

THE COMMONWEAL

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WEEKLY; ONE PENNY.

FREE SPEECH IN THE STREETS.

THE police-war against the open-air speaking of the Socialists is being carried on with much vigour this year, and cannot fail even at this stage of it to be noticed by the general public. As this number of the *Commonweal* may, like other numbers, come into the hands of many who are not Socialists, it is not untimely to say a few words on this subject; especially since it is one of great importance to us and not unimportant to people generally, even in these days of Dilke-Crawford trials and the coming Tory Government.

For the information of those who have not followed the course of the attacks made on us, I should premise that we were first interfered with at Stratford for speaking on a triangular piece of ground, where a meeting of 600 persons can be held without in any way interfering with the traffic, either foot or vehicular, and where the houses on one side at least are practically out of earshot of the speaking, certainly on days when there is any wheel traffic (our meetings there were held on Saturdays). One of our speakers was arrested there last year, but on his proving before the magistrate that there was no real obstruction to either foot-passengers or vehicles, the charge was dismissed, and we held other meetings there without being meddled with. It is worth while mentioning that a leading Radical of the neighbourhood on being appealed to for help in a demonstration which it has been proposed to organise apropos of this station, declined on the grounds that it had drawbacks as a meeting-place (every place has except the parks) and that there was a place farther on that we could use without interference; but it turns out that the place in question is private property, a piece of ground awaiting building operations, and from it, therefore, we could be turned off at any time.

About the same time that we were interfered with at Stratford, the Social Democratic Federation were attacked at Kilburn.

At Bell Street, Edgware Road, our speakers and those of the Social Democratic Federation had been in the habit of addressing the public on Sundays for eighteen months without any interference on the part of the police; but on Sunday July 4 one of our speakers was arrested, and the two following Sundays two more, together with one of the Federation.

This spot is certainly not so defensible as the piece of waste at Stratford, being a street merely; but there is very little traffic in it on a Sunday, and all Socialist speakers have sedulously kept the footways clear. Whatever inconvenience, therefore, there has been to the public in our meetings, must have been to the occupiers of dwelling-houses in the street; but for eighteen months no complaint has been made. That the inhabitants should suddenly wake up to the unbearable-ness of our meetings without any promptings from without, looks a little like a miracle, which perhaps the police authorities can explain. On the whole, it must be said of Bell Street that it is somewhat more inconvenient, though but a little more, than Dod Street, where last year public feeling compelled the police to yield.

At the Harrow Road our speakers were "moved on" some weeks ago and a better place suggested to them by the police; but they were not left in peace there. On July 3 a speaker of ours was summoned for addressing a meeting there and since then meetings have been interdicted. This station is much the same sort of place as the piece of ground at Stratford.

Now we do not claim to be allowed to hold *demonstrations* on these or such-like places, but only our ordinary weekly meetings, held for instruction in our doctrines and discussion of them; these from the nature of them cannot be very large, the same kind of people (often I should hope the same people) week after week; persons who attracted at first by seeing *something* going on, listen, and find it worth while to come again; on the whole, in fact, serious people with some political proclivities. Our Radical friend above-mentioned, was clearly thinking of the Stratford station as a place for holding an excited political meeting on a subject specially interesting at the time; in short, an actual demonstration; whereas our meetings are educational in their character.

It must be remembered, too, that apart from our wishing to extend the field of our operations, and to get at people that might be shy of

entering a lecture-room, we *cannot* always get a lecture-room for either love or money. We are strictly boycotted. This was the case in Stratford, and in the district of Bell Street also; at the latter place our Branch being turned out of several rooms after a lecture or two simply on the grounds of our being Socialists. In such districts, therefore, if we are not allowed to speak in the open-air we are gagged, and this although, at the latter place at least, the whole of the population in the streets are enthusiastically in our favour.

As to the causes which have impelled the police against us, I believe that they are complex. There is the natural wish to keep the streets as clear as may be: no one can have a word to say against that, except that there may be cases where the greater advantage may override the less. Only I have noted of late years a growing impatience on the part of the more luxurious portion of society of the amusements and habits of the workers, when they in any way interfere with the calm of their luxury; or to put it in plainer language, a tendency on their part to arrogant petty tyranny in these matters. They would, if they could, clear the streets of everything that may injure their delicate susceptibilities, although all this roughness and squalid stir is but the wrong side of the system which gives them their superior position. They are ashamed of these coarsenesses, though they are not ashamed to be the perpetual pensioners of those whom they force into them, and to live on their unpaid labour. They would clear the streets of costermongers, organs, processions, and lecturers of all kinds, and make them a sort of decent prison corridors, with people just trudging to and from their work. It is impossible but that this feeling should influence the police, who are their immediate servants; and I do not doubt that they trundle to it, apart from the question of Socialist or non-Socialist.

At the same time no one who has noticed the way in which street-corner meetings have been dealt with by them can doubt that they have, to say the least of it, shown a strong bias against Socialists, in spite of all plausible arguments to the contrary. It is quite clear that if they are allowed to indulge in this prepossession, and to act up to the letter of the law in one case while they let it alone in another, they can clear the streets of Socialists while leaving the religious, temperance, and other *respectable* meetings to flourish as they may; and moreover a very little exercise of the bias may do all that is necessary, as, *e.g.*, to let the gospel preacher have his full hour and *then* move him on, while the Socialist is accosted after ten minutes. Such things as this can be done, and so plausibly put before the public that it is humbugged into believing the police to be merely the champions of free circulation in the streets, while in reality they are lending themselves to mere party purposes.

What we Socialists ask for is not to be interfered with in cases where the holding of a meeting is no real inconvenience to the neighbourhood. We do not believe that the existing law was intended to interfere with such meetings, or that it should be strained in that direction against any bodies of men—religious, temperance, secularist, or others; at the same time we claim to be treated no worse than any of these. If, on the one hand, the police are ambitious to draw the reins of discipline tighter, and to turn London into a model city in such matters, do not let them attack the others through us, because we are a new sect and therefore accounted dangerous. On the other hand, if the authorities consider it necessary to suppress the preaching of our doctrines as dangerous, do not let them sneak behind a mere police order for the regulation of traffic, but attack us in front for our spoken or written utterances which are before the public everywhere. The public can then choose whether they like to see prosecutions for opinion going on in England at the end of the nineteenth century.

For the rest, we appeal to all reasonable people not to allow the streets to be deprived of all life or pleasure at the dictation of wealthy pedants and pleasure-seekers. The workers have not too many intellectual pleasures. Their homes are dull and narrow at the best; for many the streets are their only drawing-room. It may be questionable whether setting their brains to thinking over "dangerous" doctrines is really so dangerous as driving them back into brutality by constant repression. It is perhaps worth while to sacrifice some of the decorum of the streets for the sake of some extra education in these days of political ferment. On the other hand, if there are any who think it possible to quench the expression of great principles that are at work throughout all civilisation by petty police persecution, they will find themselves mistaken. In short, the public have to make up their mind whether the police shall be their servants or their masters. In order that they may escape the danger of the latter event they must bestir themselves and look at what is being done without prejudice against the Socialists because of their doctrines.

WM. MORRIS.

SOCIALISM FROM THE ROOT UP.

CHAPTER VIII.

THE FRENCH REVOLUTION: THE PROLETARIAN STAGE.

THE insurrection of the 10th August, which culminated in the final downfall of the monarchy and the imprisonment of the king and royal family in the Temple, was headed and organised by a new body definitely revolutionary, intended to be the expression of the power of the proletariat, the new Commune of Paris, the moving spirit of which was Marat, who even had a seat of honour assigned to him in the Council. Already, before the king had been sent to the Temple, the Girondin Vergniaud, as president, had moved the suspension of the "hereditary representative" and the summoning of a national convention. Danton was made minister of justice; Robespierre was on the Council of the Commune. A new Court of Criminal Justice was established for the trial of the crimes of August 10th. The members of the Convention were chosen by double election, but the property qualification of "active and passive citizens" was done away with.

While all this was going on, the movement of the reactionary armies on France was still afoot; and the furious flame of French national enthusiasm, which was afterwards used by the mere self-seeking conqueror Napoleon, was lighted by the necessity of the moment—not to be extinguished in days long after his. We mention this here because, in order to appreciate what follows, it must be remembered that an armed coalition of the absolutist countries was gathering together, threatening to drown the Revolution in the blood of the French people, and especially of the people of Paris; and that one of its armies, commanded by the Duke of Brunswick, a famous general of Frederick the Great, was already within a few days' march of the city; and that nothing was between Paris and destruction but undisciplined levies and the rags of the neglected army formed under the old régime; while at the same time the famous royalist insurrection had broken out in La Vendée. Every republican in Paris, therefore, had good reason to feel that both his own life and the future of his country were in immediate danger at the hands of those who did not care what became of France and her people so long as the monarchy could be restored.

Danton now demanded a search for arms, which was carried out on August 29th; and the prisons were filled with prisoners suspected of royalist plotting, and many of them surely guilty of it.

Verdun fell on the 2nd September, and the Duke of Brunswick boasted that he would presently dine in Paris; and on the same night insurrectionary courts of justice—Lynch-law, as we should call it now—were established at the prisons, and the prisoners were brought before them and judged. If found guilty they were turned out into the street with the words, "Let the prisoner be enlarged," or "Let him be conducted to La Force" or "the Abbaye," according to whether he was at one or the other. He was then immediately cut down and slain by a body of men waiting for him. If he was acquitted, the word went, "Let him be enlarged," with the cry of "Vive la nation!" and he went free. It should be noted, in order to show the hysterical excitement amidst which all this was done, that the acquittals were greeted with cries of joy, tears, and embraces on the part of the court and its sympathisers. It may be further noted that the watches, rings, etc., of the slain were brought to the town-hall by the slayers, who claimed each a louis (20s.) for their night's work. The number of the slain was one thousand and eighty-nine.

The next day a circular was issued by the Committee of Public Safety approving of the massacre, signed by Sergent, Panis (Danton's friend), and Marat, with seven others.

