTURES.

The Lectures recently delivered by comrade Hyndman at the Central Hall, Strand, will be shortly issued in half-crown book form by the Twentieth Century Press. As the printing and publishing will involve a large outlay of capital, beyond the means of the Twentieth Century Press, the co-operation of sympathisers is asked to raise the same by subscriptions in advance. The author has kindly consented to put his autograph to each subscriber's copy. Postal Orders should be sent to A. P. Hazell, Twentieth Century Press, 37A, Clerkenwell Green, E.C.

THE DANGERS OF COMPROMISE.

"Go not into the way of the Tories, and into any city of the Liberals enter ye not."

John Morley, in his quite admirable book on "Compromise," speaks of the troubles in store for a nation when it approaches what he aptly calls a period of moral fatigue. This disease is known by its symptoms of lack of personal bravery and mental rickets. It may be seen in any country where writers and speakers let "I dare not wait upon 'I would.'" The history of the world proves that this willingness to bend has lost progress more battles than all the marshalled ordnance of the enemy and all the forces of reaction combined. A cause is only healthy, and therefore strong, when men speak the miseries they feel and dare all things for their faith.

We learn from an eminent writer on the history of Greece, that Athens, the greatest glory of the ancient world, fell from her unequalled brilliancy, not because the soil of Greece was barren or her people Pagans, but because there was a weakening and a sterilization of what has been called the man plant. In our own era, country, and even in our own cause, the same forces may be seen at work, and unless we renew our strength, the same results will follow. History will repeat itself, and in her reckoning leave not a thing behind. We see men schooled and taught to circumvent and delude the people. Commerce is carried on by lies, and politics by trained and systematic deceit. In this latter Gomorrah there are not even ten righteous. The people are taught by sleek and ungracious pastors and masters the steep and thorny way to heaven, while they the primrose path of dalliance tread. Some who have taken upon themselves the privilege of serving humanity are daily to be seen waiting for the crumbs and smiles that may chance to fall from the rich man's table. These—and their names are legion—prefer the sickly, greasy smile of the modern bourgeoisie to the unstinted applause of posterity. Literature, science, politics, church, and charity all contribute to this class, whose kingdom is not of God, but of the earth earthy.

The English labour party is with characteristic abandon following the rest. Already it is an article of the faith (of a section of course) that he is a traitor who refuses to turn his Socialism out to grass directly the place-seeking politician begins to bray. Those who have borne the heat of the day of battle, are to set aside their hopes, and abandon them utterly in order that those who knew not Joseph shall trample them in the dust. I do not imply that the back of the labour party is broken, but rather that it is being bent into servile accommodation to the powers of political darkness. A few achievements, much patronage, and approaching respectability, have so bemused the labour leader that at present "E Dunno Where 'E Are."

Only those of the old guard who have seen the slow abandonment of eternal principles; the trimming of the oratorical stalwarts to square with the Nonconformist conscience, or the "higher life" can fully realise the extent of this demoralisation. Today the workers' demands must be toned down to appease Mr. Stiggins, to-morrow for Mrs. Grundy. A man who carries his convictions about with him as a part of his life, too real and too sacred to play with is called a fanatic, while daily and hourly do we meet those whose words are mere merchandise which may be purchased in that political market where "honour sits smiling at the sale of truth."

We all remember how Dr. Faust, although full of wisdom, sold his soul to the devil for a fleshy prize, and a section of the labour party (vide the framing of a programme for the forthcoming election of the London School Board) would appear to be willing to make shuttlecocks of principles, to secure an electoral victory. This is a position ever to be condemned. In my opinion true democrats ought to denounce it in every speech they make. We want to bring the men up to the colours, not the colours up to the men, and it would seem wiser far to fight and lose a thousand times on a programme we believe in than to become hypocrites for a victory.

Comrade Hyndman is right. Social-Democracy, and this alone, should be our irreducible minimum. Any man who asks for less is helping the evil-doers to prolong the game of death. Their very existence, fine linen, and fine speech, their superior airs, and insolence is built up of the poor; and between them and us, there never has been, and there never can be peace. All the forces of evil are trying to compromise with the modern revolutionary movement, and parsons and politicians like unclean birds of prey, are waiting, ready to pounce directly it sleeps. They do not mind the old time Radical, but they do fear us, for they know that we strike to the heart. Let us take courage then yet a little longer, fight-

ing the good fight and keeping the faith; but he who flags from Social-Democracy to a mongrel expediency, is likely to lament as one who, deceived by the juggler's trick and expecting to see his purse full of gold, opens it only to find it empty.

HARRY SNELL.

CORRESPONDENCE.

WOMEN AND SOCIALISM.

To the Editor of JUSTICE.

SIR,—“Tattler's” remarks about women make me very angry. He speaks so contemptuously of us as being cowardly and not helping our husbands in strikes and such like. He knows all about it (can't-teach-me-anything-style). Has he ever considered why a woman is inclined to say “half a loaf is better than no bread?” It is simply and entirely because of her great maternal love. She always thinks, “What if my darling children suffer, what if they should be sacrificed? no, no, I can bear anything but that; let not their tender young bodies suffer a want or privation which may stunt and spoil their lives.” Does “Tattler” think a woman fears going with less comfort for herself? I say no, a thousand times no. Again, “Tattler” says the women have only the home troubles, the workman has all that and the worry and trouble of his work as well. Indeed, I was not aware the men had to tear over the washing trying to get it done before the baby wakes, and then finish while he screams himself almost into fits, and the perspiration literally pours off his weary mother, who seldom gets a meal in peace, and scarcely ever a good night's rest, both before and after his arrival. Does the workman get half-baked in a poky inconvenient little kitchen getting the dinner? No, he comes in fresh and with a good appetite (good thing, too, I'm glad of it). When he is sick his wife can nurse him, but when she is indisposed, she must drag about as long as she has a leg to stand on; and even when a strange nurse comes into the house on certain too oft-recurring occasions, isn't the wife worried by her waste, very often the children, and still have to direct and lay out the housekeeping money, though every bone in her body aches? If the women are inclined to be meek and submissive, it is the men who have made them so. Read August Bebel's “Woman Past and Present,” Mr. T. For ages men have taken advantage of a woman's physical weakness, causing dependence at times, and made them the slave of slaves; and it will take generations to make us once again natural. Do we cry, “Submit, submit,” when the men are engaged in a struggle for justice? It is what we have always had to do ourselves, and if it has become for a time part of our nature, blame none but yourselves, ye tyrants. A good many men don't take the trouble to convert their own wives—we are very dense and want a lot of telling. Too long have we been told we cannot understand what doesn't concern women, and now our help is wanted, very few can respond, because the narrow home circle has alone been allowed to absorb our attention till many are mere house drudges. Get free maintenance, and then women, relieved of the chief anxiety, the children's welfare, will more readily join hands with the men in the struggle for freedom.

Yours fraternally,

S. GARDNER.

WALWORTH ELECTION COMMITTEE.

To the Editor of JUSTICE.

DEAR COMRADE,—Will you kindly allow me, through the columns of JUSTICE, to make an urgent appeal to our London comrades on behalf of George Lansbury's candidature.

It is essentially a London fight, and if we intend to win it will require our utmost endeavours and most energetic work.

We are in urgent need of canvassers, whose work is by far the most important in the contest. Any comrade who has two or three hours to spare can spend them usefully and in a good cause by coming down to Walworth and doing a little canvassing.

If each comrade will but do his or her quota of work we will send George Lansbury in triumph to the House of Commons at the next General Election.

Yours fraternally,

A. E. SCARLETT,
Canvassing Secretary.

233, Walworth Road, S.E.

P.S.—Canvassing Books, &c., may be had any evening between 8 and 10.30 p.m., or Saturdays after 4 p.m.

“SECULAR EDUCATION.”

To the Editor of JUSTICE.

Dear Sir,—You were good enough to print a letter of mine, though opposing your own attitude on this question, and to-day you reply to it in your leader. I hope you will allow me a few further remarks.

You claim that religious belief is entirely a matter for the individual. Now, if this be so, it is necessary to show why your platform on this matter is entirely individualistic, while in so many matters individualism is repudiated.

Many of us think that extreme individualism has been one of the greatest faults of the religion of the last 200 years, and even the churches are abandoning the idea of religion as a mere personal matter or an individual scramble for individual advantages. Let me remind you that in heathen religions no such idea prevailed. In many countries and periods, religion was very intimately connected with what we now call patriotism or civism, and was largely concerned with the cultivation of a high standard of public spirit. In fact, where Socialism is applied to religion it tends to assume this form, and the application of strict individualism to it tends to give it the low and perhaps useless form with which we are most familiar.

