

# THE COMMONWEALTH

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WEEKLY; ONE PENNY.

## A WRITTEN DEBATE

BETWEEN MR. C. BRADLAUGH, M.P., AND E. BELFORT BAX.

SUBJECT:

“Will Socialism Benefit the English People?”

VI.—*Negative*: Mr. C. BRADLAUGH.

ALTHOUGH I can hardly think that in these letters there has been any real debate of the question, “Will Socialism benefit the English people?” yet, as my opponent has been throughout courteous and credits me with showing like courtesy, it is possible to hope that our good-tempered exchange of phrases may not have been as wholly useless to others as I am afraid it has been to myself. In this last reply it would, of course, be unfair for me to open out any other issues than those already within the purview of this correspondence.

In his second paper Mr. Bax referred me to Karl Marx on capitalist production and the rate of surplus-value (*Capital*, vol. I., chap. ix., p. 201, *et seq.*), as if in some way showing error on my part. Having carefully re-read the words of Mr. Marx, I do not see that the contention as to surplus-value—a contention which I cannot accept as there stated—helps Mr. Bax at all. His assertion in his first letter, that in consequence of monopoly a surplus-value was unfairly extracted from the labourer, I answered in paragraph 20 of my first letter. Mr. Bax rejoined that he did not say “anything about monopoly of labour”; that his use of the word “monopoly” was not intended to include monopoly of labour, and only referred to the monopoly of the means of production; but as he says that this monopoly gives the command, *i.e.*, control, that is, the monopoly of the control of labour, I scarcely appreciate the correction. Mr. Bax writes as if, under community enterprise, no expenses would be incurred in production; but this is surely not arguable, and can hardly be seriously meant. He says the surplus-value may be 100 per cent. and the profit *nil*. This is impossible unless you regard the labour as the only necessary element in realising value, and treat the other matters necessary to efficient production, and stated by me in paragraph 20 of my first letter, as being purely imaginary. “Surplus-value” is a mere phrase jingle unless it means value added in the production over and above all the cost of production.

Mr. Bax says that

“the ‘economic basis’ of modern society is production for profit, through the monopoly of the means of production by the named and unnamed individuals constituting the capitalist class in its various sections.”

And that the

“‘Economic basis’ of Socialism is the collective ownership of these means of production by society as a whole, and their working not for the profit of individuals or classes but for the use of society as a whole, both collectively and individually.”

It is worth noting on this (1) that while it is true that the artificially created land laws of this country have given in England a practical monopoly of metal and mineral raw material to the comparatively limited number who have the control of the bulk of the land, and while it is also true that of wealth, other than landed, the distribution has in a few instances thrown enormous accumulations into individual hands, it is not true that there is otherwise any “monopoly by any distinct class of the means of production as against all workers”; and (2) that it is not quite easy to understand how the English people could work say cotton, wool, coal, and iron, and their results, for foreign consumption otherwise than by manufacturing for profit. The land monopoly created by law may be broken down by law. The unfair distribution may be gradually corrected without destroying present society as proposed by Mr. Bax.

Mr. Bax jests with the questions stated for his consideration in paragraph 6 of my last paper, and his serious answer to me is that having at the outset declared his Socialism to mean “the equal participation by all in the necessaries, comforts, and enjoyments of life,” he neither knows nor cares what the expression means or how it would work itself out. This may be enough for Socialists, but it is hardly useful to an enquirer or satisfactory to a critic. Robert Owen—whom Mr. Bax names as agreeing with modern Socialists in teaching “equal participation,” but whom he has here never verbally quoted—held, as Mr. Bax holds, that in a Socialistic State all things should be in common; but Robert Owen held this in the ordinary meaning of words, and never pretended that such doctrine was not the absolute negation of private property.

When Mr. Bax affirms that

“Socialism by its very definition excludes the possibility of there being any ‘unemployed’ to benefit,”

it is not very easy to consider him serious. I at once concede that if writing in a decree, or formulating in a constitution, that no men, women, or children should ever be hungry would avoid the necessity for procuring by labour the means of subsistence, Mr. Bax would have a strong case, but even Mr. Bax cannot mean this. If Mr. Bax merely means that as he proposes to abolish employers there would be no unemployed, this is more ingenious than ingenuous. In the programme of the Social Democratic Federation, formally accepted by Mr. Bax for the purposes of this debate, I find

“organisation of agricultural and industrial armies under State control on co-operative principles,”

as one of the proposals of that Socialist body, and I do not gather how or why the Socialistic State in England is to be presumed always to be able to employ in productive work the whole of the population; or how, without such productive work, it is to be always in position to provide the whole of the population with the necessaries of life. Mr. Bax says:

“The Socialist of to-day does not profess to carry in his pocket any ready-made detailed scheme for the future of human society.”

But as Mr. Bax advocates the destruction of the present state of society, even by force, in order that the Socialistic scheme may be worked out in practice, he ought to have been ready to at least outline some probable or possible working scheme, especially as he undertook to affirm that this scheme would in its actual working benefit the English people.

If the Socialist has no detailed scheme for the future, why did Mr. Bax, as one of the preliminaries of this debate, explicitly, and without reserve accept the following declarations of the Social Democratic Federation:

“The land, with all the mines, railways, and other means of transit, to be declared and treated as collective or common property.”

“The production of wealth to be regulated by society in the common interest of all its members.”

“The means of production, distribution, and exchange to be declared and treated as collective or common property.”

If there is no plan of treatment what becomes of clauses 1 and 3? If there is no plan of the regulation of the produce of labour, what is the meaning of clause 2? If Mr. Bax has no detailed Socialistic scheme for the future of the English people, how is it possible even to guess whether or not Socialism will in its attempted practice prove beneficial to the English people? His latest explanation of the assumption of wealth and the then conduct of enterprise, in reply to paragraphs 12, 13, and 14 of my second letter, deserves examination:

“All we say is, let the working-classes, organised to this end, take over the means of production, distribution, and exchange; first the land, railways, mines, factories, credit establishments, and the larger warehouses and retail stores, which stand ready organised to their hand; at the same time let the executive proceed to establish new workshops, warehouses, and stores on a large scale in those trades where they do not already exist, and so undermine the smaller establishments possessed and worked by individuals, and which might for that matter remain *unmolested* until this happy consummation. Beyond this we do not profess to make any definitive proposal as to production or distribution.”

Large properties and industrial enterprises are to be taken over, that is, are to be taken away, from those who have them, and this whether the owners are single individuals or hundreds, or associated small owners or shareholders. Nothing is said of any compensation on this taking over. In the programme of the Social Democratic Federation, railways are proposed to be taken “with or without compensation.” The smaller manufacturers and tradesmen are to be “undermined,” that is, gradually ruined, and Mr. Bax gravely argues that this will—either in the process of ruining or as an ultimate result—benefit the English people. To do him justice, really Mr. Bax does nothing of the kind. Although in his debate he undertook to prove that Socialism would benefit the English people, he now says:

“Modern Socialism is unable to deduce the social change it deems imminent, from the idiosyncracies of a particular people, or to conceive Socialism as applied, exclusively to any one people.”

But was it not a pity then to engage to debate the question, limited to the English people, as it expressly was by its wording? Mr. Bax now explicitly admits, that is, that Socialism must be world-wide or non-existent, and he has no suggestions as to how many centuries must elapse before world-wide Socialism may be feasible.

On statistics, Mr. Bax is simply marvellous; he introduced statistics

in his first paper, he gives more statistics in his last; challenged upon the accuracy of his figures, and utterly unable to verify them, he boldly and blandly writes:

"The, in most cases, insuperable difficulty of initial verification the difficulty of finding out the precise data on which they are based, the facts they suppress and the facts they express, render them practically valueless. Statistics have a fraudulent appearance of an accuracy which they can only possess in a very few special cases. Hence the superstitious belief in figures on the part of the modern mind. For my own part, no number of statistics would have ever made me a Socialist, and no number of them would unmake me one."

It, of course, simplifies discussions on Socialism, when the Socialist states facts and figures, but refuses to verify them, and *per contra* denies the right of his antagonist to go into details in any of these matters.

In his first paper Mr. Bax said:

"The small capitalist is continually being thrown upon the labour-market by inability to hold his own in the competitive arena. Capital tends thus to become concentrated in fewer and fewer hands."

In paragraph 18 of my first paper I challenged this, and at last Mr. Bax gives a statement which he considers proof: (1) There are fewer bakers who bake as well as sell; (2) that in glass-bottle manufacturing a few large manufacturers swallow up the small ones; (3) that Nettlefold's have nearly crushed out all other screw-makers; (4) that the carrying trade passes into the hands of large companies; (5) that a friend of Mr. Bax says that the facts (admittedly not reduced to tabular form by anyone) leave no doubt as to the truth of Mr. Bax's assertion; (6) that limited companies are on the increase.

1. If Mr. Bax's statement as to bakers were true, it would not show that there were not as many or more vending bakers with small capital, or that the sale of bread-foods by others than the actual bakers had on balance thrown small capitalists back on the labour-market. It might show that there had been economy in the manufacture of some bread-foods. Mr. Bax gives no figures, and perhaps limits his remarks to London. The Census for 1881 (General Report, p. 42) alleges an increase in the purveyors of bread and vegetables of 12.5 per cent. since 1871. These include the fancy bakers and pastry-cooks.

2. Mr. Bax gives nothing beyond his mere statement, and therefore furnishes no means of testing it. The Census for 1881 (General Report, p. 41) says that glass manufacture has increased 10 per cent. since 1871. It is, however, a small manufacture, only employing 19,338 men and 1,692 women.

"Of the 21,630 persons engaged in it, 5,984 were enumerated in Lancashire, 3,591 in the West Riding, 2,884 in Durham, 2,769 in Worcester-shire, 1,752 in Warwickshire, 1,151 in Staffordshire, and only 1,410 in all the other counties."