The Girondins in the Assembly and elsewhere kept quiet for the time, though they afterwards used the event against the Jacobins.

Meanwhile the French army, under Dumouriez, had seized on the woodland hills of the Argonne, checked Brunswick, defeated him at Valmy, and Paris was saved.

The Convention now met—on the 20th September—and the parties of the Girondins and the Mountain, or extreme revolutionists, were at once formed in it. It is noteworthy that while it declared as its foundation the sovereignty of the people and the abolition of royalty, it also decreed that landed and other property was sacred for ever. Apropos of which, it may here be mentioned that the bookseller Momoro, having hinted at something like agrarian law, and some faint shadow of Socialism, had to go into hiding to avoid hanging.

So far, therefore, we have got no further than the complete triumph of bourgeois republicanism; though, indeed, the possibility of its retaining its position depended, as the event showed, on the support of the proletariat, which was only given on the terms that the material condition of the workers should be altered for the better by the new régime. And those terms, in the long-run, bourgeois republicanism could not keep, and therefore it fell.

The Girondins or moderate party in the Convention, began their attack on the Jacobins on the subject of the September massacres, and also by attacking Marat personally (on the 21st September)—which attack, however, failed egregiously. The Girondins, as their name implies, leaned on the support of the provinces, where respectability was stronger than in Paris, and tried to levy a body-guard for the defence of the Convention against the Paris populace; but though they got the decree for it passed, they could not carry it out. In their character of political economists, also, they resisted the imposing a maximum price on grain, a measure which the scarcity caused by the general disturbance made imperative, if the proletariat were to have any share in the advantages of the Revolution. In short, the Girondins

were obviously out of sympathy with the mass of the people—the only power that can support revolutionists; therefore, though they were posing as supporters of the rights of the people, they were bound to fall.

The trial of the king now came on, and tested the Girondins in a fresh way; they mostly voted his death, but as if driven to do so from a feeling that opinion was against them, and that they might as well have some credit for this. The king was beheaded on January 21st, 1793, and as an immediate consequence England and Spain declared war. But this business of the king made a kind of truce between the parties, which, however, soon came to an end. Marat was the great object of attack, and on the 25th February, 1793, he was decreed accused on account of some passages in his journal approving of the bread riots which had taken place, and suggesting the hanging of a forestaller or two. On the other hand, on the 10th of March, the section Bonconseil demanded the arrest of the prominent Girondins. Meantime, Danton had been trying all along to keep the peace between the two parties, but on April 1st, the Girondins accused him of complicity with Dumouriez, who had now fled over the frontier, and so forced him into becoming one of their most energetic enemies. The position of the Girondins was now desperate. On the 24th March, Marat was acquitted and brought back in triumph to the Convention.

The Girondins got appointed a packed committee of twelve in the interest of the Convention as against the Paris sections. As an answer to this a central committee of the sections was formed, which on May 31st dominated the Municipality (not loth to be so dealt with) and surrounded the Convention with troops. After an attempt on the part of the Girondins to assert their freedom of action, the Convention decreed them accused and they were put under arrest. They died afterwards, some by the guillotine, some even more miserably, within a few months; but their party is at an end from this date. All that happened in the Convention from this time to the fall of Robespierre in "Thermidor" was the work of a few revolutionists, each trying to keep level with the proletarian instinct, and each failing in turn. They had not the key to the great secret; they were still bourgeois, and still supposed that there must necessarily be a propertyless proletariat led by bourgeois, or at least served by them; they had not conceived the idea of the extinction of classes, and the organisation of the people itself for its own ends.

Marat's death at the hand of Charlotte Corday, on July 14th, removed the only real rival to Robespierre, the only man who might, perhaps, have made Napoleonism unnecessary.

The law of maximum was now passed, however, and a cumulative income tax, so that, as Carlyle remarks, the workman was at least better off under the Terror than he had ever been before; but without a direct attack on the root of exploitation there can be no true equality, and nothing that can be laid hold of as a principle of Society; the people cannot understand, and therefore cannot themselves organise themselves. Until labour is free, it has to be organised by those who are the masters of the labourers, and the revolutionists of this period were at once too good and too bad to be their masters; therefore, as above said, they could only drift on the current of events.

Robespierre, Danton, and the Hebertists were now what of force was left in the Convention, and doubtless the first of these had made up his mind to get the reins of power into his own hands. Meantime, a new calendar, in which the months were distinguished by names taken from the march of the natural drama of the year, was published, and an attempt was made to establish a new worship founded on Materialism; but, like all such artificial attempts to establish what is naturally the long growth of time, it failed. Chaumette, Hebert and their followers were the leaders in this business, which Robespierre disapproved of, and Danton growled at.

The Extraordinary Tribunal under Fouquier Tinville was now the Executive in Paris, and backed by the law of suspects, speedily got rid of all obstacles to the Revolution, and of many also who had worked according to their lights for its furtherance. Robespierre, it is hard to say how or why, became at last practical dictator.

The Hebertists under the name of the "Enragés" (rabids) were accused at Robespierre's instance, found guilty and executed. Danton, giving way it would seem to some impulse towards laziness inherent in his nature, let himself be crushed, and died along with Camille Desmoullins on 31st of March, 1794, and at last Robespierre was both in reality and appearance supreme. On the 8th of June he inaugurated his new worship by his feast of the Supreme Being, but did not follow it up by any diminution in the number of batches for the guillotine; and ominous grumblings began to be heard. According to a story current, Carnot got by accident at a list of 40 to be arrested, among whom he read his own name. On the 26th July, Robespierre was met by unexpected opposition in the Convention. The next day he was decreed accused at the Convention, and Henriot deposed from the command of the National Guard; but there was a respite which a more ready man, a man of military instinct at least, might have used. Robespierre lacked that instinct; Henriot failed miserably in his attempt to crush the Convention. The insurrectionary troops on being appealed to by the Convention, wavered and gave way, and Robespierre was arrested. In fact, Robespierre seems to have worn out the patience of the people by his continued executions. Had he proclaimed an amnesty after his Feast of the Supreme Being, he would have had a much longer lease of power; as it was he and his tail died on the 28th July.

¹ A curious exemplification of the change in the speed of the transmission of news, is given by the fact that *The Times* published the first news of this fall of Robespierre three weeks after the event.

There was nothing left to carry on the Revolution after this but a knot of self-seeking politicians of the usual type; they had only to keep matters going till they were ready for the dictator who could organise for his own purposes people and army, and who came in the shape of Napoleon. The proletarians were no longer needed as allies, and disunited, ignorant of principles, and used to trust to leaders, they could make no head against the Society which they had shaken indeed, owing to its internal dissensions, but which they were not yet able to destroy.

One event only there remains to be mentioned; the attempt of Babœuf and his followers to get a proletarian republic recognised; it has been called an insurrection, but it never came to that, being crushed while it was yet only the beginning of a propaganda. Babœuf and his followers were brought to trial in April, 1796. He and Darthes were condemned to death, but killed themselves before the sentence could be carried out. Ten others were condemned to prison and exile; and so ended the first Socialist propaganda.

It is commonly said that Napoleon crushed the Revolution, but what he really did was to put on it the final seal of law and order. The Revolution was set on foot by the middle-classes in their own interests; the sentence which Napoleon accepted as the expression of his aims, "la carrière ouverte aux talents"—"the career thrown open to talent"—is the motto of middle-class supremacy. It implies the overthrow of aristocratic privilege and the setting up in its place of the money-aristocracy, founded on the privilege of exploitation, amidst a world of so-called "free competition." The Middle-class, the first beginnings of which we saw formed in the Middle Ages, after a long and violent struggle has conquered and is supreme from henceforth.

E. BELFORD BAX AND WILLIAM MORRIS.

(To be continued).

PROFESSION VERSUS HANDICRAFT.

It is a very common point for anti-Socialists in discussion to cite the case of our leading professional men, and ask will such men be content to have their day's labour classed with that of the mechanic—can it be expected that Socialism should be applied to them—men who now fairly earn their thousands a-year? At first sight it would seem a stumbling-block to the equalisation of all employment. The fact that our eminent professional men command such high salaries only points out that good physicians, surgeons, engineers, architects, etc., are scarce, although the learned professions are overstocked, and overstocked, to a great extent, with intellectual failures. This is due to our present commercial system, as I shall now try to prove.

It is generally admitted and acknowledged by our middle and upper classes—that is, by the class who live on what is commonly called private property, or even partially live on it—that manual labour in the United Kingdom is degrading, although when they are driven, through misfortune, to go to the colonies, Canada, or the United States, they rapidly change their minds on this subject. The middle-class don't object to their sons being shepherds, providing it is beyond the seas somewhere. The consequence is that those who can afford it put their sons into the "gentle callings." Parents and guardians never ask the question, "Has this youth the intellectual capacity for this profession?" or "Is he socially and morally fitted for this work?" No; it is simply a question of money. The only questions that are asked are, "What will it cost to make him a doctor?" "Can I support him until he gets a practice?" A youth can be made a doctor for so much. Some of our leading engineers will take pupils for from three to five hundred pounds per annum; and after three to five years they are turned out on the world as civil engineers. From this system it will be seen how the professions are overstocked with mental failures.

It would be waste of time to cite the cases of doctors who have hated their work from the time they entered the dissecting-room. Many medical men have come to grief, not because they were bad men, but simply from the fact that the work did not suit their intellectual and moral organisation. Apart from the formation of the forehead—and a certain formation is necessary to make a good surgeon—there are moral and social faculties which must be taken into account before a man is qualified to attend to the young, the feeble, and the helpless.

All men are good, providing they are employed on the occupation suited to their intellectual, moral, and social characteristics.

It will be now seen why some professional men are so eminent. They happen to be suited for the work their friends put them to, consequently they are successful; but how about the others?

I should think that under a Socialistic system better means would be adopted for making doctors, engineers, architects, etc., than are in vogue at present.

