

# THE COMMONWEAL

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WEEKLY; ONE PENNY.

## MR. CHAMBERLAIN'S LEADER.

PARLIAMENT has met for a ceremonial, and done about as much as it would have done if it had met for the despatch of business—nothing, to wit. But besides that, the two parliamentary groups that represent anything like principle and at the same time have any power in Parliament, have also met, and each has done so much at least as to announce its policy in the present state of things. The Parnellites have met in Dublin, and the Jingo-Whigs in Devonshire House; and the conclusions come to by both parties are certainly encouraging to those who wish to see an end of all parties, since they point directly to the further disintegration and final impotence of parliamentary government.

The Parnellites had obviously a very simple course to take: they had merely to state that they had not changed their minds at the bidding of the English shopkeeper terrified into a special exhibition of spite. They have taken that course, and have announced "that no measure offering less legislative or executive control over Irish affairs than that contained in Mr. Gladstone's Bill can be accepted as a settlement of the Irish national question." They would have betrayed their trust if they had said less than this, and no one supposed that they would say less. But they go further, and hint in terms by no means obscure that the rents are not likely to be forthcoming, and point out that the first and simplest measure of pacification must be the suspension of evictions. There is no doubt that the whole of non-Orange Ireland will support them in the war which they have declared. It is to be hoped under the circumstances that the Irish will not by rash outbreaks give the Government the opportunity of renewing direct and flagrant coercion: that would simplify their position very much. If the Irish "fight cunning," the position of the Government will be a very intricate and difficult one, unless, as is possible, they make up their minds to dish the Gladstonians by bringing in a real Home Rule Bill.

That they might do, if it only depended on themselves and their declared Tory following, who would but curse and follow; but they have to reckon also with the Whig-Jingo group, who are not under their leadership, though they are allies to be trusted, in the Irish matter at least; and *they* cannot allow serious concessions to be made, as their doing so would really mean opening the door to Mr. Gladstone again, and it is quite clear from what took place at Devonshire House that they are determined not to do that.

It really affords curious matter for reflection on the stability of mere party names and the influence that they still have over the mechanical cohesion of a party long after that party has lost its principles, that some of the Liberal papers, notably the *Daily News*, affect to look on Lord Hartington's speech at Devonshire House as an indication of the healing of the breach in the so-called "Liberal Party"; whereas it was the plainest statement of the irreconcilability of the split,—a definite tender of help to the Tory party so long as the latter would do its duty in opposing Mr. Gladstone and Home Rule. The "Liberal Party" can only be united by the Gladstonites declaring definitely against Home Rule; and doubtless many of them are longing to do so. Mr. Alderman Cook, for instance, will probably not lack his reward, but will be returned for East Birmingham as a convert to the cause of Chamberlainism and no surrender. If Mr. Gladstone were to die, or if he were to give up the parliamentary game, as he is not likely to do; or if he were to argue himself out of his present position of the Friend of Ireland, as it is to be feared he may do—this kind of reunion of the Liberal party would certainly take place; and then the world would wake up and find itself Whig. Apart from the *people*, who have an inconvenient craving for food once or twice in the twenty-four hours, not easy to satisfy at present, there would be a glorious Whig world,

in which contention would be dead, or would only be represented by a feeble Radical spray beating against the firm rock of Whiggery.

For as between the solid political parties the matter stands thus: the Liberals, the Radicals even, though some of them, like Mr. Bright and Mr. Chamberlain, had coquetted with the Irish party at one time or another, had no thought of granting Home Rule to Ireland; Mr. Gladstone became converted to the necessity of granting it; one may well wonder why; possibly he may have seen the necessity of providing a new battle-field for the old Liberal and Conservative faction-fight; or again, he may have wished to atone for the Soudan massacres by making peace with Ireland; or, strange as it may seem to a non-professional politician, the elections of 1885 may have made him see for the first time that the Irish were almost unanimous in claiming Home Rule. Anyhow, he was converted, and bade his party be converted also, and most of them obeyed, since they were overawed by his appeal to the generosity and justice of the *People*; an appeal to which the *People* would probably have responded if they had had votes or dared to use them. But "the Party," the Parliamentary hacks, wire-pullers, etc., were converted against their wills, and though doubtless they are sorry that they have been thrust out of power, they will not be sorry to come back to power by the help of the "Unionist Liberals" as Home Rulers so modified that the Irish will not know them as friends.

This, then, is the chance of Lord Hartington and his friend and follower Mr. Chamberlain, that they may "unite" the Liberal party by taking away all reason for its existence, or, may not one say, by "uniting" it to the Tory party. For let us be clear about one thing, that except for this revolutionary question of Home Rule and its consequences, which has so strangely become a question for "practical" politicians, there is nothing which can be debated in Parliament concerning which the recognised factions have any serious difference of opinion, or on which at least they can differ seriously as to action. The Irish Question once resolutely shelved, the peace of the kingdom of heaven would descend on St. Stephens, except for a few Radicals, whose grumbings no one would heed, and who, if they were not blind, would have to declare themselves either Whigs or Socialists.

Let us hope that those who declare themselves the latter will also have the wits to come out of the Constitutional Parliament, and join the *People*, who were never intended to have anything serious to do with that august body, nor ever will, till the day when they destroy it.

WILLIAM MORRIS.

## ORGANISED LABOUR.

The Duty of the Trades' Unions in relation to Socialism.

I.

FELLOW-WORKERS,—As a staunch Trades'-unionist for over twenty years, I desire to call your serious attention to the present alarming condition of the unceasing struggle between Capital and Labour. It is useless to cry "Peace, peace," when there is no peace. The hard disagreeable reality forces itself upon us and cannot be evaded, that never has the conflict been fiercer and never has the outlook been more gloomy than now. In the dark days that we have passed through already, there has always been a rift in the clouds to cheer us with the promise of brighter hours, and amidst the din and strife of previous contests the hope of victory brought comfort and encouragement. But the conditions of the warfare are changed. No further successes are possible by the old methods and with the weapons we have hitherto used. Indeed, the utmost care and watchfulness are needed even to retain the positions we have won. For this reason I urge the immediate summoning of a Council of War to deliberate upon the situation and to consider the advisability, nay the imperative necessity of a complete change of tactics in order that the standard of Labour may yet be borne aloft and planted on heights heretofore deemed impossible of access.

Until now we have to a very large extent been struggling aimlessly

to attain what is vaguely termed "a fair day's wage for a fair day's work," without the very faintest attempt to logically define what the phrase really means. The consequence is a most unequal and disastrous contest, as far as the workers are concerned, between Capital on the one hand, seeking to obtain the greatest amount of work for the least possible payment of money, and Labour that struggles, or rather tries to struggle, to get the largest amount of pay for the smallest amount of work.

It is true, that other conditions being favourable, combinations amongst the workers to withhold their labour-power from the market have enabled them to secure somewhat higher prices than individual higgling would probably have done. The artificial scarcity thus occasioned would to a certain extent operate in the same way as in the case of corn, or cotton, or other product, held back for a rise, but with this important difference that human labour-power is a very perishable commodity. Owing to the unfortunate fact that a certain amount of food, clothing, etc., things monopolised by a class, is necessary to sustain the life of the worker, it is impossible that labour can be withheld from the market for any considerable length of time and in sufficient quantity to produce any considerable effect. Taking a broad and general survey of the question, it will be seen that the real advantage gained is of the most trifling character, a rise of wages at one period being only too frequently counterbalanced by a depression at another. Even in trades unions where there has been no going back, and where the highest nominal rate of wages obtains, it will be found, as I shall endeavour to show further on, that this results in the benefit of a section only of the members, and is gained, in part at least, by the sacrifice of their weaker comrades. In fact, after all, the workers are simply obliged to sell themselves ("free contract" is the orthodox phrase) to the employers pretty much on the terms that a needy shop-keeper is forced to dispose of his goods, that is at cost-price or a little over it. In other words, wages though constantly oscillating, are to the producers of all created wealth the very smallest share of their productions which will enable them to live and perpetuate their class, while the manipulators of their destinies revel in an excess of riches accumulated as result of the undue proportion of the current wealth creation which the hideously unjust social conditions allow them to appropriate. It must always be borne in mind, too, that any improvement which does occur in the pay and general condition of the workers is always vastly disproportionate to the actual increase in the "national" wealth and resources. Nowadays the average production of the average worker has been many times multiplied by newly-applied elementary forces made available by newly-invented and constantly-improved machinery.

How much longer are we going to stand stolidly and helplessly looking on, feebly protesting, or, worse still, accepting contentedly the scraps from the feast as it were that we have ourselves provided—watching the Capitalist seize upon every development of art and science for his own profit and advancement, regardless of our responsibility in shaping the destinies of ourselves, our families, and our class? It is time that we began seriously to consider for what we are banded together. What is our goal? Whither are we going? For what ought we to strive? The exigencies of the moment doubtless compel a large share of our attention and moreover we are necessarily driven by our daily needs under the present conditions of society, to act very largely on the defensive, to adopt, as it were, a "hand-to-mouth policy." But these petty cares must not be allowed to occupy all our time, or to prevent us from considering matters of greater importance. It is doubtless very advantageous to the enemy to keep us constantly engaged in scattered desultory fighting for the possession of some unimportant outlying positions. But remember that all the while we are doing this our forces are being gradually weakened, our exchequer is becoming exhausted in providing for the care of the wounded (*i.e.*, the sick and unemployed) and so is deferred and rendered more difficult the necessary concentration of attack upon the citadel of Capitalism.

