

# THE COMMONWEAL

## The Official Journal of the SOCIALIST LEAGUE.

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WEEKLY: ONE PENNY.

### NOTES ON NEWS.

THE Kaiser Frederick is dead at last then, and we can all of us feel some pity for a man kept alive in a miserable condition by modern science and politics combined; and though no doubt many and many a man died on the same day that he did with greater suffering, who had been more useful to the world than he has been. For the rest, if the position of the man was an enemy of the people, the man himself was not so far as his intention went, he being of the good-natured bourgeois type: and at least he died with the good deed done of trying to get rid of Puttkammer. It is hardly possible but that his successor will force all honest men to regret him; for if he had lived he would have stood between the outburst of the fresh reaction which is pretty certain to take place now.

Mr. Parnell at the dinner he gave to the jail-birds of his party dwelt much on the courage and steadiness of the other jail-birds who are pretty much nameless as far as the newspapers go and have to forego the glory which those trumpeters confer on the illustrious; yet we need not suppose that they altogether miss their reward even apart from the satisfaction of doing their duty and feeling that they are not shabby wretches. It cannot be doubted that these obscure men are not obscure to their neighbours and friends, and we may well suppose that in the simpler society of the Irish country side a sort of tradition will arise which will not fail to do justice to their generous courage; which tradition will be none the worse history because it has not been written down.

The Gladstonites have won a considerable victory in the Ayr Burghs; one can only hope that it may mean that the electors are really convinced that that extreme form of tyrannical centralisation and landlord robbery is wrong, and that they repudiate it; otherwise it is a matter not worth considering. The successful candidate seems about good enough for a seat in Parliament, which is a serious accusation to bring against anybody who professes to be anything else than a digesting apparatus in the form of a man.

The Government don't seem to think it worth while to back up the Metropolitan Board of Works in the matter of the collections on open spaces. The present doleful position of those queer civic senators is perhaps almost too much for them. Perhaps, also, the recent Ayr Burghs election has opened their eyes on this matter. Will they be inviting us to Trafalgar Square next? Why not? Surely its closing against meetings "has caused more vexation and annoyance than it has prevented"—and still will do so. W. M.

The Unionist gang of course helped the Government to pass the clauses of their new Bill which will keep the police out of popular control; Mr. Chamberlain sneaking out of the division in a characteristic fashion. This means a prolonging of the present arrangement, by which the police are no longer caretakers of the public, their original reason of existence, but a military force for keeping down the unquiet folk who fancy they have rights.

This militarising of the police is always going on. Since the "riots" in the West-end, the authorities have been perfecting and extending the police telegraph system throughout London. The result has been that under the present conditions the concentration of a large body of police in any part of London on the shortest notice would be a comparatively easy matter. The system has been carried out on an extensive scale. The central police offices are also connected by either telegraph or telephone with the Fire Brigade stations, the War Office, the Home Office, the House of Commons, and the House of Lords, as well as with the private residences of the superior officers. In addition to these extensions, in case of emergency a message handed in at any postal office by a police officer is to take precedence of any others.

The annual grant of £10,000 to the National Gallery for the buying of pictures has been stopped for several years in order to make up for the extravagant amount spent upon the Raphael bought from Blenheim.

The trustees are now trying to have the grant renewed, and the Chancellor of the Exchequer is to be asked to lay a copy of the correspondence on the table for discussion and action. However it may turn out, whether the wanton waste be condoned or not, it should not be forgotten that a fancy price which no other buyer would have given was paid for a wholly unnecessary and very uninteresting picture, simply because it was the people's money which was being spent and did not come out of the pockets of those who spent it.

"Discipline must be maintained," said Mr. Bagnet, and there are few but would agree with him. Still, it seems not to be desirable that it should be maintained after the fashion it seems to be in the British navy. A court-martial was held on board the flagship Duke of Wellington, at Portsmouth, on the 12th, for the trial of an able seaman, on a charge of attempting to strike a boatswain's mate of the Orontes. It was shown that the prisoner was hurried away to work by the boatswain's mate, who perpetrated a joke and sent the prisoner to the quarter-deck. Irritated by this, he would have struck his "superior" had not a marine interfered. The prisoner, who bore a good character, was sentenced to twelve months' imprisonment, with hard labour.

Now it seems to be that discipline should require a "superior" not to play jokes on his "inferiors" unless they can be allowed to resent them, or reply in kind. Of course the brutal sentence means that it was passed by "officers and gentlemen," and is an expression of class vengeance. A court composed of seamen, or even half-and-half, would have viewed the matter differently. What are the Medical and Democratic M.P.'s going to do?

Nothing, apparently, any more than about the other things just noted; thereby tacitly admitting our contention that none of the abuses that swarm under the present system can be remedied, until the great parent abuse is struck out at the root.

### JOHN HAMDEN.

THIS earth affords to the eye of man no more enchanting pleasure than a ramble in the valley of the Thames during the month of June. For centuries poets and essayists, travellers and historians, of many lands and many countries, have extolled its varied beauties. The "fashion" and "society" gather in all quarters of the globe to whet their languid appetites with this failing stimulant, and to skip hither and thither to their appointed pastimes. Even the poorest victim of social wrongs, with eyes to cover him and crumbs to feed him, is generally lulled into present forgetfulness of human injustice by the sweet face of Nature's beauties. Yet the fair month of June in the year 1643 found the Thames valley filled with anything but "wreathed smiles" on the faces of its denizens. Everywhere was fierce contention, defiant words, and deadly strokes. Two hostile armies defended London to the last, and the two seats of opposing elements and antagonistic interests, the struggle of generations past had come to a crisis. Before had England been convulsed with the factious quarrels of a particular king or kingly claimant. The houses of York and Stuart had with more than hyena ferocity hunted, starved and tortured, their supposedly sacred persons. There was nothing especially inviolable about the body of a king, in the north or south of the island, so long as it was a question of someone else claiming his place. Now, however, it was not a person but an institution which was disputed. The whole superstructure of human oppression was shaken. Daring men were broaching ideas of independent action never before breathed but in most secret whispers. London printers were scattering these ideas broadcast by millions of copies. Oxford printers tried to answer in the old strain, but had not the means to keep up the pace. Not a monarch, but monarchy was attacked, and attacked too by men who well understood that monarchy means every claim to authority over our fellows without their consent. All the acute schemers and cowards in the land were associated this fact, and tried their best to weather the storm and to

its fury. London city was honeycombed with traitors to the cause of justice, plotting to undo the good work accomplished in the field.

In June 1643, all England was dividing its attention between two causes, William Waller and Edward Waller. The famous Sir William, the Benedict Arnold of the English civil wars, was laying the foundations of English liberty in the west, striking while others were debating, frightening every cavalier from Lond's End to Berwick Castle by his irresistible assaults, and showing the way to the then obscure Oliver Cromwell to afterwards break the proud spirit of a warlike aristocracy. Meanwhile the courtly poet, Edmund Waller, was laying his famous scheme for handing over London to the Royalists at the very outset of the struggle, and this plot had only just been discovered in the nick of time. Thus, while the two Wallers were the theme on every lip, attention was somewhat distracted from the movements in the Thames valley, though one famous episode has since become the overshadowing event in history for that "famous month and year." There is a popular cynical phrase in favour of war, "to get rid of the surplus population." No phrase is more fitting in the mouths of the thieves and cheats, the covetous and the cowardly. War invariably does remove the "surplus population" of the brave, the generous, the honest, and sincere, and leaves the world the freer for rogues "to hustle in." The men who get killed are the ones whom truth and justice least can spare; the men who survive are the meanest specimens as a rule. Thus it was that in this great struggle of ideas in 1643, although the nominal leaders in the field between London and Oxford were Charles Stuart and Robert Devereux, the real inspiration of either army came on the one hand from Rupert von Simmern, and on the other from John Hampden. The apostles of splendid power and of simple freedom, had they searched the wide world over, could not have selected two better champions. The cowardly selfish king at Oxford was a pitiable enough spectacle, but his beautiful sister's son, Rupert of Bohemia, was the sort of man whom both men and women unite in worshipping. Tracing his paternal line through an unbroken series of princes and kings to Charlemagne, he united in his person the accumulated virtues of all and few of their defects. Prince Rupert was one for whom this little earth is all too small and mankind all too mean. He united the courage and capacity of a whole army in his single person, yet was generous and unselfish beyond measure. A sailor as well as a soldier, he swept the land and sea, ruling both with the mastery of unequalled genius. A scholar and craftsman, he could be as great in peace as in war. Handsome and witty, he could be as pre-eminent in ease as in action. The debauched sensualists of the Court, the inevitable products of unrighteous power, envied and maligned him, used him and abused him, covered behind his shield, yet did their best to deny his credit and refuse his rewards. Even his pitiful uncle served him (as he served all others) with almost incredible meanness, notwithstanding that Charles Stuart and his cause would then have perished in quick contempt but for the single prowess of Rupert of the Rhine, one of those erring geniuses who throw the mantle of their personal goodness over the hideous charnel-house of selfish oppression, to delude and entrap weak-minded men. Nor was the champion of liberty behind the champion of tyranny in personal attributes. The name of John Hampden is, and will always be, a tower of strength to the friends of liberty and justice. He is the very ideal of a people's champion. It was no lust after his neighbour's riches that led Hampden into the struggle. He wished for no hand in the plundering of forfeited estates. He was the heir to a manor himself, and one most others could well envy, inherited from before the Norman Conquest in direct descent. Nor did he seek for any false delights of power over others. He was the most modest and reserved of men. The prying biographers, whom Tennyson once denounced as "pig-stickers," have made less of Hampden even than of Shakespeare. The constant theme of all after ages, discussed and disputed over, even his body actually dug up (as was attempted of Shakespeare) to settle a contentious point, there is almost nothing remaining to us of Hampden's private life, although the keenest literary hounds have again and again taken up the scent. We do not even know accurately where or when he was born or where or when he died. It is more than probable, however, that he was born within a few steps of Cornhill, in the City of London, that thoroughfare which gave to light the mellifluous poet whose undying line is more coupled with Hampden's name than anything in actual history.