3. I am unable to test this statement, of which Mr. Bax offers no evidence, and which, if true as to one small industry, would have very little weight. The Census (General Report, p. 49) says that in 1881: "The makers of bolts, nuts, rivets, screws, and staples numbered 8017, and had also increased very greatly, the uncorrected total in 1871 having been 5726."

So far as it goes, this is directly the opposite of Mr. Bax's assertion.

4. The Census 1881 shows an enormous increase of persons engaged in the carrying trade, and as a railway or steamship company is made up of very many shareholders of unequal holdings, Mr. Bax's present statement in nowise helps as evidence of his original assertion that "small capitalists are being thrown on the labour market."

5. I do not know anything of the investigations of Mr. Alexander Donald. I do know that a gentleman of that name did attend some lectures delivered by me, and advanced as if facts some most extraordinary statements, which clashed with all accessible statistics. Whether or not this is the same gentleman, his statement is vague, and his animus against the bourgeoisie (a class to which he and Mr. Bax belong) weaken the value of his too general corroboration.

6. The increase of *bond fide* limited liability companies for manufac-turing purposes is direct evidence against Mr. Bax. It proves the existence of a large number of persons with small capital clubbed together for enterprise too large to be usefully undertaken except by such association.

To roughly sum up the argument. The definition of a Socialistic state now advanced by Mr. Bax in his three letters, is that state in which the working classes organised to that end [the manner and method of the organisation, and the character, duties, and responsibilities of the organisers being unstated] shall take over [that is seize and appropriate, and probably by force] the means of production, distribution, and exchange [nothing being said as to what is to happen to the present possessors in case they should not agree to or should resist this transfer]. There is then to be "collective ownership of these means of production by society as a whole" [all details as to the manner of the exercise of this ownership being positively refused], and all working is to be "not for profit of individuals or classes, but for the use of society as a whole, both collectively and individually" all the matters specified are to be common property, but there is still to be private property in some wealth, not specified. There is to be "the equal participation by all in the necessities, comforts, and enjoyments of life," the production of wealth is to be regulated, and industrial armies are to be controlled. But, according to Mr. Bax, the foregoing does not mean, and no modern Socialist would admit that it means, that organised society should own all wealth, direct all labour, and compel the equal distribution of all produce. Mr. Bax must pardon me if I can only construe words in their ordinary everyday meaning, and to express my regret that he should have been party to signing Socialistic manifestoes, which, as read in their natural sense, mean one

thing without adding a caution that the Socialist declaration were intended in a non-natural sense.

Mr. Bax has no scheme either for the taking possession or for the common owning, or for the equal participation, and he frankly says that he neither knows nor cares what will be the detailed results. Yet he contends that this Socialism will benefit the English people.

There are very many points of interrogation, and of traverse, in my first and second letters, which Mr. Bax has passed in silence. These are so numerous that I content myself with recalling the fact which I leave to the judgment of the readers.

C. BRADLAUGH.

(For previous papers see *Commonweal* for May 21; May 28; June 11; June 25; July 15.)

## SOCIALISM FROM THE ROOT UP.

### CHAPTER XX.

#### MARX'S DEDUCTION OF THE HISTORICAL EVOLUTION OF MODERN INDUSTRY.

CAPITALISM cannot be said even to begin before a number of individual owners of money employ simultaneously a number of workmen on the same terms, that is to say before the development of a concert of action towards profit among the employers, and a concert of action towards production for the profit of the employers among the employed.

"A greater number of labourers working together at the same time in one place (or if you will, in the same field of labour) in order to produce the same sort of commodity under the mastership of one capitalist, constitutes, both historically and logically the starting-point of capitalist production."

It differs from the mediæval system, that of the guilds and their craftsmen only by the greater number of the workmen employed; but this change to a new form of organisation made at once considerable difference in the rate and manner of production: there was less comparative expense of the means of production, *i. e.*, buildings, tools, warehouses, etc.<sup>1</sup> A consequence of this concentration of workmen under one roof was the development of the function of direction in the master as independent of his qualities as a craftsman, and the forcing on the system of this function as a necessary part of production. The master of the guild craftsman period held his place because he was a better workman and more experienced than his fellows; he did not differ from them in kind but in degree only; if he fell sick, for instance, his place would be taken by the next best workman without any disturbance in the organisation of the workshop; but the master of even the earliest period of capitalism was from the beginning unimportant as a workman (even when he worked, as he often did at first) but all-important as a director of work.

"Simple co-operation," says Marx, "is always the prevailing form, in those branches of production in which capital acts on a large scale, and division of labour and machinery play but a subordinate part." This sentence leads to the next development of capitalism, that of the division of labour, which brings us into the system of manufacture, as the word is generally understood; though it has a final development, that of machinery and the factory. This period of the division of labour, more or less pure, extends from the middle of the 16th to the end of the 18th centuries, when it was brought to perfection; but it must be understood that these systems overlapped one another considerably.

The division-of-labour or manufacturing system starts under two conditions.

The first is where the employer collects into one workshop workmen of various crafts, the results of whose labours are finally combined into one article, as *e. g.*, a carriage-maker's in which wheel-wright, coach-builder, upholsterer, painter, etc., work each at his own occupation, and their products are combined into the one article, a finished carriage.

The other is the system in which the employer collects his workmen under one roof, and employs the whole of them as one machine in the simultaneous production of one article which has to go through various processes, these processes being apportioned to various parts of the workman-machine. This system affords a distinct example of evolution by means of survival of the fittest; sudden increase of production seems to have been called for, and the work accordingly had to be reorganised by being apportioned to different workmen in order to save time. Thus this system is the reverse of that illustrated by the carriage-making, in which a number of crafts had to be combined into the manufacture of one article; whereas in this (pin or needle-making may be taken as an illustration) a number of processes which once formed portions of one craft, now become each of them a separate craft in itself.

From this follows the complete interdependence of each human being forming a part of the workman machine, no one of whom can produce anything by himself. The unit of labour is now no longer an individual, but a group.

But all these processes, however sub-divided, and however combined,

<sup>1</sup> The master worker of the guild-system was not really a master at all even after he began to employ journeymen, because their number was limited very closely, and they were all sure to become masters in their turn: the real "employer of labour" was the guild and the "master" of that period was simply a foreman of the guild; the great change consisted in the breaking down of the position of the guild as employer, and the turning of its foreman into a real master or capitalist.

were still acts of handicraft; the same necessities which forced the simple co-operation of the first capitalistic period into division of labour, now forced the latter system to yet further development; though, indeed, other causes besides merely economic ones were at work, such as the growing aggregation of people into towns and the consequent increasing division of labour in Society itself as to the occupations of its members. This final development was the substitution of the machine and the complete factory-system for the division of labour and workshop-system. Under the new system the group of workmen, every member of which by the performance of a special piece of handicraft turns out some special part of the article made, gives place to a machine which produces the results of all these manœuvres combined together; or to an association of machines acting in a group, as the workmen acted. The workman is no longer the principal factor in the work, the tools which he handled are now worked by a mechanism connected by another mechanism with the power, whatever it may be, which puts the whole in motion. This is the true machine of modern times, as contrasted with the mere tool-machine of the earlier period, which was an aid to the workman and not a substitute for him. Furthermore, the workshop gives place to the factory which is not a mere assemblage of machines under one roof, but rather a great machine itself, of which the machines are parts; as Marx says: "An organised system of machines to which motion is communicated by the transmitting mechanism from a central automaton is the most developed form of production by machinery. Here we have in place of the isolated machine a mechanical monster whose body fills whole factories, and whose demon power, at first veiled under the slow and measured motion of his giant limbs, at last breaks out into the fast and furious whirl of his countless working organs."

This is the machine which has produced the great revolution in production of our epoch. The workman once a craftsman, having all control over the article he produced, next became a part of a human machine, and finally has become the servant and tender of a machine; and by means of all this the fully developed modern capitalist has come into existence.

E. BELFORD BAX and WILLIAM MORRIS.

## POSITIVISM AND SOCIALISM.

ALTHOUGH the number of those who profess Positivism as a social creed is not very large, still there are many who oppose Socialism much on the same ground, and who look for improvement in the condition of the workers to the spread of humane ideas amongst the employers, so that it will be well to deal with this larger class of opponents at the same time as the smaller section, who have a more complete system of their own to propose. We will first then build up our straw man Positivism, and I will try and make him as much like the original as I can, then we will proceed to the pulling down process. The entire value of such argument, of course, depends upon whether the straw man resembles in essential points the real thing for which it stands. If I mis-state Positivism I shall be very glad to be corrected.

Comte's Positive Philosophy, as I understand it, is an attempt to bring the whole field of man's knowledge and research within the range of a single system; this to some extent Science had done, and Comte claims originality chiefly in that he first brings Sociology under the same system. It is with his statements and proposals about Sociology that we shall have to deal chiefly. The use of the word Positive I take to indicate the elimination out of the whole field of man's research of what Comte calls the theological element, and which I take to mean any spiritual influence outside the laws of Nature. He does not absolutely deny the existence of any spirit, but having come to the conclusion that we can know nothing about it, he ignores it, and only deals with the relations of phenomena as they can be known and investigated by the intellect.

He arranges the sciences in order, beginning with the one he considers to be the least complex, and about which he thinks we know most, and ending with the most complex about which we know the least. Thus Astronomy comes as one of the first and Sociology the last. He argues that Astronomy is the most simple, and that its phenomena are the most general; the laws which govern the movements of the heavenly bodies which are investigated by astronomy, are fewer and more simple than those which are dealt with by any other science, therefore it is that we know most about astronomy and that it is the most exact of the sciences. Physics comes next as being more complex than astronomy and less complex than chemistry, and so he ascends the scale through physiology which deals with the individual animal, up to sociology which treats of organisations of individuals. This last, dealing as it does with the most complex organisations of the most complex animals, is the science about which he maintains least is known.