Now, after all, as has been well said, "the end of war is peace." Then what are the terms of the peace which Labour can make with Capital? Is there anything short of absolute and unconditional surrender of the claim of the capitalistic classes to exploit the workers? I say emphatically, No. It is not a question of how much we shall be robbed, but whether we shall permit ourselves to be robbed at all. It may be very well to try and limit the amount of black-mail we are obliged to pay until we are able to resist the obligation altogether; but surely we can never concede as a *right* that which is really taken by force, however much it may be veiled under the form of *law*.

I cannot conceive of any sane man justifying the claim of a fellow-man, be he idler or organiser, not only to compel him to work for both, but also to take possession of three-fourths of the product of his labour. Yet this is practically the position of the whole of the monopolists to-day in relation to the workers, and it will continue so long as the wage-system lasts, despite the utmost efforts of the trades' unions. This is no mere empty assertion, but is a strictly logical deduction from the facts and figures given in the Reports issued by the various unions; indeed, it is the inevitable outcome of the development of the competitive system of production. These Reports show, I think conclusively that Trades'-unionism has reached its zenith. On its present basis it can do little in the way of ameliorating the lot of the toilers, whilst it is utterly incapable of solving the labour question. So far from there appearing the faintest prospect of any general advance in wages or any material improvement in the condition of the workers, the facts are that the most successful unions are only able to maintain their positions by enormous subsidies to their unemployed; and the stability of some of the strongest provident societies belonging to the people is threat-

ened by the extreme pressure upon their funds due to the chronic distress arising from large numbers of their members being continually out of work. Some of the larger unions, including the Amalgamated Engineers, undoubtedly the most powerful labour organisation of the kind in the world, have been compelled to draw largely on their reserve funds. Thus everything points to the conclusion that the trades' unions, so far from becoming more formidable opponents of capitalism, are really losing ground as a fighting body, and are becoming relatively weaker every year. This may appear to some a startling statement; but if they look into the matter they will find: (1) That the actual number of adult male workers engaged in several of the chief industries is becoming less and less in proportion to the population; and (2) that the increase in the membership of the unions is accompanied by a vastly greater increase in the ratio of unemployed. In my own union (London Society of Compositors), taking three periods of twelve years each from 1848, I find that the amount paid under the head of "Unemployed Allowances" has increased nearly in the ratio of the arithmetical progression—1, 2, 3—rather over than under. That is to say, that nowadays the Society has to spend on an average £3 on merely defensive operations, as against £1 from 1848 to 1859 and £2 from 1860 to 1871. Or to put the matter in another and more striking light, I find that during the earlier years of the Society the amount paid for unemployed averaged only about one-eighth of the total income (in one year, 1854, it reached the extraordinarily low proportion of one-thirtieth), whereas during the last ten years it has never fallen below one-third; in 1879 it amounted to two-thirds of the total income, and during the three succeeding years to more than one-half.

The significance of these figures is vastly increased by the fact that they relate to a Society which has been exceptionally prosperous; which has so far suffered less than most trades from the long-continued and severe depression; and which is peculiarly free from the disturbing influence of machinery, that has worked such havoc amongst the workers in other occupations. If, then, we take the position of the most successful unions to-day, we shall find that we have arrived at the high-water mark of Trades'-unionism; and I ask my fellow-unionists to try and realise what that means, and then ask themselves if they are content to rest and be thankful, and to accept their present condition as the goal of their ambition.

I by no means wish to disparage the value of Trades'-unionism. On the contrary, I claim that the spirit of solidarity evolved, the administrative capacity developed, and the general educational effect produced by the association of the workers for a common object, is of itself an unmixed blessing. Neither am I concerned to deny that the unions have to some slight extent improved the material condition of the workers, and have been a power of good in regulating trade customs and conduct. But what I most strongly insist on is, that their whole course of action results simply in bolstering up a thoroughly vicious state of society—that they are merely attempting to modify some of the evils that it produces, whilst leaving the source of those evils—the wage-system itself—untouched. It must not be forgotten, too, as I have already observed, that the advantages gained, short as they fall of any rational satisfying of the needs of the labourer, are only shared by a fortunate few. In the earlier years of trade combinations, whilst the commercial system was reaching its highest development, and when it was the proud boast of patriotic Britons that England was the workshop of the world, any successes gained by the unions affected pretty well the whole of the members. But as the years went on, with the constant increase and improvement of machinery, the mad competition in the production of cheap goods as the sole end and aim of civilisation spread to other lands, and thus produced the inevitable glut of the markets, with all the terrible consequences of the constantly recurring trade crises and enormous displacement of labour. Thus, notwithstanding the nine-hour movement and the passing of Factory Acts reducing the hours of labour, there is in every trade a large number constantly unemployed; and whilst of course it is true that the individuals who comprise this surplus-labour population are constantly changing, yet it will be found that there is in operation a law of selection which enables the employers to take their pick of the workers, and thus to a certain extent recoup themselves for the higher prices paid for labour. It is matter of common observation that men passed middle-age have increasing difficulty in getting employment; and the evidence of advancing age, such as the appearance of grey hairs or weakening of the sight, brings anxiety to many lest they may be called upon to make way for younger and more robust competitors. The slightly higher remuneration which a proportion of our number receive during their years of youth and vigour is therefore gained on condition of supporting the worn-out slaves of Capitalism, with the prospect before them of being displaced in their turn to swell the ranks of the unemployed.

Trades'-unionism affords absolutely no remedy for this. Even if every non-unionist were to join our ranks to-morrow, the result would simply be a further sifting of the workers, whereby the young, the strong, and the more competent would receive a shilling or two more per week, while the remainder would become chargeable on the "unemployed fund" of their respective societies.

T. BINNING.

(To be continued.)

Only by making the ruling few uneasy, can the oppressed many obtain a particle of relief.—*Bentham*.

If a government cannot prevent revolt, it has no right to attempt to govern the revolted; for it has not succeeded in attaining the only just end of government, namely, the comfort of the governed.—*Leigh Hunt*.

## SCIENCE FOR THE PEOPLE.

## I.—OXYGEN.

WERE it not for oxygen  
 You and I and other men  
 Could not live; bethink ye, then,  
 And praise the gods for oxygen.  
 Animals: the birds and kine,  
 The fish that swim, the grunting swine,  
 All live, but scientists opine—  
 They could not live sans oxygen.

Since oxygen sustaineth men  
 Of light and lore and mystic pen,  
 My blessings over and again,  
 My blessings upon oxygen.  
 Since singing birds and milchen kine,  
 And fish that swim, and grunting swine,  
 Are all of use to me and mine,  
 I do not grudge them oxygen.

But there are those that cumber earth,  
 Producing nought, and nothing worth,  
 Who feast without the fear of dearth,  
 And spoil the sweetest oxygen.  
 I say 'twere better they should die,  
 And so I'd limit their supply,  
 And this should be the reason why:—  
 They were not worth their oxygen.

T. MAGUIRE.

## "THE AXE IS LAID UNTO THE ROOT."

THERE are few worse signs of modern times than the habit of trying to patch up evil effects, instead of removing their causes. This habit runs through all departments of life. The doctor spends his skill trying to alleviate the sufferings brought on through systematic over eating and drinking by idle people. He prescribes pills and physic—a dose to be taken before each meal, and a pill after; and to what end is all this? Simply to make it easier to be a glutton and an idler. Not only is the time and skill utterly wasted, but it is absolutely harmful, as far as it succeeds, by blinding people to the true cause of all evil. A true doctor would go straight to the cause, and tell his patient to eat less and work more, and would refuse to waste time on him unless he did.

Acting in just the same blind way, our modern philanthropists build houses for "waifs and strays," or organise rescue societies for prostitutes, but never seek to remove the causes which are at work forcing children out to beg and girls out to sell themselves; and just so far as their efforts are successful do they delay any real attempt to remove the cause. They remove the most glaring part of the evil, and the rest passes unheeded, for society smells no smells which aren't forced up its nose.

If we examine all recent legislation for the alleviation of the condition of the poor, or the abolition of any evil, we shall find it based on exactly the same principle; and here it is the more infamous because it is used for the very purpose of postponing any attempt to get at the real cause, the removal of which would in most cases be inconvenient to the ruling classes. Take all the measures which have been passed to protect the workers from the oppression of their masters—Factory Acts, Employers' Liability, and others similar. What is the result of all this law-making and factory inspection? It has only taken away the most glaring tyrannies, and that by a complicated arrangement of inspection and reporting. I don't wish to underrate what has been accomplished by these measures. I know that many of the most cruel forms of oppression have been stamped out, and am thankful for it. Yet I say that in principle all these measures are wrong, and that they turn attention away from the real cause of all the evils; they lead the workers to look for constant fresh interferences with every little evil, until, if we go on, we shall soon have to have Government inspectors in every factory and workshop. But the worst part of this legislation is, as I said before, that it is passed, either consciously or unconsciously, for the definite purpose of turning attention away from the root-cause. Why is all this patching of our industrial system needed? Why do we need to pass laws to prevent employers killing, maiming, or robbing their men? Why cannot the men and masters arrange it between them? Because their interests are absolutely opposite; because it is the interest of the master to get as much work out of his man at as little cost to himself as possible, and it is the man's interest to get as much wages as possible for as little work. This is the root-cause of all the bother; and all legislation or all combination which does not help to remove this main cause is bad in principle and too often simply does harm by hiding the real cause.