Hampden's father was a member of Parliament in 1594, the year of John Hampden's birth, and his aunt was married in Cornhill the year before. His mother was Elizabeth Cromwell, herself aunt to the great Oliver. Left fatherless when a child, he became at once the country squire of a fine Buckinghamshire estate, and with the maternal genius of that famous cousinry which soon after convulsed the whole of England, he could easily have made himself the most prominent personage in the land twenty years before his name was ever heard of. But this was not John Hampden. He had no desire for such self-seeking fame. He left such flunkey functions to the Cecils and fellows of that kind, who can lie and cringe, and trick and plot, and steal and stab in secret, to make fools esteem them really great. Hampden was wise and honest above other men, and knew that true greatness consists in leading an honest life, doing what occasion calls for, not seeking for chances to be conspicuous. He was a student as well as a farmer, and learned the lessons of bygone ages to some purpose. Not but that he felt the shock of the social convulsion which England was then experiencing. There is little doubt that he had half a mind to follow the example of many of his friends and relatives, to abandon the sweet valleys of Buckingham, where his people had made their home for centuries, and to seek amid the rocks and pine-trees of New England

a more bracing air for honest men to dwell in. Hard indeed is it for us to understand the despair which must have seized on the Englishmen of 1638 to drive them to such a frightful change of scene in the contrast between the old and the new houses of the great Puritan exodus. We only hesitate about making a revolution to-day because we debate as to what kind of one to make. We have got quite careless of sudden changes in themselves, they have been so frequent. But in 1630 the idea of striking against the very existence of high-handed oppressive government was something to appal the bravest. The bulk of the people would fall away from such an advocate as from some hideous leper. To their minds there was no precedent, they shrank as men always shrink from the unknown. It was only the enthusiastic students like Hampden who were cheered by the bright examples of other ages and other lands, and even they despaired of inoculating the bulk of the people with their faith and courage. It was necessary to wait for opportunity and to use rusty weapons. To talk the jargon of English lawyers and to pretend submission to English institutions was one of the cruel conditions imposed on the brave champions of English emancipation.

It was indeed a rusty weapon which Hampden was forced to use in his first great struggle against tyranny. Everyone has heard of his refusal to pay "ship money." But in this he was not alone. Many other men had defied the tax-gatherer, most other men had grumbled at him. It remained for Hampden to make the refusal effective. There is no doubt that according to legal usage Hampden was in the wrong, for anything is good law which is acquiesced in. And no one can deny that "ship money" and much more infamous impositions had been acquiesced in by the English people for generations. It was Hampden's firm yet modest resistance and persistence which opened the eyes of the people to the constant violation of every natural right they possessed. It made him at once the first Englishman of his age, perhaps of any age. As the courtly apologist is forced to admit, everyone was asking who and what he was that at his own charge supported the liberty of his country. Like Byron, "he awoke one morning and found himself famous"; yet, unlike the common notoriety-hunter, Hampden kept the "even tenor of his way" in fame as in obscurity. He saw that his time had come, though long waited for, and well he played his part. In him seemed embodied the revenge of time. Nearly six centuries of Norman feudalism had passed away, yet here the heir to the throne of William the Conqueror is suddenly confronted by the opposition of a Saxon franklin, proclaiming that in the heart of England, in the Thames valley itself, the conquest was not complete. No wonder people rubbed their eyes in astonishment, and cried "Well done, Hampden!" For even the most degraded people always admire courage.

Hampden took the Norman laws and confounded the law-makers with their own logic, just as his co-partner Pym, in that surprising impeachment of Wentworth, hangs law in its own garters after pinning it with its own tape. Pym was more legal than the lawyers, and gave tyranny rope to hang itself. So Hampden confounded his opponents by seeming compliance with their doctrines.

It was to two sisters that England owes a greater debt of gratitude than Rome owed to the mother of the Gracchi. To Dorothy Percy she owed the birth of Algernon Sydney, while to Lucy Percy she was indebted for the preservation of the lives of Hampton and Pym at a time when their deaths would have probably cowed all others into submission, and when their fertile brains, their steady nerves, and their daring spirits could ill be spared. The woman who talked to Charles Stuart as never Mrs. Caudle dared address her husband, the proud daughter of Henry of Navarre who came to conquer where Mary Tudor and Mary Stuart had failed to place the fetters of Rome, was a woman of uncommon courage and commanding talents. Unfortunately for her, she met in London a few women of the kind known as "mothers in Israel," women who breed a new race of men, with new ideas, new sympathies, and new accomplishments. Such was the famous Countess of Carlisle, who saved the "five members" when the autocrat and his cut-throat crew went down to Westminster to "lay them by the heels." With unerring judgment Henrietta Maria had decided where to strike the blow, with instant decision did Lucy Percy decide to save the pride of her countrymen and her country's cause. It was only in January 1642 that Hampden and Pym, with their three mates, were hidden for safety in Coleman Street. Before the next year had closed both Hampden and Pym were cold in death, yet in the interval the pair had struck the blow on the anvil of history, the resonance of which is even now attributed by the unthinking multitude to the man who only profited by the stroke, John Hampden's cousin, Oliver Cromwell.

In June 1643, Pym in London was daring to say what others wished to do, while Hampden in the field was daring to do what others wished to do. Hampden was a volunteer in the sanguinary skirmish in south Oxfordshire on Sunday the 18th of June. But he knew that even the most enthusiastic of would-be freemen needed all the encouragement of heroic example to face for the first time the "gentlemen of England" in battle array with the royal family at their head. The struggle on another Sunday in the October previous at Edgehill in Warwickshire had only been a disaster but for the foolish over-confidence of the royalists. In the struggle of June, even the irresistible Rupert found that he had met his match at last. The disciples of liberty held their ground in spite of the fury of the assault, the malignant zeal with which every leader was signalled out for destruction, and the loss of the most valued of their friends. When, after the day was over, it became known that Hampden's life was like to pay the penalty of his self-sacrificing exposure to danger in a troop to which he did not belong, there was whooping and hilarity at Oxford. The

death of Gladstone to-day would gladden the Tory hearts with only a title of the execution of 1643 among the royalists over the death of John Hampden. The sycophants of power believed that English liberty would never again dare to lift its head. In truth the stout hearts in London winced full sore and choked down many a bitter tear. They tried to believe for some days that the Oxford roysterers had rejoiced too quickly, and that their brave champion would recover. Hampden lingered on at Thame on the borders of Oxford and Bucks until Friday the 23rd, and either on that evening or the next morning perished in great agony of body but with as serene a mind as he had had. John Hampden's fame has been the plaything of innumerable scribblers and babblers. His bright example has been belittled, distorted, and denied. From Clarendon to D'Israeli, apologists for the miserable Charles Stuart have racked their brains for something to haul at Hampden's head, and with pitiable result. Tories have almost denied his existence; Whigs have clothed him in garments he would have scorned; half-hearted "Radicals" have used his name for apologies for tyranny. To thorough-paced Democrats it is enough to know that Hampden stood out against a tax and gave his life to combat arbitrary power. We need not search for more. All forms of tyranny take the insidious shape of taxation. Rent is a tax, usury is a tax, privilege is a tax, monopoly is a tax. It is only in free association that our contributions to social purposes become ennobling and not degrading, and lose the essential hideousness of hated taxation. When we look to history for a name to conjure with, in the struggle for free and equal social privileges, for the bond of love and not of fear, to none can we turn with higher hope of inspiration than to that of John Hampden, the martyr to English freedom. L. W.

**PENTONVILLE PRISON.**

The following letter is worth reprinting entire as a really cheering sign of the times; and one can scarcely be wrong in thinking that such a letter could hardly have been written to the ordinary press or printed by it but for Bloody Sunday and all that followed it, which has dragged to light the horrors of the English prison system.

Sir,—As foreman of a jury at Clerkenwell Sessions, on being discharged yesterday, after sitting six days, I with my fellow-jurymen (by order obtained of the judge) went over the above prison. We were much horrified and pained to see the brutal system under which torture is hourly inflicted upon many of the poor prisoners. We were told that for a month after entry the prisoners, as we saw them, are kept upon that abominable invention, the treadmill, their time of actual working on it being 54 hours daily. We were then shown the prisoners' cells, and the dreadful instrument of torture called the plank-bed. From the mill, aching in every limb, the poor prisoner, for a whole month, has to lie all night upon this slightly-raised platform, without a mattress or pillow. This is not punishment—it steps beyond it—it is deliberate torture. As an Englishman, and a ratepayer, I protest most earnestly against its longer continuance. The chapel in which the gospel of love and forgiveness is daily set forth to the prisoners we also visited, but I fail to see how any prisoner aching in all his bones from the plank-bed can obtain belief in such far-off possibilities. The system of silence which also prevails is against human nature, and productive of prison crime. Surely it is high time, if we mean really to be a civilised and Christian nation, to sweep away the treadmill, the silent system, and the plank-bed altogether, and to treat prisoners as human beings entitled to our kindness whilst in durance, instead of driving them into a wearisome melancholy madness. Kindly dip your pen, Sir, into the ink, and say a strong word to our countrymen on this matter, cruel to their fellows, because ignorant of their sufferings. Your insertion of this letter will much oblige my fellow-jurymen and myself.—Yours truly, JOHN PARNELL.

Chichester House, Bockley Road, West Kensington Park, London, W., June 13.

It is surely not too much to hope that the jury and its foreman, who take such a very unconventional view of our prisons, would be likely to take a similar view of what Mr. Gladstone calls "our admirable police," as they appear when giving evidence, and those noble specimens of the champions of impartiality and fair dealing, the British judges as they appear in directing a jury what verdict to give.—W. M.