H. C. D.

"THESE ARE THE GEESSE."—A correspondent writes to the *Daily News*:—"Anent your article on Colonel Makins referring to his extraordinary announcement 'that 80 years ago Ireland had no railways,' I may remark that so wonderful and sage a statement was capped by another not perhaps quite so marvellous, but certainly equally as true, by one of his supporters, a pseudo-working man named Copley, the secretary, I believe, of the Conservative Club at Walthamstow, who, in the course of a diatribe against Mr. Gladstone, said—'What should we do without gentlemen? How should we be paid our wages if it were not for the gentlemen? You have all of you heard of the goose that laid the golden egg. Well, gentlemen, these (turning dramatically to Colonel Makins and his friends on the platform) are the geese.'"

SONGS FOR THE PEOPLE.

II.—THE COMING OF THE LIGHT.

TUNE—"The rising of the Moon."

Hark! the sound of many voices proclaims the dawn of day,
And in the glow of morning the shadows fade away;
Lo! the trumpet call is ringing, and the sky is clear and bright,
And your masters flee in terror at the coming of the light.
O, the coming of the light! O, the coming of the light!
Lo! your masters flee in terror at the coming of the light.

March! march! ye swarming myriads, from the alley and the slum,
See, the gods of this world tremble with a fear that strikes them dumb.
Arm! arm! then, and make ready. Ye know that might is right!
And the workers' strength shall prove it at the coming of the light.
O, the coming of the light! O, the coming of the light!
And the workers' strength shall prove it at the coming of the light.

Raise again the blood-red banner, that your masters fear to see,
With the Phrygian cap upon it that tells of liberty.
Once, more, then, raise that banner, short and brief shall be the fight,
For the people march to battle at the coming of the light.
O, the coming of the light! O, the coming of the light!
When the people march to battle at the coming of the light.

Now, beneath the rule of robbers the world grows sad and old,
The people bound and fettered by a chain of glittering gold;
But when the trumpet soundeth, the world shall see a sight,
The golden chain is broken, at the coming of the light.
O, the coming of the light! O, the coming of the light!
The golden chain is broken at the coming of the light.

D. NICOLL.

LITERARY NOTICES.

Die Neue Zeit, of Evansville (Ind.) U.S.A., has ceased to exist. Started under what were apparently promising auspices and run with a good deal of sagacity and enterprise it has, after a brief career, shared the fate of so many other pioneers and "gone under."

The *Irish World*, the paper which was honoured by the English Government with an interdict upon its being allowed to enter England, and for fear of whose trenchant attacks have been adopted the tactics put in force by their predecessors against Mazzini and Garibaldi—the "Grahamising" of the mails—is not only an alert and vigorous foe of English misrule in Ireland, but also takes an advanced stand upon all labour-matters. Its editor and his staff have a pretty thorough grip of social economics, and are educating their clients to see that merely political liberty leaves a good lot yet to be striven for. "Hence these tears" on the part of our rulers, who have given to Patrick Ford's outspoken paper the proudly unique position of being the one in the wide world forbidden to enter our free and happy land!

"It is to be regretted that the failings of the other sex so often compel a woman after marriage to support her family," etc.—(Boston) *Woman's Journal*. It is to be regretted that women offer their labour for a lower price in the market and undersell their husbands. It is also to be regretted that the woman's suffrage advocates do not go a little deeper into the economic causes of woman's position to-day instead of wasting their breath in abusing the male animal.—M. M.

We are sometimes accused of ill-nature when we hint that the disinterested benevolence which prompts mercantile folk to support foreign missions is not quite "all wool," and that besides the advertisement secured in solid papers, there is withal a good return for their investments in this direction. In alluding to the advent of an interesting stranger at one of the outlying military posts in Burmah, *Allen's Indian Mail* of 12th inst. says: "It was then ascertained that he was a missionary who had just made an adventurous journey from China. Possibly he may have gone over a portion of the ground that will be used in opening up a trade route between Burmah and China; but in any case he will doubtless be able to give information which will be of great service in establishing commercial relations between the two countries, and the trader will once more be indebted to the missionary as a pioneer." Just so!—S.

WHAT IS MURDER?—"Does murder become sanctified in proportion to its likelihood of resulting in wholesale massacre?" This important question is asked by that highly respectable Conservative organ the *Globe*, in a more than usually eloquent article on the extradition treaty between England and America. To this one can only reply that that entirely depends by whom the murder is committed. If a few individuals come over here and use dynamite and thereby endanger the personal safety of a Tory minister, we can understand that the action is a very wicked one, and those individuals should be immediately suppressed by all the resources that civilisation has at its back, in the shape of spies, policemen, prisons, and rope. But when a civilised government sends its troops armed and equipped with all the appliances that can be furnished by military science, to destroy the "life and property" of Arabs and Burmese, that of course is highly laudable; murder is "sanctified," "wholesale massacres" become "glorious victories," and decorations, pensions, and titles are showered upon the chiefs of the "civilised" banditti. The future, however, will decide who are the greater criminals; whether they are the men driven mad by tyranny and oppression—men who see all justice denied them, their wives and children starving, that their landlords and their governors might riot in riches and luxury—or the scoundrels who sit in high places and send their slaves and lackeys to do the deeds they dare not do themselves.—D. N.

"The ordinary Chinese peasant is far better off than the agricultural serf in England. And if some of the Chinaman's homes seem squalid to herd in, they are at any rate better than the dens which some English and Irish landlords think good enough for their Christian brothers. In England, too, how often will you see a peasant tilling his own land? How often will you find a peasant, who has any hope of possessing property, or any notion of any right except the right for which he struggles hard—a share in the public alms?"—*The Cruise of the Bacchante*, by Prince Edward and Prince George of Wales.



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

Communications are invited from all concerned with social questions. They should be written on one side of the paper only and should be addressed to the Editors of the COMMONWEAL, 13 Farringdon Road, E.C. They must be accompanied by the name and address of the writer, not necessarily for publication.

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

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

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All business communications to be addressed to the Manager of the COMMONWEAL, 13 Farringdon Road, E.C. Business communications must not be sent to the Editors. All remittances should be made in Postal Orders or halfpenny stamps.

TO CORRESPONDENTS.

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

Periodicals received during the week ending Wednesday July 28.

| | | | |
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| ENGLAND | | San Francisco (Cal.)—Truth | HOLLAND: Recht voor Allen |
| Daylight (Norwich) | Justice | Petersburg (Ill.)—Voice of Labor | HUNGARY: Buda-Pest—Arbeiter-Wochen-Chronik |
| Prothinker | Club and Institute Journal | New Haven (Conn.)—Workmen's Advocate | ITALY: Milan—Il Fascio Operaio |
| UNITED STATES | | Milwaukee (Wis.)—Volksblatt | Brescia—Farfarello primo |
| New York—Volkszeitung | Der Sozialist | Portland (Oregon)—Alarm | PORTUGAL: O Campino |
| Freiheit | John Swinton's Paper | Paterson (N.J.)—Labor Standard | Lisbon—O Protesto Operario |
| Truthseeker | Boston—Woman's Journal | FRANCE | Voz do Operario |
| Denver (Col.)—Labor Inquirer | Little Socialist | Paris—Cri du Peuple (daily) | SPAIN: El Angel del Hogar |
| Detroit (Mich.)—Labor Leaf | Toledo (O.)—Industrial News | Le Revolte | Acrcia (Barcelona) (mana) |
| | | Le Socialiste | Barcelona—La Justicia Hu- |
| | | Guise—Le Devoir | Madrid—El Socialista |
| | | INDIA: Madras—People's Friend | Banders Social |
| | | Allahabad—People's Budget | Cadiz—El Socialismo |
| | | Bombay—Times of India | Huelva—La Perseverancia |
| | | Bombay Gazette | SWITZERLAND: Zurich—Sozial Demokrat |

RECEIVED.—"The Axe is Laid unto the Root"—"Earl Morley on Socialism"—"Moderation."

ENGINEERS' ANNUAL REPORT—1885.

THE Report of the Amalgamated Engineers is neither hopeful for the trade nor creditable to the Secretary. Mr. Burnett tries hard, but vainly, to put a bright face on the state of affairs. The admitted fact is that last year was in all respects the worst the Society has yet felt in the course of its thirty-five years of life, except 1879. Yet 1885 was a peaceful year, there being no great dispute on except the fag-end of the Sunderland strike, while 1879 was a year famous for many and bitter disputes. Last year £78,669 were spent in donations, etc., to members out of work. This figure was never before reached, except in 1879, nor was any other year but that within £12,000 of it. A striking fact, not alluded to by the secretary, is that while the last six months of 1879 showed a hopeful tendency, the last six months of 1885 show a tendency for the worse—that is, the misfortunes of 1879 were passing away, while those of 1885 have been steadily deepening. During the last three years our trade in engineering products with Russia, Germany, Holland, France, Belgium, United States, and British North America and South Africa, has fallen heavily. Only in the cases of Egypt and India is there anything like a respectable improvement; and no doubt the people of both countries curse us and our products heartily and frequently enough. In the face of these facts Mr. Burnett assures us, with a Giffen-Levi like suavity, that we are not so badly off after all. He admits that we cannot expect the increase in our trade to go on as it has been doing; but he also prophesies that the national trade will certainly revive. There is no reason given for this expectation; and as every sign at present shows the other way, we cannot put much trust in it.

The Employers' Association is quietly preparing to fight the unions. Their first move will be to establish a uniform wage—of course by the process of levelling downwards. Mr. Burnett proposes to meet this by a counter effort to level upwards, but does not show how it can be done. It is very well to say, "Increase the organisation," but any extraordinary increase is impossible while the depression is deepening and the subscription to the Union is increasing. The trades' unions may as well recognise that all they ever did was to raise wages when the market was rising, and they cannot fully resist reductions

when the markets are falling. In fact, trades'-unionism fails at the point where it is most needed, and this must be so while its aim is a mere increase of wages.