I have been obliged to give this short sketch of Comte's positive philosophy, as otherwise we should not have been able to understand where some of his ideas as to the practical organisation of society come from, particularly his great division of power into the spiritual and temporal.

Starting with his scale of sciences he says that in astronomy, the simplest and most easily understood of them all, the general public do not assume that they can know anything about it without special study, but accept the teaching of the specialists and believe it; how much more when the science is Sociology, the most difficult and com-

plex of them all, ought they to distrust their own uneducated opinions, and follow the teaching of those who have made the science their special study! Thus he seeks to demonstrate the fallacy of democratic government, and in his system erects what he calls a spiritual authority, to consist of the wise and learned, of what he calls the speculative classes, or those who deal with abstract knowledge as opposed to those who put it in practice. In the Positivist state the speculative is to be the highest class, and to have charge of education, and supply the theories of sociology, etc., which the next class or the temporal authority is to carry out.

The temporal authority is to consist of those who have the most abstract and most extensive scope in the industrial world, the bankers, merchants, and manufacturers, in order as given. The spiritual authority is to educate the temporal authority, and show it what to do, also to see to the education of all individuals in morals as well as intellectual knowledge, and it is upon the efficacy of this education that the proper working of the system is to depend. The manufacturer and merchant are to be educated to use their positions and wealth for the good of their workpeople and society generally, and public opinion is to be educated to make them do it. The modern Positivists follow this system, though perhaps wording things rather differently. They argue that wealth is a social product, and that the wealthy must hold it in trust for the rest of the community, using it not for their own exclusive benefit but for the good of all; and they wish to educate public opinion to such a pitch that it shall force men so to use their wealth by means, if necessary, of a social boycott. They say that modern industrial enterprises are best managed by individuals, and that the workers must be subordinate to these. Moreover, the industrial questions being the chief affairs now-a-days, these leaders in industry are the best people to have political power, their experience is the widest, and they are most accustomed to deal with complicated relations.

As Professor Beesley put it in a lecture at Oxford last term on the subject of this article, "Government must be vested in the hands of the wealthy, not as the Socialists say, wealth must be vested in the hands of Government," the whole to be directed and instructed by a priesthood without any religious or theological functions.

That is the theory of the Positivists so far as I have been able to gather it. That larger class which I spoke of above, while not going in for any "government by the wealthy" or "spiritual authority," still thinks that the manufacturers will become more humane to their employees through the influence of education, Christianity, and public opinion. It remains for us now to examine this theory critically, and compare it with Socialism as a solution of modern social problems.

As Comte bases what I may call the aristocratic tendency of his government, using the word in its best sense, upon his order of the sciences, we must first deal with that. For a complete refutation of the pretension of science that its so-called laws of nature are representations of the absolute facts of nature, see 'Modern Science,' by Edward Carpenter. He there shows very clearly that what science is fond of calling laws of nature are nothing more than hypotheses, made to fit our present extent of observation, which have to be revised as our field of observation widens. It is not necessary for our argument to go further into that question than to give the criticism on the order of the sciences, which may be found more ably put in the pamphlet I allude to.

Now we saw that Comte maintains that we know most about such sciences as astronomy and least about such as sociology.

But is this not rather an assumption which on the face of it is surprising? When we consider the comparatively few people who even make observations of the stars and their movements, and that every single person makes innumerable observations on physiology, or the things relating to individual organisation and growth, and still more on the relations of different individuals, the way they influence each other and the way they are influenced by different causes. When, moreover, we consider the little we can possibly know about bodies millions of miles away, and also the infinitesimal portion of time during which observations have been recorded, compared with the ages which form the life of one of the least of the heavenly bodies, are we not likely to know much more about man and society than about astronomy, seeing that we have recorded histories in many cases of the entire progress of societies from barbarism up to our present time, and that we have geological evidence forming almost a continuous revelation of the ways of man from the very first? Is it not rather that because we know so very much more of men and society that we find it more difficult to frame hypotheses which shall fit so wide an extent of observed phenomena? And is it not more likely that the exactness which we boast of in astronomy is due to the comparative ease with which we can frame hypotheses to fit the few motions which we have been able to observe, whereas the real life of the universe of stars may be infinitely more complex than our social system, had we the power and the requisite time to make observations? It is as though an observer when planted for one day on a ship, he sees the men go to work for eight hours and then rest for eight hours, and proceeds to make a law that men work eight hours and rest eight hours, and he predicts their actions for the next day or two; the observer dies, and the next generation of observers dies the following day, all convinced of the truth of his law about the actions of these bodies, but on the seventh day the ship gets to port and all work is stopped for some days, where is their law of nature then? Similarly, what can science tell us of the movements of the stars on the seventh day of their lives?

RAYMOND UNWIN.

(To be continued.)



"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!"

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### TO CORRESPONDENTS.

P. L. (Paris).—Letter duly forwarded.

A. K. D.—Space demands!

E. A. S. (Walsall).—Address of A. K. Donald is 48 Shield Street, Newcastle-on-Tyne. We have advised him of your letter.

Periodicals received during the week ending Wednesday July 20.

ENGLAND	Denver (Col.) Labor Enquirer	FRANCE	Madrid—El Socialista
Justice	Paris—Cri du Peuple (daily)	PORTUGAL	Lisbon—O Protesto Operario
Jus	Le Socialiste	AUSTRIA	Vienna—Gleichheit
Londner Arbeiter-Zeitung	L'Autonomie Individuelle	BRUNN—VOLKSFREUND	Villach—Arbeit
Norwich—Daylight	Guise—Le Deyoir	HUNGARY	Arbeiter-Wochen-Chronik
Die Autonome	Lille—Le Travailleur	ROMANIA	Jassy—Lupta
SOUTH AUSTRALIA	Liège—L'Avenir	DENMARK	Social-Demokraten
Adelaide—Our Commonwealth	Brussels—L'Avant-Garde	NORWAY	Kristiania—Social-Democraten
UNITED STATES	Ghent—Voruit		
New York—Der Sozialist	Hague—Recht voor Allen		
Boston—Woman's Journal	Milan—Il Fascio Operaio		
Liberty	Marsala—La Nuova Eta		
Chicago (Ill.)—Labor Enquirer	SWITZERLAND		
Fort Worth (Tex.)—South West	Geneva—Bulletin Continental		
Hammonton (N.J.)—Credit Foncier			
New Haven (Conn.)—Workmen's Advocate			
Albina (Oreg.)—Weekly Courier			

### NOTES ON NEWS.

The Government Land Bill does not need much comment from a Socialist; it is all that might be expected of it, and is in fact so bad that it will at least injure the Tory party, and may turn out a biggish nail in the coffin of the Government, though perhaps hardly so big a one as the Cass case, because the average English politician will not take the trouble to go into its details; nor indeed has he any occasion to do so: it simply means trying to do nothing under the guise of doing something.

The mountains are now in labour with a new (?) National Party, which, if it ever comes to the birth will, as a novelty, be a ridiculous mouse indeed. But setting aside the novelty, and the absurdity of making that which is already made, the party is a formidable one, and Joe Chamberlain and Co. are wise in their generation to take care to belong to it. It has long governed England under various names, and for convenience sake one must call it by the one under which it has hitherto been most respectable, the Whig Party. It may after all be worth the while of the reactionists to sacrifice such an empty thing as a name to it, and to admit, what is obvious, that the whole of the Tory party that has any power or capacity belongs to it. Ye shall know them by their fruits.

The charge against our comrade Williams has been quashed at the appeal, a fact of which every honest person, Socialist or not, will be glad; but it is doubtful, if it had not been for Mr. Newton's good deed in the guise of a bad one, and his rashness in meddling with a person who had the shop-keeping class behind her, whether the bench would have considered the evidence so carefully. I must also call attention to the fact (and all papers that do not aim at being considered supporters of injustice should do the same) that there are still two men in prison working out their sentence who were convicted on similar evidence to that on which the "learned" magistrate convicted our friend Williams. And lastly, I must once more call attention to the EQUAL LAWS under which we free people live, which condemn these innocent men to a cruel punishment simply because they have no friends rich enough to be responsible for paying the expenses of the appeal if it chances to fail. Nor must we forget even if these poor men are released now, they will have been in prison for many weeks; the injustice remains in any case. Well, it is but what must be looked for; for a society founded on robbery must be sustained by violence and wrong.

W. M.

Another piece of Jubilee tomfoolery has been combined with as bold a piece of mendacity as can very readily be found. An Address to the Queen has been presented, signed on behalf of Welsh mineowners by Sir W. T. Lewis, and "on behalf of the miners" by Mr. W. Abrahams, Labour M.P. for Rhondda Valley. Among other "jubilations," one is indulged in on account of the improved position of the men!

"There was never any other period in the history of this country in which your workmen were so much taken care of, nor more prosperous. They never had better housing; they never had such good clothing, nor such good food; and the past has never shown such an example of pleasure and happiness. We are indebted for these blessings to the reign of your Most Gracious Majesty!"

These lies, for they are nothing less, are signed by a man supposed to "represent" the miners and who was an honest man before he went into parliament. How they are viewed by his constituents may be judged by one meeting out of many that have considered them.

A meeting of the house-coal colliers of Rhondda and other districts of Glamorgan was held at the Nelson Inn, on Saturday 9th, Mr. Joan Llwyd, chairman, Mr. Isaac Evans, secretary. There were present 37 delegates, representing between 5000 and 6000 miners. A motion was passed *nem. con.* utterly repudiating that portion of the loyal address which is given above and strongly condemning the misuse of their names to it.