**EVICTING THE DYING.**—An eviction was carried out on the 15th near Clogher, which again illustrates the brutality of landlordism. Nearly forty police were in attendance. The evicted family numbers six members. One, a dying blind boy, received the last sacrament on the previous evening, and the father, an old man of 80 years, was so weak and ill as to appear utterly unconscious of what was going on around him. Another son besought the sub-sheriff to delay the removal of the father from bed till the parish priest might be sent for, as the arrival of the officer had taken the family by surprise; but he was inexorable. The old man was then transferred from his bed to a cart, in which he was conveyed to the house of a son-in-law, where he received the last sacraments immediately afterwards from the parish priest. Along with this may fitly be placed the record of a quarter's evictions. A return issued on the 14th shows that during the quarter ending March 31st, 2,454 tenants were converted into caretakers by service of ejectment notices under the Land Act of last year. Of these 715 were in Ulster, 417 in Leinster, 492 in Connaught, and 830 in Munster. In addition, 233 tenancies were determined by the landlords under other processes of law. The practical outcome of these proceedings is the eviction of about 10,000 persons—men, women, and children. The law has meanwhile added another cruelty to the landlord's armoury in Ireland. The Master of the Rolls has granted injunctions to a landlord for the purpose of preventing the erection of "Land League huts." This is the sequel of some evictions on the Coolgraney estate; and its practical effect is just this: The law not only sanctions unjust evictions, but says that the evicted must be left to starve and shiver.

**FOR THE PEOPLE.**

We are the hewers and delvers who toil for another's gain,  
The common clods of the rabble, stunted of brow and again.  
What do we want, the gleaners, of the harvest we have reaped?  
What do we want, the nesters, of the honey we have heaped?

We want the drones to be driven away from our golden hoard;  
We want to share in the harvest; we want to sit at the board;  
We want what sword or suffrage has never yet won for man—  
The fruits of his toil, God promised when the cause of toil began.

Ye have sired the sword and sceptre, the cross and the sacred word,  
In all the years, and the Kingdom is not yet here of the Lord.  
Is it useless, all our waiting? Are they fruitless, all our prayers?  
Has the wheat while men were sleeping been oversowed with taxes?

What gain is it to the people that a God laid down his life,  
If, twenty centuries after, his world be a world of strife?  
If the serried ranks be facing each other with ruthless eyes  
And steel in their hands, what profits a saviour's sacrifice?

Ye have tried and failed to rule us; in vain to direct have tried;  
Not wholly the fault of the ruler; not wholly blind the guide;  
Mayhap there needs not a ruler: mayhap we can find the way.  
At least ye have ruled to ruin; at least ye have led astray.

What matter if king or consul or president holds the rein,  
If crime and poverty ever be links in the bondsman's chain?  
What careth the burden-bearer that Liberty packeth his load,  
If hunger presseth behind him with a sharp and ready goad?

There's a serf whose chains are of paper; there's a king with a parchment crown;

There are robber knights and brigands in factory, field and town.  
But the vassal pays his tribute to a lord of wage and rent;  
And the baron's toll is Shylock's with a flesh-and-blood per cent.

The seamstress bends to her labour all night in a narrow room;  
The child, defrauded of childhood, tips toes all day at the loom;  
The soul must starve, for the body can barely on husks be fed,  
And the loaded dice of a gambler settle the price of bread.

Ye have shorn and bound the Samson and robbed him of learning's light;  
But his sluggish brain is moving, his sinews have all their might.  
Look well to your gates of Gaza, your privilege, pride and caste!  
The Giant is blind, but thinking, and his locks are growing fast.

JAMES JEFFREY SPENCER.

(Reprinted from 'The Household Library of Irish Poets,' New York, 1887.)

**RENT REDUCTIONS IN KERRY.**

Landlord.	Tenant.	Old Rent.	Judicial Rent.
S. M. Hussey.....	E. Castello.....	£10 0 0	£ 6 0 0
Earl of Linstowel ...	P. Carroll.....	9 0 0	4 10 0
P. Denovan .....	J. O'Connell.....	60 0 0	40 0 0
G. Gentleman .....	J. Kirby.....	53 0 0	26 10 0
	P. Hunt.....	20 0 0	11 15 0
G. L. Kitson .....	J. Hannon.....	30 0 0	18 10 0
	B. Hannon.....	22 0 0	11 10 0
	J. Buckley.....	40 0 0	26 0 0
T. B. Brown	P. M'Elliot.....	26 0 0	6 0 0 (!)
and others	J. Byrne.....	25 0 0	12 0 0 (!)
	T. M'Elliot.....	25 0 0	8 10 0 (!)
Justice D. Rice .....	D. Kennelly.....	50 0 0	24 0 0
	J. Lyons.....	50 0 0	25 0 0
G. Sandes .....	P. Nolan.....	79 6 3	37 10 0
E. K. Supple .....	B. Connell.....	300 0 0	180 0 0
R. B. Chute .....	J. Dowd.....	26 0 0	10 0 0
E. Slack .....	T. O'Connor.....	233 0 0	130 0 0

**METROPOLITAN PAUPERISM.**

	Indoor.	Outdoor.	Total.
1st week of June, 1888 ...	55,374	37,612	92,986
" " 1887 ...	54,541	36,630	91,171
" " 1886 ...	52,620	36,459	89,079
" " 1885 ...	51,696	34,061	85,757

Vagrants relieved in the metropolis on the last day of the fourth week of June 1888: Men, 817; Women, 185; Children under sixteen, 23—Total 1,023. Population of the Metropolis in 1881, 3,815,000.

The Social Democratic Union of Stockholm has on the motion of August Palm pronounced itself in favour of a Social Democratic Congress to be held this year in Stockholm, and has sent circulars to the country organisations to get their opinion on the proposal.

**FRENCH VEGETABLES FOR ENGLAND.**—The British Consul at Brest, in a report on the agriculture of his district, refers to the great eagerness shown by small farmers to find markets for their garden and other produce in this country. From Roscoff alone twenty-six different companies, composed of 406 members, visit a large number of towns along the English, Bristol, and St. George's Channels—the ports on the German Ocean being supplied from Belgium, Normandy, Picardy, and the Artois—and extend their operations from these towns in all directions—those, for instance, trading to Newport going sometimes as much as 100 miles inland by rail, returning to Newport every Saturday night. In 1885 the exports of vegetables from Roscoff alone were 11,107 tons potatoes, 4,060 tons onions, 4,000 tons cauliflowers, and 1,800 tons artichokes. Of cauliflowers the northern part of Finistère furnishes the Western Railway Company with a million tons per annum, while large quantities are sent by steamer from Morlaix. Three hundred tons of cabbages, several thousand tons of winter and summer red onions, and enormous quantities of preserved peas, kidney beans, and shallots, were exported from Morlaix last year to this country. The same port alone also sends seven million eggs, worth £16,000, and, owing to the establishment of a line of steamers to Bristol, this number is increasing rapidly.





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

**Communications invited on Social Questions.** They should be written on one side of the paper, addressed to the Editors, 13 Farrington Rd., E.C., and accompanied by the name and address of the writer, not necessarily for publication. As all articles are signed, no special significance attaches to them because of their position in these pages. None to be taken as more than in a general manner expressing the views of the League as a body, except it be so explicitly declared by the Editors. Rejected MSS. only returned if a stamped directed envelope is forwarded with them. Subscriptions.—For Europe and United States, including postage, per year, 6s. six months, 3s.; three months, 1s. 6d. Business communications to be addressed to Manager of the COMMONWEAL, 13 Farrington Road, E.C. Remittances in Postal Orders or halfpenny stamps.

CONTRIBUTIONS received.—Unsuitable: J. D. (Crieff); R. T. (A Worker's Dream). Will be used: T. P. (Leeds). O. B. M.—Chas. Nordhoff, author of 'The Communistic Societies of the United States,' is, we believe, still alive, and the special Washington correspondent of the New York Herald. J. H. Noyes died in 1886.

*Periodicals received during the week ending Wednesday June 20.*

ENGLAND		Fort Worth (Tex.)—South West	SWITZERLAND
Justice	Milwaukee (Wis.)—Volksblatt	Zurich—Sozial Demokrat	Geneva—Przedsiurt
Leaflet Newspaper	National Reformer	El Productor	Madrid—El Socialista
Labour Tribune	N Haven—Workmen's Advocate	Barcelona—Accacia	Barcelona—Tierra y Libertad
Norwich—Daylight	Coast Seamen's Journal	SPAIN	
Postal Service Gazette	FRANCE	Lisbon—O Protesto Operario	
Railway Review	Paris—Cri du Peuple (daily)	Berlin—Volks Tribune	
Worker's Friend	Le Parti Ouvrier	AUSTRIA	
	Lille—Le Travailleur	Arbeiterstimme	
NEW SOUTH WALES	HOLLAND	ROMANIA	
Hamilton—Radical	Hague—Recht voor Allen	Jassy—Muncitorul	
	INDIA	Stockholm, Social-Demokraten	
Madras—People's Friend	Seraing (Ougree)—Le Reveil		
UNITED STATES	Ghent—Vooruit		
New York—Jewish Volkzeitung	Liege—L'Avenir		
Der Sozialist	ITALY		
Truthseeker	Rome—L'Emancipazione		
Chicago—Labor Enquirer	Marsala—La Nuova Eta		
Chicago (Ill.)—Vorbote	Cremona—Il Democratico		
Detroit—Der Arme Teufel			

**COUNTING NOSES.**

MR. CHAMBERLAIN . . . believed that the experience of the United States and their own, so far as it had gone, went to show that when people were constantly being called on to vote, the whole matter fell into the hands of caucuses and machine politicians.

Thus the reporters of the House of Commons give us the present view of the once semi-Socialist agitator, the advocate of the ransoming of the upper classes; and no one can wonder at the "ironical cheers and laughter" of the opposition that followed this expression of opinion from the once darling of the caucuses, the once supreme leader of the midland-county machine politicians. "That would lead," said this right honourable, "to a state of things which had never existed in this country, and which he for one would extremely deprecate." "Renewed laughter" followed this brilliant joke, which seems to have taken by surprise even people so used to impudence as M.P.'s are.

Perhaps, though, the laughter was not so much at what Mr. Chamberlain said as at what he meant in reference to his present position; the Devil preaching a serious sermon on sin without himself laughing at his humbug is proverbially an amusing business, and Mr. Chamberlain's contradiction of his first sentence by his second doubtless makes it more amusing; but except for that second sentence, in which he spoke of the reign of caucuses and machine politicians as a state of things which had never existed in this country, I think we may go some way in agreeing with him, even without attacking the nostrum of triennial or yearly parliaments which is so dear to Radical politicians.