I am afraid trades'-unionism must come under the head of attempts which are bad in principle so long as their ultimate aim and hope is to make the two opposing interests meet on equal terms. In making the workers unite they have done good service; but in simply using that union to perpetuate a state of warfare between employers and employed they are on the wrong tack. For supposing it were possible for them to become as strong as the unions of the capitalists, there could be no final settlement of the labour question in that way: each party would

be afraid of the other, each maintaining a costly, and ever increasingly costly, organisation of war; they would always be trying to get advantage one of another, and any happy relations would be impossible. There is only one way to settle the labour question, and that is to remove the opposing interests and to put one common interest in place of them. Happiness can only result from a harmony of interests, not from warfare even between equal forces. The way to harmonise these opposing classes of employers and employed is to do away with the employers, the capitalists, and let all the means of production be held in common and used for the good of all.

"But you Socialists are so unpractical," some one will say; "what's the good talking about harmonising interests, and holding the means of production for common good?—that will take ages to come. Now we can get the Employers' Liability Act amended in the next Parliament, Leasehold Enfranchisement in the one following, and so go on gradually." Of all the unpractical people these are the most unpractical: they can't see that to remove the cause of an evil is the only way to cure it; they imagine that they are practical when tampering with effects, and point to those who are steadily working for the removal of the cause as idle dreamers, if not fools. The real practical man is the man who strikes at a cause and leaves the effects to follow. Another great root-cause which Socialists are working to abolish is production for profit. Here, again, the practical people have tried their hand with measures such as those to prevent adulteration, etc., with similar results to above. They cannot see that it is so much easier to go to the root of the matter than to be endlessly chopping at the branches, which grow out again somewhere else as fast as they cut them off. Let us look at one result of this production for profit, and see how it is attempted to get over it. I refer to the putting of bad material into work in order to gain the difference of price as extra profit. This is a most common practice, and any one wanting to get a large contract done has to guard against it as best he may. When a railway company want a large iron bridge making, they have to appoint an inspector, and have pieces, cut from every lot of plates or castings, tested to see if they are of right quality. This imposes a lot of useless and arbitrary regulations on the engineers who do the work, and it is very costly, but worst of all, it fails utterly to secure its purpose. After all these precautions the Tay bridge is blown down by a gust of wind! It is easy for all these restrictions to be shirked. I have known of bars to be tested made from a different quality of metal altogether from the casting which they were to represent. All this bad work and dishonest work can be cured by taking away its cause. Do away with production for profit, put production for use in its place, and there will be no more bad work or adulteration, for where would be the temptation? The workers, working in the common workshops for the good of all, would have every temptation to do their best and put the best material into their work. If they wanted a bridge they would build one that would stand, and would take good care it didn't want doing over again.

I might go on indefinitely citing cases where the real cause is shirked and some slight modification brought forward to hide it. A recent little agitation about the pit-brow women will serve to illustrate. Society is rather shocked to find women working like men at rough work, certainly not suitable for them, on the pit bank, and so seeks to get a law passed to stop it, which, if passed, would entail a great deal of misery on the women thrown out of work, and would lead us no nearer to the only thing worth doing, namely, the removal of the awful system which compels women to work at anything they can earn a crust by. Society thinks it quite fit for a woman to work herself to death in a garret making shirts for it to clothe itself with, so long as it is in a back slum out of sight; but for a woman to wear trousers like a man and haul coal about—it can't stand that!

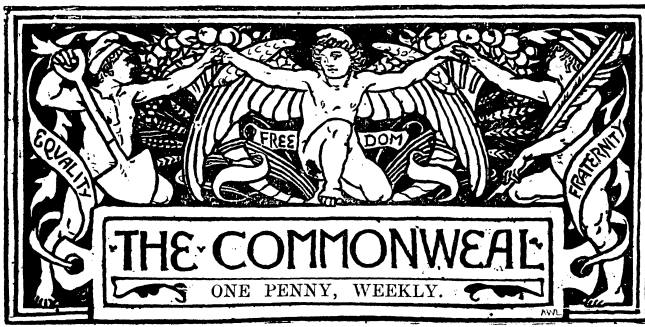
We may prevent women doing this that and the other, but there will be little improvement in the general lot of the women workers until the "dreamers" succeed in removing the cause of their oppression, until they so revolutionise Society as to make it possible for all to live comfortably by work suitable to them.

I use the word revolutionise, because nothing short of a revolution will do. We have got to a stage when mere reforms are useless, often worse. If you have a good system founded on rightness and harmony, it can be improved by reforms; but where the system is bad, where the base on which it is founded is selfishness and injustice, there is no place for reform, the basis must be changed entirely, and that is revolution.

I would impress this upon all Socialists who are tempted to run after various reforms as steps in the right direction: That any measure which does not strike at the root-cause is either useless or bad. And I would urge that by far the most practical thing to do is to show the causes, and accept nothing which does not remove them. Our work is to educate the people to see that mere reforms will not help them; and when we have once convinced them that only by their uniting and changing the whole system will it be possible for them to live happily, they will be able to do it without the help of the talkers at Westminster. When the workers have made up their minds to give up competition and production for profit, they will need no law to enable them to go and work for themselves, and no law will be able to stop them.

RAYMOND UNWIN.

The surest way to remove seditions is to take away the causes thereof.—*Bacon*.  
 As often as there is found to be too great a difference between the wishes of the people and the actual reality of things, in obedience to the laws of nature a revolution takes place; it may be dammed-up artificially by the organised powers for a while, but not for long.—*Max Nordau*.



"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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#### 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 August 11.

ENGLAND		Toledo (O.)—Industrial News	ITALY
Norwich—Daylight		San Francisco (Cal.)—Truth	Brescia—Lo Sperimentale
Bristol Mercury		Springfield (Ill.)—Voice of Labor	SPAIN
Republican		Cincinnati (O.)—Unionist	Barcelona—Acracia
Justice		New Haven (Conn.)—Workmen's Advocate	Cadiz—El Socialismo
Leicester Co-operative Record		Washington (D. C.)—National View	AUSTRIA
Club and Institute Journal		Newfoundland (Pa.)—La Torpille	Brunn—Volksfreund
Herald of Health		Portland (Oregon)—Alarm	HOLLAND
Southport Visitor		Pateron (N.J.)—Labor Standard	Recht voor Allen
Anti-Sweater		Chicago (Ill.)—Vorbote	HUNGARY
		Kuights of Labor	Arbeiter-Wochen-Chronik
UNITED STATES			NORWAY
New York—Volkszeitung		FRANCE	Social-Demokraten
Der Sozialist		Paris—Cri du Peuple (daily)	INDIA
Frelheit		Le Revolte	Madras—People's Friend
Spread the Light		La Revue Litteraire	Allahabad—People's Budget
Truthseeker		Guise—Le Devoir	Bombay—Times of India
Labor Lyceum		BELGIUM	
Boston—Woman's Journal		Brussels—Le Chante-Clair	
Denver (Col.) Labor Inquirer			

RECEIVED.—"Moderation"—"The Amsterdam Riots"—"Revolution"—"Piece Work."

#### NOTES ON PASSING EVENTS.

The impudence of the propertied class finds utterance after every Bank Holiday. A batch of letters appears in the newspapers complaining of the inconvenience that snobs are put to, because of the first-class railway carriages being filled with lads and lassies of the working class. The working-class folks are fools enough to allow the snobs to have the monopoly of the best carriages for 359 days of the year, and yet a plaintive wail is sent up because they have sometimes to share them the remaining six. These impudent letters will not fail to make the people understand the greed and selfishness of their masters. Another complaint of the letters is that the work-people are ill-mannered. Perhaps they are: so are their employers; but manners is but one of the many things the people are robbed of.

The North Metropolitan Tramway Company have made a net profit of £38,574 during the past half-year. This is, in a very true sense of the word, blood-money. A shareholder, Mr. Guesdon, stated the working hours of the men to be sixteen a-day. The chairman said it was only thirteen and a half. The men, it appears, are hanging about the cars for the two and a half hours referred to by the chairman, so that for all practical purposes the statement stands good that the working hours are sixteen. Such overwork means that the men have no time of any kind for recreation, and that ultimately they are sent to their graves before their normal time. The way the company conducts its business shows that nothing but profit is its object. The public convenience is not considered. On the line from Euston to "Nag's Head" they increase their fares on Sundays: no extra pay is given to the men or extra food to the horses. On the line from Archway, Highgate, to King's Cross, no transfer tickets are issued, which means that the public has to pay two fares on Sundays. These are but small samples of how they take mean advantages. Does any one seriously believe that a corporation that slowly murders its employes and that perpetrates such petty meannesses on the public should be

allowed to continue in such a course? It is time that the tramways were run in the interest of all.