As for the "care" taken of them, the annual average of accidents will show that; for their "prosperity" twenty-five years ago they could wear broadcloth on a Sunday and now put up with shoddy. Their houses have stood unchanged for over fifty years except in the matter of rent, which has advanced. "Her Majesty's" reign may therefore have caused them to be "indebted," but not in a way to increase "pleasure and happiness."

"Good food"! In 1878, when they were even better off than at this present happy time, it was not uncommon for a miner to go down to ten hours' work on a lump of dry bread, with perhaps another for supper, and a meat dinner Sundays!

A good workman thinks himself lucky to get 18s. every third or fourth week, and 10s. or 12s. meanwhile. These wages are *nett* and rent, coals, and all else must be paid for.

These men who toil unremittingly, are maimed and bruised, and cast aside to die unrewarded, must be made by a time-serving sycophant his catspaw in pandering to a silly superstition! Verily, so long as they are content with "labour representation," who can wonder?

The *Pall Mall* has had another attack of hysteria; no uncommon event, but this time it is a bad one. A clerk in a department of the Metropolitan Board of Works is said to have used his position to help his relatives in their competition with other traders. Of course, if this has been done it is an abuse of trust and should be punished, but it savours of dishonesty to have on one page an interview with the accused, in which he promises proofs of innocence, and on another page an article full of virulent attack and damaging insinuation—"New Journalism"?

We all know that this kind of thing is done. The *Pall Mall*, when it was booming J. G. Blaine the other day, knew that he was the most renowned lobbyist of modern times, and that he lost the last presidential election *on that account*. There is a "lack of cohesion" somewhere.

Herr Krupp is dead. Not a bad man in himself, but the biggest maker of murder-machines of his time. He was very free from national prejudice and sold his wares to any government with cash to pay for them. So long as the workers allow themselves to be used as pawns in the imperial game, such a trade as Krupp's will prosper. So long as they allow it their lives will be spent in paying for his game. Whoever will take the cost of one of his big man-smashers, and reckon how many workers its price would support for a year, will be surprised.

S.

### LEADERS OF THE PEOPLE.

THERE are so many men to-day in the political arena that are looked on as the champions of the people, that one is puzzled at times to discover what claim, judging them by their acts, they have to be so regarded. Many of these leaders of the people are leaders, not because they are the chosen of the workers, but because they have asserted themselves to be so.

The utterances of some of these self-styled leaders are of a character that can only be designated as humbug. Although associated with and professedly belonging to the most advanced school of political thought, they are, despite their protestations to the contrary, really the disguised friends of the workers' enemies. Here is a typical specimen of the blatant orator. Just listen to him.

"Fellow-workers,—No one will charge me with sympathy with and regard for the rights of monopolists; all my life I have fought on the side of the people. I have been instrumental in bringing about much improvement in their condition. (Oh, oh!) The persons who cry oh, oh! are no doubt in the pay of the Tories. (Cheers.) Beware

of them. (Cheers.) Don't associate with them; they are your enemies and mine. (Loud cheers.) To-day, the food you eat is wholesome, and there is an abundance of it. We import twelve times as much bacon and ham per head of the population as we imported thirty years ago. Royal Commissions have sat and made enquiry into the housing accommodation of the people, and have reported thereon. The clothes you wear are *woollen*; they were cotton formerly. (Cries of "Question.") That dirty ragged-looking person who cried "Question" is evidently too lazy to work, or he would enjoy the same comforts as his fellows. Resuming: The wealth of the country has increased 124 per cent. during the last fifty years. Wages are 25 per cent. higher, rent is lower, and so are taxes. (Interruption.) It is quite evident, friends, that the Tories are here to-day in full force; they wish to create a disturbance; I shall therefore refrain from addressing you further, or the peace may be broken and some of you arrested and taken to prison—a place where no honest workman would be seen."

This is not an exaggerated specimen, but is taken from life. The arguments used by this befooler of the people form part of the stock-in-trade of numbers of the advanced school of political reformers. Just analyse them, and what do they prove? That the workers eat twelve times as much bacon as they did thirty years ago? That because the national wealth has increased from £4,100,000,000 to £9,210,000,000 the masses have been advantaged in a ratio corresponding to this enormous increase of wealth? That because wages are 25 per cent. higher they have benefited in proportion to the increase? That because Royal Commissions have enquired into the housing accommodation of the workers slums do not exist?

Mulhall, who is responsible for these figures, after having built up a huge edifice of them for the purpose of showing the enormous progress made by this country during the last fifty years, answers these questions in the most satisfactory manner. He says (pp. 99, 100 'Fifty Years of National Progress'): "After making all deductions, we find the working man earns 20 or 25 per cent. more than in 1840, and the prices of necessaries have mostly fallen. *These advantages are counterbalanced by the rise in rent, for whereas house-property averaged a value of £30 per inhabitant, it now stands for £75—a proof that rents have risen exactly 150 per cent.*" Further, on pp. 101, 102 he quotes with approval Professor Huxley's statement that "the inhabitants of the poorer quarters of London and other large towns are condemned to a mode of life far more degraded and uncivilised than that of any tribe of Western Africa." From these statements we are able to estimate the enormous gain brought the workers by the progress of the last half-century. An enormous gain, truly! Wages have risen 25 per cent., but the increase of rent and taxes has more than counterbalanced the increase of wage. It is on this rise in wage and increase of national wealth that the sophisticated tribune of the people dilates; everything which shows that the rise is only *nominal*, and not real, he takes no account of. If perchance he should do so, it is by deliberately ignoring those circumstances which, if they were taken account of, would show the fallacious—to use no stronger term—nature of his argument. For example, in dealing with the rise in rent he will dispose of the question in this manner: "It is asserted that rents have risen greatly during the past fifty years. I question it. The large renters of land (*i.e.*, farmers) pay little if any more rent than they did fifty years ago. In Ireland rents have decreased. In England most landlords have made reductions of 20 per cent." etc.

We have here an example of the professional hoodwinker at his best. With the aid of Mr. Mulhall, let us examine his argument. Since the tremendous rise of the manufacturing industries, agriculture has greatly declined, so much so that the number of persons engaged in it to-day are only 2,420,000 as compared to 3,820,000 in 1841, the prices of produce have greatly fallen, and although there is more land under cultivation to-day than in 1840 in proportion to population it is much less. "The combined value of grain and meat produced yearly is less now than it was forty years ago, but rent and taxes have increased 36 per cent. This increase in rental value we are told is only nominal, the actual rental not exceeding 52 millions, the same as fifty years ago. If agricultural rent has not greatly increased, taxes and tithes have more than doubled. In the period 1841-50 the amount paid was £10,200,000; in 1886, £25,400,000. The balance in favour of the farmer after payment of rent, taxes, and tithes in the first-mentioned period was £54,300,000; in 1886 it had diminished to £27,900,000. But although profits have decreased, wages have risen from 9s. per week to 15s.; but the labour of three persons now produces as much value as that of four persons in the decade ending 1870, or five persons in the years 1841-50. The rise of wage here, I suppose, is *real*, not *nominal*, as in the case of rents. These facts reveal a most pleasant state of things so far as the agricultural population is concerned; nor are those engaged in the manufacturing industries in a better condition, as I shall show presently. "Ah," says the wily apologist of the agricultural landed interests, "we want a protective duty on food imports. Free trade has ruined the agricultural industry; before the corn laws were abolished the price of corn was nearly 30 per cent. higher, and farming was a profitable undertaking." Now there is no doubt that if a protective duty was imposed on food imports a great impetus would be given to agriculture; land would increase in value, rents would rise in proportion to the increased value of farming land, the result of which would be that food would be greatly increased in price, and the advantage to the workers would be nothing, but to the landlords increased rent. "We want the people back on the land." Yes, and what for? their benefit, or the landlords'?

The free-trader, the advocate of unrestricted competition and the free breakfast table, stumps up and down the country anathematising and denouncing the wickedness of the protectionist. This party will dilate on the cheapness of food and the enormous increase of trade which has resulted from the adoption of free trade, and then by inference from this assume that because food is cheaper and trade greater that the workers have been materially benefited in consequence. This free-trade argument takes no account of the enormous increase of labour-saving machinery and the lessened demand for hand and skilled labour, and the many devices resorted to for cheapening the cost of production, which, so far from benefitting the worker, have made employment more scarce and uncertain.

H. A. BARKER.

(To be concluded.)

## CORRESPONDENCE.

LAFARGUE V. BAX.

I really do not think there is a tittle of real difference between my friend Paul Lafargue and myself. I entirely agree with his paper, which is, as he describes it, a formulation of "desiderata." My article was, on the other hand, an attempt to formulate a plan for getting at these desiderata. He says himself that before "arriving at this Communist society, in which labour and pleasure will be free and in common, we must pass through a transitional period, in which it will be necessary to maintain wages and to keep the due proportion between them and the service rendered and the effort given." Now, it was of the initial stage of this transitional period that I was speaking. My subject was the *morrow* of the revolution, not the next generation or even for that matter the next decade.

Lafargue goes on to say, "For our part, we believe that the workers themselves have more qualities to enable them to distribute the hours of labour and the gains than the functionaries of any State would have." In this sentence the very opposite is assumed to what I assumed—namely, that the "workers themselves" would not be the functionaries. Now of course I took for granted that the revolutionary executive would be largely composed of really "representative workers." A new industrial organisation doesn't fall like Lucifer from heaven upon the "workers" beneath. When time is ripe for its birth, it has to be delivered somehow. It was of the process of accouchement that I was speaking. The result of the social revolution will of course be the disappearance of the State, but as I believe, this result will be brought about by the turning of it and its machinery against itself rather than by a policy of mere destruction.