It is true, indeed, that we are not very often called upon to vote for M.P.'s at least, and that the majesty of the House of Commons and its elections has overshadowed the other kinds of voting so much that only a few very eager local politicians heed such occasions for voting, unless in the case of the School Board, in which the cumulative vote is enticing to some who otherwise would see clearly that they had no chance of getting their opinions represented.

But though we don't vote often, I really do not see how we could be "machined" more than we are at present, even if we voted every day. In our centralised "society" (if one must abuse that good word by using it for the thievish muddle ruled by the government clerk and the policeman) the whole political duty of man is to vote: that is at once the healing faith, and the fruits worthy of salvation put before

us by our political church to-day, and the priests of that church are for ever engaged in bribing people to vote and intimidating them to vote, and cheating them into voting, and beseeching them to vote; and also in receiving their votes; and when the votes are received and the representative is elected by them, he then has to put his whole soul into squaring his conduct in accordance with the chances of the next election and the hopes of again obtaining votes.

Under this system how can any politician be other than mechanical? So far from his trying to abate party spirit, and try to be useful, it is his business carefully to push anything that has a tendency to become human and reasonable back into the lists where the battle of nose-counting is being fought. Administration becomes a joke, and the Metropolitan Board of Works the true image of official business. Worn-out party cries are allowed to shout down all suggestions of the true issues of political life. The leaders are obliged at any rate to profess ignorance (like Mr. Morley the other day) of a great part of the events happening under their very noses, and as to their ignorance of ideas that are beginning to move all intelligent persons, they have no need to profess ignorance of them, for their ignorance on this head is so complete that it cries out for all men to take note of. In this coarse, blind, ignorant party warfare, the issues put before us are so futile and wide of the real point, that honest and thoughtful men are compelled to spit and pass by. Here, say the politicians, vote for *this* or for *that*. Is there no third course, you say, but to vote for a piece of reaction or a piece of inaction? None, they answer; your business is to have your nose counted on one side or other of the business that we nose-counters have made for you: if you object, you are a faddist, a crank, a person ignorant of "practical politics."

This is the way that "representatives" are manufactured, that the "great representative body" is manufactured; and after all it must be said that if it does not represent us, it represents our condition. It is said often that the House of Commons does little or nothing. Well, what in the name of patience need it do? There is the vast organisation of commerce at work day by day, hour by hour, taking care that the war for riches amongst the members of the classes privileged to "employ," shall be orderly, and that the members of the classes that are employed shall gain nothing more than bare subsistence by their competition with one another; turning to their own advantage, not only the work of the workers, but their love of pleasure and longing for ease which forbids them to take up consciously the class struggle which they must carry on unconsciously; their sense of justice and aspirations for a decent life, which make them averse to violence; nay, they can even turn the struggle for wages and the trades combinations to their advantage by using them as a warning to note how far they can venture to go in the robbery of the useful class; and their political aspirations the capitalist representatives can use in much the same way; they can discover by the vote-catching process what tune must be played in order to lull the workers to sleep while their pockets are being picked—of well-being and happiness.

They need do nothing else except keep a large force of policemen and a tolerable army on foot, together with the criminal courts and the due amount of middle-class jurymen in case the victims should wake up and get restive.

I say again if the Parliament manufactured by the nose-counting which is manipulated by caucuses, Primrose Leagues, election agents, the last corruption of hero-worship, and the rest of it, does not represent us, it represents our condition—a privileged class robbing us, destroying, if not our lives, yet the reason for our lives; and a working class apathetic because it is used to the miserable life it leads. A class which does not know what happiness is, and therefore will not seek the means of obtaining it.

Surely the time will come when the mere struggle for bare livelihood will force on us the knowledge of the means not merely of obtaining bare livelihood but of happiness also, and then what a farce will seem to us that "representation" founded on "machine-politics" and the count of noses of unhappy people driven and cheated into voting for this or that form of the continuance of their own unhappiness.

WILLIAM MORRIS.

**PIECE-WORK.**

TRADES UNIONISTS are often blamed for opposing piece-work, even by some who are genuinely anxious for the welfare of the workers—notably by the late William Denny, ship-builder of Dumbarton, who looked upon piece-work as the means which would enable the workers in time to displace the capitalists and employers altogether, chiefly by increasing their intelligence and business faculty, and also by giving them higher wages and so enabling them to save money. But the workers themselves have opposed piece-work, especially the unionists, and it may be useful for us to see on what grounds such opposition can be justified.

There are several forms which piece-work assumes in various industries; first there is the piece-work pure and simple, when a worker makes things at so much each, so much a dozen, or so much a gross, he makes as many as he likes and gets paid accordingly; the man who works the hardest, the longest time, and with the greatest skill, gets the most pay (what more can the Trades Unionist want!). Making match-boxes at 2½d. a gross would come under this class, or riveting ships at so much per hundred rivets. The second class is where a whole job is sub-let to a small contractor: for instance, large works generally sublet their building to little masters, who either contract to do it at so much a cube yard, or else so much for the job; they find

their own bricklayers and labourers, but the firm finds them material, cranes, etc. The third class is where payment is by result, but the amount of work is fixed, the time of work being in this case the varying quantity; this class of piece-work is very common in iron foundries, where the men will have so much a day, and so many, pipes *e.g.*, to make in the day: if the right number is done early, they go early, if not, they have to stop till they are done. Their wages are fixed—so long as there is work enough of course—but if they work harder they get done sooner. The fourth class, which shades off into day-work, is where men get paid so much a day of a fixed number of hours, but as they are working on one class of article only, they are expected to turn out so many. This is sometimes but a way of getting piece-work done without infringing the trades' union regulations; on the other hand it is sometimes day work where the foreman happens to have a fixed standard by which to judge what is a good day's work. I think these four will cover all classes of piece-work. The principle of payment by result, of course runs through all, but it will be easily understood that arguments, both for and against, will apply with somewhat varying force in each case. Using the word piecework generally as including all, though of course referring specially to the first class, we will just run through briefly what are the chief advantages claimed for it. First it is claimed that the workman will do very much more work if he is being paid by results than if he is getting his wages by the day; then it is said that the desire to get more work done will stimulate the men to seek for better methods and more rapid ways of getting through it. Again, men who are under piece-work don't need a foreman to watch them and keep them at their work, and the men are more independent of the bosses, can do more as they like; if they want a rest they can sit down without being in dread lest they should be seen; in little things of that sort they are their own masters much more than a day-worker. The day-worker has sold himself for so many hours, and it is his master's interest to get all he can out of him during that time, while it is the worker's to save himself all he can. But the piece-worker has only sold a given amount of labour for a given sum, and so long as there is no special push for work, the master does not care much how he spends his time; if he makes his dozen or gross, he gets his price, if not he goes without. This independence makes a lot of men take to piece-work who would otherwise be deterred by reasons which we must now consider.

There are obviously two stand-points from which we may examine piece-work; we may discuss its influence under present conditions, or we may assume the establishment of Socialism and then consider the advantages or otherwise of that system of work under such conditions. In order to understand the reasons why piece-work is opposed by the unionists we must of course examine its influence under present conditions. What, then, is the effect of piece-work upon wages? It is usually maintained by its advocates that it raises wages; but such a statement needs further examining before we have got the whole truth. That a piece-worker very often obtains a slightly higher rate of wages per week than a day worker is no doubt true, but this is about the utmost that can be said; and on the other hand it is said that he turns out at least 50 per cent more work, so that unless his wages are raised 50 per cent, he will be getting lower instead of higher wages for the same work, even though his weekly wages may be more. Then, if each worker turns out 50 per cent more work, evidently the same amount of work as was being done before could be done by one-third less men than would be needed under day work. Now one of two things will happen here; either one-third of the men will be thrown out of work, or the product being so much cheapened that we can successfully compete with other countries, we shall get a sufficient increase of orders to keep all the men at work. If the latter does not happen, some part of the workers will lose all their wages, which will be poorly compensated by the rest getting slightly more! Now for the product to be cheapened by piece-work, evidently the rate paid must be less than the 50 per cent. increase of work turned out, so that even if the increase of foreign trade is enough to keep all hands working they will still be doing more work for less money, although of course their weekly wages would be a little higher. And it must be remembered that if we obtain a large amount of trade that has been done in other countries, there will be a lot of men thrown out of work there; the result of that is, under present conditions, a tendency for the capitalists here to import that labour to beat down the wages at home, and also for the government there to encourage emigration so as to get them out of the way. So that I think we may fairly say that under our present conditions increase of productiveness does not tend to give the worker a larger proportional share in the product; and this is especially unjust when, as in the case of piece-work, the whole increase is due to his extra exertion. We may note in passing that the employer gets his proportion of profit on each extra article produced, and generally manages to increase that proportion by reduction of expenses (as, *e.g.*, by discharging some foremen, or by getting more work done on the same machines, and so reducing the capital charges proportionally) while we saw that the workers would get absolutely less until a great increase of trade should make it up to them.

But we have been assuming all through that the employer would pay a substantial increase of wage for the increase of work, and would not keep trying to cut it down; but unfortunately that is quite an unwarranted assumption, the employers as a class—forced partly by their mutual competition no doubt—are constantly trying to reduce wages or rates paid for piece-work, and it is because this system enables them so easily to do this that the unionists oppose it so strongly.

For see how it works. Suppose piece-work is introduced in a trade where the men are earning 24s. a-week; if it results in an increase of

production of 50 per cent., evidently their wages ought to go up to 36s. a-week. But the rate of wages in any trade is regulated by the artificial arrangements—combination, restriction of apprentices, exceptional skill, etc.—which keep it above starvation point, to which it tends to gravitate, and in this particular trade 24s. is the point at which it has been kept. Now the master knows this, and he fixes in his mind 24s. as a good wage for that class of men, so that after introducing piece-work, if he finds they are earning anything like 36s. he will set about reducing the rate, and will go on reducing it till he gets it down nearly to what it was before, say 28s. or 27s. But he very soon finds another excuse for reducing the rate. The workers are all doing their best to get as much money as they can, and perhaps amongst them there are one or two very strong and handy men, they can manage to get a large wage even at the reduced rate, so the employer determines to set his prices by his best men, calling the others lazy because they don't do as well; accordingly he sets to work and gradually cuts down the prices again till the very best men have to work hard to get 29s. or 30s., while the men who are not so strong can only get 21s. or 22s. perhaps, let them work as they will. So in the end all the advantage goes to the employer, or through him to the customer, and the workers are doing 50 per cent. more work for the same money as before; moreover it has enabled the strong to take two or three shillings a-week off the weaker men's wages and add them to their own!