This point is the one overlooked by the leaders of the trades'-union movement. While trade is good, work fairly plentiful, and the competition between capitalists for the market not over keen, the trades' unions may force wages up or prevent reductions to a slight extent. This has been the position of the trade and the unions for the past forty years. But now things are changed. Trade is falling as rapidly as it once increased; work is far from plentiful, as is proved by the great number of unemployed on the list; and, most important of all, the engineers of other countries are trying to drive us out of our markets. We cannot butcher the Germans, French, Belgians, and Americans, as we do the Egyptians and Soudanese; so we must compete with them by lowering our prices, and hence lowering wages. To raise wages while trade is declining is impossible, and the only resource is to drive the capitalists out of possession, or fall back upon the miserable alternative of becoming a mere sick and funeral club, and letting the capitalists do as they please.

The total reserve-fund has decreased £43,688 during the year, the present reserve being £2, 6s. 1d. per member. There has been a fairly satisfactory increase of members, but the income has gone down £12,000. A delegate meeting to revise the rules cost £7,486! The Society's expenditure in superannuating, sick-nursing, and burying increases, while its efforts in fighting the capitalist become more and more feeble. The reduction in the spring of this year was scarcely even questioned. Indeed, Mr. Burnett played into the masters' hands in a suspicious manner by publicly announcing at the critical moment that the reserve-fund was rapidly ebbing away. This action, and the remarks on the report he has issued at a time like the present, stamp Mr. Burnett as an incompetent and spiritless official. However, too much must not be expected from Mr. Burnett. He will be so busy with the Government places lately given to him that he will have little time and less anxiety to give to the work of the trades' unions. In the report there is never a suggestion that the members should discuss or try to find out the cause of these depressions in trade; never a word of hope for any of them who might be trying to find a way out of this miserable scramble for a paltry living; and, worst of all, this last year's report, like its predecessors, gives not the faintest inkling that the leaders of this great working-class movement have any idea of trying to bring about the abolition of that competitive system which they so often condemn.

J. L. MAHON (Amalgamated Engineers).

RUSKIN AS A REVOLUTIONARY PREACHER.

III.

If there be any readers of these "pearls strung together," with interest enough to care for accuracy, let me ask them to take out the quotation marks of the first sentence of No. I., and for "Gladstone" last line but four, p. 102, read "Goschen." I am sorry for this mistake, because I have an especial dislike to Goschen above that for most of the so-called leaders, which dislike I am a little glad Ruskin has. 'Fors' No. 23, Nov. 1872, opens, for instance, with a short quotation from the *Pall Mall Gazette* of 21st October, 1872: "Mr. Goschen is the one man to whom, and to whom alone, we can look even for permission to retain our power at sea," and Ruskin wonders what Sir Francis Drake would have thought of such a piece of news; and any man may wonder at any nation depending on one man—and such a man—"for even permission to retain" anything.

This particular 'Fors' (23) is occupied with dealing in most complex fashion with the great Athenian Squire Theseus, the labyrinth or maze, the House that Jack built, and Dante's Hell—the whole of which he makes bear on our subject of political economy, and all of which helps me back to 'Unto this Last,' Essay III., entitled "Qui Judicatis Terram," "Ye who judge the earth," the rest of the sentence being, as in the writings of a pre-Christian Jew merchant, "give diligent love to justice,"—which, as Ruskin goes to prove, is a quite unusual thing.

(21) "The merchant says, 'He that oppresseth the poor to increase his riches shall surely come to want.' And again, more strongly: 'Rob not the poor because he is poor, neither oppress the afflicted in the place of business. For God shall spoil the soul of those that spoiled them.'"

(22) "This 'robbing the poor because he is poor,' is especially the mercantile form of theft, consisting in taking advantage of a man's necessities in order to obtain his labour or property at a reduced price. The ordinary highwayman's opposite form of robbery—of the rich, because he is rich—does not appear to occur so often to the old merchant's mind; probably because, being less profitable and more dangerous than the robbery of the poor, it is rarely practised by persons of discretion." (P. 70.)

More than once does our writer argue that the bold open robbery by force is the better of two evils—the highwayman a better man than the trickster, even though the latter has a legal sanction.

Writing against war, 'Fors' No. 7, July 1871, p. 18:

(23) "But war between nations (thieves and fools though they be) is not necessarily in all respects evil. I gave you that long extract from Froissart to show you, mainly that Theft in its simplicity—however sharp and rude, yet if frankly done and bravely—does not corrupt men's souls; and they can, in a foolish but quite vital and faithful way, keep the feast of the Virgin Mary in the midst of it."

(24) "But Occult Theft—Theft which hides itself even from itself, and is legal, respectable, and cowardly, corrupts the body and soul of man, to the last fibre of them. And the guilty Thieves of Europe, the real sources of

all deadly war in it, are the Capitalists,—that is to say, people who live by percentages or the labour of others; instead of by fair wages for their own. The *Real* war in Europe, of which this fighting in Paris is the Inauguration, is between these and the workman, such as these have made him. They have kept him poor, ignorant, and sinful, that they might, without his knowledge, gather for themselves the produce of his toil. At last, a dim insight into the fact of this dawns on him; and such as they have made him, he meets them, and *will* meet."

Now let me be your Virgil and lead you back to No. 23, with its Dante, and Hell, and Goschen:

(25) "That Hell, which so many people think the only place Dante gives any account of (yet seldom know his account even of that) was, he tells you, divided into upper, midmost, and nether pits. You usually lose sight of this main division of it, in the more complex one of the nine circles; but remember, these are divided in diminishing proportion: six of them are the upper hell, two the midmost, one the lowest. The deepening orders of sin, in the nine circles are briefly these:—1. Unredeemed Nature; 2. Lust; 3. Gluttony; 4. Avarice; 5. Discontent; 6. Heresy; 7. Open Violence; 8. Fraudful Violence; 9. Treachery." (P. 19).

The uppermost and least dreadful hell, he says, contains the first six which are sins that essentially hurt the *sinner* most.

(26) "Then the two lower hells are for those who have wilfully done mischief to other people. And of these some do open injury, and some deceitful injury, and of these the rogues are put the lower; but there is a greater distinction in the manner of sin, than its simplicity or roguery: namely, whether it be done in hot blood or cold blood. The injurious sins, done in hot blood—that is to say, under the influence of passion—are in the midmost hell; but the sins done in cold blood, without passion, or, more accurately, contrary to passion, far down *below* the freezing point, are put in the lowest hell, the ninth circle . . . in the same way that Dante was . . . I have myself been taken far enough down among the diminished circles to see this nether hell—the hell of Traitors; and to know, what people do not usually know of treachery, that it is not the fraud, but the *cold-heartedness* which is chiefly dreadful in it. Therefore, this nether hell is of ice, not fire; and of ice that nothing can break." (P. 21.)

Surely in the light of this some of the great have secured a place in Hell No. 9; men who for years have used place and power to keep their fellows ignorant, who dole out occasional cheques to the poor, whom by treachery and fraud they are making poorer and yet poorer; posing as philanthropists while making vast sums by contracts for soft swords and bayonets to arm cheap soldiers to be exported—say to Egypt, to defend traitor's interests. Cold-hearted traitors are they who use the wives of the cheap soldiers to make shoddy clothing, too common to reach even the soldiers it is sent out to. Cold-heartedness! If any readers of *Commonweal* have not done it, let them read Seymour Key's 'Spoiling the Egyptians.' Consider the heart of any man who at one and the same moment stood before the world as creditor, counsel, judge, adviser to the debtor, dictator of terms, and director of armies and navies to enforce them. The intense hardness and coldness of heart induced by our commercialism, capitalism, and hunger for exploitation, seem to have completely obliterated any feeling akin to honest indignation, or surely some would "shiver with indignation," and something more would have been heard of the scandalous story mentioned in the *Daily News* in March and April.

In 'Fors,' No. 44, August, 1874, p. 178, speaking of capitalists as money-lenders, he says:

(27) "There is nothing more monstrous in any recorded savagery or absurdity of mankind, than that governments should be able to get money for any folly they choose to commit, by selling to capitalists the right of taxing future generations to the end of time. All the cruellest wars inflicted, all the basest luxuries grasped by the idle classes, are thus paid for by the poor a hundred times over."

But the full monstrousness of this absurdity does not to me seem to be grasped, until we consider—that the power to order or cause the spending; the spending, and the profit from it; and the lending, and the profit from that, all are in the hands of the same few. Consider, for instance, and appoint a place in the nine circles for a man, drawing immense wages from the workers of one country (A), professedly, to protect them against the workers of another (B), selling, however, all the time his best work to the capitalists of B, that they in turn may be able to exploit the workers of B to threaten those of A.

In the time of Drake and Froissart, generals, admirals, governors, have been shot for a less crime than this I now refer to, all done by our captains of industry under the fetish "Free Trade" and "Freedom of Contract." Instead of shooting we send them to the House of Lords.

This is the "science" of ordinary political economists:

(28) "He calls it shortly, 'the science of getting rich.' But there are many sciences, as well as many arts, of getting rich. Poisoning people of large estates, was one employed largely in the Middle Ages; adulteration of food of people of small estates, is one employed largely now. The ancient and honourable Highland method of black mail; the more modern and less honourable system of obtaining goods on credit, and the other variously improved methods of appropriation—which, in major and minor scales of industry, down to the most artistic pocket-picking, we owe to recent genius,—all come under the general head of sciences, or arts, of getting rich." ('Unto this Last,' Essay III., p. 76.)