Our oponents tell us that Socialism is impossible. I would ask them to meditate on the revolts that are taking place in every part of the world, and ask them if things can remain much longer as they are. From France, Belgium, Holland, United States, and Italy comes the same news of the people's rebellion against the tyranny of their oppressors. The monopolists have been having a quiet time of it for a good many years past, but now they are beginning to shake in their shoes. We urge on the workers to join the Socialist party; not to produce riots, but a revolution. We want to put an end to the monopolists; the rioters merely change them. Riots probably do more harm than good to the cause of the people. Only the revolution that will abolish capitalists and landlords, and put an organised people in their place, will make a change good for all.

It is stated that every three years there is created in this country limited liability stock to the amount of the national debt. Usury is of course paid upon this immense sum, so one hardly need wonder how it is that in spite of the enormous annual increase of wealth in this country the workers remain poor. The increase goes into the coffers of the usurers.

A. D.

On Wednesday appeared an abstract of the report of the Commission on the Depression in Trade, which, however, was repudiated the next day. In fact the report according to the account given was so grotesque, that it did look as if it might have been drawn up by a Socialist joker; yet it is by no means so sure that it did not contain the gist of the genuine report somewhat denuded of its raiment of verbiage. After all there would be nothing wonderful in the Commissioners being at the bottom of the joke, as such people take great care never to study economy except from the point of view of the most worn-out bourgeois theories; ignorance is an essential of their position as Commissioners. Also as they obviously can do nothing they may think it matters little what they say. Yet for one item I wonder what this solemn farce costs the country?

It has been suggested that the Liberal members shall revenge themselves on Lord Randolph Churchill for his truculent address to the electors of Paddington, by rising and leaving the house in a body as soon as he begins to speak for the first time. This is not a bad idea, but such protests might be organised in a more complete manner, each one, for instance, of these protesting members might be brought back in turn, and a similar protest made against him for his special delinquency, rattling, fighting shy, lying, or what not; which would make a lively time of it in the house. Perhaps the very best organisation would result in each member so protesting against himself, walking out of the house and not coming back again. There would be many dry eyes at these departures.—W. M.

#### SOCIALISM FROM THE ROOT UP.

##### CHAPTER IX.—THE INDUSTRIAL REVOLUTION IN ENGLAND.

In our last two chapters we had to deal with a revolution which was as rich in dramatic interest, and as obviously so, as any period in the history of the world. We have now to note a series of events the well-spring of which was Great Britain. This series is not usually connected by modern historians so as to be dignified by the name of a Revolution; but it is one nevertheless, and is at least as important in its bearing on the life of the modern world as that more startling and, on the surface, more terrible one in France.

In the last chapter wherein the condition of England was dealt with, we left it a prosperous country, in the ordinary sense of the word, under the rule of an orderly constitutionalism. There was no need here for the violent destruction of aristocratic privilege; it was of itself melting into money-privilege, and all was getting ready for the completest and securest system of the plunder of labour which the world had yet seen.

England was free in the bourgeois sense; that is, there were but a few checks, the survivals of earlier periods, to interfere with the exaction of the tribute which labour has to pay to property to be allowed to live. In a word, on the one hand exploitation was veiled; and on the other, the owners of property had no longer any duties to perform in return for the above-said tribute. Nevertheless, all this had to go on a small scale for a while. Population had not increased largely since the beginning of the seventeenth century; agriculture was flourishing; one-thirtieth of the grain raised was exported from England; the working-classes were not hard pressed, and could not yet be bought and sold in masses. There were no large manufacturing towns, and no need for them; the presence of the material to be worked up, rather than the means for working it mechanically—fuel, to wit—gave a manufacturing character to this or that country-side. It was, for example, the sheep-pastures of the Yorkshire hill-sides, and not the existence of coal beneath them, which made the neighbourhood of the northern Bradford a weaving country. Its namesake on the Wiltshire Avon was in those days at least as important a centre of the clothing industry. The broadcloth of the Gloucestershire valleys, Devonshire and Hampshire kersies, Whitney blankets and Chipping Norton tweeds, meant sweet grass and long wool, with a little water-power to turn the fulling-mills, and not coal, to which material to be worked up was to be brought from the four quarters of the globe. The apparent con-



dition of labour in those days seems almost idyllic, compared with what it now is: but it must be remembered that then as now the worker was in the hands of the monopolist of land and raw material; nor was it likely that the latter should have held his special privilege for two hundred years without applying some system by which it could be made the most of. Between the period of the decay of the craft-gilds and this latter half of the eighteenth century there had grown up a system of labour which could not have been applied to the mediæval workmen; for they worked for themselves and not for a master or exploiter, and thus were masters of their material and their tools and their time. This system is that of the Division of Labour; under it the unit of labour is not an individual man, but a group, every member of which is helpless by himself, but trained by constant practice to the repetition of a small part of the work, acquires great precision and speed in its performance. In short, each man is not so much a machine as a part of a machine. As, for example, it takes five men to make a glass-bottle: it is the group of these five men that makes the bottle, not any one of them. It is clear that under this system the individual workman is entirely at the mercy of his master the capitalist in his capacity of superintendent of labour: in order not to be crushed by him, he must combine to oppose his own interests to those of his employer. It was by this system, then, that the demands of the growing world-market were supplied down to the end of the eighteenth century. The great political economist, Adam Smith, whose book was first published in 1771, marks the beginning of the transition between this system and that of the great machine industries; but his work implies throughout the Division of Labour system.

But that system was now to melt into the new one: the workman, from being a machine, was to become the auxiliary of a machine. The invention of the spinning-jenny by Hargreaves in 1760 is the first symptom of the beginning of this Industrial Revolution. From thence to the invention of steam as a motive-force, and thence again to our own days, the stream of invention has been continuous. The discovery that iron could be made with pit-coal removed the seat of the iron manufacture from the wooded countries of the south and west, where the old iron-works, called "bloomeries," used to be carried on, to the northern and midland coal districts, and all manufacture of any importance flowed to the seat of fuel; so that South Lancashire, for instance, was changed from a country of moorland and pasture, with a few market towns and the ancient manufacturing city of Manchester, into a district where the "villages," still so called, but with populations of fifteen or twenty thousand souls, are pretty much contiguous, and the country has all but disappeared. Of course a great part of this is the work of the years that have followed on the invention of railways; but even in the earlier period of this industrial revolution the change was tremendous and sudden and the sufferings of the working classes very great, as no attempt was made to alleviate the distress that was sure to be caused by the change from the use of human hands to machinery. Nor indeed could it have been made in a country governed by bourgeois constitutionalism until measures were actually forced on the government. In 1811 the prevailing distress was betokened by the first outbreak of the Luddites. These were organised bands of men who went about breaking up the machinery which was the immediate cause of their want of employment and consequent starvation. The locality where these riots were most frequent was the northern midland counties, where the newly-invented stocking-frames were specially obnoxious to them. The Luddites became the type of bodies of rioters who by a half-blind instinct throughout this period threw themselves against the advancing battalions of industrial revolution. In 1816, the year which followed the peace with France, the cessation of all the war industries threw more people still out of employment, and in addition the harvest was a specially bad one. As a consequence, this hunger insurrection was especially violent in that year. The riots were put down with corresponding violence, and the rioters punished with the utmost harshness. But as times mended somewhat this insurrection, which was, as we have said, a mere matter of hunger, and was founded on no principle, died out, although for a time riots having for their object destruction of property, especially of the plant and stock of manufacturers, went on through the whole of the first half of the century. The "Plug Riots,"<sup>1</sup> in the middle of the Chartist agitation, may be taken for an example of these.

It was a necessary consequence of the introduction of elaborate machinery that women and children should be largely employed in factories to diminish the number of adult males. This resource for the development of the profits of the new system was used by the manufacturers with the utmost recklessness, till at last it became clear to the bourgeois government that the scandal created by its abuse would put an end to its use altogether, unless something were done to palliate its immediate evils; and accordingly a series of Factory Acts were passed, in the teeth of the most strenuous and unscrupulous resistance on the part of the capitalists, who grudged the immediate loss which resulted in the hampering of the "roaring trade" they were driving, even though it were for the ultimate benefit of their class. The first of these Acts which was really intended to work was passed in 1830, and they were consolidated finally in 1867. It should be understood that these Acts were not intended to benefit the great mass of adult workers, but were rather concessions to the outcry of the philanthropists at the condition of the women and especially the children so employed.

Meanwhile, in spite of all the suffering caused by the Industrial Re-

<sup>1</sup> This meant destruction of boilers in factories, the rioters pulling out the plugs to ensure their bursting.

volution, it was impossible for the capitalists to engross the whole of the profits gained by it, or at least to go on piling them up in an ever-increasing ratio. The class struggle took another form, besides that of mere hunger riots and forcible repression, that of the Trade Unions. Although the primary intention of these was the foundation of benefit societies, as with the first guilds of the early Middle Ages, like them also they had soon to take in hand matters dealing with the regulation of labour. The first struggles of the trades' unions with capital took place while they were still illegal; but the repeal of the law against the combination of workmen in 1824 set them free in that respect, and they soon began to be a power in the country. Aided by the rising tide of commercial prosperity, which made the capitalists more willing to yield up some part of their enormous profits rather than carry on the struggle à l'outrance, they prevailed in many trade contests, and succeeding in raising the standard of livelihood for skilled workmen, though of course by no means in proportion to the huge increase in the sum of the national income. Further than this it was and is impossible for them to go so long as they recognise the capitalists as a necessary part of the organisation of labour. It was not at first understood by the capitalist class that they did so recognise them, and consequently in the period of their early successes the trades' unions were considered mere revolutionists, and were treated to that kind of virulent and cowardly abuse and insult, which the shopkeeper in terror for his shop always has at his tongues end.