This seems to me to be a strong practical reason for

“socialising” religion, and I am inclined to think there is no way so good of effecting this as to make it part of the public school system. The change in the kind of religion taught will not come all at once, but it will come. And even in the meantime it is almost certainly better from a Secularist's point of view, to keep the elementary instruction in these matters in the hands of the public school teachers than to give it over again exclusively to the clergy. Secularists, and many who are not secularists, believe that the real enemy of enlightenment has always been clericalism, and it is really more than Christianity which Secularists hate. But if you banish religious teaching from the ordinary course of the schools there will at once be a demand too strong to resist, that the clergy and ministers should be admitted to the schools to teach their creeds. You therefore readmit clerical influence into the schools and foster and increase it very much more than at present. It surprises me to hear advocates of secular education in Board Schools congratulating themselves on the adhesion of some of the parsons who are not Socialists to their demand. That seems to me, on the contrary, strong evidence against the wisdom of the proposal. It is clear that it is entirely in the clerical interest.

There is also another great advantage in maintaining the teaching of this subject in the hands of the Board School teachers. This is that the antagonism of the various churches among themselves has necessitated and will continue to necessitate the dropping out of a great many dogmas. This itself is a very great gain; so much so, that it is already admitted by many people that on the whole what may be roughly called the Board School Creed (not the “Circular” creed), is even now a more reasonable and better creed than that of the churches, and this at the same time with an actual diminution of the influence of the clerical caste which, of whatever sect, has in nearly all times been such a barrier to progress and freethought.

It seems to me, moreover, that Secularism opposes more the tenets of the orthodox creeds than religion itself. It will, of course, be admitted that something more than reason or knowledge is required to make men work for the distant improvement of the world or of the State. We now usually call this “altruism,” but in a non-sectarian sense it may be fairly well described as the religious spirit or the essential principle of religion; for however much actual religions are contaminated with superstition, their one feature in common (except the “save your own soul” religion—the extreme individualistic religion) is some kind of altruism. Say, if you like, that in supernatural religions the altruism is misdirected, but to inculcate altruism at all is a great step, and it may be shown historically to be easier to divert an altruistic spirit into another direction than to originate it.

Moreover, you must admit that Secularism, pure and simple, is the creed of but a small minority of the people of this country. That evidently means that, although the mass of the people are not distinctly religious, they yet are averse to the negative attitude of Secularism. You are, of course, aware that many thinkers consider this even a necessary trait of human nature; and whether that be so or no, it is the fact that there is only one country in the world of any civilisation in which there is any large mass of people who are consistent materialists, and even there they are but a small minority. This must, at least, make it highly probable that the people do, and for a long time will, demand some religious creed. Call it, if you will, a demand for idols, but the fact remains, and being so, it is wiser to satisfy it in the most rational way practically possible rather than, on the one hand, to deny it altogether and produce a reaction, or, on the other, to give the ecclesiastical authorities the monopoly of supplying the demand with the certainty that their supply will be contaminated with unsocial and uncivic principles.

One more point. You admit that some code of ethics should be taught in Board schools. Now, no doubt you will say that even the most rational form of Christianity is not the best basis for such teaching; but even if this is so you must admit that it is a basis, and actually and practically at the present moment it is impossible to find an army of Board school teachers who can teach ethics (mere law is, of course, not the whole of ethics) on a Secularist basis. It seems, therefore, to be a practical necessity if you teach ethics at all, as you must, that you should allow teachers to make some use of Christianity.

I do not write this either as a Secularist or a non-Secularist, as I claim that these considerations appeal to all parties whose chief desire is for the progress of freedom of thought and the evolution of a really civilised society. Even if it does not bring over any advocate of purely secular education to the other side, it will, I hope, show that their tendency to pose as the *only* true progressives is not justified, and so help to consolidate our ranks. The policy of the enemy is to divide us.

Yours truly,

H. D. PEARSAL.

May 27, 1894.

ANSWERS TO CORRESPONDENTS.

H. R. G. GOGAY asks: “Are local bodies justified in spending money on local work merely for the sake of spending? For instance, here in Newington the vestry want to spend £50,000 on baths and washhouses, giving us only one swimming bath for a population of 120,000 souls! Is this expenditure justified on economic grounds? Baths are badly wanted here, but I consider the present scheme diametrically opposed to the ratepayers, who, after all, must be the workers, no matter who pays the rates to the collector?”

Neither local nor other bodies are justified in spending merely for the sake of spending, but the mere cost of carrying out any useful work should be no bar to its being executed. The actual public utility of such work is the real test of its economy. Heavy expenditure is not necessarily extravagance, and no lightening of the burden of taxation benefits the workers as a rule.

ADA ROBERTS, Milford, Mass.—We have to thank you for the papers received, as also for your very kind and encouraging letter. Friends at Bury are still doing good work, and are as enthusiastic as ever.

A. Wood writes,—“If I am allowed to have an opinion JUSTICE stands far away from every paper I have seen at present as a Social-Democratic journal. I only hope it goes on as now. It breaks all bad eggs but wins the best from our opponents. We only want the best, after all; we don't want mere numbers; we can always rouse up a few tons of muscle when we want it.”

TO CONTRIBUTORS.

All communications for insertion to be addressed to the Editor and to be authenticated by name and address of the writer, not necessarily for publication. Notice will be taken of anonymous communications.

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The columns of JUSTICE are open to contributions from all friends of the cause. Though we can by no means undertake to publish all we may receive, everything, by whomsoever written, will receive careful attention.

JUSTICE.

SATURDAY, JUNE 2, 1894.

THE COLLAPSE OF MIDDLE-CLASS
REPUBLICANISM IN FRANCE.

In November last the Government of M. Dupuy was overthrown, after a more than usually vehement attack on Socialism in the French Chamber of Deputies, and the Ministry of M. Casimir-Périer took its place. It came into power with a most praiseworthy resolve not to follow in the steps of its predecessor; but, on the contrary, it declared that "Socialism was not to be met with disdain, but by generous and fruitful action on the part of the Government." Finding itself to some extent popular because of its Republicanism on the one side and its moderation on the other, the Ministry of M. Casimir-Périer appeared to think it could safely attack the Socialist deputies; and from wordy abuse in the Chamber it soon resorted to persecution by expelling Thivrier for crying "Vive la Commune!" and prosecuting Touissant for speeches made during a strike.

Last week, however, M. Casimir-Périer went a trifle too far. M. Jonnart, the Public Works Minister, was not content with declining to recommend the railway companies, who lease their monopolies direct from the State, to allow their employees, who were appointed delegates, to attend the Railway Workers' Congress. He refused, with the brutal frankness of a Radical of the old Manchester school, to permit the State railway employees to participate in the Congress at all. The result was the defeat of the Casimir-Périer Government and the resignation of the Ministers. This defeat, moreover, was not brought about by a coalition of the Socialists, Extreme Radicals, and Reactionists, as was at first supposed; as a matter of fact, a majority of the Right and "Rallied" Republicans voted with the Government. The defeat of the Ministry was due to the defection of its own supporters, the Centre Republicans, who could not agree to M. Jonnart's arbitrary decision, especially in view of the law of 1884 with respect to trade unions and State employees.

Incensed at the victory of the Socialists, M. Raynal, the Minister of the Interior, prohibited all meetings and speeches in Père-la-Chaise Cemetery last Sunday. This is the gentleman whose patriotism leads him to regard with horror the day when there will be no frontiers because there will then be no use for an army! Possibly, also, there will then be no oppor-

tunities for big dividends from railway monopolies or the making of "piles" by financial speculation. At any rate, it was not M. Raynal's fault that there was no *émeute* in the streets of Paris last Sunday. To have systematically provoked and then forcibly suppressed a riot would no doubt have enabled M. Raynal and his colleagues to pose as the maintainers of "law and order," and might have caused a slight reaction to set in against the growing influence of the Socialists. But our Parisian comrades were too wily to be caught in the trap so carefully prepared for them, and the Minister of the Interior has only made a ridiculous exhibition of himself.