"Love of Justice" is the main point of Essay III., and he speedily shows how little of that is extant:

(29) "Money payment . . . consists radically in a promise to some person working for us, that for the time and labour he spends in our service to-day we will give or procure equivalent time and labour in his service at any future time he may demand it" (p. 81). "When we ask a service of any man, he may either give it us freely or demand payment for it. Respecting free gift of service, there is no question at present, that being a matter of affection—not of traffic. But if he demand payment for it, and we wish to

treat him with absolute equity, it is evident that this equity can only consist in giving time for time, strength for strength, and skill for skill." [Just fancy asking one of the Marlborough family to expend his skill and strength on such terms, or a Duke of Bedford giving hour for hour!] "If a man works an hour for us and we only promise to work half-an-hour for him in return, we obtain an unjust advantage. If, on the contrary, we promise to work an hour and a-half for him in return, he has an unjust advantage." [But he urges this mostly to be agreed to.] "The justice consists in absolute exchange; or, if there be any respect to the stations of the parties, it will not be in favour of the employer. There is certainly no equitable reason in a man's being poor, that if he give me a pound of bread to-day, I should return him less than a pound of bread to-morrow; or any equitable reason in a man's being uneducated, that if he uses a certain quantity of skill and knowledge in my service, I should use a less quantity of skill and knowledge in his. Perhaps, ultimately, it may appear desirable, or, to say the least, gracious, that I should give in return somewhat more than I received. But at present, we are concerned on the law of justice only, which is that of perfect and accurate exchange." (Pp. 82, 83.)

One is forced to ejaculate "Vot a larks!" Could the position of the wholesale exploiter be better exposed than by suggesting that every one on a works of two thousand hands should ask of the exploiter an exact return in time-labour for the labour rendered. The enormous discrepancy between the wage of the worker and the "Organiser" can not be more plainly put. To many of the bourgeois it will be tolerably revolutionary to suggest such exchange as above; but when he carries the argument on, as he does, to show that labour is a loan, which should bring its whole interest to the worker and *not* to the exploiter—this too, while always *against* interest, shows what manner of preacher we have to deal with.

The importance of the rest of his argument warrants more space than is now open, so it must be held over.

Seeing the manner in which Ruskin flies off at a tangent from time to time, and that he will drive home an argument by an instance apparently very remote, I shall number the quotations as if from the first. This I think may save trouble, as sometimes a sentence or quotation which cannot be conveniently broken deals with a matter of other concern, and may be of point later on.

THOMAS SHORE, jun.

OBJECTIONS TO SOCIALISM.

(A Reply to Mr. Charles Bradlaugh, M.P.)

VII.

(Continued from p. 118.)

ONE of our most constant, and, I think, one of our most just causes of complaint against antagonist critics, is their habit of reading into the conditions of the future the conditions of to-day. The habit is fatal to anything like dispassionate argument. As a double example of it, let me take two questions put by the writer of this pamphlet. They are apparently suggested by the fact that Socialists propose to do away with the power of capital, in the hands of a private individual, to buy labour-power—i.e., to purchase slaves. Of course, if labour-power were in all cases fully remunerated, and received the equivalent of the value it had added to the commodity, this particular objection to capitalism would not hold. But since we know (and our opponents know) this is not the case, and since we know (and our opponents know) this never will be the case, as long as the capitalist class has command of all the means of production and the labour class has command of none,—we are bound (and our opponents are logically bound) to antagonise private property in anything that can give one man the power of exploiting another.

Let us now see what are the two questions to which this idea gives rise. "Does [it] mean that £30 saved by an artisan would not be attacked so long as he kept it useless, but that if he deposited it with a banker who used it in industrial enterprise, or if he invested it in railway shares, it would be forfeited?" That is question No. 1; and you will see the charming confusion of what is now and what will be hereafter that runs through it. In that hereafter, no such hideous thing as a banker who pays interest out of other men's unpaid labour; no such thing as a railway share, the dividend on which is paid out of other men's unpaid labour to some one who has done nothing to earn it, will be conceivable. Is there not, in this connexion, something irresistibly comic, but for the tragedy of it, in the idea of a banker "using" money "in industrial enterprise"? A pretty euphemism this for the calling of one who simply directs money unearned by him into channels whence it returns bearing with it a surplus-value equally unearned by him!

But mark next that word "useless," and see in it the unconscious confession that in our society of to-day the one use of money is to buy other men's bodies and wring from these unpaid labour. If this criticism seems harsh, let us ask Mr. Bradlaugh if he thinks the artisan's £30 is useful if going out from him in, say, industrial enterprise or in railroad-making, it comes back to him as exactly £30, and not £31 10s.? And let us further ask him, what is the source of the extra £1 10s.? Alas! to these questions we shall have no answer save from Socialist lips. The source of the extra £1 10s. is unpaid labour. The £30 going out and coming back as £30 might yet have been useful. But the moment it comes back with a farthing more than itself, it ceases to be useful simply; it becomes injurious by an amount roughly measurable by the amount of the surplus-value it brings home with it. Not stopping, for the moment, to enquire too curiously into the usual methods by which money—£30, or more—is "saved," this much we can say. A man may have the right to use that money and get for it

its exact equivalent, neither more nor less; but no man can have the right to receive for such money as he may advance one penny more than its equivalent.

"Oh, but the £30 is his. He has earned it; he has saved it!" cries the apologist for Society.

"Be it so, if you will. The £30 is his. He has earned it. He has saved it. Let him have £30. But the £1 10s., that is not his. He has not earned it. He has not saved it. And to that he has no right."

Money then, £30 or otherwise, is not attacked when it is invested in other men's paid labour, because it is useless or useful; but because it is injurious to the community.

The second question runs thus: "If an artisan may, out of the fruits of his labour, buy for £3 and keep as his own a silver watch, why is the £3 to be confiscated when it gets into the hands of the Cheapside or Cornhill watch-dealer?" Note the irony of the phrase, "out of the fruits of his labour." What is really meant is, "out of the fraction of the fruits of his labour he receives as wages." If the artisan with his £3 gets the equivalent of £3, no more and no less, in the name of honesty let him keep the £3 or their equivalent, be it watch, or food, or clothes. But if he even thinks to get out of the unpaid labour of his fellows 3s., and to make his pounds, guineas, then in the name of honesty confiscate the 3s. The watch-dealer is almost sure to use his £3 to exploit others. How else can he pay Cheapside or Cornhill rents, to say nothing of the family house at Brixton, and maybe a villa at St. John's Wood? But if he will only use his £3 to get their exact equivalent, £3, there need be no talk of confiscation. It is the 3s. that must be confiscated, though if artisan or dealer refuses to take this equitable view of things, and insists upon his right to do what he will with his own, even to the extent of doing what they will not with other people's labour-power, then Society will have to take from him even that which he hath, just as it takes from a man his own knife if he persists in using it to the injury of others.

Once again, then, and let me hope (against hope) for the last time, what we attack is that private property in the means of production, that gives its owner the power to buy human labour-power, to remunerate it inadequately, and to live on the products of unpaid labour.

EDWARD AVELING.

(To be continued.)

CROFTER INSURRECTION IN TIREE.

ANOTHER naval expedition against the Crofters! Her Majesty's gunboat *Assistance* ordered to proceed to Tiree! Such is the news that afflicts the ears of the law-abiding portion of the people of Scotland at this moment. While waiting for "developments," as the American humourists have it, I may as well state briefly the circumstances that have brought about this "deplorable" affair.

The Island of Tiree is situated somewhat north of the disaffected Island of Skye, and is the sole property of his grace the Duke of Argyll. Some time ago the lease of a large farm expired, and a new tenant in the person of a farmer, who already possesses two large farms on the island, was accepted by the Duke. There happens, however, to be a Branch of the "Land Law Reform Association" on the island, which is much more vigorous and revolutionary than its name would suggest. When the day came for the old tenant to hand over the keys to the new tenant, the land law reformers interposed and took possession of the keys. Forthwith they invited a number of the poorer crofters and cottars to place their cattle upon the land and take joint possession—which said crofters and cottars immediately did. It is but fair to state that application for the farm on behalf of the crofters had previously been made to the duke, which application had been refused; and also, that the crofters and cottars who took possession had agreed to pay the full rent. An order for ejectment of the "squatters," as they are legally designated, was subsequently obtained from the Court of Session, and last week a large force of constables were despatched from Glasgow to protect the sheriff officer in serving the notices to quit. The Three people, who had already evinced a hopeful communistic tendency in the method of acquiring and disposing of the land, are gifted also it would appear with a healthy propensity to revolutionary rather than constitutional methods of reform. When the officers of the law made their appearance with the "Queen's writs," the crofters, with their sons, wives, and daughters gathered as of old in battle array, and made such an effective display of their earnestness and power, that the "officers" prudently gave up the attempt to serve the writs, and betook themselves away from the scene.

Now the alarming intelligence is over the land that the crofters are in "revolt," and that they have openly defied the law and deforced its officers. The most recent information is that a gunboat and marines have been despatched to quell the disturbance and bring the "misguided" people of the island to a just appreciation of the majesty of the law and the sacred rights of property. On the other hand, we hear that the crofters are burnishing up their old guns and swords, that the blacksmiths on the island are forging rude forms of bayonets, and that the women are collecting large heaps of stones—all with the view of preventing her majesty's forces having an easy "walk over" on the island. What the upshot will be it is not easy to prophesy, as the Highlanders, like their Celtic brethren in Ireland, have a remarkable faculty for bamboozling, when they cannot successfully combat, the unexhausted resources of civilisation and law. One thing I think I may say, that the heartiest sympathy and wishes for "good speed" of all Socialists are with the bold and seditious little band of crofters and cottars in Tiree.

J. BRUCE GLASIER.

"A DANIEL COME TO JUDGMENT."—The writer of a leaderette in Wednesday's *Daily News*, concludes with the following sapient advice to the crofters: "The Crofter's Act of last Session does not give satisfaction to the crofters, and probably no Act would. But they must obey the law, and trust to Parliament for justice." Can the force of folly further go? And so the crofters are simply to wait patiently and endure their fleecing quietly till the House of Monopolists can find time to pass another useless Act of Parliament, to be followed in its turn by yet another and another. Truly, to use the writer's own words, "such a course is, as Dogberry has it, 'most tolerable and not to be endured.'"—T. B.

SOCIALISM IN MARYLEBONE.

Prosecution of Socialists for speaking in Bell Street—A Member of the League committed for Trial at the Sessions.