There is little wonder that the workers oppose such a system, and that their unions prevent its introduction where they can, and where they cannot do that, try to regulate it by making the men bring pressure to bear on any specially quick man to make him work moderately, so as not to reduce the general rate. There is a great deal of true unselfishness shown in this way by men who could earn more restraining themselves lest they should reduce the price for the others. These men get careful also to their own account; as for instance a friend of mine who used to be on day-work but was put on piece-work; he tried to get as good a price as he could, but he never allowed himself to earn much more than two shillings a-week above his old rate, he knew very well that if he had tried hard and made a little extra he would have had his piece-rate reduced!

The great fact that is forced upon our notice by all examination of wage questions is the class opposition between employers and employed; it poisons the whole industrial system, and until it is abolished many things, good in themselves, will be opposed by the workers, and rightly, because all the good is taken by their employers and they get all the evil—such is the good of genuine cheapness, which of course has its good side, of labour-saving machinery, and the like.

Whether piece-work would prove a good under different conditions may be doubted. It would lose many of its chief disadvantages under Socialism, there would not be the class opposition to use it as a means of reducing wages, but its temptation to bad, slipshod work would remain. It is argued that inspecting the work and rejecting what is bad gets over the difficulty, but there is a huge fallacy under that argument, it underlies many modern ideas about adulteration, shoddy, and such like: it is the fallacy of thinking an evil tendency restrained at a certain point is as good as a good tendency. They say in effect, "Perhaps piece-work does give a temptation to bad work, but then we restrain it, we don't pass any goods that are worse than a certain degree." And they think that is equal to a tendency to good work! But, apart from the necessity to restraint, which is absent in the latter case, there is this objection, that, though you may possibly prevent many being worse than a certain point, you have by your system effectually prevented any being much better! Nevertheless, in the almost infinite variety of work to be done, doubtless piece-work will prove suitable for some jobs, and the important thing to notice is that Socialism will be free to use all methods that are found good, each in its place, and to discard all that are found evil; whereas the class struggle to-day poisons our whole system, and methods are adopted or otherwise, not because they are good or bad, useful or injurious, but because they will or will not bring gold to the ruling class.

It is a change of basis that is needed: upon a false basis all systems must be distorted and generally end, as we see in our industrial system to-day, in a *reductio ad absurdum*. One thing we may be glad of: since a *reductio ad absurdum* is the necessary means of forcing us to correct a premiss, and our system has been reduced to the extreme absurdity of starvation in the midst of plenty—the more plenty the more starvation—we may be sure that a change of basis is not far distant.

RAYMOND UNWIN.

THE TITHE WAR IN WALES.—The "war" goes on, and the 9th Lancers with emergency men and police to the number of just one hundred are still in camp at Llanfairtalhaiarn, near Abergelge, North Wales. On Tuesday the 12th, the party visited fifteen farms for the purpose of distraining. There was a large and noisy crowd congregated, which became so boisterous and created such a hubbub, that the emergency men rushed in amongst them and seizing their horns and tin-pots and pans carried them off after a struggle. At two farmhouses the party found the house doors and windows nailed up and the garden gates locked; an endeavour made to effect an entrance was futile. Early Wednesday morning, however, the agent for the Ecclesiastical Commissioners was more successful. Leaving the camp at 2 a.m., just as dawn was breaking, he made his way over the hills to the barricaded houses, accompanied by four emergency men. The surprise visit was a great success from an attacking point of view, for the party succeeded in seizing goods at every farm visited. Mr. Dale then returned to camp in triumph, and his employers are plucking up courage day by day to extend their extortions. There was a rumour a few days ago that the venerable Rebecca, or some of her daughters, would intervene in the struggle; but this has been since contradicted.

## THE LABOUR STRUGGLE

The miners in Darlaston have re-started their union, and decided to join the Midland Counties Trades Federation.

The annual delegate meeting of the Northumberland Miners' Association having passed a resolution demanding 15 per cent. increase on wages, Mr. Burt on Saturday headed a deputation to the Coal Owners' Association to lay this demand before them. The advance was refused.

**NAILERS.**—On Monday a number of spike nailmakers in the Haslewood district came out on strike in consequence of some of the employers refusing to pay the advanced rate of wages agreed upon at a meeting at Old Hill a month ago.

**CHAINMAKERS.**—The large chainmakers in the Cradley Heath district have given notice to their employers for an advance of 25 per cent., that being equivalent to the amount of reductions which they have submitted to during the past twelve months.

**TEES SHIPYARD MEN.**—The strike of Tees and Hartlepool shipyard men has ended. The men forego their demand for an immediate advance of 5 per cent., and accept the employer's offer of an advance of that amount from July 5.

**A VICTIM OF THE SWEATING SYSTEM.**—A woman named Wilson, 60 years of age, was brought before the Manchester magistrates on Monday. She was dragged out of a canal by a dog on Saturday afternoon, having attempted to drown herself. She stated that she worked under the sweating system, and was driven to rid herself of life from want. She only earned 2s. 2d. throughout last week at mantle finishing, and of that sum she had to spend 6d. upon materials for her work. Evidence was given that she was a respectable hard-working woman, and she was discharged.

**NUT AND BOLT MAKERS.**—Through the selfish, sneaking behaviour of large numbers of the men in this trade, who as the secretary said at Darlaston last Thursday, "have been anything but true to the cause, and anything but loyal to the association," a reduction amounting to 10 per cent. has had to be submitted to. Some of the employers have been paying the 7881 list less 5 per cent., during the past month, but through the want of unity on the part of the men this was not made general, and so not only have notices been posted to return to the reduced rates, but a further 5 per cent. reduction is the consequence.

**TYNSIDE SHIPBUILDERS.**—A deputation of boilermakers attended a meeting on Monday of Tyne shipbuilders to state their claims for an advance of 10 per cent. all round. The number of men affected is 7,000. After discussing the matter, a compromise was arranged, the men's representatives agreeing to accept an advance of 5 per cent. on piecework and 1s. 6d. a-week time wages. A strike has thus been averted. No settlement has yet been arrived at with the engineers, who are still on strike. The joiners in the Tyne shipyards have accepted an advance of 1s. a-week in their wages, to commence immediately, with 6d. more per week to commence the first pay-day in August. Their original demand was 3s. per week advance.

**THE DREDGE FUND.**—We are glad to see from accounts in the *Postal Service Gazette*, that the exposure of the harsh treatment of ex-postman Dredge has evoked considerable practical sympathy from all parts of the country; that the London Society of Compositors has taken up the case; also that the matter will shortly come before Parliament in the form of a motion to reduce the Comptroller's salary when the Estimates are brought forward in Committee of Supply. The London Children's Holiday Fund somewhat interfered with the collection for the Dredge Testimonial as announced for June 9, last Saturday was therefore utilised at the chief office. It is said that the Postmaster-General looks upon any sympathy with Dredge as a "direct defiance of the Department." We can only hope that such defiance will be widespread, and that every one in the Post Office will do by his comrade as he would like to be done by.

Railwaymen, when they assume the position of orators at convivial gatherings where they are face to face with officials, should endeavour to keep an even balance, and not deal in eulogiums that are unwarranted, or likely to lead their fellow-workmen to believe that the speakers are "buttering" the officials, or fishing for favour. To speak of a "beloved superintendent" on such an occasion, as was done at a meeting held recently, partakes so much of toadyism that, however aptly the term might be applied, it is destined to throw doubts upon the sincerity of the orator. We are far from counselling the use of anything other than respectful references to the higher officials—where such are deserved, of course—but we question whether the term "beloved" is not going just "a little too far."—*Railway Review*.

**THE SWEATING SYSTEM IN THE POST OFFICE.**—Dear Sir,—Let me describe how the sweating system is carried on in the Post Office. Take a District Office as an example. There is a delivery and despatch of letters each hour throughout the day. Each postman makes a collection, and his duty on arriving at the office is to take his place at the general sorting table. The sorting completed, he must make up and despatch a railway division. This is preliminary to sorting and arranging the local correspondence for delivery. In this way sorters are dispensed with. The postmen have to do the sorters' duties in addition to their own, whilst no extra pay is given them. Again, a large quantity of circulars arrive on a postman's delivery. He must take them all out, and deliver them with the letters. This will carry him one hour, or more, over the official time of completing his delivery. No extra pay. If on the last delivery at night a postman should have a registered letter or a parcel which he has been unable to deliver, he must return to his office and hand it to the proper officer. This may cause him a walk of one, two, perhaps three miles, after having finished his day's work, for which he again receives nothing. Another phase of the sweating system is the Parcel Post, which was gradually put upon the postmen, after the Department had resorted to the trick of compelling them to sign away their original title of letter carrier. There are, of course, other modes of getting the work done cheaply; but whether it is right or wrong to do so, I leave to the judgment of your readers.—I am, sir, yours truly, SCRAP.—*The Postal Service Gazette*.

Little drops of water added to the milk  
Make the milkman's daughter clothe herself in silk.

Little grains of sand in the sugar mixed,  
Makes the grocery man soon become well fixed.

Little acts of meanness, little tricks of trade,  
All these pass for keenness, fortunes thus are made.

—*Labour Tribune*.

## INTERNATIONAL NOTES.

### ITALY.

Capital punishment has long since been abolished in Switzerland, hitherto the sole country where such an advanced step has been taken. Now it seems that Italy is to be the next country to follow this example, and in so doing herself forms an example of growing humanity to the other countries of Europe. This is a proof of the growth of the belief in the sacredness of human life and one step towards that higher civilisation that all Socialists look for in the future. Nevertheless, we have to ask ourselves what the state of prisons may be in Italy to-day; under what conditions those criminals condemned to perpetual imprisonment in lieu of death, are allowed to pass their lives, and whether those conditions may not be such that some of them might not prefer death certain to the slow wearing on of years or lingering disease. Yet this is, at any rate, the thin end of the wedge; active Republicans and Socialists will have to drive it home.