E. BELFORD BAX.

## LITERARY NOTICES.

We have received Nos. 1 and 2 of the 'Biblioteca Humanitas,' being little pamphlets issued by the journal *Humanitas*. 'La Fine del Parlamentarismo,' by F. S. Merlino, is a brief history of and critique on Parliamentarianism, the writer drawing his illustration nearly entirely from English Parliamentary history. Merlino lays bare the defects (and crimes) of this system of administration, but either space does not permit, or he does not deem it necessary to "point the moral" and discourse on the question of Socialists in Parliament. 'Alleanza Anarchica Internazionale,' by the same author, constitutes a kind of manifesto or declaration of Italian Anarchism, and is interesting as such. Under the heading of "Organisation," Merlino insists strongly on the necessity of the same both at the time of revolutionary crises and in settled times for the pursuit of all the arts of life, *organisation*, he holds rightly, not being *authority* of one over another. Now, far ahead, when the knowledge of men and women is widened, and they will work into each other's hands for mutual convenience, association and organisation will be looked for; but I put it to Anarchists to-day, whether at the time of a crisis (unless between now and then propaganda on all sides moves not considerably faster than at present) the distinction may not have to be put aside for a while with a frank confession of our many imperfections?

*El Productor* (Barcelona) is a very useful weekly journal representative of Spanish Socialism; it contains diversified matter, good articles, and is well filled up with notes and news on home and foreign subjects. M.

STATISTICS.—A witty statesman said you might prove anything by figures. . . . Tables are like cobwebs, like the sieve of the Danaides; beautifully reticulated, orderly to look upon, but which will hold no conclusion. Tables are abstractions, and the object a most concrete one, so difficult to read the essence of. . . . With what serene conclusiveness a member of some Useful Knowledge Society stops your mouth with a figure of arithmetic! To him it seems he has there extracted the elixir of the matter, on which now nothing more can be said. It is needful that you look into his said extracted elixir; and ascertain, alas, too probably and without a sigh, that it is wash and vapidity, good only for the gutters.—*Carlyle*.

STATISTICAL QUACKERY.—Some years ago it was quite popular to "go in" for bureaux of Labour statistics. It was hoped by the working-men that the publication of facts concerning the relative positions of employers and employés, the relative value of production, and the reward of the producer, might in some way be placed before the public for consideration. Well, we have had pages of figures "piled up," and volumes of opinions upon this or that phase of labour, volumes of sentiment, and clouds of dust. Even the sophisticated Edward Atkinson, in a paper read before the third annual session of Labour Commissioners at Boston, had the sense to remark that statistics could become a snare and deductions from them might be untrue. Later at a meeting held in New Era Hall in Boston, he declared that the statistics "gathered up" by the National and State Bureaus of Labour were of no value whatever and that those which he used were compiled from sources over which they had no control. The miserable toilers who spend their waking hours in monotonous activity within factory walls need no statistics to tell them that they are miserable. Those of them who are sufficiently educated to seek information in statistical reports are also well informed as to the relative advantages enjoyed by capitalists and labourers.—*New Haven Workmen's Advocate*.

# THE LABOUR STRUGGLE.

BRITAIN.

**PROPOSED REDUCTION OF ENGINE-TENTERS' WAGES.**—The colliery engine-tenters in the employ of Lord Dudley have received notice for the reduction of 4d. per day in their wages.

**MINERS' WAGES.**—The miners working for the firm of James Gardner and Sons, Limited, Meiklehill, Kirkintilloch, Scotland, began work Monday 11 on a reduction of 6d. per day. We understand notice of a similar reduction has been posted at Wester Gartshore Colliery.

**BELFAST CARTERS.**—The dispute between Messrs. Mecrea and McFarland and their carters, which threatened to end in a strike, has been settled. The majority of the men have hitherto had only 16s. a week, but now the employers have acceded to the demand to have 18s. per week paid to all hands.

The dispute in the malleable iron trade may yet terminate in a strike. Notices were posted at several of the Birmingham works intimating that the yards would be closed on Saturday July 16th, unless the men accept a reduction of 10 per cent. At the works where the notices have been posted there are about 300 men employed.

**BRICKSETTERS' LABOURERS' WAGES.**—At Stockport, the bricksetters' labourers are agitating for an increase of wages from 5d. to 5½d. per hour, and threaten to come out on strike if their request is not granted. The members of the Master Bricksetters' Association are not willing to give the advance, on the grounds that 5d. per hour is what is paid in other towns.

**THE EIGHT-HOUR DAY.**—At the half-yearly meeting of the Cleveland Blast Furnacemen's Association, just held at Middlesboro', it was resolved to give a hearty support to the proposal which will be brought before the forthcoming Congress of Ironworkers, with the object of getting the hours of labour reduced to eight per day. The general secretary (Mr. W. Trow) was appointed to represent the Association at the Congress, and to cordially support the resolution.

The Scotch Miners' Federation announce that they intend contesting several seats at the first general election. Labour candidates have already been adopted by them for North Ayrshire and Stirlingshire. The men will be independent of party. It is expected that the Liberal associations in the two constituencies named will adopt the miners' nominees. The Federation state that it is their intention to form a new Labour Party in the House of Commons, the present Labour Members having in their opinion failed in the performance of their duties.

**THE STRIKE IN THE CHAIN TRADE.**—At a mass meeting of chainmakers at Cradley Heath, the president of the Chainworkers' Association stated that, in consequence of a number of employers having broken faith with the operatives, the majority of the operatives had turned out on strike, and he believed that in a few days the whole of the workmen would have ceased to work. It was announced that a number of gentlemen at Stourport had sent cheques for the relief of the chainmakers amounting to £82. Additional policemen have been drafted into the district.

**STRIKE OF MINERS AT CRADLEY.**—The miners in the employ of Messrs. King at the Netherend Colliery have turned out on strike in consequence of a dispute. The men state that about a fortnight ago the allowance for ripping down rock was taken from them without any notice being given of the change. They were, it is said, formerly paid at the rate of 1s. 2d. per yard for this kind of work. Other complaints are made by the men, who appear determined to resist encroachments upon their rate of wage. The men have made an appeal to their fellow workers to support them in their struggle.

**PUMPHERSTON (LINLITHGOW) OIL-WORKERS.**—Last week a mass meeting of shale miners and retort men of Pumpherton Oil-works was held in the sports field. A deputation to the manager reported that he was willing to concede 2d. of the reduction, the men losing 3d., and that this offer was final. The retort men reported that Mr. Fraser would give them no concession at all. The miners and retort men being now in one union, it was agreed to cease work forthwith until the miners got at least 3d. back, and the retort men half the reduction. The works were consequently closed.

**UPHALL AND HOLMES OIL-WORKERS.**—Last week a meeting of the men on strike at Uphall Oil-works was held near the village. Mr. Wilson, miners' agent, addressed the meeting, advising them to offer to resume work on half the reduction, or on condition that any settlement which applied to the miners would apply to them. He held that it was injudicious to strike at the present time, and urged them to get into union and be prepared to strike two months hence if necessary. On the motion of a workman, however, who declared the majority were prepared to stand to the new year, the meeting resolved to remain on strike till they got the full reduction back, only three men voting for the proposal to start on half the reduction.

A Clyde correspondent to an evening paper writes: "The result of a survey of the past six months' labour proves that matters in the shipbuilding and engineering industries of the Clyde are decidedly worse than they have ever been during this protracted period of depression. There is every reason to fear that the total output for 1887 will prove a sad falling off from even its immediate predecessors, bad as they have been. As regards prospects, really nothing of an encouraging nature presents itself. The only scrap of comfort for the hungry unemployed thousands who populate the districts on each bank of the Clyde is the somewhat negative one of this dreadful depression having reached its height in a season of exceptional sunshine and genial warmth."

In a letter to the *Manchester Weekly Times*, a signalman says: "As I have spent about eight years in a signal-box as a signalman, you will perhaps kindly allow me to say a word or two on the subject. I am stationed in a box on a main line, and I work 12 hours a-day, for which I receive 3s. per day, i.e., 3d. per hour. Now such hours and wages are not exceptional. Our railway companies employ thousands of 12-hour signalmen. I am sorry to say there are but few 8-hour boxes. A large number of signalmen have not time to get a meal while on duty, yet if any of us commit a slight error, the company will surely visit the erring one with merciless severity, forgetting, of course, that the best of men can make mistakes. Signalmen ought to receive more consideration at the hands of the companies than they do, in view of the fact that our responsibility for the safe working of railways is very considerable. If the companies will not remedy the state of things I have described, we should help ourselves, and to do so we must combine. If this power, which is within the reach of all railway men, be called into requisition with sufficient force, we should have a safeguard for our labour. Unfortunately we are now disunited, and our disunion constitutes a serious

drawback to us. What is needed is united action to lead us on to a better state."