The Ministerial crisis in France is now over—for the present. M. Dupuy, the President of the Chamber, has, after many journeyings to the Elysée, undertaken to form a Ministry. What the *Petite République* describes as "l'accouchement du Ministère Dupuy" has taken place. It is at best a make-shift affair of semi-Radicals, Opportunists, and Moderates who can hardly hang out till the presidential election next November. The Radicals, as distinguished from the Socialistic Radicals of the Extreme Left, look very coldly upon the Dupuy Cabinet. In fact they are in anything but the best of humours at not being in power themselves. But MM. Brisson, Bourgeois, and Peytral declined to take office because it was impossible for them to do so without including some representatives of the Socialist Party in the Ministry. M. Dupuy cannot, therefore, expect to remain in power even until November unless he can reckon on the entire support of the old Clericals and Royalists, the Right and the "Rallied," at a critical juncture.

Our comrades in the French Chamber have steadily pursued an independent and vigorous policy ever since their election last September. They have influenced many of the Socialistic Radicals to take a similar course. Their attitude throughout has proved conclusively that it is possible for Socialists to successfully use political action without being used by it. They have gone into the thick of the political fight, into the Chamber of Deputies itself, and yet have kept the Red Flag free from corruption and compromise. Possibilists, Marxists, Allemanists, Blanquists, all have held solidly together against the middle-class Republicans and Clericals. For this they deserve the hearty congratulations of Social-Democrats in every country.

H. W. LEE.

LANCASHIRE NOTES.

At Nelson, last Tuesday night, comrade E. C. Johnson gave a report of his work on the Nelson School Board for the past six months. When the Board was elected the local papers called it a "Labour Board." Of the nine elected, five were said to be labour men. Two were Trades Council nominees (announced as the only *real* labour candidates), two others called themselves labour men, and then there was our comrade Johnson. Note what followed. A resolution for the insertion of a clause in all contracts, binding contractors to pay trade union rate of wages, and work employees only trade union hours was rejected, and in its place one of non-interference between contractors and their workmen was carried. Johnson also attempted to get the Board to do without contractors, but not one of these "Labour Representatives" could be got to second his motion. Consequently, the new board school in process of execution is being built by contract.

Again, although our comrade Johnson was at the head of the poll at the election, and should therefore, according to custom, have been chairman, not only did these labour men not move him for that, but have not even nominated him for a single committee. Incidentally, none of these labour men have given any report of their work on the Board for the past year, not even the two nominated by the Trades Council. Puzzle: find the difference between a

"labour" and a "capitalist" representative. Don't all speak at once! One thing, and that of considerable importance, however, our comrade has succeeded in carrying through, and that is a resolution to petition Parliament to pass a law placing all elementary schools in receipt of Parliamentary grants under popular control.

I am given to understand that the reason for Johnson's retirement as Social-Democratic candidate for the Clitheroe division of Lancashire is what he considers the dilatory attitude of the General Council on this matter. Our Nelson comrades feel a little sore that the Council has not made some move before now.

At the close of a lecture at the Nelson Branch S.D.F. last Sunday week by Mrs. Saunderson, of Hull, twenty-six women formed a women's section of the branch, of whom only six were former members. Such a section working harmoniously with the branch as a whole should do splendid work.

The Bury branch has decided to contest Bury at the next Parliamentary election, and have entered into communication with several comrades with a view to securing a candidate.

Our Bury comrades also decided (subject to final ratification or otherwise this week) last week to stop the sale of intoxicating drinks in their club.

The Colne branch has entered upon a fight for free speech. The local board, a week or two ago, decided that before any meeting could be held on the recreation ground, application must be made to, and permission obtained from, them for each and every such meeting, and that under no circumstances should a collection be made. Last Sunday our comrades held a meeting without asking permission, and made a collection at the close. A constable in attendance took the name of the chairman (comrade J. Radcliffe), and threatened that next week force would be resorted to, if any attempt was made to hold a meeting.

The editor of the *Socialist* (comrade J. R. Widdup) is to lecture for them next Sunday, and it is just possible that his recent experience as a "Casual" in the Burnley workhouse, may be supplemented by a taste of prison life.

By the way, the *Socialist* board are issuing Widdup's experience as a "Casual" in pamphlet form in the course of a week. This ought to be read by all workers who would like to know something about their future home.

The Quarterly meeting of the Lancashire District Council of the S.D.F. was held at Bury on Saturday last. The various reports, financial, W. K. Hall's, branch, and meetings arrangement committee's, were discussed at considerable length. Our organiser, W. K. Hall, denied that he was an Anarchist, or that he had ceased to believe in political action. The report that he was an Anarchist, he says, must have arisen from the fact that considering the weak and hesitating, and sometimes even hostile attitude of the I.L.P. to pure, uncompromising Socialism, he had made up his mind to fight the I.L.P., and as some S.D.F. branches were, to some extent, working with the I.L.P., his action had been construed into a declaration of war against the S.D.F. as well—hence the report that he was an Anarchist.

The different reports taking up the whole of the time of the conference, after the appointment of comrade Joshua Wiggins, of Padiham, secretary *pro tem.*, vice T. M. Purves, resigned, the conference adjourned until Sunday, June 24th, when the delegates will meet at Burnley to take up the discussion on the various motions and amendments on the agenda. REBEL.

INTERNATIONAL NOTES.

FRANCE.

The Ministerial crisis in France continues. No prominent party leader cares to form a ministry. Each of them wants to keep himself clear from political trouble in view of his being a possible candidate at the Presidential Election next November. Bourgeois patriotism, of course! MM. Peytral, Bourgeois, Brisson, Dupuy, and Burdeau, each of these high principled gentleman is most anxious that some one other than himself should have the honour of forming a Ministry. Meanwhile the various State departments are carried on by the late Ministry until such time as their successors take office. M. Raynal still retains control of the Ministry of the Interior. He therefore thought that he would make things as unpleasant as he

could for our comrades, and decided to prohibit all meetings and speeches last Sunday in Pere-la-Chaise Cemetery, when the annual commemoration of the shooting of the Communards of 1871 was announced to take place. Meetings have been allowed other years in Pere-la-Chaise Cemetery so long as no red flags were displayed. The result of Raynal's arbitrary action has made the annual commemoration of the Versailles butchery far more notorious than it would otherwise have been. During last Sunday parts of Paris were continually patrolled by police, gendarmes, municipal guards, both foot and mounted, and even a portion of the 113th line regiment was held in readiness for emergencies. The various groups taking wreaths to the Cemetery were peremptorily refused, and there were various scuffles and charges in the adjacent streets, where several people, including women, who had no connection with the demonstrators, were knocked down and ill-used by the agents of M. Lépine. In short everything was done by the Minister of the Interior, ably seconded by M. Lépine, the Chief Commissioner of Police, to provoke riots and disturbances, so that there might be a chance of paying back by blows and arrests the defeat which the Socialist deputies inflicted on the Casimir-Périer Ministry the previous Wednesday. Fortunately the urgent appeals issued by the Joint Socialist Committee had their effect, and the crowds preserved a calm attitude notwithstanding great provocation.

Finding that no demonstration could be held in Pere-la-Chaise Cemetery without bloodshed our comrades decided to hold large indoor meetings where possible, and these were held in the Salles L'Excellent (ground and first floors), Concert-Parisien and Printemps. The enthusiasm at these gatherings was immense, and it was evident that M. Raynal's prohibition had simply rallied the mass of the Parisian workers to the Socialists. Most of the Socialist deputies and municipal councillors, such as Vaillant, Chauvière, Lavy, Fabérot, Chauvin, Prudent-Dervillers, Brousse, Blondeau, Caumeau, Weber and Moreau, made speeches, as did also representatives for the various groups.

Later information announces that M. Dupuy has finally consented to form a Ministry.

That the Socialists have gained considerable prestige by the recent ministerial changes was shown last Saturday when comrades Vaillant and Chauvière gave in their periodical report to their constituencies. They spoke to crowded audiences, were most cordially received, and votes of confidence in them were carried with acclamation.

THE UNITED STATES.

The following description of the immense wealth and vast resources of the United States of America is from the pen of Bishop S. H. Fallows, D.D., of the Methodist Episcopal Church:—

If our arable land were brought under cultivation we could feed 450,000,000 of people and then export to feed the world 2 554,000,000 bushels of grain. We could abundantly care for 1,000,000,000 people and almost keep the whole world from starving. All the inhabitants of the United States could live in Texas and it would not be as thickly settled as is Germany. The wealth of our nation to-day is 69,000,000,000 dollars. This would buy the Russian and Turkish empires, the kingdoms of Sweden, Norway, Denmark, and Italy, as well as Australia, South Africa, and all South America, the entire possessions of 170,000,000 people, and leave us nearly 10,000,000,000 dollars to spare, Europe represents the accumulation of centuries, while the greater part of our wealth has been accumulated in the last twenty-five years.