The abolition of the corn-laws in 1847 and the consequent cheapening of necessary food for the workers, the discovery of gold in California and Australia, the prodigious increase in the luxury and expenditure of the upper and middle classes, all the action and reaction of the commercial impulse created by the great machine industries, gave an appearance of general prosperity to the country, in which, as we have said, the skilled workmen did partake to a certain extent; and the views of middle-class optimists as to the continuance of bourgeois progress, and the gradual absorption of all the worthy part of the working-classes into its ranks seemed confirmed till within the last few years; all the more as the practical triumph of the Liberal party had ceased to make "politics" a burning question. Nevertheless, as a sign that the underground lava had not ceased flowing, it was noticed that ever since the ripening of the great industries, in periods of about ten years came recurring depressions of trade; these were accounted for in various ingenious ways, but otherwise did not trouble the capitalist mind, which got to consider this also, because of its regular recurrence, as a sign of the stability of the present system, and merely looked upon it as a thing to be taken into the general average and insured against in the usual manner. But within the last few years this latest eternal bourgeois providence has failed us. The nations whom we assumed would never do anything but provide us with raw materials, have become our rivals in manufacture and our competitors in the world-market, while owing to the fact that America has enormous stretches of easily tilled virgin soil, which does not need manure, and that the climate of India makes it easy to support life there, those two countries supply us with such large amounts of grain, and at so cheap a rate, that raising it in England has become unprofitable; so that the farmers are poor, and the landlords cannot get the same rents for agricultural land as formerly. The exports have fallen off; towns where six years ago trade was flourishing and wages high, are now encumbered with a population which they cannot find employment for; and though from time to time there are rumours of improvement in trade, nothing comes of them, and people are obliged to await some stroke of magic which shall bring us back our old prosperity "of leaps and bounds."

The fact is that the commerce of the great industries has entered insensibly into its second stage, and mere cut-throat competition between the different nations has taken the place of the benevolent commercial despotism of the only nation which was thoroughly prepared to take advantage of the Industrial Revolution—Great Britain, to wit.

This second stage is doubtless preparing the final one which will end with the death of the whole bourgeois commercial system. Meanwhile, what is the real social product of the Industrial Revolution? We answer the final triumph of the middle-classes, materially, intellectually, and morally. As the result of the great political revolution in France was the abolition of aristocratic privilege, and the domination in the world of politics of the bourgeoisie, which hitherto had had little to do with it, so the English Industrial Revolution may be said to have created a new commercial middle-class hitherto unknown to the world. This class on the one hand consolidated all the groups of the middle class of the preceding epoch, such as country squires large and small, big farmers, merchants, manufacturers, shopkeepers, and professional men; and made them so conscious of their solidarity, that the ordinary refined and thinking man of to-day cannot really see any other class at all, but only outside his own class certain heterogeneous groups to be used as instruments for the further advancement of that class. On the other hand, it has attained such complete domination that the upper classes are merely adjuncts to it and servants of it. In fact, these also are now of the bourgeois class, as they are all engaged in commerce in one way or other: e.g., the higher nobility are all either house-agents or coal-factors, and would be of no importance without their "businesses." Moreover, striving ever to extend itself downwards as well as upwards, the middle-class has absorbed so much in that direction, especially within the last thirty years, that it has now nothing left below it except the mere propertyless proletariat. These last are wholly dependent upon it, utterly powerless before it until the break up of the system which has created it, the signs of whose beginning

we have just noted, shall *force* them into a revolt against it. In the course of that revolt this great middle-class will in its turn be absorbed into the proletariat, which will form a new Society in which classes will have ceased to exist. This is the next Revolution, as inevitable, as inexorable, as the rising of to-morrow's sun.

E. BELFORD BAX AND WILLIAM MORRIS.

(To be continued).

## CORRESPONDENCE.

### THE EMIGRATION OF CAPITALISTS.

SIR,—Reading your article upon the exodus of Marshall and Co., of Leeds, to America, has caused me to indite this letter to you. Of course, as a capitalist, I hold your journal and the party it represents in utter detestation, but as I am now in a splenetic mood, in consequence of being cut out in business by an opposition firm, I will favour you with my views upon the absurd conduct and speech of those capitalists who, because of your paltry agitation, talk of taking themselves and capital out of the country.

Looking as an Imperial Federationist over the British Empire, to which Burma has by Divine interposition been added, I see a vast and as yet undeveloped field for the enterprise and business capacity of the British capitalist. Already the mild Hindoo has succumbed to "superior methods of production," and instead of letting his children waste their time in play, as they were wont before the advent of British civilisation, they are now engaged in useful work in cotton mills, working nearly the same hours as in Lancashire before the detested Factory Acts, the repeal of which I as a member of the Liberty and Property Defence League, hope soon to see accomplished. Being heathens, moreover, they work on Sundays, and although, as a Christian, I must lament that they are foredoomed to eternal torments, yet the commercial advantages of the extra labour performed are simply enormous. Shaftesbury seriously menaced the stability of our commerce when he interfered in the matter. Happily he is removed to a better sphere, and prevented from introducing more harmful restrictions on free labour.

But to return to Marshall and Co. Now, next to the plastic, unresisting Hindoo, or the West Indian coolies and the patient rent-rendering Egyptian fellaheen, I place for docility the average British workman, and why a firm with all these to choose from as raw material should voluntarily emigrate to a country infested with strikers, Socialists, and boycotters, passes my comprehension. You, sir, could never have thoroughly studied the character of the English workman, or you would not now be engaged in your audacious but happily hopeless endeavour to stir up disunion between the workmen and their benevolent masters. When I contemplate the spectacle presented by the British workman, both past and present, I am lost in astonishment and admiration. Working 70, 80, and 100 hours per week, he has produced those colossal accumulations of wealth which have permitted us under heavenly guidance to extend the blessings of English commerce abroad. When the unregenerate foreigner has refused us repayment of our money lent in trusting faith, or the rude barbarian has refused alike the blessings of our teaching and our wares, then has the British son of toil serving as soldier, marine, or sailor, bled and died for the enforcement of just obligations and the glory of this great Empire. In return he asks for little, satisfied with his scars and stumps he returns to a grateful country, from which he only asks a pittance sufficient for his humble wants. Can you Socialists show so sublime a spectacle? We owe him much, for while denouncing the bloodthirsty projects of rebels, he has not hesitated to shed his blood and theirs in defence of his master's possessions. America might have carried out the fell promises of her Declaration of Independence but for his indomitable pluck, assisted by the skilful scalping knife of the simple Indian. France might also have never enjoyed the blessings of the Napoleonic régime, had he not thrown himself into the breach against the levelling Atheistic Republic, and if the faithful creature has in the exuberance of his loyalty violated military etiquette, and killed and spoiled on his own account, he has bared his back to the lash, and bowed obediently to his pastors and masters.

To-day he adds Burma and Egypt to his laurels, and pays uncomplaining the hundreds of millions incurred in the prosecution of England's civilising mission. Eminent in war, assiduous in labour, yet contented with his humble lot, and satisfied if he can but partake of his lowly pot of beer, or still better, the mildly aperient temperance drinks now offered him at a slight, far too slight, profit, by religious and benevolent friends. He replies to the illusory theories of mad agitators with a simple blow of his sturdy manly hand, or crushes them with the weight of inborn common sense. If your pests point enviously to the emporium, as evidence of inequality in distribution, he shows you triumphantly his chandler's shop to prove that he shares in the wealth of the country. If, again, you endeavour to stir up disloyalty and class-hatred, by alluding to large estates and incomes, he probes your wicked design at once by saying in truth "Wouldn't you like to get a slice yourself?" He discerns quickly that it is only the lazy and drunken who fail to get on, and they are paying you, sir, and your set to upset royalty, aristocracy, and all decent hardworking people. Even adversity does not change or sour him, and when through adversity, due to an inscrutable Providence, he has to seek the shelter of the workhouse, he cheers his labour at the stone heap or oakum shed, or his frugal meal of skilly, with reflections of the glory and greatness of the British Empire and the share he has had in building it up, and only hopes that the Prince of Wales and the Colonial exhibitors will make haste and federate it, and keep those damned foreigners out!

I repeat, sir, that you have not considered your position when you recklessly throw down the gauntlet to all that is stable and respectable in English life. Is there poverty, does it not stimulate scientific investigation, and lead to the searching out by social reformers, not rabid Socialists, of the hidden nutritive qualities of nettles, horsebeans, and cabbage leaves, as "rational alimentations for the working-class?" And where vegetarianism is not insisted upon, are not cookery classes instructing the young how to make the most of offal, tails, entrails, and bones, thus cheapening the prime joints for the superior classes, an unmixed good to all? While you are wickedly seeking to dissever the holy family tie, we are building *creches* or nurseries, so that mothers may be engaged in industry without their babies; and if I have seemed to slight English working-women in my unbounded

admiration for the sterling qualities of their sons, husbands, and brothers, let me now make amends. You form your Branches and get a few malcontent men in a district, but I subscribe to the soup-kitchen, mission-hall, and mothers' meetings, and beat you into fits. The men may talk a lot of puling stuff about surplus value and social justice, but the honest woman has not married Socialism, she has married the man *and his wages*, and she knows that these stupid committee meetings are held against God, and the Queen, and the master; and as the master finds the wages she sticks to the master, and in fighting for the fulfilment of her contract she helps the master to his, and is consequently a grand preservative force. With true womanly instinct, which, by the way, is always genteel, she cannot, and rightly so, be brought to believe that a parcel of Toms, Jacks, and Harrys know more about what ought to be than those who are legally and lawfully set in authority over them; and as to poverty, does she not know from the mission hall that it is God's ordained will. Like the boy at Rugby, "I laugh, I dew," when I think of your stupid attempts to overturn Society. While she steadfastly opposes that kind of opposition to lawful authority, which ends in violence and bloodshed, she gives up with alacrity husband, brother, and son to fight and die for the honour of their Queen and country, and bestows her smiles upon the uniforms of her country's brave defenders. Bah! if you are searching for a Théroigne de Mericourt here you had better give it up, you will find, however, plenty of Charlotte Corday's!