**BOLTON ENGINEERS.**—The strike in the Bolton engineering and iron trades has now entered its eleventh week. There are no indications of either side giving way. The men, at any rate, do not think of yielding, and it is taken for granted that the employers are equally determined. The men continue to receive promises of support. The Executive Committee of the Operative Cotton Spinners' Association have voted the sum of £50 to the strike fund, £30 is expected from the Weavers' Association, and on Saturday a large sum was realised by a band contest held on the Bolton Wanderers' Football Ground. Last week was paid, for the first time, a sum of 1s. for each child under ten years of age belonging to the men on strike. The grant will be made weekly. There are at present about 30 police in each of the four foundries where importations are lodged or are expected, and on Sunday religious services were held for their benefit. It is stated that two ministers who had conducted services were hooted in the street, and that a musician who was suspected of having attended the smoking concert at the Soho Works has been similarly treated. On Monday, Messrs. Dobson and Barlow re-opened their Kay Street Machine Works, which were closed all last week for repairs. Nearly all the men not previously on strike presented themselves, and work was recommenced. The importations, it will be remembered, left the premises on Saturday week, but it is said that some of them are prepared to return. There was a renewal of excitement in Bolton last week in connection with the strike. About fourteen men arrived at the Trinity Street railway station, presumably from Scotland, to take the places of the men on strike. The importation, on alighting, were conducted by a strong body of police to an omnibus which was in waiting. Guarded by ten mounted constables, and with as many more policemen seated upon the outside of the vehicle, the men were driven off to the Soho foundry of Messrs. Hick, Hargreaves, and Co., where they had evidently been expected. In a short time, however, the omnibus came out from the foundry with twelve strangers in it, and, with the same escort, was driven through the town to Messrs. Dobson and Barlow's, Kay Street works. The vehicle was followed by a large and excited crowd, and there was some hooting. After the lapse of a few minutes from the men being taken into Messrs. Dobson and Barlow's premises, the omnibus reappeared with the police guard, and it was then seen that four importations remained inside. These were taken to the spindle works of Messrs. Ryder Brothers, in Folds Road, and lodged in a part of the works specially provided for them. Other importations have arrived singly, and a larger number than has yet come is expected. It is stated that the moulders of Bolton contemplate leaving work as a protest against the importation of strangers. Only one or two of the branches has as yet held meetings, but there is a very strong feeling among the workmen that they should take some practical step in support of their brethren in kindred branches of the iron trade. Another batch of imported men arrived at Bolton on the 18th for one of the works, and proceeded to their destinations in a cab closely guarded by mounted police and ordinary constables, followed by a demonstrative mob. Great excitement prevailed, but beyond the throwing of a few stones and hooting, the crowd did no damage. All the apprentices at Kay Street works, numbering 180, have given notice to leave in a week.

## NEW SOUTH WALES.

**THE UNEMPLOYED.**—SYDNEY, May 18.—The extent of the distress among the working classes of New South Wales may be imagined by an answer given last night to the member for Queanbeyan by the Premier. The latter was asked the number of men now employed on the relief works, and if applications were still being made for employment. From this it will be seen that though over four thousand men have been provided for by the Government, we have by no means touched bottom in the movement. Every day men are coming in from the country districts, while hundreds of skilled artisans, who have held out as long as they could, are now asking for pick and shovel work at the hands of the Government.

**BRISBANE, May 18.**—The Trades and Labour Council last night drew attention to the statements in the circulars of the Imperial Emigration Bureau that there is a demand for brickmakers here. The representative of the Brickmakers' Society stated that 100 were without work, and that there was no sign of improvement.

## FRANCE.

The eighth annual Conference of the Federative Union of the Centre of France (section of the Universal Federation of the French Socialists) will be held from the 7th to the 15th August next, at Paris, Salle du Commerce, 94 Faubourg du Temple.

The Montluçon glass-bottle makers are being well-supported in their strike. The French Socialist papers have opened subscription lists in their columns in aid of their comrades who are carrying on the struggle with good prospects of success. It is worth noting that the bourgeoisie of Montluçon is strongly sympathising with the strikers, the reason for this is that they know that the glass-bottle makers have only gone on strike after having exhausted all conciliatory means with their employers.

*L'Avenir du Travailleur*, of Lille, has been obliged to stop its publication, owing to the numerous prosecutions it has lately undergone.

A new paper, the *Cri du Travailleur*, will be soon started at Roubaix.

At Alger, the Socialists intend to issue in a few weeks a revolutionary paper *L'Action Révolutionnaire*, which will have two editions, one in French and the other in Spanish.—D.

## BELGIUM.

The Belgian workers are very fond of co-operative stores, and are of opinion that such institutions are helping them in the solution of the social question. Now, the co-operative society, La Populaire at Liège has just issued the balance-sheet of the three first months of their operations, and what do we notice therein? The 1st week they received for drinks 1577 f.; the 2nd week, 1521 f. 3 c.; the 3rd, 1093 f. 63 c.; the 4th, 1077 f. 30 c.; the 5th, 884 f. 10 c.; the 6th, 756 f. 41 c.; the 7th, 988 f. 15 c.; the 8th, 1227 f. 12 c.; the 9th, 1620 f. 92 c.; the 10th, 891 f. 85 c.; the 11th, 898 f. 20 c.; the 12th, 891 f. 75 c.; and the 13th week (only 4 days) 603 f. 98 c. They reckon that on these sales, mind you, *drinks*, they have made a profit of 2135 f. 67 c., that is to say, more than 700 francs profit per month. On the other hand, they have received during the same three months, for the sake of Socialistic propaganda, the enormous sum of 10 f. 22 c. (say eight shillings)! A rather curious way of promoting the solution of the social question!—D.

## GERMANY.

At Magdeburg, 400 cabinet-makers are on strike for higher wages. During the last fifteen months they have earned from 12 to 15 shillings a week.

At Leipzig the strike of the masons and bricklayers has proved successful, the workers having had their claims granted by the exploiters.

Louis Cohn, editor of the *Breslauer Volkszeitung*, was tried last week for an article written by him *five years ago*, and was condemned to *one year's* imprisonment.

At Leipzig, six Socialists have been arrested, because they had participated in a secret conference, held in the month of March at Heidhausen, near Munich. Their lodgings were searched by the police, who found more than 40,000 pamphlets which were intended to be distributed among the soldiers.

## AUSTRIA-HUNGARY.

At Prague, after an interruption of several years, the Socialist paper *Věk Svobody* (the *Way to Freedom*) has again made its appearance. The editors of the paper are comrades T. Burstial and W. Korber.—D.

## OUR FOOLS' PARADISE OF CHEAPNESS.

We hear a great deal about the blessings of cheapness. Mr. Edward Atkinson, particularly, seems to measure all mundane good in terms of cheapness. If a yard of cotton cloth or a barrel of flour costs less money now than formerly, why look we for a millenium to come? Unfortunately there are facts about cheapness that writers like Mr. Atkinson never take the trouble to see. Goods, indeed, are cheap, but why and how and with what results? One of those great railroad corporations that are bringing flour from the northwest so cheaply that Mr. Atkinson is lost in wonder, is disabling 800 men a year. The superintendent was asked why he did not provide a protection that some of them asked for. "Men are cheaper than shingles," was his frankly brutal answer.

That is the blunt, hard truth. That is what half our cheapness means. Men are cheaper than shingles, and women are cheaper than edging and thread; "and as one woman selects, well pleased, garment after garment, daintily tucked and trimmed and finished beyond any capacity of ordinary home sewing, marvelling a little that a few dollars can give such a lavish return, there arises, from narrow attic and dark, foul basement, and crowded factory, the cry of the women whose life blood is on these garments." What wonder is it that year by year the tenement house population becomes more hopeless and incapable. Is it strange that children are born without the physical vigour and the mental and moral qualities that make up efficiency and thrift? Need we feel any surprise that such unfortunates, finding themselves literally cheaper than shingles and thread, are easily worsted in the struggle with fate—that they fall easy victims to, vice, and that the permanently pauperised class becomes year by year a heavier social burden?

These evil implications of cheapness raise issues of practical economy and personal duty. Ought we to resist, as far as we are able, the tendency to excessive cheapness? Ought we to buy goods that we know have been made by reasonably well paid labour in preference to cheaper "bargains?" Should we accomplish any good by such a course, or should we do unintended mischief?

Those political economists who see one side of a subject so clearly that they are cock-sure that they see it all, have a ready reply to these questions. It is very pitiful, they admit, that free competition does, in some cases, cause such distress. But we should only make the evil greater, they tell us, if we virtuously resolved to buy only the dearer goods made by labour that was well rewarded. "You see," they explain, "your incomes are not unlimited. If you buy dear goods when cheap ones would answer as well, you necessarily curtail your savings. If a great many people do the same thing, there will be a serious loss of capital. Not so many new enterprises can be undertaken. Fewer farms will be improved, fewer new railroads will be commenced, the multiplication of mills and shops will not keep pace with the growth of population. Wages will be reduced below the lowest present limit; and the distress you have tried, in your mistaken, sentimental way, to relieve, will be increased tenfold."

This is plausible, but it is a fallacy that convicts a good many self-satisfied economists of very superficial thinking. The capital that seems to be saved by cheapness is not saved in fact, if the cheapness is produced at a ruinous expenditure of physical and moral vitality. If, in making the cheap articles, human life has been degraded, if health and mind and morals have been injured, then, not only has the productive power of working-men and women been cut down, but a positive burden of pauperism and crime has been thrown on the community. The losses and expenses so entailed may more than use up all the capital that seemed to have been saved. The ability of industrial society to extend its operations and demand for labour, instead of being increased, may be seriously impaired.

As in so many other matters, so here, the instinct of those right feeling men and women who question the morality of buying at the bargain counter is truer than the precepts of a one-sided science. The more comprehensive political economy of the younger thinkers, which is rapidly supplanting the old dogmas, reaches conclusions in accordance with our highest instincts of humanity and justice. It is economic wisdom, as it is a philanthropic duty, to set our faces against the craze for cheapness. It is thrift as well as humanity to refuse to buy the goods that there is reason to believe have been made cheap by the degradation of labour. We are living in a fools' paradise.—*Work and Wages.*

## The Montluçon Glass-Bottle Makers.

The glass-bottle makers have always worked throughout eight months of the year in two shifts of 12 hours each; in the hot season, the four summer months, in three shifts of 8 hours. In 1886 this was changed by the masters to two shifts working 5½ hours and resting 5½, making 11 hours work to 5½ hours rest. During the first fortnight in June the heat was so excessive that not a single workman was able to work regularly. On the 15th of June at 10 p.m. the men on going to work had the door of the yard shut in their faces, and their delegates next day were threatened and insulted. The men have resolved on the following as the only terms of return:—(1) Re-establishment of eight hours working-day in summer. (2) Guaranteed salary, as heretofore, of 3 f. 55 c. (2s. 11½d.) per working day. (3) All bottles sold by the masters to be paid for to the men; bottles thrown aside to be broken in the presence of the men and men to have the right of breaking them. (4) No striker to be dismissed. Anyone able and willing to aid should send contributions to Charles Mazelier, Rue du Canal, Montluçon.