Our manufacturing industry exceeds that of Great Britain by over 1,000,000,000 dollars. In inventions we lead the world, our Government issuing nearly five times as many patents as the English Government. In machinery and mechanics we lead the world. The markets of the globe are being thrown open to us, and our ultimate destiny is to be the workshop of the world.

Our mining industries exceed those of all Europe Asia, Africa, South America, Mexico, and the British colonies. Yet we have hardly begun to develop our mineral resources. Coal is found in every State but one, and iron in nearly all. Other minerals of almost every kind are more or less abundant.

When the Radicals came into power there was a great fuss made because the law officers' payments were going to be reduced. Result: Payments in 1893, £30,791; average payments to their predecessors, £20,000 a year.

Why all this fuss over disestablishing churches, Welsh or otherwise? If you object to pay tithes to a parson, why not object to pay rent to a landlord or to be sweated to make up a capitalist's profits?

Naturally it suits a set of Radical manufacturers to turn the democratic steam-pipe on to a comparatively unprotected class like the Welsh established clergy; and it prevents the workers from paying attention to the real enemy. The parson may chastise with rods, but the wily scorpion is the article for the landlord and capitalist.

On account of the increasing number of suicides, the *Hospital* is inclined to lament "the dwindling of religious faith." But it also has the common sense to say that a deteriorated physique has something to do with it.

"Suicide shows feebleness both of mind and of body." And so we are told—not that we are to restore the body and with it the "joy of life" which goes with a healthy, vigorous constitution—but drop our newspapers and do something to revive the reputation and the flagging energies of the pulpit!

TOPICAL TATTLE.

Sir Charles Russell took his seat in the House of Lords on Monday as Lord Russell of Killowen. Who will dare to question the sincerity of the Liberal agitation against the Peers, now that so "advanced" a Radical as Sir Charles Russell has been promoted to the gilded chamber?

I must certainly congratulate the Radicals of South Hackney on the fact that their late stalwart member should have been selected for the first step towards the abolition of the House of Lords on homeopathic principles.

I see that at a Liberal meeting addressed by Shaw Lefevre at Reading, our comrades there were described by one of the speakers as "a body of men, more or less in evidence, who appeared to have taken up an irreconcilable position to both parties. They seemed as willing, and even more so, to smash the Radicals, as they were to smash the Tories. What they expected to gain by that proceeding was outside his resources of conjecture."

I can quite understand that it would be "outside his resources of conjecture" to comprehend what is to be gained by smashing either the Liberal or the Tory Party. But the resources of conjecture of a Liberal politician are generally very limited.

Said the speaker, "He could tell them one thing, without being a prophet. If the political issues of the immediate future were to be narrowed down to a struggle between the people of this country and Social Democracy, as these men interpret it, then it would spell disaster for the next half-century to the wage-earning classes of our land"

The solicitude of the politicians of both parties for the "wage-earning classes" is prodigious. Lord Salisbury has said practically the same thing before, and the Duke of Devonshire the other day expressed his anxiety that nothing should be done to impair the incomes of the wealthy—not, of course, out of any regard for the wealthy themselves, but because, if their incomes were reduced they would have less to spend, and the wage-earning class would therefore earn less wages!

They are so charitable and benevolent—these rich. They only have their money to spend. "That in the captain's but a choleric word, which in the soldier is flat blasphemy," and while thrift and abstinence are the constantly urged virtues of the poor, these would be but vices on the part of the rich, who by their luxury and extravagance give work to the poor.

Yes, friends and fellow-citizens, they give us work. It is true. Don't you feel thankful? What if they do have more money than you—they spend it, make trade brisk and keep you busy! There are a good many men out of work as it is, but there would be a great many more idle if the rich were as sober, thrifty, and abstinent as the poor are compelled to be. They are the consumers, and the more they consume the more work there is for the producers in order to produce more.

More consumers is what we want. Our storehouses are crammed, our markets are glutted, and we scour the earth in order to find people to consume the over-production which surrounds us on every hand. Blessed are the rich, then, for they consume much, and give employment unto many.

Eh, what? Why shouldn't the producers be the consumers? Who suggests anything so preposterous? Nobody but a Socialist would be so silly as to propose so exceedingly simple a solution of the social problem.

Yet it does not seem quite so absurd, after all, does it, friends and fellow-citizens—that those who grow the food should eat it; those who make the clothes should wear them; those who build the houses should live in them?

I am pleased to see that some of the newer school of political economy are giving up the worship of thrift and abstinence. Mr. J. A. Hobson, in his book on "The Evolution of Modern Capitalism," says—"The working classes, especially in the United States and in England, show a growing tendency to employ their higher wages in progressive consumption. Upon the steady operation of this tendency the economic future

of the working classes, and of industry in general, largely depends."

"Progressive consumption" is good, but the consumption of the working classes has got a lot of leeway to make up before it reaches the level of that of the idling classes.

I think that is not a bad idea, getting some of our best known men to tell in JUSTICE how they became Socialists. I am modest, but I cannot help thinking that one of the most interesting of these personal experiences will be that of TATTLER.

GERTRUDE GREEN.

Last Saturday we buried the remains of one of the best and noblest women that ever graced the struggle of our cause.

Gertrude Green, who, in giving birth to a child, died in the bloom of her ardent life, has, during the short months that she belonged to us, worked with an intelligence and a devotion for the redemption of the poor which were truly inspiring.

From the moment when she recognised the truth and beauty of our cause, she gave herself up to its furtherance wholly, almost beyond the limits of her power, and without a single thought for her own wellbeing and safety. She fired her husband, whose ideal comrade and helpmate she was, to the great work of the party with all the burning zeal of her devoted soul.

She had made the Poor-laws and their administration a special study, and in spite of all the obstacles thrown in her way, insisted on standing as a candidate for the guardianship of the Greenwich poor. It was a heavy struggle; but, while nursing her dying mother, and having to fight against the overwhelming strength of the powers of reaction, she was triumphant in her purpose, and was at last elected to the Board of Guardians by the Socialists of Greenwich.

Alas! that her victory should prove the cause of her physical destruction; for she was bodily not strong enough for the mind's work within her. The heart-rending scenes at the Board meetings; the revolting brutality with which the poor were treated by most of the model Christians, who held the parish doles in their hands; and lastly, the degrading condition of the paupers themselves, proved too much for her deeply-sensitive and most sympathetic heart; she fell ill, and became conscious that she was not equal to the terrible strain upon her mind and her emotions.

She resigned her post as a guardian—and resolved to have a being of her own to love and cherish, and to fashion and to educate—for the benefit of the cause.

And she gave life to such a being—a strong, healthy boy—only to die and leave her husband disconsolate! May the thought of the work for which she lived be a source of strength to him, and may he find comfort in the love of his comrades.

Those who knew Gertrude Green could not but love her; and by them the sweetness of her life, and the greatness of her example shall never be forgotten.

ANDREAS SCHEU.

F. G. JONES'S CANDIDATURE FOR NORTHAMPTON.

F. G. Jones is making splendid progress with his candidature in the Social-Democratic interest at Northampton. The acceptance of Socialist principles by large numbers of the electors has hopelessly disorganised the Radical party, and has had an appreciable effect upon the numerical strength of the Tories. At their Whitsuntide Conference the members of the Boot and Shoe Trades Operatives' Union adopted as their aim, and incorporated in their Parliamentary programme, the object of the S.D.F., and this step resulted in the withdrawal of the candidature of Mr. W. Inskip, secretary of the Union and an official Liberal.

On Monday night a grand meeting was held in support of Jones's candidature at the Temperance Hall. The room was crowded, the audience numbering about 1,200 and being most enthusiastic. Comrade T. Powell, an excellent local worker, and a Socialist candidate at the last municipal elections, presided, and made a rousing speech in opening the proceedings.