And now, sir, in conclusion, whilst you and your set are prating about your glorious ideal, my class are gradually but surely arriving at theirs. I see in the future an army of apostles issuing from the rooms of the Young Men's Christian Association, and kindred Christian institutions, men replete with scriptural texts and the principles of correct book-keeping; demure, disciplined, and self-contained, they will carry the word of the Lord into unknown lands, and also the advertisements of their employers. They will reconcile the truth of Christianity with a well-balanced ledger, thus uniting commerce and religion. They will clothe the naked *when they pay for it*. The unused labour-power of the idle savage, now running like the force of Niagara to waste, will be used; he will be taught not only to labour but to pray. Of course, he will also be taught to pay, and thus add to the glory of his master's name. The solitudes of Nature will resound to the clang of the factory and the mission-room bell, for many of which I have secured a contract from a brother in the Lord. London will extend despite the noisy nonsense about open spaces, until she reaches the provincial towns, thus instead of stupid wild flowers and unprofitable fields growing what we can import cheaper, there will be one vast assemblage of rent-producing workshops and houses, interspersed here and there with places of worship wherein the honest worker can return thanks for the Divine dispensation which has permitted the enterprising capitalist to shape the world, or at all events England, after his own image.—I am, yours disrespectfully,

A CAREWORN ANXIOUS CAPITALIST.

### ANOTHER SOCIALIST PROSECUTION.

ON August 6 Thomas E. Wardle and J. Allman appeared at Marylebone Police Court at two o'clock to answer to summonses taken out against them for causing an obstruction on 24th ult. by addressing 200 Socialists and others at the corner of Walerton and Fernhead roads. They found the magistrate had gone to lunch and had to lounge about the court-house lobby until "his-wushup" had been fed. At last the defendants' names were called. The magistrate, Mr. Cooke, wished to put both defendants up together, but consented, on a protest from Wardle, to hear the cases separately. There were four witnesses for the prosecution—two policemen, X 382 and XR 16, a draper (Agate), and a queer-looking little chemist (Linney). Their tale was that a great obstruction had been caused by the crowd which assembled to hear the defendant Wardle, although both foot-passengers and vehicles were able to pass by. The little chemist said the noise of the speaker's voice was unbearable. In cross-examination XR 16 was asked to define an "open space." The constable looked in blank amazement at the defendant, and after a few seconds a sergeant of police in the court, by a nod, prompted XR 16 to say that he could not do so. I was under the impression that prompting witnesses was not permitted, but from what I observed at Marylebone I see the police are at liberty to do so. The queer little chemist Linney swore he heard Wardle speak on 31st ult. Wardle, however, proved that he did not speak at the place on that date. The complaint of Agate the draper that the meetings were a public nuisance, was grounded on his statement that they interfered with his trade. I am unable to see how, even if his trade were interfered with, that that could be a public nuisance. It might be a public benefit, because what he did not sell some other draper would; and it is as likely as not that the other drapers would give the public better bargains than he does. Wardle wished to put a question to the chemist as to the area of the space. This is clearly the most important part of the case, because if the space is 16,000 square feet, as stated by the defendant, 200 persons could not block it up. The magistrate would not allow the question to be put. It seems to me the lunch must have somewhat affected that magistrate's mind, else such a pertinent question would not have been alleged to have nothing to do with the case. Several witnesses appeared for the defence, and showed that there was no obstruction whatever, and that owing to the great area of the space from 7,000 to 8,000 persons would be required to fill up the roadway alone. Mr. Cooke then adjourned the case, for "the public convenience"—which meant one of two things: either the lunch had been insufficient, and the magistrate was anxious to dine, or he thought he would wait and see the judgment on Mainwaring at the Middlesex Sessions; but how the public could be inconvenienced on either of these grounds I for one am at a loss to know. A. K. DONALD.

Now as a matter of fact, the existing distinction between a commonplace Conservative and a commonplace Liberal, is one of name and name only. I defy you to name any important measure of home or foreign policy on which there is any substantial difference of opinion between the parties represented by Lord Salisbury and Lord Hartington. I defy you to name any grave reform likely to be proposed by the Radicals which the Whigs are not as much opposed to in principle as the Conservatives. All important reforms consistent with the preservation of our existing Constitution have practically been accomplished. All future reform must be of a revolutionary character, and involve an attack on some one of our fundamental institutions. Any such attack would be deprecated alike by Whigs and Conservatives. The time is fast coming, if it has not come already, when the two parties in the State will consist of the defenders and the assailants of our Constitution.—E. Dicey, C.B., *Nineteenth Century*, 1886, p. 303.

## INTERNATIONAL SOCIALIST AND LABOUR NOTES.

## Manchester Carpenters and Joiners.

A correspondent, who signs himself a "Working Joiner Socialist and Trades' Unionist," sends word that a movement is on foot to reorganise the joiners in the city and suburbs. The following extracts from "Gleaner's" weekly letter in the *Illustrated Carpenter and Builder*, will show that there is much need for vigorous and united action:

"Much dissatisfaction is expressed by many trade unionist joiners at the action of a large number of joiners, unionist and non-unionist, who for years have undertaken work, 'piecework,' for jerry builders and property gamblers, and then employed youths at low rates of wages to execute the labour required, thereby assisting the 'pirates' of the trade to erect unsightly and hideous structures which it is to be hoped the rising generation of 'art-workers' will raze to the ground. The conditions under which operative joiners are employed by the large firms here, is a fair example of the results of non-organisation. On outside jobs, where, say, over a hundred men are employed, one foreman takes charge of the works, and under him are placed four or five 'josses,' whose duty is to closely watch the men at work. In some instances a 'joss' is placed in a room, and from starting time to 'knocking off' time, never leaves the room, or in any way ceases to drive the men at work. The employers evidently think that by adopting this system of 'slave driving (minus the whip),' they are getting a larger quantity of work done. It is questionable as to both quantity and quality. . . . In Manchester we have no 'walking time,' 'grinding time,' nor extra pay for overtime."

## Starving Yorkshire Miners.

For some time past the miners of certain populous districts in Yorkshire have been unable to procure wages amounting to more than six or seven shillings weekly per man. A great many more are utterly without work, and things south of Featherstone are at the lowest ebb they have ever been. The people are literally starving to death, soup-kitchens and subscription-lists notwithstanding. It is all taken as a matter of course, though. The fine weather is to blame mainly;—so people say, "because there is not so much coal wanted in summer-time as in winter." And so the men who hazard life and limb—that is, when they are permitted the favour—to give opulent England a cheery fireside together with an industrial greatness which has become her latter-day boast, and all for a dog's subsistence, are left quietly to starve. But the worst of it is they do quietly starve. Needless to say these miners are not slaves. They are free Englishmen, *with votes*.—T. M.

DUBLIN.—Our ideas seem to be spreading satisfactorily. During my visit I found that there were many people who would openly join us and work for Socialism as soon as Home Rule had become an established fact, meanwhile, they, rightly or wrongly, regard the latter as of paramount importance. The Branch members are an intelligent body of men, earnest, and fully alive to the importance of strenuous propaganda. They are making themselves felt, and are sure to reap an abundant harvest when the all-absorbing question of national independence has been settled.—S.

IPSWICH.—Our comrade Reynolds, lately of Norwich, has been doing good work in Ipswich. With the assistance of some of the Norwich members, he has managed to hold several meetings of the unemployed, and also some purely Socialist open-air meetings. The people come in goodly numbers, listen attentively, and seem favourably disposed. Our comrade intends to hold a meeting every Sunday morning at 11. On Sunday last there were about 200 present, who seemed very well impressed, and purchased literature pretty freely. There are good hopes of a strong Branch here.—H. B.

SOUTHPORT.—Our Southport friends are conducting an animated correspondence in the local press upon Socialism. Every one who can possibly do this, should follow their example—and send us the papers.—S.

## AMERICA.

BOSTON, July 28.—The special boycott committee on Ehret's beer reported that beer to be injurious to working people. The whole city is covered by the committee, who have gone systematically to work and obtained the names of all who sell the beer. The Germans are taking hold of the boycott and about forty in a body left a boarding-house where the obnoxious beverage was used. Just about this time many unions and other bodies of workingmen are holding picnics, and the committee is inducing most of them to let this beer alone.—*John Swinton's Paper*.