At Marylebone Police Court on July 24, S. Mainwaring appeared to answer to adjourned summonses charging him with causing obstruction in Bell Street and in Fernhead Road. Mr. Poland was hired by the Treasury to conduct the prosecution. A summons was also out against J. E. Williams (S. D. F.) on a similar charge. Mr. Poland asked the magistrate to put up the defendants for trial together. Mainwaring and Williams' counsel protested against such a procedure on the very reasonable ground that they were charged for offences on different dates and at different places. Mr. Poland said that there evidently was a connexion between the defendants, which is utterly untrue, and which not a solitary scrap of evidence was brought forward to prove. The magistrate, Mr. Cooke, decided to put both the defendants in the dock together.

Then came a very curious proceeding on the part of Mr. Poland. He sprung a charge on Mainwaring for which he had not been summoned, and which, in fact, he never heard of until he was in the dock. The charge was that on the forenoon and evening of July 18 he spoke in Bell Street. The evidence given showed he was on a stool for half a minute in the morning, and not more than five minutes in the evening. Mainwaring at this point protested against being charged in court with offences for which he had not been summoned. The protest was ignored by Mr. Cooke, and this very unfair advantage was taken by Mr. Poland.

In Mr. Poland's opening speech he said that it was merely a case of obstruction. The defendants were creating a nuisance, and it must be put a stop to. There was no desire to interfere with freedom of speech. The untruth of this statement was made very clear before the proceedings were over. It would be awkward for Mr. Poland to prosecute a man for speaking to his fellow-citizens, so he is prosecuted for causing an obstruction. It appeared from the evidence of the witnesses that on ordinary occasions no substantial obstruction occurred, although on the evening of the 18th a real obstruction took place, and that the meeting of the 18th was an exceptional one, caused by the police interference; and it was quite clear that if police interference ceased the meetings would resume their usual dimensions and cause no real obstruction. The extent of the nuisance was shown by the petition got up by the publican Hillier. Hillier, who it was hinted in court was under obligations to the police, had made great exertions to get up a petition, and had at last succeeded in getting twelve signatures. Whether these twelve signed of their own freewill, or whether the signatories were under obligations to publican Hillier for unpaid scores, or to the police, did not come out in the evidence.

It was shown that religious meetings were held in the same street and were not interfered with—because, Mr. Poland alleged, they caused no obstruction. It was pointed out, in answer to this, that while the meeting of July 18 did cause an obstruction (it was an extraordinary meeting, convened by handbills, to protest against police interference), ordinary Socialist meetings caused no more obstruction than religious ones. It is to be considered in this matter whether the 3000 or 4000 persons who were interested in the demonstration should have to cave in to the twelve persons who objected, or whether those twelve should not have to submit to a little inconvenience.

In spite of the evidence brought forward to show the very partial manner in which some of the sects had been treated compared with the Socialists, both defendants were committed for trial. Here again the great anxiety on the part of Mr. Poland to get a conviction at once was shown. He asked that the prisoners should be committed to the Middlesex Sessions for trial on July 26, the next legal day after their trial in the police-court. In Mainwaring's case the unfairness was of the grossest kind, as the charges were sprung on him in court on the afternoon of the 24th. To prepare his defence in a proper manner is thus clearly impossible, unless the judge at Middlesex Sessions grants an adjournment. It would appear that any treatment, no matter how unfair, is good enough for working-men Socialists who try to gain converts.

After Mainwaring and Williams' case was over, William Morris appeared to answer a summons for obstructing the queen's highway in Bell Street, on the morning of July the 8th. Mr. Poland tried "soft sawder" on Morris. "As a gentleman he would at once see, when it was pointed out to him, that such meetings were a nuisance, and that he would desist from taking part in them." He thought a fine would meet Morris's case. Morris did not seem to look at the matter in Mr. Poland's way at all, and showed as clearly as possible from the evidence of a policeman named Shepherd, that no real obstruction had been caused; and hence of course no nuisance. One witness stated in court that at the meeting he observed a group of persons, evidently in connexion with the police, trying to get up a disturbance so as to discredit the Socialist meeting. This may seem incredible to some readers, but it is surprising that Mr. Poland did not venture to cross-examine the witness on the point. If this is true, as it appears to be, it is time for Englishmen to bestir themselves, else their boasted freedom will be a complete fiction, as it now is in great part. Mr. Poland thought a fine would meet Morris's case; the magistrate Mr. Cooke, who appeared a kind of Jack-in-the-Box, to do whatever he was told by the Treasury prosecutor, thought a fine would do, so he was fined 1s. and expenses, and this for exactly the same offence as Mainwaring was sent to Middlesex Sessions for.

A. K. DONALD.

"Are you going to strike?" asked the boss boiler maker, as he met his men coming out of the yard with their coats on. "No," replied the leader, "we are going to stop striking until our wages are raised."—*Industrial News*.

ON THE CARS.—One cold night last winter I jumped on the front platform of a Fourth Avenue car at Eighteenth Street. The driver was half dead and trying to blow a little warmth into his fast numbing fingers. I passed the time of night with him, and somehow we got into conversation. "Been long on the road?" says I. "Fifteen years," says he. "You must be a favourite with the company," says I. "Yes, I am," says he: "you see that old grey horse—that nigh one there?" "I do," says I. "I am a favourite with the company," says he: "last winter the old grey fell sick. So did I. The company sent for a doctor for the horse, and sent me notice to quit. I'm a — of a favourite!"—*American Paper*.

INTERNATIONAL SOCIALIST AND LABOUR NOTES.

AMERICA.

Seventy girls in a New York feather factory have struck against a reduction in wages. In February they received 18 cents a yard for feather-sewing. Then wages were reduced to 12 cents a yard, and lately a further reduction of 2 cents was ordered. When told of the proposed reduction, the girls stopped work and left the building.

The cigarmakers, painters and tailors locked out of several establishments in Boston will start co-operative shops.

Sixteen hundred employing barbers of Chicago have acceded to the demand of their employes for shorter hours of labour.

The letter carriers of New York have held a mass meeting to take steps toward the enforcement in their case of the National eight-hour law.

A monster meeting of working people, held in New York on Wednesday July 7, denounced Judge Barrett, who recently sentenced the boycotters to Sing Sing. They also denounced the jury who rendered a verdict of guilty without the shadow of law for the same.

FRANCE.

The agitation in Marseilles against the reactionaries, augmented by some dispatches in the *Soleil du Midi*, has been continued for several days, and finally, a collision took place with the police, in which several men were wounded. The public blame the excessive zeal of the police, whose maladroitness has given to this affair a serious character, which otherwise it would not have had. The Socialists of Marseilles have, of course, regarded the affair from afar, and have taken no part for or against.

In the glass-makers' strike at Lyons, only 100 men have gone back to work out of a total number of 480.

The man named Gallo, who has recently been tried for throwing prussic acid and firing a pistol in the Paris Bourse, explained in the course of his examination that his aim was to "suppress the greatest number possible of the exploiters of the working-class," so he naturally went Bourse-wards on his deed of knight-errantry. The emancipation of the proletariat is his one aim and desire, he declares. When in the Bourse, he says he hesitated to fire on the man who secured his person, as he was poorly clad. I may venture to pronounce M. Gallo's estimate of a man's character by this "outward and visible sign" as vague in the extreme—a roughish division into good and evil! Poison-throwing is not a convincing form of propaganda; it has, moreover, this inconvenience, that it gives to the so-called regulators of public safety and welfare a right to constrain in durance vile those enthusiasts who resort to such means. The "twelve good men and true" have returned a verdict of guilty, and poor M. Gallo is sentenced to twenty years hard labour!

At a recent sitting of the Municipal Council of Paris there was read a dispatch from the Syndicate of Miners and the Municipality of Decazeville, expressing their lively recognition of the solidarity, prompt action, etc., etc., which the Paris Municipal Council displayed in aiding the strikers to "terminate their pacific struggle successfully." It would be well to know how many of the strikers themselves have in their heart of hearts honestly endorsed the sentiment of mutual admiration and self-satisfaction herein expressed.

At the same sitting there was a discussion on the various propositions regarding the erection of a monument commemorative of the Revolution. To spend monies over any such work (of Art?) in these days of trouble is sufficiently revolting, but the shoddy sentimentality of it becomes tragicomic when the same is to be done in the name of all Humanity, that Humanity's eye may gaze aloft in time to come at—what? the bourgeois glorification of that incomplete and one-sided freedom-stroke of the 18th century. "But this eternal blazon must not be,"—it is for you to hinder and protest; you, the Proletariat.

In France, the unemployed in the country parts are increasing, and are growing desperate. In the Western departments bands of vagabonds go about in a threatening manner demanding relief. The farmers of Touraine, Chinnonais, and Anjou live in fear of the "knights of the outstretched hand," as they designate them. This is a counterpart of the armed vagrant of the United States, who is likewise nothing more or less than a worker out of work.

Le Socialiste publishes the report of the Syndicate of Stonemasons and Sawyers to the Municipal Council of Paris, from which I quote a few items. The workers engaged by M. Aubrin, who is the contractor for a new *Mont-de-Piété*, work 70 hours a week and earn 25 to 30 francs. Those employed on the blocks work 11 hours at the rate of 70 centimes an hour. The stone is badly cut, and tells its tale of under-pay. A young man is occupied in the yard at covering the bad work and natural defects with plaster and cement. The overseer of the yard is a type of the upholder of the interests of the capitalist; he is well aware of the part he plays and of the esteem in which the workers hold him, for he never appears there without his revolver. Another contractor pays 30 francs for 84 hour's weekly labour. Yet another is cited whose workers are paid 1 franc 25 centimes a day of 10 hours for road-mending and pavements—that is (if he works Sundays also) about 7s. 3d. a-week.

There has been a disturbance on the railway line in course of construction in the department of Drôme between the French and Italians at work there, owing to the latter taking lower wages. Police and soldiery had to be summoned to quell the incensed workers.