Comrade Jones was received with applause, again and again renewed, and all through his address, which lasted nearly an hour, the cheering was hearty and frequent. He criticised the remarks of the only Radical candidate yet selected (H. Labouchere, M.P.) on thrift, and showed that the universal practice of thrift, contrary to Labouchere's contention, would leave the class war and the evils it engendered still existent, and would even intensify them. He next referred to the inconsistency of Mr. M. P. Manfield, M.P., a wealthy Republican shoemaker of Northampton, in accepting the honour of knighthood from the Queen, and devoted the remainder of his speech to an exposition of Socialist principles, making it perfectly clear that he would not on any consideration work with or receive help from either the Radical or the Tory party. His remarks throughout were animated by the loftiest feeling, and at the conclusion of his stirring peroration the audience cheered enthusiastically for several minutes. It seemed as if they would never stop. Several of the local leaders of the Radical party were in the room during the meeting, and their "hearts quailed to see" on the floor the cheering multitude, on the rostrum the dauntless candidate and his Social-Democratic supporters.

Two questions were asked and satisfactorily answered, and then a vote of confidence was unanimously carried, with repeated cheering. Thus ended a meeting which, in its grand enthusiasm, was full of magnificent promise for the speedy success of Jones's candidature. During the evening £1 12s. was given in the room in aid of his election fund. If any of our comrades throughout the country can add to that sum we shall be exceedingly obliged to them. We are now going to attack the outlying districts of the Parliamentary borough, some of which contain a strong Socialist element. It is a remarkable fact that in the East Park Estate, where the better educated of the inhabitants of Northampton reside, there are more Socialists in proportion to the population than in any other part of the town.

THE PARIS COMMUNE.

BY E. BELFORT BAX.

THE LAST DAYS OF PARIS.

In addition to their military operations, the Versailles were not indisposed to rely on the work of spies in endeavouring to affect an entry into the city by means of treachery. These gentlemen, however, quarrelled among themselves, mutually denounced each other to their employers, and, in spite of the big promises which each made in turn, they effected nothing beyond consuming some few hundred thousand francs of governmental money. They were most of them "old soldiers," including one or two naval officers, reactionary National Guards, and *Chevaliers l'Industrie*. Some of them having attempted to corrupt Drombrowski, they were denounced by him to the Committee of Public Safety. This was about the last attempt made by Thiers to gain over Paris by treachery. He saw it was no use.

Meanwhile the discussions in the council-room between the "majority" and "minority" in the Commune were, unhappily, going on more acrimoniously than ever. Rossel, in spite of his demand for a "cell at Mazas," and his *parole* not to escape notwithstanding, slunk off and hid himself in a safe retreat, whence he was to be fetched out some three weeks later by the Versailles, by that time masters of Paris. His arrest was decreed, however, almost unanimously by the Commune at the opening of its sitting of the 10th of May. The next item on the agenda on this occasion was the reconstruction of the redoubtable Committee of Public Safety, which, after eight days' existence, had been, by general consensus of opinion, voted a failure. The "minority" seized the opportunity for holding out the right hand of fellowship; but the "majority," led by Félix Pyat, who was in the chair, persisted in their attitude of suspicion, and the schism in consequence became more accentuated than ever. The Committee was re-constructed, but again with only members of the "majority." Ravvier, Gambon, Delescluze, Arnaud, and Eudes were the men chosen. Delescluze was afterwards made Chief of the War Office; Billioray, an insignificant member of the "majority," occupying the vacancy thus created on the Committee; Raoul Rigault again went into the Department of "security," this time as Procurator of Police; while Theophilus Ferri was made Prefect, Courmet (son of an old Revolutionist of '48, killed in a duel in London), who had originally replaced Rigault in the Prefecture of Police, having resigned.

The new Committee of Public Safety ordered the demolition of Thiers' house in Paris, which was forthwith effected. There was not much use in this, seeing that the Assembly was sure to have it rebuilt at the national expense, and a decree was, of course, immediately passed at Versailles to this effect. The Commune, however, and all belonging to it, seemed to think it bore a charmed life; and hence, without seriously applying themselves to the one serious question of the hour, the defence of Paris, went on passing decrees of a useful and ornamental nature—many of which were excellent in themselves, but few of which were timely.

Among the best of what may be termed the "symbolical" measures, was a decree passed by the Commune on the 12th of April for the destruction of the Vendôme Column. Although preparations for carrying it out were forthwith set about, owing to various delays these were not completed for more than a month. Accordingly, it was not before the 16th of May that the great emblem of French Jingoism actually kissed the earth. Erected to celebrate the victories of the first Napoleon in his wars of wanton aggression, it was very properly regarded as a standing insult, not only to every other European nationality, but, before all, to a Revolution based on the principles of Internationalism. So the afternoon of May 16th saw a large assemblage of Parisians in the Rue de la Paix and in the Place de la Concorde, the roofs of the houses and the windows being occupied with sightseers, watching anxiously, and not without apprehension, the operations, with the formidable array of ropes leading up to the final tug which should lay prone the emblem of aggressive patriotism. At five o'clock a national guard affixed the tricolour to its proper place, the gallery at the top of this piece of shoddy magnificence, and a few minutes later the national flag, the statue of Napoleon, and the column itself were alike lying in fragments on a vast bed of dung, appropriately prepared for them. The apprehensions proved unfounded, and the overthrow was accomplished without any noteworthy mishap.

On the 15th, the previous day, the dispute between the "minority" and "majority" had reached a climax in the withdrawal of the former under cover of a manifesto anent the "Public Safety," which declared the Commune to have abdicated its functions into the hands of an irresponsible Committee. "As for us," it went on to say, "we, no less than the 'majority,' desire the accomplishment of political and social reconstruction; but, contrary to its notions, we claim the right to be solely responsible for our acts before our electors without sheltering ourselves behind a supreme dictatorship which our mandate permits us neither to accept nor to recognise." The manifesto further went on to state that the signatories, in order not to give rise to further dissension in the Council room, proposed retiring into their

arrondissements there to organise the resistance to the common enemy. The manifesto concluded with a generous expression of the conviction that "we all, majority or minority, notwithstanding our divergences as to policy, pursue the same object, political liberty, and the emancipation of the workers." "Long live the Social Republic! Long live the Commune!"

The manifesto bore the signatures of Beslay, Jourde, Theisz, Lefrançais, Girardin, Vermorel, Clémence, Andries, Verrailleur, Longuet, Arthur Arnould, Clément Victor, Auriol, Ostyn, Franckel, Pindy, Arnold, Vallés, Tridon, Varlin, and Courbet. Malon subsequently gave in his adhesion.

The conduct of the minority in withdrawing at this critical juncture deserves the severest censure. The reason given was absurd. They had themselves voted for the second committee. This pedantic Parliamentarism and horror of dictatorship moreover was utterly ridiculous in the crisis through which the movement was passing. The composition of the Committee may have been open to objection, and, as a matter of fact, it proved itself sufficiently incapable. But in principle there is no doubt whatever, that a strong dictatorship was just what the situation demanded. The Committee failed, if for no other reason than because it contained no man strong enough to "dictate." There is no gainsaying that this action of the minority in allowing their personal spleen to get the better of them, even granting that provocation had been given, was a great blow to the influence of the Commune, both internally and externally, and was naturally the occasion of much "crowing" on the part of the friends of "order" at Versailles and elsewhere. Most of the signatories seem to have felt they had committed a blunder almost as soon as the document was issued, and two days later, the 17th, saw the majority of them back at the Hotel de Ville notwithstanding their virtual resignation. The public meetings they had called the previous evening in their arrondissements had by no means endorsed their action. This sitting of the 17th of May was the fullest the Commune ever had, sixty-six members answering to their names. Unhappily it was mainly occupied with personal recriminations between the two factions, till it was abruptly terminated at 7 o'clock in the evening by the blowing up of the powder manufactory in the Avenue Rapp, which shook Paris from end to end. Was this disaster due to an accident or was it the result of treachery? No one knows to this day.

(To be continued.)

S.D.F. NOTES.

It is reported that Mr. John L. Mahon was present at the I.L.P. dinner at the Democratic Club last Saturday. Comrades had better keep an eye on that gentleman if he is coming to the front again. The less he does for the Socialist and Labour movement the better for the movement.

Talking of the I.L.P. dinner I must say that Keir Hardie in his speech gave no credit whatever to the hard rough-and-tumble work done by the S.D.F., the late Socialist League, and by many of the Fabians in the past—work without which things would not have run so smoothly for the I.L.P. Hardie talked as if London were a place of political darkness which the light of the I.L.P. was going to illumine for the first time! The S.D.F. has often been accused of recognising nobody but itself, but it has never gone so far as did Hardie last Saturday.