CHICAGO.—The "Ku Klux Klan," of infamous notoriety, reappears as the "Conservators League of America," and was duly organised on Friday July 9, at the Sherman House Hotel. It is composed of three lawyers, one doctor, two electricians, three manufacturers, and one merchant. They start out to paralyse the labour-movement, but will hardly find the workmen so susceptible of bull-dosing as their predecessors did the niggers in days bygone.—S.

LONDON, ONT.—The International Molders' Union of London, Ont., have passed a series of resolutions setting forth the belief that the time has come for a union and solid compact between all national and international unions to stand by and give financial support to each other in all efforts for material advancement. This is a virtual indorsement of the fundamental principles of the Knights of Labour.—*Industrial News*.

PROVIDENCE, R. I.—The locked-out bricklayers and masons of Providence have banded together in groups and the public are giving them a liberal number of jobs, to the envy of the boss builders who are boycotting union men. A Building Trades League has been projected by Carpenters Union 94 and is in course of formation.—(Cleveland) *Carpenter*.

## FRANCE.

AMPLEPUI.—It is now six weeks that the weavers of Amplepuis have been on strike, and there is no sign yet of their yielding.

LYONS.—The carpenters and joiners at Perrin's workshop at Lyons have been on strike since July 19th, in consequence of a reduction of wages.

MARSEILLES.—A meeting of the harbour labourers took place here on August 1st, with a view to organise a strike in the dock-yards of a contractor named Bruno-Huc, whose wages, and conditions they consider unacceptable. After a good deal of discussion the strike was unanimously voted, and a committee was afterwards formed, whose business it should be to organise a general protest against the monopoly of the docks, and to bring about the union of various societies of labourers with a view to a general strike in the future.

Roche and Duc-Quercy are enjoying a change of air, having been transferred from the prison of Montpellier to that of Clairvaux.

The French papers say that M. Sarrien, Minister for the Home Department, in consequence of the revelations of the abuses in the prisons of the Seine, is going to inspect the asylums and penitentiaries himself, that he may with his own eyes ascertain the truth of the denunciations. Yet it would almost seem that M. Sarrien had in reality no very anxious wish to learn the true state of these places, or he would strictly conceal his intention, and descend upon the officials and guardians as a pleasant surprise. Instead of which it is allowed to become known, giving them ample time to pay him the compliment of preparing for his visit. The dignity of no man—be he M. le Président himself—can remove from that Ministerial Visit its solemnly farcical aspect.—M. M.

## ITALY.

FLORENCE.—We have news of a strike of 1500 workers at a tobacco factory in this city. It is the usual complaint of the leaves being too dry. They demand an augmentation of 3 centimes for every 100 cigars. The Prefect has appealed for Ministerial intervention.

PADUA.—The Socialists arrested on a charge of "conspiracy" have appeared before the Court of Assize here, and have all been acquitted. They left the Court amid the applause of all assembled to watch the proceedings. Several friends of the Cause have taken advantage of the occasion to preach Socialist principles energetically. During the trial several Anarchist papers and pamphlets have been read *in extenso*. This, together with the straightforward declarations of principles made by our friends, has no doubt made a good deal of propaganda. Nay, that is almost the sole kind of propaganda possible in the present condition of "free" Italy. We must, however, add that more than one of our comrades just acquitted by the jury of Padua have had their health severely impaired by the long detention.

Strikes in Italy are always *à l'ordre du jour*. At this moment they number six or seven—viz., that of the cigar-makers (women) at Florence, that of the calmen at Leghorn, that of the bakers at Milan, etc. The last-named strikers only ask for *one day of rest in the month*.

Cipriani, whose previous election was invalidated by the Chamber, has been returned again both at Forti and Ravenna. There has also lately been another protest-election, although not of a Socialist—a journalist imprisoned at Rome having been returned by a constituency of the same town. The constitutional press cries out against the "scandal" of these elections; taken in avowed opposition to the judicial sentences; but it is clear that bourgeois-justice has already severely taxed the patience and forbearance of the Italian people. S. M.

## GERMANY.

## Bebel, Vollmer, and Others Condemned to Prison.

In spite of the muzzle law against the Socialists in Germany, every month increases the adherents of Socialism. So rapid have been the strides, that Bismarck has made another effort to strike terror into the hearts of the people. Nine Socialists: Auer, Bebel, Frohme, Viereck, Vollmer, Ulrich, Dietz, Heinzel, and Müller, were condemned at Freiburg last week to terms of imprisonment, the first six to nine months, and the other three to six months. The grounds of the sentence were that the accused formed part of a secret society for spreading Socialism, and endeavouring to break certain laws of the country. This is not the first attempt on the part of Bismarck to get up a prosecution, but the previous ones failed. The public prosecutor acted like a Spanish inquisitor. He endeavoured to get the accused to admit that they would like to see the *Sozial Democrat* have a wider circulation than it has now. As if the likes and dislikes of a man should be evidence against him. Bebel said he would like its circulation to be half a million. That there was any secret society was denied. How, then, is the *Sozial Democrat* carried on and distributed throughout Germany, in spite of the law? asked the prosecution. It is due to private individuals who act on their own initiative. For the eighteen years previous to the muzzle law, the Socialists had a splendid organization, and now, owing to that training, they are able to act in harmony without having any external organisation or any Executive Committee. Every German Socialist considers it his duty to contribute what he can towards the journal, which is now one of the most effective means for spreading Socialism, and this he does without any compulsion. Bismarck wanted a conviction, and as the law is a mere government machine for protecting the monopolies of the privileged classes, and in no ways concerned with the administration of justice, these men who have tried to advance the Cause of Humanity have been sent to prison.—D.

## THE SOCIALIST LEAGUE.

OFFICES: 13 FARRINGTON ROAD, E.C.

## BRANCH 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.)

CLERKENWELL.—On Wednesday evening, August 4th, W. Blundell addressed a good audience on "Starvation, Physical and Mental," in the course of which he advocated educational and political action, disregarding all attempts of Parliamentary reforms or palliatives; a brisk discussion followed.—On Saturday evening, August 7th, in Hyde Park, Donald, Wardle, and other comrades held a large and successful meeting.—On Sunday evening, August 8th, at Clerkenwell Green, Blundell drew a good audience together by singing, and then B. Somerville addressed them on "Emigration and the Capitalists," and pointed out many fallacies not generally known; no opposition. T. Wardle spoke of the inconsistencies of the police prosecution, and the meeting closed with another song, the people staying although it was raining very fast. Defence Fund, 2s. 1d.—W. B. CROYDON.—Last Sunday morning, G. Burcham addressed a highly interested body of workers at our outdoor station, Cross Roads, Canterbury Road. Some

feeble opposition was offered by a Christian stumpist (who, however, declined to debate on the plea that he was not very well), and by a passer-by in a tall hat, both of whom our comrade dealt with, greatly to the amusement and satisfaction of the bystanders.—In the evening, comrade Burcham lectured at the Royal County House on "Socialism, what is it?" to a good audience, who frequently applauded his remarks. New member enrolled at the close of meeting and good collection.—A. T., assist. sec.

**HACKNEY.**—We held our usual meeting in Well Street, at 11.30 last Sunday morning, which was addressed by Lane and Flockton, to a fair audience.—At 3.30, in Victoria Park, W. Morris addressed a good audience for a hour and a quarter; Lane, Mowbray, and Davis also spoke. At the end of comrade Morris's address, we had some opposition from a Christian, who is well known in the Park. We sold a quire and a half of *Commonweal*.—J. F., sec.

**MARYLEBONE.**—On Saturday evening, B. Somerville, of the London Patriotic Club, addressed our meeting in the Harrow Road. He commenced by saying that he had come there as a Radical to protest against the interference of the police with the Freedom of Speech, and he delivered a good address on "Emigration and the Capitalists." After he had spoken, comrade Blundell sang "The Starving Poor of Old England," the chorus of which was taken up with enthusiasm by the audience, who desired him to sing again, and after he had got through two verses of "The March of the Workers," the police requested him to get down, which he did; Somerville immediately got on to the platform again and spoke, and the police then took his name and address. The meeting was also addressed by comrades Allman and Wardle.—On Sunday morning we held a meeting at the corner of Seymour Place, which was addressed by comrade Allman. We have decided to take up another position in the district next Sunday morning.—In the afternoon our meeting in Hyde Park was opened by a song by comrade Blundell, which drew a large crowd, and the audience took up the chorus. The meeting was addressed by comrades Wardle and Donald, after which we had "The March of the Workers." Collections for the Defence Fund: Harrow Road, 1s. 6½d.; Hyde Park, 7s. 9d.—H. G. A., sec.

**NORTH LONDON.**—The usual meeting was held on Saturday evening at Ossulton Street, and a fair-sized audience listened attentively to speeches by comrades Nicoll, Charles, and Henderson. Some opposition was offered by a Tory working-man, the answers to whom seemed to satisfy the audience.—On Sunday, a very large meeting in Regent's Park was addressed by Nicoll and Henderson, and a rather lively discussion ensued between the latter and a prosperous-looking capitalist, who advocated thrift, and told the audience that though he was now in receipt of £800 to £1000 per annum, he started life at the age of 18 with 4s. a-week, from which he saved 1s. 6d. ! The audience was completely in sympathy with our view. Sale of *Commonweal* good; 2s. 9d. collected for Defence Fund.—F. H., sec.