HOLLAND.

Thirty people slain outright in the streets of Amsterdam, and according to the bourgeois papers the cause is a quarrel between the people and the police about a popular game. Can this be so? It certainly cannot have been the cause, though it may have been the occasion for this 'murder great and grim.' If there is any truth in this account it shows how bitter the general feeling must be between the people and the authorities. We wait for further information.

ITALY.

Child Labour in Sulphur Mines.

The burial of nearly 200 persons in one of the sulphur mines of Sicily has called the attention of the Italian press to the scandalous condition of the miners. Out of 600 Sicilian sulphur mines, 350 are farmed out by the landowners to speculating tenants, who show small mercy to their labourers. The labourers are of two sorts—the "Picuniari," who break up the sulphur into portable pieces, and the "Karusi," who carry up these pieces out of the pit to the surface of the soil. These Karusi are nearly all children of from eight to ten years of age. They are miserably paid, and work almost naked, for the heat in the sulphur pits is intolerable. The loads which they are compelled to carry cripple and disfigure them, and they are often killed early by the effect of the sulphur on their lungs. The supply of child labourers for this cruel employment is kept up by means of a veritable slave trade. The "undertaker," as the tenant is fitly called, pays poor parents a sum for the use of their children for a term of years. The highest sum is 150 lire. The contract, in order to give it a stamp of legality, has a clause empowering the father to redeem the child at any moment by the payment of a stated indemnification. But as the father is rarely in a condition to find so much money, his child remains a slave.

A. Cipriani has been returned again at Ravenna and Forli, in spite of the advice given to the constituents by the Radical leaders to desist from the agitation. The presidents of the polling-bureaux, while sending the return-paper to the Legislature, have expressed their hope that the Government will now show a better respect for the will of the people, and take towards Cipriani such measures as justice requires.

At Pesaro, eleven Anarchists are undergoing trial for conspiracy to overthrow the Government. One of the accused has become so very ill from prison ill-treatment that he is unable to be present at the Court. One of the chief facts brought against the prisoners is that they composed or distributed amongst the Mantuan peasants the famous "Socialist Decalogue," which contributed so much to last year's agitation. The punishment attached to political conspiracy in Italy is very heavy, as it may consist even of twenty years' hard labour. The process against the members of the Workmen Party, lately proclaimed, is going on very slowly, as is usual with criminal justice in Italy, and especially in political matters where it is feared that the prisoners will be acquitted by the jury, and is therefore thought expedient to keep them under restraint as long as possible, delaying the trial. This prosecution, however, has a more than usual importance, as it shows how useless it is in Italy to rely upon any other method of propaganda and action than that of secret societies and such like illegal means.

Proposed International Congress of Bottle Makers.

We have received the following letter from a comrade in Dublin:

"The necessity for international communication and action between the workers of the glass-bottle trade was strongly felt during their late strike here, and I was asked to draw up rules, etc., for an International Society of that trade. This I did, and they have met a hearty approval both in Yorkshire, Lancashire, and Dublin, and are now to be laid before the Congress to meet in London in September. The Societies in Germany, Denmark, Sweden, and Norway, have resolved to send delegates, but no communication has yet been opened with France, Spain, and Italy. I think that the Socialist League would do useful work, and gain ground amongst the workers by taking action in this matter, such as giving use of room in Farringdon Road for the Congress, and also in sending notices for publication in the French, Spanish, and Italian Socialist papers, inviting the bottle-makers of those countries to send delegates."

The Council have unanimously agreed to give the use of the Hall of the League as desired, and the Secretary is instructed to render every assistance to make the Congress a success.

STRIKE OF FACTORY GIRLS AT GLASGOW.—The factory girls of Messrs. John Lean & Son, steam-loom weavers, Bridgeton, Glasgow, are out on strike against a proposed reduction of their wages by 1s. 6d. per week.

PROPOSED SHORT TIME IN THE COTTON TRADE.—The Cotton Spinners' Association met in Manchester yesterday, and passed a resolution expressing a decided opinion in favour of adopting short time in the cotton spinning mills of Lancashire, inviting the co-operation of district associations, and convening a meeting of the entire trade to consider the situation.—*Daily News*, July 28th.

The London land thief press insists that Gladstone is incapable of settling the Irish question. On a basis of justice the Irish question is simple and easily settled, but to pacify the Irish and still keep on robbing them is what troubles British statesmen.—*Industrial News*.

The Hospital Sunday Fund lists are an excellent evidence of the real character of that philanthropic interest which the "classes" profess to have in the miseries of the poor and needy. Any one can see that by far the larger portion of the subscriptions is made up by the "people's pence." The rich ignore what they have gained at the expense of the workers. So it is ever. The working-man is always victimised. First, he is robbed of a fair return for his labour; he is robbed of his health; and then he is saddled with the responsibility for his own and his fellow citizen's sickness. Wealthy persons do nothing less than a criminal act in refusing to support hospitals for those who get their health broken, and who suffer from accidents in the process of filling the money-bags of the idlers.—*Dodo*, in *Reynolds*.

Socialist Headquarters, New York.—Library and Reading-room open daily (Sunday included) from 9 a.m. to 9 p.m. *Commonweal* always on the table. Gifts in books and papers thankfully received. Address "Free Socialist Library," 143 Eighth Street, New York City, U.S.

SOCIALIST LEAGUE LITERATURE.—Prices to the Trade and for Distribution, of all 1d. publications (including the *Commonweal*) 8d. per dozen; 1s. 4d. per quire; 5s. per 100 (not including cost of carriage).—H. H. SPARLING, Manager of *Commonweal*, 13 Farringdon Road, London, E.C.

WORKINGMEN and women in factories, workshops, stores or mills, are requested to go around among their comrades and get up a list of subscribers for the *Commonweal*, and lend a helping hand in the struggle for labour's freedom.

REVOLUTIONARY RHYMES AND SONGS FOR SOCIALISTS. Fifteen selections. 1d.

THE SOCIALIST LEAGUE.

OFFICES: 13 FARRINGTON ROAD, E.C.

Notices to Members.

Reading Room.—Open from 10 a.m. to 9 p.m.

Library.—The librarians, May Morris and W. Chambers, attend on Mondays and Fridays from 7 to 9 p.m.

Branch Subscriptions Paid.

Norwich, to April 30. Bradford, Croydon, Hackney, Hammersmith, Merton, to May 31. Bloomsbury, Clerkenwell, Dublin, Leeds, Mile-End, North London, Oxford, to June 30. Manchester, to July 31. Hoxton (Labour Emancipation League), Marylebone, to Sept. 30.—P. W.

The "Commonweal."

On Saturday last the Board Brigade went round the W. and N.W. districts, attracting a great deal of attention and selling a fair number of papers. To-day (31st) they will visit the Strand and West End. Volunteers are requested to be at the office by 11.30 sharp.

The Treasurer of the Socialist League, 13 Farringdon Road, London, E.C., will gladly receive Subscriptions from all friends willing to aid in carrying on our Paper.

REPORTS.

(Reports and Notices should be addressed to the printer, and to insure insertion in the current issue must reach the office not later than 10 a.m. on Tuesday.)

BLOOMSBURY.—At Arlington Hall, Rathbone Place, on Friday, July 23, Annie Besant lectured to an audience of about 500, on "Why the Workers Should be Socialists." Sale of paper good.—The usual outdoor meetings were held during the week.—T. E. W., sec.

CLERKENWELL.—On Wednesday, July 21st, Annie Besant lectured to a crowded audience upon "Duties of Socialists under the Present System," effectually disposing of the "putting into practice" taunts so freely used by our opponents, and making an eloquent appeal for more solidarity and mutual help among Socialists. The discussion mainly turned upon "political" (Parliamentary) action, on which very varying opinions were expressed; over a quire of *Commonweals* sold, and 5s. 4d. collected at end of meeting for Propaganda Fund.—W. B.

HACKNEY.—On Sunday morning, Graham and Westwood addressed a good audience in Well Street. The police were in strong force.—In the afternoon, Wade spoke in the Park, followed by Graham and Allman, who held an impromptu debate with two Secularist opponents. The sympathy of the audience was on our side throughout. Good sale of literature.—J. F.

MARYLEBONE.—On Saturday evening we held our usual meeting opposite the "Prince of Wales," Harrow Road, which was addressed by comrade Wardle for nearly an hour, the police going to and from the police-station several times. At last, apparently, they received orders to stop the meeting. Comrade Allman was speaking at the time, and his name and address was taken, as also was that of Wardle, who had got permission from one of the constables to close the meeting. After the meeting was over, the police behaved in a disgraceful manner, hustling our comrades about and following them for a long distance.—On Sunday morning, in accordance with the resolution of the Branch, comrade Arnold addressed a meeting at the corner of Bell Street for about ten minutes, for the purpose of telling the people that the Branch would not hold meetings at that corner while Mainwaring's trial was pending, but would take up other places in the district. From there we went to the corner of Seymour Place, Marylebone Road, where comrade Allman addressed a very good meeting for nearly an hour. At length the police interfered, and two of them, after behaving in a very rough manner, took comrade Allman's name and address. But they were not satisfied with this, so they went to John Street police station and returned with Inspector Gillis and several other constables. They had determined on clearing the place, the inspector saying that he would arrest every one of the crowd if they did not go away at once; but this only made matters worse, for the crowd resented the interference, and did not seem inclined to be pushed about by the police. The behaviour of 88 D. was especially obnoxious.—In the afternoon a very large meeting in Hyde Park was addressed by comrades Mainwaring, Arnold, Donald, Banner, and Burcham. The audience was entirely in our favour, and strongly denounced the interference of the police with our meetings.—The people in the district of Marylebone are sympathetic, and will stand by us in our struggle for free speech. Collected for Defence Fund: Harrow Road, 2s. 0½d.; Seymour Place, 1s. 3d.; Hyde Park, 12s. 7½d.—H. G. A., sec.