A public meeting was held on Wednesday, May 23, at Waterloo-road Chapel, Lambeth, in support of the candidatures of Edith Lanchester (Teachers' Guild) and George H. Young (Gas Workers' Union), the S.D.F. candidates for the West Lambeth Division of the London School Board. The Rev. W. H. Tickell presided, and a motion pledging the meeting to support the candidates was proposed by Comrade Salter, seconded by E. Nowell (L.T.C., secretary Lambeth Branch National Municipal Labour Union), and carried unanimously.

At an adjourned Conference held at the Eldon Schools, Wandsworth Road, on Thursday last, to draw up a programme for the forthcoming London School Board elections, it was resolved, by 15 votes to 5, to substitute "Free Maintenance" for "Free Meals" in the School Board programme. The meeting consisted of delegates representing the Gasworkers', Navvies', Compositors', Vehicular Traffic, Engineers', Carmen's, and National Municipal Labour Unions, Clapham Labour League, Despard Club, and the S.D.F. Verily, the host is marching on.

In spite of showers and wind the demonstrations last Sunday on Peckham Rye in support of J. E.

Dobson's School Board candidature was a most successful one. There spoke in support of Dobson, John Woodmansee, H. Pickard (G.W.U.), W. Godbold (N.L.S.), E. F. Cray (late S.D.F., now I.L.P.!), J. Payne, secretary Tinplate Workers' Union), and Edith Lanchester. Mr. Lees, of the Peckham People's League, who originally came forward as a candidate, announced that the League had decided to plump for Dobson. A resolution protesting against the present reactionary policy of the Board, and pledging the meeting to return the Socialist candidate, was carried unanimously at both platforms. It is also tolerably certain that Charles Watts, of the National Secular Society, will retire, in which case the secular vote will be given to Dobson.

I hear that H. W. Hobart has agreed to run for the London School Board in the Finsbury division. If the temperance vote really exists, and is something more than a mere bogey with which to frighten candidates, that vote ought to go solid in support of Hobart, who is a life-long teetotaler, though he sees the economic absurdity of most of the usual teetotal arguments.

I hear, also, that there is a prospect of comrade Esther Wood being chosen for Chelsea. I hope this will be done. If so, she will make the fourth woman School Board candidate of the S.D.F. in London, the others being Rose Jarvis, Edith Lanchester, and Annie Thomson.

The London City Mission evidently don't like our Wimbledon Common comrades. Last Sunday evening while F. D. Summers was speaking on the Broadway, the "missionary," accompanied by a number of men and women, and what was much more important, a harmonium, came and deposited themselves right under the nose of the speaker. The playing of the harmonium made it, of course, impossible, to proceed. The crowd were on the side of our comrade, and eventually the police interfered and forced the religious party to desist for a time. The unfortunate part of the business is that if this sort of thing goes on, as it is threatened, the police will probably stop all meetings. Some of these religious societies have caused the S.D.F. considerable trouble in regard to open-air meetings.

On Thursday, May 24, H. Alexander addressed a crowded meeting at the Central Hall, Westmoreland Street, Dublin, the subject being, "Why Irishmen should be Socialists." Our comrade traced the historic development of Ireland from the Brehon times to the reign of Elizabeth, and gave a clear exposition of the principles of collectivism. He was very well received. A lively discussion followed in which Dorman, Duncan, Kavanagh, as well as Messrs. Duncan and Shelley, of the Trades Council, took part.

I am asked to state that all communications for the Lancashire District Council and money for quarterly dues, and the local wage fund must now be sent to Joshua Wiggins, Lancashire District Secretary, *pro. tem.*, 20, Pendleton Street, Padiham, Lancs.

H. B. Rogers is again running for the Battersea Guardians, as there is a vacancy in No. 2 Ward. I should think his election is almost a certainty this time. The first time he ran he lost by 47 votes, the second time only by 25 votes, and this time he ought to go in.

H. Alexander will visit Ipswich, Norwich, Gainsborough, Lincoln, Sheffield, Leeds, and Bradford during June. All communications for him to be addressed to S.D.F. office, 337, Strand, W.C.

Alexander was nearly having a rough experience when he addressed a Belfast meeting on Socialism last Sunday week. He alluded to something concerning William the Conqueror, whom the audience took to mean William III., for there is but one William to an Orange crowd, and that is he of Orange—whereat there was much vigorous and prolonged applause. But happening casually to mention Home Rule it was found advisable to close the meeting if broken heads were to be avoided. There is evidently a good field for Socialist propaganda in Belfast!

Eh! What is this? Why, the S.D.F. hall at 337, Strand, is going to be cleaned, repapered, repainted, and re-decorated!

!!!!

L.

It is not because he is a leader of industry that a man is a capitalist; on the contrary, he is a leader of industry because he is a capitalist.—Karl Marx.

RUSKIN ON HUMAN NATURE UNDER CAPITALISM.

BY THE SAGE OF THE NORTHERN HEIGHTS.

In the conclusion of my last contribution I stated that I would cite Ruskin to show that he, as a keen observer of human nature, recognised that man was but a product of his social environment. I fall back upon Ruskin, not because I look upon him *par excellence* as a critical economist, but because he has a public reputation—a name to conjure with. The public believe in names, in personalities. It is much easier to convince persons of a particular thing contentious if you give certain public characters as holding that view than by your own reasoning. If you wished to convince people that King Henry the Eighth, though a testy, was yet a virtuous person, and in support of your contention quoted Henry Irving as your authority, you would stand a great chance of being believed, whereas if you put it forward solely as your own view you would be deservedly laughed at for your pains. People think by proxy. It saves trouble. No need then of reflection or bothering about confirmatory evidence to substantiate convictions.

Ruskin, a deep student of men, plainly perceived what kind of creatures men would evolve out of "a community regulated only by laws of supply and demand." In describing the characteristics of the rich and poor, he writes: "The persons who become rich are generally industrious, resolute, proud, covetous, prompt, methodical, sensible, unimaginative, insensitive, and ignorant. The persons who remain poor are the entirely foolish, the entirely wise, the idle, the reckless, the humble, the thoughtful, the dull, the imaginative, the sensitive, the well-informed, the improvident, the irregularly and impulsively wicked, the clumsy knave, the open thief, and the entirely merciful and godly person." Exactly. The brilliancy of the description of these two classes is hard to excel, and I trust I shall be pardoned in the endeavour to amplify Ruskin. "The rich are industrious"—only so by virtue of their eagerness to gain wealth at the expense of the labourer. "Resolute"—determined or absorbed by the passion of acquisition. By the law of the survival of the fittest under competitive principles the most resolute survive. "Proud"—manifesting pride in its most odious form. We all recognise that the capitalist who succeeds takes unto himself airs, and imagines that he is the individual who has created the wealth which he has accumulated. A capitalist bourgeois society which grovels before riches naturally makes those who have command over money elated, self-sufficient, ostentatious, and vulgar. Self-esteem, coupled with vulgarity, produces characters presumptuous, haughty, and arrogant. Who more proud than the family of a capitalist, who more presumptuous and arrogant than employers of labour? "Covetous"—competition for gain makes a man inordinately selfish; like the card gambler, the desire to secure wealth at the expense of others becomes to him a passion. "Prompt"—the business man must be like the bird of prey, prompt to seize, to force a bargain at the expense of his fellows. "Methodical"—social conditions render it necessary that to be successful in the market the capitalist must go on the line of orderly procedure, systematically scheming. Method, therefore, becomes a necessary attribute of a successful capitalist, which, if he himself does not possess, he must secure in others by purchase. "Sensible," in so far that he has to weigh and calculate his chances, he has to take the prosaic view of things; he must never allow his enthusiasm on any subject to interfere with his business. "Unimaginative"—when every faculty of the mind is subordinated to the one desire of acquisition, the mind becomes stultified. Imagery is outside its range of vision. Sordid longings it may possess, but creative fancy never. "Insensitive and ignorant." The man perpetually engaged in a struggle in which his success means another's loss must become callous to other's losses and misery. He must sweat his workmen without compunction, and not even wince if they are his own children. With matters which do not enter into his business he has no concern, and his general ignorance even becomes a contributory factor to his success. "Proud and covetous, insensitive and ignorant," forms a fitting epitaph for the successful capitalist.