We are constantly hearing of suicides in the Italian army, and among the younger men, the boys, as one might call them, the reasons for such suicides being often of a trifling and childish nature, or at least inadequate to the crime, such as petulance against a superior officer, chagrin at a punishment, or merely momentary depression of spirits. This fact is a very significant and terrible comment on the evils of a standing army drawn hap-hazard from among those who may be from age or other causes totally unfit to serve; the boys torn from their home surroundings, are depressed and harassed, their minds become unbalanced and sick, till the least cross may develop in them some form of mania, usually suicidal. "The fittest survive," exclaims an apologist of the system, twisting the observations of science to his own account. Those of course survive who become acclimatised to the unnatural surroundings, just as a man who habitually breathes a close, ill atmosphere, notices nothing amiss and goes on living. A comforting reflection truly, and a hopeful prospect for the coming generation!

Speaking of suicides in Italy, I have just happened upon a recent number of *L'Emancipazione* (Rome) containing an excellent short article on the subject, the writer of which takes for his text the suicide of a Milanese workman dismissed without warning by his employers. "In June '79," he says, "the representatives of the Milanese journals agreed to suppress notices of effective or attempted suicides in their notices of news. Thus would the contagious influence of example tend to become extinct. Nine years have now passed, and this praiseworthy attempt forgotten, these crimes continue to fill the daily notices, often increasing the sale of papers if in any way tragic or strange. . . . If we were to ask the well-fed bourgeois the reason of so many deaths, he would point out the unwillingness to work and to endure quietly the miseries of life. Doesn't he manage to exist when his cigar won't draw? . . . Suicide is a protest, just as crime is a reaction against society. Both are the development of the present systems and institutions." The writer goes on by protesting against standing armies, calling them a return to barbarism, as they represent the ruling dynasties and not the nations whence they are drawn. He concludes by comparing the present epoch with all epochs of society that were in decay, especially that of the Second Empire.

*La Tribuna* speaking of the approaching marriage of Prince Amedeo with the Princess Letizia, says that the bride is aged 21, but "the bridegroom is only 43." The bride will no doubt find much comfort in the thought that her *caro sposo* is only twice her own age. Certainly this for a political marriage is not so bad, and she may thank her luck that she is not being handed over in the possession of a youth of eighty and odd years.

Giuseppe Petroni who took an active part—until suppressed by imprisonment—in the Italian agitations for liberty, is just dead. In the short life of the Roman Republic, Mazzini called upon him to take the administration of justice into his hands, which he did successfully. Like other patriots of the time, he was finally arrested and condemned to the galleys, and suffered 19 years' imprisonment in San Michele, being released in '70. M. M.

### BELGIUM.

The clerical government has at last released from prison, after twenty-two months of jail, twelve of our comrades sentenced on account of the miners' riots to long years of solitary confinement. Comrade Fallour has nevertheless been obliged to accept leaving Belgium altogether, although banishment has been abolished by the constituents of 1880 and has never since been replaced on the statute books. Comrade Wagner, of Liege, has been compelled to accept his location in another town, his stay at Liege having been prohibited. This scandalous way of "amnestying" people by inflicting on them a new kind of punishment is likely to come into general practice if our comrades do not at once raise an energetic protest. Why do our friends not insist upon having all the other convicts liberated, instead of running candidates for Parliament at a great outlay of cost and energy? One more man out of jail would be better to Socialism than a dozen or two sent to that rambler's Parliament where Bismark governs and reigns supreme. V. D.

### GERMANY.

Nearly immediately after Puttkammer had been sacked, Frederick III. died. His illness and death may be painful to him or his family and acquaintances, but cannot be a matter of sympathy for us. They did harm to the popular cause, since the press and the other manufacturers and adulterers of public opinion had the opportunity to molest the public for months with Sunday-school like stories on the patience, religiousness, etc., of that man, and so to make a big advertisement for royalty and monarchy all over the earth. He is said to have been a Liberal, but the next few months would have shown him to be quite as reactionary as his father, for the days of bourgeois Liberalism are over and all bourgeois parties are united in oppressing the people; all politics resolve day by day more clearly into the simple struggle of the exploiting and exploited classes. It is hardly necessary to say more on this man; those who read the lies of the press on his personal good qualities may remember his scandalous amnesty, from which Socialists were rigidly excluded; this one fact characterises him above all. His son, who during his father's illness, behaved with the utmost rudeness and callousness, is generally described as a brutal and debauched fellow of more than common want of intelligence; he has until now excelled only in cruelties against his soldiers and in impudent boasts on military matters in general. He is the faithful pupil of Bismark and his worthy sons, who carefully prepared him by systematic corruption to fill his present post in a way similar to his grandfather. Whilst the mock liberalism of his father might have again lulled the people, the unveiled rascality of William II. will we hope soon make things too hot for him. Z. Z.



REVOLUTIONARY CALENDAR.

WEEK ENDING JUNE 30, 1888.

24	Sun.	1535. Münster re-taken by the Prince-Bishop. 1797. Thomas Williams tried for publishing Paine's <i>Age of Reason</i> . 1799. Wm. Byrne tried for rebellion and murder. 1848. Cavaignac dictator of Paris.
25	Mon.	1836. Louis Alibaud fired at Louis Philippe. 1848. Archbishop of Paris killed. 1864. Hugo's <i>Les Misérables</i> added to the <i>Index Expurgatorius</i> . 1884. Trial ends of 36 Socialists at Grätz.
26	Tues.	1800. James Hadfield tried for high treason. 1848. Workmen's Revolt suppressed in Paris. 1870. Armand Barbès died. 1881. Edmund Beales died.
27	Wed.	1881. Most sentenced in Court of Crown Cases Reserved to 16 months' hard labour. 1876. Harriet Martineau died.
28	Thur.	1712. Rousseau born.
29	Fri.	1693. Seven bishops acquitted. 1798. Leopardi born. 1849. Baden rising suppressed.
30	Sat.	1637. Prynne, Bastwick, and Burton pilloried, cropped, and branded. 1794. Rev. W. Jackson tried for high treason. 1797. Parker (Nore mutineer) hanged. 1837. Pillories abolished. 1855. J. Silk Buckingham died.

*Trial of Thomas Williams.*—A society for carrying into effect H.M. proclamation against vice and immorality, was watching over the mental pabulum of the people, and protecting them from anything that might injure their moral purity or disturb their peace of mind. Paine's *Age of Reason* was a wicked book from the ruling point of view, subversive, blasphemous, and the society moved for a prosecution of the publisher as the author was beyond reach. The publisher was prosecuted, having against him Erskine and other celebrated lawyers, and being defended by Stewart Kyd, who three years before had himself been tried for high treason. He was found guilty, imprisoned for a year, and bound over for life.—S.

*Trial of William Byrne.*—Was once a yeoman, but expelled for refusing to take the oath of allegiance; afterwards was a captain in the rebel army and fought at Arklow and Vinegar Hill; taken prisoner, tried by court-martial, and shot.—S.

*Trial of James Hadfield.*—On May 16, 1800, at Drury Lane, a pistol was fired at George III. by a madman who had been a soldier, and who when taken denied any desire to kill the king. On his trial his madness was made clear; he was acquitted as insane and confined in an asylum.—S.

*Death of Edmund Beales.*—In 1866 and 1867, there was in London a tolerably "live" body known as the "Reform League." One day a meeting was called to be held in Hyde Park. "I" Walpole, Home Secretary, and "I" Richard Mayne, Commissioner of Police, "proclaimed" it, said the meeting should not be held, and shut the door in the face of the leaders. John Ruskin should by good rights canonise that day, for then more of his pet abominations—Iron Railings—were upset than ever before or since in memory of man. I shall say a word or two on the Battle of the Park Railings under the proper date. I have now to do with Beales, who was the great organiser of that period. It is not too much to say that but for him that night would have seen some big trouble in London; he had great influence, was energetic, he was in fact one of the dangerous classes—then; John Bright was in the same boat—then; George Howell was known as an associate. When Beales was made a county court judge it is presumable he was not one of the d.c.'s, perhaps he became a d.k. Plush is a marvellous chemical.—T. S.

*Death of Harriet Martineau.*—Harriet Martineau was born at Norwich, June 12, 1802. Her father was a manufacturer of a Norwich staple, namely, bombazine and camlet. He was a descendant of a Huguenot family, which settled in that city when driven from the Continent by the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes, 1688. Harriet was the sixth child of a family of eight, her eldest brother following the profession with which the name in Norwich was for many generations identified, that of medicine. A younger brother, the Rev. James Martineau, became known as a somewhat busy Unitarian, and also as the founder of the *National Review*. By the aid of an uncle, Harriet was provided with a good education, and very early decided to open her oyster with her pen. In 1823, she contributed to a Unitarian journal "Devotional Exercises for the Use of Young Persons," and from that date to 1865 her pen was always busy. Some amount of fiction she produced, but the bulk of her writing was of the serious description, but seldom dry. Her "History of England during the Thirty Years Peace" is one of the breeziest bits of historical writing in the language. The turn of mind which suggested a work on "Devotional Exercises" did not last many years, and naturally her rationalism in matters of speculative belief, and her advanced Radicalism in social and political matters, earned for her a storm of virulent abuse. Tories and their papers slandered her, and crawling Whigs such as Brougham consulted with her for her special knowledge, and boycotted her in society as a woman not good enough to mix with their wives and daughters. As a sample of intolerance it may be mentioned that her "Eastern Life, Past and Present," described by most orthodox critics as an admirable and most eloquent work, was burnt by the Committee of the Mechanics' Institute at Burton-on-Trent as immoral; it was ejected from the Derby County Library on the same charge. Fancy a majority of one—as was the case—deciding that heterodox was the same as immoral, and ordering the burning on those grounds! In 1835-6 she had a long tour in America, and took a busy part in the Abolitionist struggle, and was several times threatened with death. She died, after some years of suffering, on June 27, 1876, at Ambleside, where she had a small farm and built a villa. There was much of twaddle from the reviewers as to "her open disregard for the religious instincts of her fellow-countrymen," and of the greater work she might have done but for that disregard; so that it may be retorted she sympathised with the labouring classes, and when pressed by Lord Melbourne to take a pension refused to add to the taxation of the people, which cannot often be recorded of the orthodox with all their damned cant.—T. S.