## WISHES AND WISHES.

(By FRANCIS DAVIS. Reprinted from *The Nation*.)

[Francis Davis was a weaver of Belfast, who wrote his poems while working at his trade.]

O, know ye the wish of the true, the true?  
O, know ye the wish of the true?  
'Tis to see the slave's hand  
Whirling liberty's brand,  
As its toil nurtured muscles could do,  
And the wide-world oppressors in view;  
God ripen the wish of the true!

Then hurrah for the wish of the true, the true!  
Hurrah for the wish of the true!  
And another hurrah  
For the fast-coming day  
When the many shall preach to the few  
A gospel as pure as the dew!  
O, there's hope in that wish of the true!

O, know ye the wish of the proud, the proud?  
O, know ye the wish of the proud?  
'Tis to empty their veins,  
'Mid the clashing of chains,—  
Ay, the veins of their heart if allowed,  
So the neck of oppression be bowed.  
What a holy wish that of the proud!

Then hurrah for the wish of the brave, the brave!  
Hurrah for the wish of the brave!  
And hurrah for the hand,  
And the casque-cleaving brand,  
That the rights of a nation can save,  
Or redeem by its world-lightening wave:  
Heaven bless the broad brand of the brave!

## THE SATISFIED CLASS.

Capital has always claimed, and still claims the right to combine. Manufacturers meet and determine prices, even in spite of the great law of supply and demand. Have the labourers the same right to consult and combine? The rich meet in the bank, the club-house, or the parlour. Workingmen, when they combine, gather in the street. All the organised forces of society are against them. Capital has the army and the navy, the legislative, the judicial and the executive departments. When the rich combine, it is for the purpose of "exchanging ideas." When the poor combine, it is a "conspiracy." If they act in concert, if they really do something, it is a "mob." If they defend themselves, it is "treason." How is it that the rich control the departments of government? In this country the political power is equally divided among men. There are certainly more poor than there are rich. Why should the rich control? Why should not the labourers combine for the purpose of controlling the executive, legislative, and judicial departments?—will they ever find how powerful they are?

In every country there is a satisfied class—too satisfied to care. They are too happy to be generous. This satisfied class asks no questions and answers none. They believe the world is as it should be. All reformers are simply disturbers of the peace—when they talk low, they should not be listened to; when they talk loud, they should be suppressed.

The truth is to-day what it always will be, those who feel are the only ones who think. A cry comes from the oppressed, from the hungry, from the down-trodden, from the unfortunate, from men who despair, and from women who weep. There are times when mendicants become revolutionists—when a rag becomes a banner under which the noblest and bravest battle for the right.

It is impossible for any man with a good heart to be satisfied with this world as it now is. No one can truly enjoy even what he earns—what he knows to be his own—knowing that millions of his fellow-men are in misery and want. When we think of the famished we feel that it is almost heartless to eat. To meet the ragged and shivering makes one almost ashamed to be well dressed and warm—one feels as though his heart was as cold as their bodies.—*Colonel Ingersoll.*

## THE SOCIALIST LEAGUE.

OFFICES: 13 FARRINGTON ROAD, E.C.

**Co-operative Store.**—The Committee attend at the offices at 8.30 p.m. on Mondays, Wednesdays, and Saturdays. All Groceries can be had at current store prices. Orders over 10s. will be delivered carriage paid in London.

**Library.**—The Library is open to members of the Socialist League and affiliated bodies. LIBRARY CATALOGUE, containing the Rules, 2d. D. J. NICOLL and W. BLUNDELL are the Librarians.

## "COMMONWEAL" PRINTING FUND.

K. F. (weekly), 1s. C. J. F. (weekly), 2s. W. B. (weekly) 6d. T. B. (two weeks), 1s.

## FOR PROPAGANDA.

17th July.—Collected in Regent's Park, 3s. 8d.

PH. W., Treasurer, July 12.

## THE NORWICH PRISONERS' AID FUND.

W. H. C., 10s. For Mrs. Mowbray—A Few Fabians, per Annie Besant (weekly), 10s. J. LANE, Treasurer.

REPORTS.

CLERKENWELL.—On Wednesday, July 13, Wm. Utley lectured on "Socialist Politics," and on Sunday, July 17, Wm. Blundell on "Property Qualification." Excellent discussions followed each lecture.—A. T. and W. B.

HACKNEY.—On Wednesday, July 13, W. Morris lectured to a good audience at London Fields, Graham and Allman also spoke. On Sunday evening, we had a social meeting of members. We intend next Saturday to have a free concert.—J. F.

HOXTON.—On Sunday morning a most successful outdoor meeting was held, addressed by J. L. Mahon and H. A. Barker. Literature sold well. In the evening in the club-room, comrade H. H. Sparling gave a very interesting lecture on "Old English Guilds," which was followed by discussion, in which comrades Barker, Pope, and McKenzie joined.

MERTON AND MITCHAM.—During past week, comrades Eden, Harding, and Kitz have visited Sutton, Carshalton, and surrounding districts, distributing a large amount of literature. Good meeting on the Fair Green on Sunday, addressed by comrade Eden and A. Johnson, of the S.D.F.; collected 1s. 9d.

NORTH LONDON.—On Tuesday evening, we held a very good meeting at Ossulton Street, Cantwell, Brooks, and Wardle spoke, good discussion followed. Two friends gave in their names as members. At Regent's Park, on Sunday morning, Cantwell, Brooks, and Mainwaring addressed a good audience; slight opposition by a Welshman, who was satisfactorily replied to. Collected 3s. 8d. for Propaganda Fund. Good sale of *Commonweal*. Members are urgently requested to attend Branch meeting on Wednesday.—H. BARTLETT.

EDINBURGH.—On Sunday evening, in the Queen's Park, John Smith read to a large meeting parts of Morrison Davidson's article on "Interest," and afterwards delivered an address. Gilray also spoke. Some *Commonweal* sold outside the Park.—J. G.

GLASGOW.—On Saturday evening, comrades Glasier and M'Lean held a meeting at Kilsyth. This is the first Socialist meeting that has been held in that place. There was a good audience, who listened to the gospel of labour with the greatest interest and approval. After the meeting many came forward and heartily thanked our comrades for giving a new light and a new hope. No meetings were held in Glasgow owing to the Fair Holidays.

LEEDS.—On Wednesday evening, we held our usual meeting in Meadow Lane, at which Hill, Paylor, and Maguire spoke. On Sunday morning, Braithwaite and Paylor addressed a good audience on Hunslet Moor. In the evening, a large crowd assembled in Vicar's Croft, and listened to Braithwaite, Bland (Bradford), Paylor, Maguire, and Sollitt.—T. P.

NORWICH.—Good meetings at Yarmouth on Wednesday and on Thursday at Dereham. On Sunday morning last, Henderson and Morley held a good meeting at Diss; 2s. 1d. collected for Propaganda Fund. In the afternoon we held a very large meeting in the Market Place at Norwich (Slaughter, chairman) addressed by Henderson, and Fielding of the S.D.F., from London, who spoke at some length. A meeting was held on the Agricultural Hall Plain by comrades Morley, Darley, and Slaughter. Henderson lectured to a good audience in the Gordon Hall, on the "Aims of Socialism." The lecturer made an earnest appeal for men to join our movement, and he frequently received outbursts of applause from the audience. Three new members made. Next Sunday, Henderson will, by special request, repeat the lecture he gave a fortnight since, which was severely attacked and misrepresented by a local weekly paper.—A. S.

WOOLWICH.—Last Sunday, Mahon addressed a large gathering at the Arsenal Gates. We sold as usual a large amount of literature, and collected 6s. 1 1/2d. for propaganda. Friends desirous of assisting at carrying on these meetings are requested to give in their names next Sunday to the chairman.

Our comrade Mahon has just finished another journey round some of the important towns in Yorkshire and the Midlands. There is only room this week for a brief notice of the meetings.

Hull.—A very successful meeting was held on July 4th, good sale of literature and fair collection. The police caused some trouble at the meeting, but had to withdraw. The Hull branch is getting on very well.

Goole.—New ground was opened at this large and busy town. The meeting was very large, and the audience deeply interested. Two hours' discussion ensued after the lecture.

Leeds.—On Sunday, July 10, three meetings were held in different parts of the town. The meeting at night at Vicar's Croft was exceptionally large, and the audience quite favourable. The Leeds Branch will shortly open a course of meetings at its new branch club-rooms.

Sheffield.—Under the auspices of the Sheffield Socialists a large meeting (chiefly of miners) was held in the open-air on July 11th. The audience listened with great attention, and thoroughly endorsed the Socialist position. A good sale of literature and some slight discussion ensued.

Clay Cross.—A large meeting of the Derbyshire miners was held. Raymond Unwin and Mr. James Haslem also spoke. Mahon explained the lines on which the Socialist organisation of the Northumberland miners had been formed, and sixty names were at once given to form a similar society.

Nottingham.—Mahon gave an address at the Socialist Club on July 13, on "The Progress of Socialism," which greatly interested the members.

Wednesbury.—A meeting arranged by the Walsall Branch was held on July 14th at 6.30 p.m., and was thoroughly successful. A number of names were given in.