"The persons who remain poor are the entirely foolish, the idle, the reckless, the humble, the dull, the irregularly and impulsively wicked, the clumsy knave, and the open thief." These are they whose physical organisations have become deranged and debilitated through their progenitors having been compelled to live under demoralising and devitalising conditions in the factory and workshop, and those who are compelled to war upon a society which deprives them of the means of subsistence. "The thoughtful, the entirely wise, the imaginative, the sensitive, the well-informed, and the entirely merciful and godly person." The acquisition of wealth under a competitive system of production demands the baser activities of a man's organism. The imaginative, who, like the poet, give way to the cultivation of their faculties of imagery, or the thoughtful and well-informed, who become too engrossed in exercising their intellectual activities, cannot expect to successfully compete with the covetous, the methodical, the ignorant, and the insensitive individual whose one object is the accumulation of wealth. The merciful and the godly must fall to the rear with such base competitors. Their sense of mercy, equity, and longings for a higher life places them outside the pale of successful competition. "Damn humanity!" says the capitalist, "let me sell the goods I put upon the market and triumph over my enemies."

LECTURE DIARY.

SOCIAL-DEMOCRATIC FEDERATION.

(Announcements marked * are indoor lectures.)

LONDON.

Saturday, June 2.

- Bow and Bromley, St. Michael's Church, at 8.30.
- Canning Town, Beckton Road, 7.30; High Street, Plaistow, 7.30.
- Hyde Park, near Marble Arch, at 6.30 p.m.
- Kensal Town, Prince of Wales, Harrow Road, at 8.30.
- Kentish Town, outside "Rose and Thistle," Queen's Crescent, at 8 p.m.
- Mile End Waste, at 8 p.m.
- North Kensington, Tavistock Crescent, Portobello Road, at 8.30 p.m.
- Walworth, Garney Street at 8, Marylebone Branch.
- Whitechapel, Buck's Row, at 5 p.m.
- Wimbledon, Broadway, at 7 p.m.

Sunday, June 3.

- *Social-Democratic Federation, the Hall, 337, Strand, W.O., at 8.30. A. S. Headingley, The Miner's International Congress at Berlin.
- Acton, outside Recreation Ground, East Acton Lane, 11.30, J. Andrews; Mill Hill Grove, High Street, 7.30, J. Martin and A. Crouch.
- Battersea Park, South-east Gates, at 11.30, W. Gardner; Prince's Head, 6.30, Branch; Battersea Park, near Band Stand 6.30, Parsons and Legg.
- *Bermondsey, Branch Rooms, 31, Bermondsey Square, at 8 p.m., a lecture.
- Bethnal Green, Victoria Park, 3.30, Rose Jarvis.
- Borough Road, Newington Causeway, 11.30.
- Bow and Bromley, Victoria Park, 11.30, and 6.30; the Obelisk, Devon's Road, 7.30, A. W. Arnold.
- Brixton, Loughboro' Junction, 11.30; Brockwell Park, 3.0, A. Bowman; Ardville Road, Effra Road, 7.0, A. Bowman.
- Camberwell Green, outside "Father Bed Cap," at 11.30, J. E. Dobson; *Social-Democratic Club, 208, Camberwell Road, at 8.30 p.m., J. Hunter Watts, a lecture.
- Canning Town, Beckton Road, at 11.30 a.m.; W. Scott; Green Gate, at 11.30; *Byford's Temperance Stores, 144, Barking Road, at 8 p.m., a lecture.
- Chelsea Embankment at 11.30, J. W. Sinclair; World's End, 7.30.
- Clapham Common, near Band Stand, at 3.30, H. B. Rogers.
- Clerkenwell, Garnault Place, at 11.30.
- Edmonton, corner of Angel Road, at 6.30 p.m.; Edmonton Green, at 8.
- Finsbury Park, Manor House Gates, at 11.30, J. W. Wood; near Band Stand, 3.30, the Branch.
- Hampstead Heath, near Whitestone Pond, 7.30.
- Harlesden, High Street, at 11.30.
- Highgate, Parliament Hill, 11.30; and at 6.30.
- Hyde Park, near Marble Arch, at 11.30; at 3.30, near the Serpentine, at 7, R. Rosetti.
- Hoxton Church, 11.30, J. E. Williams.
- Kennington, Albert Embankment, at 11.30 a.m., J. B. Buckeridge.
- Kensal Green, The Old Plough, Kilburn Lane, at 11.30, J. Hunter Watts; Fifth Avenue, Harrow Road, at 7.30.
- Kingsland Green, opposite Dalston Lane, 11.30, H. R. Taylor; Kingsland Waste, 7.30, Rose Jarvis.
- Lambeth, Juxon Street, Lambeth Walk, at 11.30 Branch; Belvedere Road, Westminster Bridge Road, at 7. H. B. Rogers.
- Mile End Waste, 11.30, R. Rosetti; Philpot Street, at 11.30; *King's Arms, Mile End Road, at 8 p.m., Annie Thomson, The S.D.F. School Board Programme.
- New Southgate Railway Bridge, at 6.30.
- North Kensington, Uxbridge Road Station, at 11.30; Golbourne and Portobello Roads, at 8 p.m.
- Peckham Rye, at 11.30, F. W. Stearn.
- Rotherhithe, Southwark Park, at 11.30, J. J. Schneider.
- Stratford, The Grove, near Maryland Point Station, at 11.30, J. Cavanagh.
- Tottenham, Page Green, corner of Broad Lane, at 11.30, branch; end of Seven Sisters Road, High Road, Tottenham, at 6.30, C. R. Vincent.
- Walworth, East Lane, near Board Schools, at 11.30, G. Lansbury; South Street, 11.30, Lockwood and Partridge; Manor Place, at 8 p.m., T. Partridge; Wansley Street, at 8, C. Henn.
- Wandsworth, Buckholt Road, opposite the Town Hall, 11.30, H. Quelch; East Hill, 7.30, J. Leonard.
- Wood Green, Jolly Butchers Hill, at 11.15 a.m.
- Walthamstow, Lea Bridge Road, corner of Shernhall Street, at 11.30; Markhouse Common, at 11.30, Branch, and 6.30, L. Waring.
- West Islington, Victoria Road, Holloway, at 11.30; Charlotte Street, 11.30, T. Jarvis; Copenhagen Street, 7 p.m.; *Bemerton Hall, 2, Bemerton Street; Copenhagen Street, at 8.15, a lecture.
- Whitechapel, Osborn Street, opposite Whitechapel Church, at 11.30, C. Bailey.
- Wimbledon, Broadway, 7 p.m., H. Stratton, F. D. Summers, A. J. Penny, L. C. Irons, and G. Clifton.

Monday, June 4.

- Clerkenwell, Folkard Coffee Palace, Farringdon Road (opposite Fire Station), at 8 p.m., branch meeting every week.
 - Lambeth Walk, Lollard Street, 8 p.m., Branch.
- Tuesday, June 5.**
- The Hall of the S.D.F., 337, Strand, W.O., at 8 p.m., Executive Council Meeting
 - Bow and Bromley, Usher Road, Roman Road.
 - Hoxton Church, at 8.30.
 - Kingsland, Downham Road, 8.30, Rose Jarvis.
 - Mile End, corner of Philpot Street, at 8 p.m.
 - Walworth, Westmoreland Road, at 8, J. B. Buckeridge and C. Henn.

Wednesday, June 6.

- Bow and Bromley, Parnell and Old Ford Roads, Bow, 8.30.
- Camberwell, outside Vestry Hall, at 8 p.m.
- Canning Town High Street, Plaistow, 8 p.m.
- Lambeth Walk, Princes Road, at 8 p.m., Branch.
- Mile End Branch, Portland Street, at 8.
- Walworth, 233, Walworth Road, Election Committee, 8.30.
- Wimbledon Broadway, at 8.

Thursday, June 7.

- Clerkenwell Green, 8 p.m.
- Kentish Town, outside "Mother Shipton," Prince of Wales Road, at 8 p.m.
- Kingsland, Downham Road, 8 p.m.
- Walworth, Wansley Street, at 8, Bethnal Green Branch.

Friday, June 8.

- Bermondsey, outside Christchurch, at 8.
- Hackney, Well Street (outside Berger's Factory), at 8.30.
- Kentish Town, Obelisk, bottom of Weedington Road, at 8 p.m.
- Mile End Waste, 8 p.m.
- Walworth Wadding Street, at 8, Lockwood and Partridge.
- West Islington, Charlotte Street, at 8.
- *Whitechapel, "Duke of Clarence," Commercial Road, and Greenfield Street, 8 p.m.

PROVINCES.

Saturday, June 2.