*Trial of Rev. W. Jackson.*—A Republican, he corresponded with the French revolutionary leaders, and had been in France; this was enough, and he was arrested and held for trial, being tried and remanded and so on for nearly a year, and was already half dead when found guilty. On April 30, 1795, while a motion for arrest of judgment was being argued, he died in court of poison, said to have been self-administered.—S.

*Death of James Silk Buckingham.*—James Silk Buckingham, author, traveller, and social reformer, was born at Flushing, near Falmouth, August 25, 1786. His father was a farmer, who had been a sailor; his mother had one of the strangest front names ever carried by woman, Thomazine. At a very early age James went to sea, and on his third voyage was taken prisoner by the French and had a very rough time. Gave the sea a rest and turned to journalism. In

1813 commenced the *Calcutta Journal*. His censure of some scandalous government abuses, led to the suppression of the paper and his expulsion from Calcutta. For this arbitrary and illegal conduct, he after many years of litigation compelled compensation from the East India Company. In 1824 he founded the *Oriental Review*; in 1827 he started a weekly journal of politics and literature, which lived about two years. In 1823 he started the *Athenaeum*, but parted with his interest very soon to Carlyle's friend, John Stirling. He then issued the prospectus of the *Argus*, but the prospectus was the only issue. In 1837 he was elected to the reformed Parliament as M.P. for Sheffield, and sat till 1837. While there he advocated advanced reforms. Strongly against flogging in army and navy; urged necessity of more attention to life-saving apparatus at sea; paid great attention to the temperance question. Brought in "a bill to facilitate the formation of public institutions for education, entertainment, public libraries, and museums," really discounting the quite new idea of palaces of delight now on the "boom." Strongly urged improved dwellings and model towns. Wonder how many readers of this have read his book on this topic?—copy in the League Library. On dissolution of Parliament, 1837, started for a tour in America, which lasted some four years. 1847-8, travelled Europe. In 1851, was granted pension of £200 for his literary works and travels. Somewhat wordy as a writer, earnest, and well meaning; able and fluent speaker. Died at Avenue Road, St. John's Wood, June 30, 1855.—T. S.

THE SOCIALIST LEAGUE AND THE BOARD OF WORKS.

Another demonstration was held last Sunday afternoon in Victoria Park, organised by our comrades of the League. The meeting was started shortly after three and continued till seven o'clock. No summonses have yet been issued against any of our friends who have made collections here. It is said this is due to the Board being desirous to await the result of their action against Mr. Fairbairn (a Radical lecturer at Southwark Park), whose case was adjourned last Wednesday for a fortnight at Southwark Police-court. When this case is disposed of, they are going on with other cases, unless in the meantime the Home Secretary—who has been interrogated by Cunningham Graham, C. Bradlaugh, Professor Stuart, J. Rowlands, and other M.P.'s—withdraws the clause, which seems very likely, owing to the Government having their hands very full just now, and desirous of avoiding a row, which there certainly will be if the Government persist in their support of the Board of Works.

The speakers last Sunday were Patrick Power, John Culwick, Annie Taylor, William Morris, J. Watkinson, H. Davis, and J. Hoffman, who was formerly an opponent, but who frankly confessed that having carefully examined the question, he had come to the conclusion that Socialism was the only hope of the worker. W. B. Parker was the chairman. During the afternoon Mrs. Annie Taylor and the chairman made collections, which amounted to £1, 13s. 3d., which is to be devoted to the East-end Propaganda Fund. Next Sunday another demonstration will be held, when a number of members of the League and other Socialist bodies will attend and speak. W. R. P.

CORRESPONDENCE.

Perhaps you will allow me to ask through your columns, whether regarding the new 'Chants of Labour,' any one is working up a choir to give some of these beautiful songs with effect at Socialistic gatherings, both in and outdoors?

In the sterner and uphill work so many see themselves called to in furtherance of the people's cause, it seems to me it might be easy to overlook the valuable aid ready to be afforded by both music and poetry. The mass of the people know too little of either, and what they do know is almost exclusively presented to them either by the inane "music-hall" type of song, or the often equally inane "hymn" of church or chapel-folk. Let Socialists make more of the happy fact that there is no monopoly in music, even of the highest order, and just as, it is said, the Romanist Church has drawn many to its fold by the beauty of its services, let no Socialist hesitate (with his infinitely nobler justification) to include a judicious use of the 'Chants of Labour' among his instruments of propaganda.

Many of the tunes in this work are known, most are "taking," and very different tastes are provided for even in the 55 of the collection. Why should not a good voluntary and well-balanced central choir be formed as a nucleus for a future musical propaganda system, under an experienced trainer, to sing these, unaccompanied, as they ought to be sung, with fire or pathos, the audience being invited to join in all choruses? At small gatherings a strong quartet (or soloist at least) should be regarded as indispensable, and copies of words should be lent round. In default of stirring orators, and as a relief to the hard (and sometimes dry) arguments of indefatigable comrades, it seems to me the suggestions I make, if not already under consideration, is one which might repay serious attention. W. MITCHELL.

4, Salisbury Road, Dalston, E., June 10, 1888.

THE SOCIALIST LEAGUE.

OFFICES: 13 FARRINGTON ROAD, E.C.

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

**Socialist League Propaganda.**—Help is earnestly asked from all friends and sympathisers to extend the educational work of the Socialist League. Printed forms for collections can be obtained from the Secretary on application.

**East-end Propaganda Fund.**—Medical Student, 10s.; Collected at Banner Street Club, 3s. 5d.; Mandelstain, 6d.; Collected at Victoria Park, £1, 13s. 3d. Number of pamphlets from Hackney Branch, and *Freedoms* from Freedom Group. JOSEPH LANE, Treasurer.

REPORTS.

CLERKENWELL.—On Wednesday, June 13, Herbert Burrows delivered capital lecture on "Socialism and Freethought." Annie Besant in the chair. Several well-known Socialists took part in a rather lively discussion. Good audience and fair sale of *Weal*.—B.

**FULHAM.**—Tuesday evening, opposite Liberal Club, Mordhurst, Groser, and Bullock addressed good audience. Sunday morning meeting opened by Mahoney, followed by Fry, Morris afterwards speaking to a good meeting. Fair sale of *Weals*. In evening, Samuels, Tochatti, Bullock, and Groser spoke outside rooms to an excellent audience. Slight opposition well replied to by Samuels and Tochatti. At close of meeting one of "Warren's lambs" disturbed us. We moved further back, but the "law-'n'-order" tactics entirely prevented a collection. This was largely due to some discussions on the outskirts of the meeting, and all members and listeners are earnestly requested to behave better in future.—S. B. G.

**MERTON.**—On Sunday week the new premises of the Merton branch were opened with an entertainment consisting of readings and music. The readings were ably rendered by comrades Darwood and Jeffries. Our club-room is pleasantly situated near the open country. London comrades who may take an outing in this direction will be cordially welcomed if they call here.—F. K.

**MITCHAM.**—Good meeting on Mitcham Fair Green Sunday, addressed by Eden. Fair sale of *Commonweal*. We are arranging for a lecture to be delivered in Vestry Hall, Mitcham, by comrade Morris.—E.

**NORTH LONDON.**—Owing to rain no meeting at Ossulston Street on Friday evening. Five new members. A subscription has been started for banner of branch.—N. P.

**BRADFORD.**—Sunday a number of members met at Saitaire, and rambled across the Roibolds Moor to Ilkley, having a most enjoyable time. We have a few new members, and we find that these meetings are very good indeed for forming acquaintances and creating a feeling of good fellowship amongst us. We are making arrangements for a series of meetings in the large room of Laycock's Temperance Hotel.—P. E.

**EDINBURGH.**—On 14th, Donaldson opened discussion with paper on "Socialism and Teetotalism." Davidson and Smith have occasionally been speaking in Meadows. We have lost an active worker and good speaker in Bain, who has left for South America. Mackenzie is doing good work selling literature in the streets two or three evenings a week.

**GLASGOW.**—On Saturday, McCulloch, Gilbert, Farley, Pollock, Glasier, Saupin, and Downie went to Cambuslang in response to a challenge that we dare not again appear in the district owing to our abstention policy in the late Parliamentary contest there. At 7.30 our speakers commenced in the square, and continued the meeting till after nine, the audience testifying their approval by frequent applause. On Sunday other meetings were held at Jail Square at 12, and at Paisley Road at 5 o'clock, the latter meeting being shorter than usual owing to our *Weals* having been sold out. At 7 o'clock a good number of comrades turned up in our rooms, where an agreeable conversation meeting took place, finishing up a good day's work by adding four new members to roll.—S. D.

**LEEDS.**—A meeting was held in Vicar's Croft on Sunday night, addressed by Hill, Maguire, and Paylor.

**NORWICH.**—Meetings during week at Thorpe and St. Catharine's Plain; well attended. Mowbray attended Yarmouth Thursday last; we intend carrying on some active work there during the summer months. Sunday morning good meeting at Bishop Bridge, in afternoon in Market Place by Mowbray. A special request from the audience was made to us to try and get Mrs. Besant here, her name being received with marked applause. In evening another large meeting in Market Place. A good meeting was also held at Crostwick by comrades Poynts, Adams, Brown, and Barker; a very attentive audience and several *Weals* sold. Over 12s. collected altogether for propaganda on Sunday, and 9s. worth of *Commonweal* sold.—S.

**WALSALL.**—Monday last, Sanders lectured on "Man the Creature of Circumstances." Considerable criticism followed and ably replied to. Saturday large outdoor meeting on The Bridge, addressed by Sanders. Many questions asked and answered at close, and audience most attentive throughout. Sanders also spoke on the West Bromwich Road Sunday morning to good meeting. Our opponent of last week has arranged to debate with Sanders at our indoor meeting on Monday, 25th inst.—J. T. D.