Walsall.—A good meeting was held on July 14, at the top of Park Street. This branch is making exceptionally good progress, and has already formed two others in towns near to it.

Pelsall.—A gathering of miners was held on July 15th on the common. The meeting was a thorough success, a large number of names were taken for the branch, and there was a good sale of literature.

Before leaving Birmingham, Mahon made arrangements for the more systematic carrying on of the propaganda there and in the district, and has now proceeded to Scotland to fulfil some engagement with the Scottish Land and Labour League.

North of England Socialist Federation.

Annisford.—A lecture was delivered at the branch meeting place last Saturday by A. K. Donald. Mr. Coombe of Seghill made an excellent speech. Very successful meeting. Friends desiring to join will please give names to F. Cooper, secretary, Railway Rd.

Blyth.—The delegates met on Saturday, and made arrangements for active propaganda work being carried on during the summer.

Backworth.—A. K. Donald addressed branch on Friday night. New members made, and branch making satisfactory progress.

Consett.—A meeting was addressed by Donald at the Fountain on Monday. Information regarding society, rules, etc., can be had from John Walton, Medously Road, Consett.

Leadgate.—Donald addressed a meeting of miners on Monday.

Newcastle.—The local branch of the S.D.F. held a large meeting at the cattle market on Sunday. Tom Mann, Laidler, John Hall speaking. Meetings were held in Sunderland, Jarrow, etc., during the week. We are informed that the branches in district are going to retain the services of T. Mann for vigorous propagandist work for some time to come. It is to be hoped that the No. of Eng. S.F. and the S.D.F. branches may come to an arrangement whereby they can cooperate with one another.

North Shields.—Usual meeting on Sunday morning. M'Donald replied to certain objections and difficulties that have been discussed during the week. We would like very much if our opponents would come forward at our meetings, and not bring out their difficulties in private. Persons desirous to join, address J. Isbister, at Mr. Foster, 33 Clive Street.

South Shields.—On Tuesday evening A. K. Donald addressed the largest meeting we have yet had in South Shields. A gentleman opposed, but as the lecture progressed Allen began to find that Socialism was very reasonable, and procured some pamphlets to study the question. Mr. Darby supported the lecturer with a good speech. J. Wood, 105 Bath Street.

Sunderland.—Donald addressed a good meeting at the Garrison Field on Sunday afternoon. The meeting was much better attended than on previous Sunday. Large sale of literature. Next Sunday we shall hold the meeting in the east end of the town.

Throckley.—A branch was formed here at the close of Donald's lecture. We have had a number of supporters for some months at Throckley, and have now got our men together. Friends desiring to join, communicate with John Irving, Double Row.

LECTURE DIARY.

LONDON.

Bloomsbury.—Communist Club, 49 Tottenham Street, Tottenham Court Road, W. On Thursday July 21, at 8.30, W. H. Utley, "Malthusian Socialism." 28. Business Meeting and Social Evening, August 4. Edward Aveling, "The Value of Brain Work." Clerkenwell.—Hall of the Socialist League, 13 Farringdon Road, E.C. Sunday July 24, at 8.30 p.m. T. E. Wardle, "The Franchise Fraud." Wednesday July 27, at 8.30. Eleanor Marx-Aveling, "Socialism and Political Action."

Croydon.—Parker Road. Hackney.—23 Audrey Street, Goldsmith Row. Club Room open every evening from 8 till 11.30; Saturday, 7 till 12.30; Sunday 11 a.m. till 12 p.m. Members Business Meeting every Tuesday at 8.30 p.m. Lecture on Sunday July 24, at 8.30. Wm. Blundell, "Property Qualification."

Hammer-smith.—Kelmecott House, Upper Mall, W. Sunday July 24, at 8 p.m. Ernest Rhys, "The New Poetry."

Hoxton (L. E. L.).—2 Crondall Street, New North Rd. Club Room open on Monday, Wednesday, and Saturday evenings from 8 till 11. Singing Class every Wednesday at 8.30. Sunday July 24, at 8, lecture by D. Nicoll, "Reform or Revolution." The members and friends of the League are hereby notified that the Labour Emancipation League will remove to another Hall on the first Sunday (the 7th) of August, at the Globe Coffee House, 227 Hoxton High Street, opposite the Beautiful Gates. Members in arrears are earnestly requested to pay up subscriptions and rally round the League. C. J. Young, sec.

Merton.—11 Merton Terrace, High Street. Club Room open every evening. Committee every Thursday. Discussions held every Sunday morning at 11. Mitcham.—Corner of Merton Lane and Fountain Place. Club Room open every evening from 7.30 till 11. North London.—Branch meets at 32 Camden Road, N.W., for reception of new members and other business, on Wednesday evenings at 8 o'clock, until further notice. H. Bartlett, sec.

PROVINCES.

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

Dublin.—Irish Labour League, Carpenters' Hall, 75 Aungier Street, every Thursday at 8 p.m. Discussion on all subjects connected with Labour Question.

Edinburgh (Scottish Section).—4 Park Street. Meets every Thursday at 7.30 p.m. to transact business. Class for the study of 'Das Capital' at 8.30. Members are expected to appear at out-door meetings, and in some way assist. (See "Open-air" below.)

Glasgow.—Reading-room of the Branch, 84 John St., open from 10 a.m. till 10 p.m. daily. Meeting of Members in Rooms on Sunday evening at 7 o'clock. As many members as are able are earnestly requested to attend all meetings.

Hamilton.—Paton's Hall, Chapel St. Every Thursday at 7.30.

Hull.—Address all communications to E. Teesdale, 20 Shakspeare Street.

Lancaster.—Addresses every Sunday morning on the Quay Jetty.

Leeds.—17 Chesham Street, Sweet Street. Club and reading room open every evening. Business meetings every Wednesday at 8 p.m.

Leicester.—Office of Hosiery Union, Horsefair Street. Fridays at 8 p.m.

Norwich.—Gordon Hall, 5 Duke Street. Free Lectures every Sunday at 8 p.m. Business Meeting, Monday at 8.30. Speakers' Class, Sunday mornings at 10.30 and Wednesday evenings at 8 p.m. Social Evening, Saturdays. Lecture on Sunday July 24. Fred Henderson, "The Marriage Laws."

Oxford.—Temperance Hall, 25 1/2 Pembroke Street. Thursdays, at 8.30 p.m.

Shields (North and South).—Meetings every Sunday, Quay-side and Market Place. Branch meetings on Thursday nights at the "General Gordon," Bath Street, Maxwell Street, South Shields. Secretary, J. Hearne, 32 Clive Street, No. Shields.

OPEN-AIR PROPAGANDA.

LONDON—Sunday 24.

- 11.30...Garrett—"Plough Inn".....Kitz
11.30...Hackney—"Salmon and Ball".....Lane
11.30...Hoxton Ch., Pitfield St.....Pope & Wade
11.30...Miteham Fair Green.....Nicoll & Heaford
11.30...Regent's Park.....Eden
11.30...St. Pancras Arches.....Dalziel
11.30...Walham Green.....The Branch
3...Hyde Park.....Sparling
6.30...Victoria Park.....Morris
7...Clerkenwell Green.....Mainwaring

Tuesday.

- 8...Ossulton Street, Euston Road.....Nicoll
8...Mile-end Waste.....Allman & Davis

Wednesday.

- 8...Broadway, London Fields.....Barker

Thursday.

- 8...Hoxton, Pitfield Street.....The Branch

PROVINCES.

Glasgow.—Sunday: Jail's Square, 1 o'clock; Paisley Road Toll at 5.

Cambuslang.—Saturday: 6 o'clock.

Motherwell.—Saturday: at 8 o'clock.

Leeds.—Sunday: Hunslet Moor, 11; Vicar's Croft, 7.30. Friday: Corner of Christ Church, Meadow Lane, at 8 p.m.

Norwich.—Sunday: Market Place at 3; Agricultural Hall Plain at 7.

Dereham.—Every Thursday, Market Place at 7. Wymondham.—Sunday: at 11.

Yarmouth.—Every Wednesday on the Beach at 7.

EDINBURGH (SCOTTISH SECTION).

J. L. MAHON'S MEETINGS.

- Saturday 23 .....7 p.m..... Loanhead
Sunday 24.....3 p.m..... Calton Hill
6.30 p.m..... Queen's Park
7.30 p.m..... Mound
Monday 25 .....8 p.m..... Hawick
Tuesday 26 .....8 p.m..... Galashiels
Wednesday 27...8 p.m..... Comely Park, Dunfermline
Thursday 28.....8 p.m..... Stn. End, Cowdenbeath
Friday 29.....8 p.m..... Kirkcaldy
Saturday 30 .....8 p.m..... Burntisland
Sunday 31 (as on previous Sunday).

IRSWICH.—On Sunday H. A. Barker, of London, will address a series of meetings.

WOOLWICH.—Arsenal Gates, Sunday at 7 o'clock, W. C. Wade.

NORTH ENGLAND SOCIALIST FEDERATION, MEETINGS—JULY.

- Fri. 22—Sunderland, Café, A. K. Donald, 7 p.m.
Sat. 23—Blyth.
Durham—Miners' Demonstration.
Sun. 24—North Shields, A. K. Donald, 11 a.m.
South Shields (Secular Society) Mrs. Essant, Sunderland Garrison Field, Donald, 3 p.m.
South Shields, A. K. Donald, 6.30 p.m.
Mon. 25—Blackhill, A. K. Donald, 6 p.m.
Consett, Fountain, A. K. Donald, 7.30 p.m.
Tues. 26—Throckley, A. K. Donald, 6.30 p.m.
Fri. 29—Sunderland, Café, E. R. Pease, 7 p.m.
Sat. 30—Blyth, J. L. Mahon.