- Aberdeen, Castle Street, at 8 p.m.
 - Croydon Station Road, North End, at 8.
 - Sheffield, Monolith, at 8 p.m.
 - Todmorden, Market Place, at 3.30 and 7.30.
- Sunday, June 3.**
- Aberdeen, Market Street, at 3 p.m.
 - Ashton-in-Makerfield.
 - *Barrowford Socialist Hall, 3 and 6.30 p.m.
 - Bolton, Town Hall Square, 3 and 7.30.
 - Burnley, Market Place, 3 p.m.; Burnley Wood Recreation Ground, at 11 a.m.; Burnley Lane, near Birleys Factory, 11 a.m.; Whittlefield Recreation Ground 11 a.m.; Bradley's Old Property, Sandycroft, 11 a.m.; Stoneyholme Recreation Ground, Clifton, 11 a.m.; Fulledge Recreation Ground, 11 a.m.; Healey Wood, opposite Healy Wood Inn, 11.30, St. James's Hall, 6.30.
 - *Blackburn, 52, Victoria Street, 3.30 and 6.30.
 - Bristol Socialist Society, Clifton Downs, 7.30; Hotwells, 7.30; Bedminster Park, 7.30; Eastville, 7.30; St. Augustines Bridge, 7.30.
 - Bury, 11, 3, and 7.
 - Birmingham, Gosta Green, 11 a.m.; Bull Ring, 6.30.
 - Chorley, Cattle Market 3 and 6.30 p.m.
 - Church, Colliers Row, off Union Road, Aswoldtwistle.
 - Clayton-le-Moors.
 - Colne at 2.30 and 6.30.
 - Coventry, Pool Meadow, 11.30 and 3.30.
 - Croydon Socialist Society, corner of George Street, 6.30.
 - Darlington Fabian Society, Market Steps, at 6.30 p.m.
 - Darwen, Market Ground, 3.30 and 6.30.
 - Dudley, Market Place, 11 and 6.30.
 - Dundee, foot of Bonnet Hill, at 2 p.m.; Commercial Street, 6.30.
 - Eccles Cross, at 6.30 p.m.
 - Edinburgh Scottish Socialist Federation, Meadows, 6.30.
 - Gainborough, Southholme, at 11.30, Oates Lockwood.
 - Glasgow, Jail Square, at 2; Bridgeton Cross, at 6 p.m.; *Harmonic Hall, 8, Watson Street, Gallowgate, at 7 p.m., a lecture.
 - Grays, High Street 11.30 and 7.
 - *Great Harwood, 2.30 and 6.30.
 - Hanley (the Potteries), Market Square, at 11 a.m.; Joiners Square, 11.30.
 - Heywood, at 11 a.m.
 - Hulme (Manchester), 11 a.m., corner of Chester Road and Cornbrook Road, 3 p.m., corner of Chorlton Road and Cornbrook Street.
 - Kettering, Bakehouse, 11.15 and 6.15.
 - Leith, Leith Links.
 - Leeds, Vicar's Croft, at 11.15; Woodhouse Moor, 3 and 6.30 p.m.
 - Leicester Labour Club, Belgrave Gate, at 6.30 p.m.
 - Leigh, outside Post Office, 11 a.m., 3, and 6.30 p.m.
 - Lincoln, Cornhill, at 11 and 7.30.
 - Liverpool, Pier Head, 11.15 and 3.15; Islington Square, 8 p.m.
 - Maidenhead, Market Place, 3 and 6.30 p.m.
 - *Nelson S.D.F. Club Rooms, North Street, at 3 and 6.30.
 - Northampton, Regent Square, 9.15; Market Square, at 11; Corn Meadow and Mayorhold, 3; Market Square, 6.30.
 - North Salford Branch, opposite Blackfriars Baths at 11 a.m.
 - Nottingham Branch, Sneinton Market (open-air); 11 a.m.
 - Oldham, Tommyfield, at 2 and 6 p.m., (if weather unfavourable, at Socialist Institute, Retiro Street).
 - *Padiham, S.D.F. Club, Webster's Buildings, at 3 and 6.30 p.m.
 - Rawtenstall, at 2.30 and 6.30.
 - Reading, Recreation Ground, at 11.30; Cemetery Gates at 3; St. Mary's Butts, at 7 p.m.
 - Rochdale, Town Hall Square, 3 and 6.30; Castle on, 11 a.m.
 - Sheffield, Monolith 11.30 and 7; Fitzwilliam Square at 3 p.m.; Attercliffe, Pinfold Lane, 11.15; Newhall Road at 7 p.m.
 - Southampton, High Street, near L.T. and S.R. Station at 11 a.m., G. Kohler; corner of York Road, 6.30, G. Kohler.
 - South Salford, Trafford Bridge, at 11; *S.D.F. Club, 43, Trafford Road at 3 p.m.; 7 p.m.
 - Southampton, Kingsland Square, 11 a.m., J. Kent, Socialism and Labourism; The Avenue, 3 p.m., J. Kent, Why we Fight the Liberal Party.
 - Swansea, Quay Parade, 11.30.
 - Todmorden, Market Place 11.30.
 - Tunbridge Wells, Branch meeting, 10, Dorking Road, 7.
 - Wigan, Old Market Place, at 3 p.m.
- Monday, June 4.**
- Birmingham, Trades' Hall, Sherlock Street East, 8 p.m.
 - Glasgow, Phoenix Park, at 8 p.m.
 - Swansea, Quay Parade, at 7.30; Colosseum Hotel, 8.
- Tuesday, June 5.**
- Glasgow, Anderson Cross, 8.
 - *Oldham, Socialist Institute, Retiro Street, at 7.30 p.m., Discussion Forum.
- Wednesday, June 6.**
- Gainsborough Branch, Kirton Lindsay, 7.30, A. Lockwood.
 - *Liverpool Branch, Club Room, 2, Birchfield Street, at 8 p.m.
 - Rochdale, Castleton, 7.30.

THE TWENTIETH CENTURY PRESS, Ltd.,

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PROGRAMME

Social - Democratic Federation.

OBJECT.

The Socialisation of the Means of Production, Distribution and Exchange to be controlled by a Democratic State in the interest of the entire community, and the complete Emancipation of Labour from the domination of Capitalism and Landlordism, with the establishment of Social and Economic Equality between the Sexes.

PROGRAMME.

I.—All Officers or Administrators to be elected by Equal Direct Adult Suffrage and to be paid by the community.

II.—Legislation by the People in such wise that no project of Law shall become legally binding till accepted by the majority of the People.

III.—The Abolition of a Standing Army, and the Establishment of a National Citizen Force; the People to decide on Peace or War.

IV.—All Education, higher no less than elementary, to be Compulsory, Secular, Industrial and Gratuitous for all alike.

V.—The Administration of Justice to be Gratuitous for all members of society.

VI.—The Land, with all the Mines, Railways, and other Means of Transit, to be declared and treated as Collective or Common Property.

VII.—The Means of Production, Distribution, and Exchange to be declared and treated as Collective or Common Property.

VIII.—The Production and Distribution of Wealth to be regulated by Society in the common interests of all its Members.

PALLIATIVES.

As measures called for to palliate the evils of our existing society the Social-Democratic Federation urges for immediate adoption:—

The Compulsory Construction of healthy dwellings for the people, and such dwellings to be let at rents to cover the cost of construction and maintenance alone.

Free, Secular and Technical Education, compulsory upon all classes, together with Free Maintenance for the Children in all Board Schools.

Eight hours or less to be the normal working day fixed in all trades and industries by Legislative Enactment or not more than forty eight hours per week, penalties to be inflicted for any infringement of this law.

Cumulative taxation upon all incomes exceeding £300 a year.

State Appropriation of Railways; municipal ownership and control of Gas, Electric Light and Water Supplies; the organisation of Tramway and Omnibus Services and similar monopolies in the interests of the entire community.

The extension of the Post Office Savings Bank, which shall absorb all private institutions that derive a profit from operations in money or credit.

Repudiation of the National debt.
Nationalisation of the Land, and organisation of agricultural and industrial armies under State and Municipal control on Co-operative principles.

As means for the peaceful attainment of these objects the Social-Democratic Federation advocates:—

Payment of Members of Parliament and all local bodies and official expenses of elections out of the Public Funds. Adult Suffrage. Annual Parliaments. Proportional Representation. Second Ballot. Abolition of the Monarchy and the House of Lords. Disestablishment and Disendowment of all State Churches. Extension of the Powers of County Councils. The Establishment of District Councils. Legislative Independence or all parts of the Empire.

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