GLASGOW.—On the invitation of the Secretary of the Miner's Association, comrade Glaster, last Sunday, addressed a meeting of about 500 miners, now out on strike at Blantyre. His address, which consisted in an exposition of Socialism and its bearing upon the condition of the miners, was listened to with great attention and apparent unanimity of approval. At the close of the meeting many of the miners expressed their anxiety to assist in spreading the doctrines amongst their fellows, and promised the Socialist League a large audience at its outdoor meeting to be held there next Saturday.—J. B. G.

HULL.—On Thursday 22nd inst. J. L. Mahon spoke at the Radical Club on "Radicalism and the Future of the Working Class." He criticised the Radical programme, pointing out its inadequacy to benefit the whole working class. Radicalism would have to put the emancipation of the wage-workers in the front, and leave its present palliative measures in the background. A real Radical party must aim at the abolition of class antagonism and the ending of the present industrial competition. It is meant that the Radical party should become Socialist, apparently a very serious change, but in reality it was only the bringing of Radicalism up to date. A good discussion followed.—On Sunday last a meeting of the Branch was held, when a programme of meetings for the next four weeks was approved. A number of members were made. A room has been taken at the Foresters' Hall *pro tem*, but we hope to have club rooms of our own very speedily.—E. T.

LEEDS.—We were unable to hold our usual outdoor meeting on Sunday morning, as the weather was unfavourable. In the afternoon, we met the members of the Bradford Branch at Apperley, and spent a very instructive and pleasant afternoon with them.—F. C.

MANCHESTER.—We held a meeting at Grey Mare Corner in the morning on Sunday; fair attendance, good sale of paper, and several promised to join.—In the afternoon, comrades Unwin and Cadle took part in a meeting of the Labour Union, which is being formed here to organise the labour of the unemployed instead of making paupers of them; it also aims at giving the labourer the advantages of a trades union without the disadvantages of a narrow aim and selfish exclusiveness which are too common in present unions. It is somewhat on the lines of the Knights of Labour of America, and will do good if they will keep in view the fact that complete emancipation of labour will only come when the workers take into their own hands the management of the means of production. The present leaders seem to see the necessity of this as an ultimate aim. *Commonweals* sold well at the meeting. We hope shortly to open a club and reading-room near our open-air station in Grey Mare Lane. Gifts of books, papers, etc., will be very acceptable from any friends who have any to spare. There seems good promise of doing much useful work in this district.—R. U., sec.

FREE SPEECH DEFENCE FUND.

Our comrades and friends are asked to bestir themselves to secure freedom of speech in our public ways, in contradistinction to freedom of speech for certain classes and sects only. The spirit of Socialism is at war with class interests: officialism is giving its support to class interests only. For endeavouring to assert the right of free speech the Socialist League has been heavily fined; and the Council of the League hereby asks that all friends of freedom should support the League with subscriptions in aid of this righteous cause. The Treasurer of the Socialist League, 13 Farringdon Rd., E.C., will gladly accept, and acknowledge the receipt of, Pence, Shillings, or Pounds from friends of the Right of Free Speech in Public Places.

RECEIVED.

July 19.—Bloomsbury, 7s. 6d. Clerkenwell, 1s. 1d. Hammersmith, 5s. North London, 3s. 7½d. Collected by Mrs. Taylor, 5s. 3d. Total, 22s. 5½d.—W.

LECTURE DIARY.

London Branches.

Bloomsbury.—Arlington Hall, Rathbone Place, Oxford Street, W. Friday, July 30, at 8.30 p.m. Charles Faulkner, "Free Trade, or the Man v. the State." Music before and after the lecture.

Clerkenwell.—Hall of the Socialist League, 13 Farringdon Road, E.C. Sunday August 1, at 7.30 p.m. W. Blundell, "Starvation." Wednesday 4, at 8.30. H. H. Sparling.

Croydon.—Royal County House, West Croydon Station Yard. Business meeting at Parker Road every Sunday afternoon at 3 o'clock.

Hackney.—Kenton Coffee House, Kenton Road, Well Street, every alternate Tuesday at 9, for the enrolment of members and other business.

Hammersmith.—Kelmescott House, 26 Upper Mall, W. Sundays, at 8 p.m. Hoxton (L. E. L.).—Exchange Coffee House, Pitfield Street, opposite Hoxton Church, N. Sundays, at 7.45 p.m.

Merton.—11 Merton Terrace, High Street. Sundays and Wednesdays at 8 p.m. Mile-end.—East London United Radical Club, Mile-end Rd. Tuesdays at 8 p.m.

North London.—Communications to R. A. Beckett, St. Mildred's House, Poultry, E.C.

South London.—Business meeting every Tuesday at 8.30 at 112 Hill Street, Peckham, S.E.

Country Branches.

Birmingham.—Bell Street Coffee House. Every Monday evening, at 7.30.

Bradford.—Scott's Temperance Hotel, East Parade, Leeds Road. Meets every Wednesday at 8 p.m.

Edinburgh (Scottish Section).—4 Park Street. Meets every Friday at 8.30 p.m.

Glasgow.—On Sunday 1st August a lecture will be delivered in Rooms 84 John St., at 7 p.m., by George M'Lean, on "The Social and Political Condition of the Island of Jamaica." The first of a series of Saturday Afternoon Propaganda Excursions will take place on Saturday 31st July. Members and friends to gather at rooms at 4 o'clock and proceed by train to Blantyre, where open-air addresses will be given. Return on foot—songs and choruses on the way.

Hull.—Foresters' Hall, Charlotte Street, every Friday at 7.45 p.m. August 6. J. L. Mahon, "How Socialism will be Realised."

Leeds.—No meeting-room at present. Out-door stations notified below.

Leicester.—Radical Club, Vine Street. Tuesdays, at 8 p.m.

Manchester.—145 Grey Mare Lane, Ashton New Road. Business Meeting, Thursday, at 8 p.m. Contributions of books, pictures, and money for furnishing the Reading and Club Room will be gratefully acknowledged by Raymond Unwin, sec., at above address.

Norwich.—No. 6 St. Benedict St. Lecture and discussion every Monday at 8. Reading-room of the Branch open every day from 8.30 a.m. to 10 p.m. August 2. Comrade Hipperson, "Christianity and Socialism." 9. T. Morley, "Socialism and Freethought."

Oldham.—Mrs. Wrigley's Coffee Tavern, 9, Old Market Place. Wednesdays, 7.30. **Oxford.**—Temperance Hall, 27 Pembroke Street. Thursday August 5, at 9 p.m. C. J. Faulkner, "Free Trade, or the Man v. the State."

Open-air Propaganda for the Week.

| LONDON. | | | | | |
|----------|------------------------------|-------|-----------------|--------------|--|
| Date. | Station. | Time. | Speaker. | Branch. | |
| Sat. 31. | Euston Road—Ossulton St. | 7 | W. Chambers | N. London. | |
| | Hyde Park (Marble Arch) | 7 | H. H. Sparling | Clerkenwell. | |
| | Regent's Park | 7 | D. J. Nicoll | N. London. | |
| | Mile-end Waste | 8 | H. Davis | Mile-end. | |
| | Harrow Road ("P. of Wales") | 7 | D. J. Nicoll | Marylebone. | |
| S. 1. | Croydon | 11 | H. Davis | Croydon. | |
| | Edgware Rd.—Seymour Pl. | 11.30 | A. K. Donald | Marylebone. | |
| | Hackney—Well Street | 11.30 | Wade & Westwood | Hackney. | |
| | Hammersmith—Beardon Road | 11.30 | The Branch | Hammersmith. | |
| | Hoxton Ch.—Pitfield Street | 11.30 | H. Charles | Hoxton. | |
| | Mile-end Waste | 11.30 | J. Allman | Mile-end. | |
| | Regent's Park | 11.30 | W. Chambers | N. London. | |
| | St. Pancras Arches | 11.30 | The Branch | Bloomsbury. | |
| | Hyde Park (near Marble Arch) | 3.30 | W. Morris | Marylebone. | |
| | Victoria Park | 3.30 | W. C. Wade | Hackney. | |
| | Clerkenwell Green | 7 | The Branch | Clerkenwell. | |
| Tu. 3. | Croydon | 7 | H. Davis | Croydon. | |
| | Euston Road—Ossulton St. | 7.30 | W. Chambers | N. London. | |
| | Soho—Broad Street | 8 | W. Chambers | Bloomsbury. | |
| | Hoxton Ch.—Pitfield Street | 8 | H. Graham | Hoxton. | |
| | Mile-end Waste | 8.30 | C. W. Mowbray | Mile-end. | |
| Sat. 7. | Euston Road—Ossulton St. | 7 | The Branch | N. London. | |
| | Hyde Park (Marble Arch) | 7 | The Branch | Clerkenwell. | |
| | Regent's Park | 7 | The Branch | N. London. | |
| | Mile-end Waste | 8 | J. Lane | Mile-end. | |

PROVINCES.

Hulme.—The Viaduct, Chester Road. Sundays, at 7.30 p.m.

Leeds.—Hunslet Moor, 11 a.m.; Vicar's Croft, 7 p.m.

Manchester.—Grey Mare Corner, Ashton Old Road. Sundays, 11 a.m.

Oldham.—Curzon Ground. Sundays, afternoon and evening.

UNITED SOCIALIST SOCIETIES OF LONDON.—The second excursion to Epping Forest, "Robin Hood," will take place on Sunday, August 1, 1886, for the benefit of the Socialist movement in America. The procession of the West End United Socialists will start from Charlotte Street, corner of Tottenham Court Road, and the East End from 23, Princes Square, St. George Street, for Liverpool Street Station, with full brass bands, banners, and standards, at 9 a.m. prompt. Return tickets from Liverpool Street Station to Loughton, 1s. each. Full entertainment of international singing clubs, dancing, concert, and games. Trains as follows:—From Liverpool Street Station, 10.40 a.m.; trains every hour after dinner. Returning from Loughton at 8.24, 9, and 9.31 p.m.