#### EAST-END PROPAGANDA.

We were obliged last week from various reasons to drop several of our outdoor stations, but meetings were held at most of them, and were well attended by an attentive audience in each case. It is perhaps needless to repeat a stereotyped report, as the stations and speakers are very similar each week, and at all our stations we always have very attentive and sympathetic audiences with fair sale of *Commonweal*. We have now distributed a large quantity of literature, but additional personal help is much needed, as we are quite unable to comply with the numerous requests we are continually receiving to commence work in the various surrounding districts. On Sunday evening, at Princes Square Club, the "Nupkins" Company gave a dramatic representation of "The Tables Turned" to a large audience, who thoroughly appreciated the various points in the play. Recitations and songs, both in English and German, with dancing, which was continued to a late hour, concluded a very successful evenings entertainment on behalf of the East End Fund. Next Sunday is the International Socialist Excursion to Epping Forest (for particulars see another column), and as part of the proceeds will be devoted to the East End Propaganda Fund, we hope all our friends who are not otherwise engaged will go down; as we feel sure they will spend an enjoyable day.

#### LABOUR UNION.

**WOOLWICH.**—At the Arsenal Gates last Sunday Burns spoke on his prison experiences. We had an audience of at least 1,500. We sold over 300 pamphlets and collected 18s. Banner acted as chairman. After our open-air meeting was over, Burns spoke in the Radical Club on Social Systems. He made a marked impression on the Radicals. I should not be at all surprised to hear of Burns being invited to contest Woolwich in the Labour interest.—R. BANNER.

#### LECTURE DIARY.

##### LONDON.

**Acton.**—17 High Street, Acton, W. (adjoining Purnell's Dining Rooms). Sundays at 8 p.m.

**Clerkenwell.**—Hall of the Socialist League, 13 Farringdon Rd., E.C. Business meeting every Sunday at 7.

**Fulham.**—8 Effie Road, Walham Green. Sunday June 24, at 8 p.m., F. Charles, "Society: Past, Present, and Future."

**Hackney.**—28 Percy Terrace, Victoria Road, Hackney Wick.

**Hammersmith.**—Kelmescott House, Upper Mall, W. Sunday June 24, at 8.30, Herbert Burrows (S.D.F.) A Lecture.

**Hoxton.**—Labour Emancipation League Club and Institute, 1 Hoxton Square (near Shoreditch Ch.). Sunday June 24, Excursion to Walton-on-Thames, in brakes; Tickets 3s. No meetings on Sunday.

**Merton.**—Club-house, 3 Clare Villas, Merton Road.

**Mitcham.**—Corner of Merton Lane and Fountain Place. Club Room open Saturday, Sunday, and Monday evenings from 7.30 till 11. W. E. Eden, 12 Palmerston Road, Wimbledon, Secretary.

**Mile-end and Bethnal Green.**—95 Boston St., Hackney Road. A special meeting of members will be held on Thursday June 28, to consider the policy of the League as recently published in the *Commonweal*. It is hoped every member will attend.

**North London.**—The business meetings will be held on Friday evenings at the Antonomic Club, Windmill Street, Tottenham Court Road, after the open-air meeting at Ossulston Street. A Free Concert will be given every Friday evening; members of other branches invited. All members are asked to attend at Ossulston Street at 8 o'clock. Secretary, Nelly Parker, 109 Cavendish Buildings, opposite Holborn Town Hall.

##### PROVINCES.

**Aberdeen** (Scottish Section).—Secretary, J. Leatham, 15 St Nicholas Street. Meetings Sunday night at 6.30. Choir practice, Thursday night, at 8, 46 Marischal Street.

**Bradford.**—Read's Coffee Tavern, Ivegate. Meets Tuesdays at 8.

**Carnoustie** (Scottish Section: Forfarshire).—Meeting every Tuesday, at 8 p.m., in the Carnoustie Restaurant. H. McCluskey, Millar Street, Secy.

**Cowdenbeath** (Scot. Sec).—J. Duncan, 30 Arthur Pl., sec Dundee (Scot. Sect.).—Meetings every Sunday in the Trades Hall, opposite Tay Bridge Station.

**Edinburgh** (Scottish Section).—Meets for Discussion on Thursdays at 8, in Oddfellows' Hall. June 28, "Socialism and Malthusianism." Letters and communications to 35 George IV. Bridge.

**Galashiels** (Scot Sect).—J. Walker, 6 Victoria St., sec. Gallatoun and Dysart (Scottish Section: Fife).—Meet every Tuesday at 7 p.m. in Gallatoun Public School. Secretary, A. Paterson, 152 Rosslyn St.

**Glasgow.**—84 John St. Reading-room open 10 a.m. till 10 p.m. daily. Discussion Class every Thursday night. Subject for the 28th inst., "True Social Life," by J. Gilbert. Lecture in our rooms every night at 7. All are invited.

**Leeds.**—Clarendon Buildings, Victoria Rd. and Front Row. Open every evening. Business meeting Saturdays at 8 p.m. communications to T. Paylor, 11 Sheldon Street, Holbeck, Leeds.

**Lencester.**—Hosiery Union, Horsefair St. Fridays at 8. **Lochgelly** (Scottish Section: Fife).—Secs. (*pro tem.*), John Greig and Hugh Conway, The Square.

**Norwich.**—Gordon Hall. Tuesday, at 8.30, Members' Meeting. Wednesday, at 8.30, Dramatic Class. Friday, at 8.30, Provisional Committee. Saturday, 8 until 10.30, Co-operative Clothing Association.

**Nottingham.**—Club and Reading Rooms, 1 Tokenhouse Yard, Bridlesmith Gate, open every evening. Lectures and Discussions every Sunday.

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

**Walsall.**—Lecture Room, back of Temperance Hall. Mondays at 8 p.m.

**West Calder** (Scottish Section).—Sec., Robert Lindsay, West Calder.

#### OPEN-AIR PROPAGANDA.

##### SUNDAY 24.

11 ...Turnham Green—Front Common ...Acton Beh.  
11.30...Hammersmith—Beardon Road ...The Branch  
11.30...Mitcham Fair Green .....The Branch  
11.30...Regent's Pk...Sparring, Mnwaring, Mrs. Schack  
11.30...Walham Green .....Fulham Branch  
7 ...Clerkenwell Green .....The Branch  
7 Hammersmith—Weltje Road ...Hammersmith B.

#### Tuesday.

8.30...Fulham—opposite Liberal Club ...The Branch  
Friday.  
8 ...Enston Rd.—Ossulston Street.....Parker  
8.30...Hoxton Ch, Pitfield St...Ackland, Pope, Barker

#### EAST END.

##### SUNDAY 24.

Mile-end Waste	...	11	...Cores.
"Salmon and Ball"	...	11	...Debate between Davis and local clergyman, Socialism & Temperance
Leman Street, Shadwell	...	11	...Parker.
Gibraltar Walk, Bethnal Green Road.	...	7	...Cores & Davis.
Well Street, Hackney...	...	11.45	...Mainwaring.
Kingsland Green	...	11.30	...Lane & Charles.
Victoria Park	...	3.15	...Demonstration.
Stone Bridge Common, Haggerston.	...	9	...Cores & Davis.
Triangle, Hackney Road	...	8	...Cores & Davis.
Lea Bridge Road	...	11	...Cooper.
Stamford Hill	...	7.30	...Nicoll & Mnwaring
Broadway, Plaistow	...	7.30	...Parker.

##### TUESDAY.

Mile-end Waste	...	8.30	...Cores, Lane, Davis
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##### WEDNESDAY.

Broadway, London Fields	8.30	...Mn'ring, Rochman
Broadway, South Hackney	8.30	...Lane & Lefevre
Charlotte St., Gt. Eastern St.	8.30	...Cores & Charles.

##### THURSDAY.

Packington St., Essex Road	8.30	...Parker & Charles.
Philpot St., Commercial Rd.	8.30	...Mn'ring, Rochman

##### FRIDAY.

Union St., Commercial Road	8.30	...Brooks & Fuller.
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##### SATURDAY.

Mile-end Waste	...	8	...Mainwaring & Lane
Ashgrove, Mare St, Hackney 8	...	8	...Charles & Davis.
S. Docks, Millwall	...	5	...Parker.

#### PROVINCES.

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

**Leicester.**—Sunday: Russel Square, at 11 a.m.

**Norwich.**—Monday: Thorpe Village, at 8. Thursday: Yarmouth, opposite Town Hall, at 8 p.m. Friday: St Catharine's Plain, at 8 p.m. Sunday: Wymondham, at 11. Bishop Bridge at 11.30; Market Place, at 3 and 7.30.

**LABOUR UNION—WOOLWICH.**—Arsenal Gates (open air), Sunday June 24th, at 6.30 p.m., Jas. Macdonald. July 1, Fred Verinder. 8th, Rev. S. D. Headlam.

**EAST-END PROPAGANDA.**—A meeting of all interested in the Socialist propaganda in the East-end of London will be held at the International Club, 23 Princes Sq., Cable Street, E., on Saturday evening at 9 o'clock. All who can assist us by speaking at our various stations, and especially those who can aid us either on Sunday or any time during the week by distributing literature from house to house are earnestly invited to attend, to enable us to extend our field of work.

**EXCURSION OF LONDON SOCIALISTS.**—A Committee has been formed for the purpose of arranging an excursion to take place in August. All Socialist bodies have been invited to take part therein, and a meeting of delegates will be held on Saturday evening at the International Club, Berner Street, Commercial Road, at 9 p.m. sharp.—W. P. PARKER, Sec.

The Annual Excursion of the United Socialists of London to Epping Forest (Robin Hood) will take place on Sunday 24th, for the benefit of the Revolutionary propaganda. Full entertainment in the Forest. Tickets, price 1s., at 6 Windmill Street, Tottenham Court Road, W.; or from the Club Morgenrothe, Prince's Square, Castle Street. TRAINS start from Liverpool Street station as follows: Morning, 8.50; 9.50; 10.30. Afternoon, 1.0; 2.20; 3.20; 5.40.

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