**BRADFORD.**—On Sunday, August 8th, we held our first open-air meeting here at the corner of Godwin Street and Sunbridge Road, and comrades Minty, Maguire, and Mitchel delivered short addresses to an attentive audience. No opposition was offered. We sold a small quantity of literature.—In the evening we held a meeting of members and friends at our usual meeting-place, Scott's Temperance Hotel, East Parade, Leeds Road, where we decided upon to continue the outdoor propaganda in Bradford and district.—C. H.

**DUBLIN.**—Our comrade Sparling visited this Branch from Sunday morning, August 1, to the following Wednesday night. Several informal meetings of the Branch members were held, and one regular meeting. Owing to the exceptional circumstances in which it is placed, the Branch had become somewhat disorganised, but with Sparling's assistance the difficulties have been surmounted, and there is every prospect of renewed and vigorous existence. The Branch is now taking steps toward the formation of a club, so that it may have a fixed meeting-place and known address.—K.

**GLASGOW.**—A most successful meeting was held by the Branch at Coatbridge, on Saturday evening. We took up a position at the Cross, and in a few minutes a large audience assembled around us. Comrades Glasier, Warrington, Downie, and Rae delivered addresses, which were eagerly listened to and frequently applauded. Towards the close of our meeting (which lasted two hours), one of the audience—a miner—asked permission to speak, and gave admirable testimony to our doctrine. When going away another listener, H. Peevor, insisted that names should be taken and a Branch of the League formed at once. A good many names were immediately handed in, and comrade Peevor was entrusted with the work of organising the Branch. Over 11s. worth of literature was sold, including four dozen *Commonweals*.—In the Rooms, 84, John Street, comrade McLaren delivered an address on "State Organisation of Labour," comrade Glasier being unavoidably prevented from giving his lecture as announced; a good discussion followed. Altogether, the prospects of good work being done here are much brighter since Morris's visit.—J. B. G.

**HULL.**—On the 6th inst., J. L. Mahon lectured on "How Socialism may be Realised," criticising adversely Parliamentary tactics, palliatives, "stepping-stones" (so-called) to Socialism, etc., and impressing on his hearers that the duty of Socialists at present is simply to propagate their ideas and make Socialists. We must spread intelligent ideas on economic matters, and get the workers to understand their social rights. Education is the great thing needed, the rest will be achieved by the evolution of Society.—T.

**MANCHESTER.**—Three open-air meetings were held on Sunday in Openshaw and Gorton districts. At Grey Mare corner in the morning, some discussion was caused by a man who advocated thrift as the basis of any movement for the elevation of the workers. The question of thrift is to be fully discussed next Sunday. We could do much more work in this district had we more speakers. The club and reading-room is open every evening from six to ten, except Sundays. Gifts of books, pictures, etc., will be gladly acknowledged by the secretary.—R. U.

(Late Reports unavoidably left over owing to extreme pressure upon space.)

## LECTURE DIARY.

### London Branches.

- Bloomsbury.**—Arlington Hall, Rathbone Place, Oxford Street, W. Friday, August 13, at 8.30 p.m. George Bernard Shaw, "Socialism and Malthusianism." Music before and after the lecture.
- Clerkenwell.**—Hall of the Socialist League, 13 Farringdon Road, E.C. Sunday August 15, at 7.30 p.m. R. A. Beckett, "Equality." Wednesday 18, at 8.30 p.m. T. E. Wardle, "The Fallacies of Society."
- Croydon.**—Royal County House, West Croydon Station Yard. Sunday Aug. 15, at 7 p.m. T. E. Wardle, "The Fallacies of Society."
- 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. August 15. A. K. Donald, "Methods of Propaganda." Half-yearly general meeting of members, Aug. 22, at 6 p.m.
- Hoxton (L. E. L.).**—Exchange Coffee House, Pitfield Street, opposite Hoxton Church, N. Sunday August 15, at 7.45 p.m. H. Davis, "Socialism and the Worker." 22. C. W. Mowbray, "The Position of Woman under Socialism and Her Position To-Day."
- 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.**—32 Camden Road. Meeting every Friday at 8 p.m.
- South London.**—Business meeting every Tuesday at 8.30 at 112 Hill Street, Peckham, S.E.

## Country Branches.

- Birmingham.**—Carr's Lane Coffee House. Every Monday evening, at 8.
- 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.**—Reading-room of the Branch, 84 John Street, open from 10 a.m. till 10 p.m. every day. Saturday afternoon, 14th August, Propaganda Excursion to Baillieston. Members meet in Rooms at 4 p.m.—On Sunday 15th, at 7 p.m., in the Rooms, 84 John Street, George M'Lean, Cambuslang, will lecture on "The French Communists of 1870."
- Hull.**—Foresters' Hall, Charlotte Street. Friday Aug. 20, at 8.45 p.m. E. Teesdale, "The Evolution of Property."
- 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, Bradford, Manchester. Club and Reading Room open every evening.—On Sunday August 22 Edward Carpenter will lecture in the Mechanics' Institute, Pottery Lane, at 7 p.m.: subject, "Justice before Charity."
- 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.
- Oldham.**—Mrs. Wrigley's Coffee Tavern, 9, Old Market Place. Wednesdays, 7.30.
- Oxford.**—Temperance Hall, 25½ Pembroke Street. Next Meeting on Thursday September 2, at 9 p.m.

## Open-air Propaganda for the Week.

Date.	Station.	Time.	Speaker.	Branch.	
Sat. 14.	Euston Road—Ossulton St. ....	7	Wardle & Chambers	N. London.	
	Harrow Road ("P. of Wales") ..	7	Henderson	Mile-end.	
	Hyde Park (Marble Arch) .....	7	H. H. Sparling	Clerkenwell.	
	Regent's Park .....	7	Nicoll and Beckett	N. London.	
	Mile-end Waste .....	8	Lane and Mowbray	Marylebone.	
	S. 15.	Croydon .....	11	T. E. Wardle	Croydon.
		Marylebone—corner of Salis- bury St. and Church St.	11.30	H. Charles	Marylebone.
		Hackney—Well Street .....	11.30	H. Davis	Hackney.
		Hammersmith—Beadon Rd. ....	11.30	Tochatti	Hammersmith.
		Hoxton Ch.—Pitfield Street .....	11.30	Lane and Barker	Hoxton.
Mile-end Waste .....		11.30	H. Graham	Mile-end.	
Regent's Park .....		11.30	W. Chambers	N. London.	
St. Pancras Arches .....		11.30	D. J. Nicoll	Bloomsbury.	
Walham Green—opposite Station		11.30	H. H. Sparling	Hammersmith.	
Hyde Park (near Marble Arch) ..		3.30	The Branch	Marylebone.	
Victoria Park .....	3.30	Graham and Wade	Hackney.		
Clerkenwell Green .....	7	The Branch	Clerkenwell.		
Euston Road—Ossulton St. ....	7.30	The Branch	N. London.		
Tu. 17.	Soho—Broad Street .....	8	T. E. Wardle	Bloomsbury.	
Th. 19.	Hoxton Ch.—Pitfield Street ..	8	H. A. Barker	Hoxton.	
	Mile-end Waste .....	8.30	C. W. Mowbray	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.

## A SMOKING CONCERT

(IN AID OF THE "COMMONWEAL" PRINTING FUND)

WILL BE GIVEN AT

FARRINGDON HALL, 13 FARRINGDON ROAD, E.C.,

TO-NIGHT (Saturday August 14th) AT 8 O'CLOCK.

## PROGRAMME.

### PART I.

Pianoforte Solo, . . . . .	MARY GOSTLING.
Song, . . . . .	ANDREAS SCHEU.
Flute Solo, . . . . .	
Recitation, . . . . .	H. H. SPARLING.
Song, . . . . .	W. BLUNDELL.
Recitation, . . . . .	MR. PURSLOW.
Song, . . . . .	MISS THORNDYKE.
(Albert and St. James's Halls and Covent Garden.)	
Violin Solo, . . . . .	MR. TRIPPS.
Recitation, . . . . .	E. SNELLING.

### PART II.

Pianoforte Duet, . . . . .	MISS THORNDYKE and ANNIE TAYLOR.
Song, . . . . .	W. BLUNDELL.
Recitation, . . . . .	MR. PURSLOW.
Song, . . . . .	MISS THORNDYKE.
Violin Solo, . . . . .	MR. TRIPPS.
Song, . . . . .	ANDREAS SCHEU.
Recitation, . . . . .	H. H. SPARLING.

## F A R C E.

Mrs. SNELLING, Messrs. SHORTER and SNELLING.

**COMMUNISTIC WORKING MEN'S CLUB, 49 TOTTENHAM STREET, TOTTENHAM COURT ROAD, W.**—On Sunday, August 15, a Grand Entertainment, consisting of Theatre, Concert, and Ball, will take place, in aid of the Press Fund of the Russian Socialist Group, 40 Berner Street, London, E., commencing at 8 p.m. Programmes, 6d. each, can be obtained in all the International Socialist Clubs.

## THE

# PRACTICAL SOCIALIST.

AN EXPONENT OF EVOLUTIONARY SOCIALISM; BUT DISCUSSION OF ALL ASPECTS INVITED.

EDITED BY THOMAS BOLAS.

MONTHLY, ONE PENNY.

W. REEVES, 185 FLEET STREET.

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