

THE COMMONWEAL

The Official Journal of the Socialist League.

VOL. 2.—No. 34.

SATURDAY, SEPTEMBER 4, 1886.

WEEKLY; ONE PENNY.

NOTES ON PASSING EVENTS.

It cannot be said that the Irish question is much furthered by the recent speeches in Parliament. Mr. Parnell's speech was able, and so was Mr. Chamberlain's. The real gist of the former was a kind of mild persistence in the original claim for a Dublin Parliament, stated in language so moderate as to give the impression of yielding perhaps to those who do not understand the man and the claims which he represents. Yet, undoubtedly, to Mr. Parnell nothing is worth thinking about except the said Irish Parliament in Dublin. "Give us that, and do what else you like" is practically what he is saying.

As to Mr. Chamberlain, clever and effective as his speech was, it was little else than a piece of Parliamentary fireworks; because at this date we scarcely need to be told that he is a bitter opponent of the establishment of an Irish Parliament at Dublin, and that really was almost all he had to say that bore directly on the question. Mr. Sexton again made several points at Mr. Chamberlain's expense, notably when he "solemnly asked the House which looked most like a foreign country—the country which Lord Aberdeen left the other day, or the country to which Sir Redvers Buller went yesterday." Also his little piece of history of the Donegal peasants was as touching as it was unanswerable. But, after all, what is there in all this? On one side the expression, not at all veiled, of the determination to stand by the land thieves to the last, even if the purse of the British taxpayer has to be dipped into for their solace; and on the other, a covert threat of refusal to pay rent.

By the way, it did always seem pretty certain that the Tories would support a Land Purchase Bill, or measure for safe-guarding the landlords against their loss of other people's property, if only it could dissociate such a piece of consolation for the company of Home Rule; which Mr. Gladstone vainly tried to make respectable by that association.

Mr. Chamberlain in his speech, took occasion to pronounce very decidedly in favour of peasant proprietorship, and alluded to his own proposal of last year as a basis for it. Such twaddle is rather sickening. Thus the ball is kept up in the air between the Tories and the Liberals; the former sedulous to do nothing, the latter to do something which shall amount to not much more than nothing. And all the while both parties must surely know that the real question is whether the Irish *people* shall have their own land to use for their own livelihood. Neither party wants that to come about; the Tories are quite satisfied with things as they are, if only some one else could be got to insure the landlords' rent; the Liberals would like to see one group of exploiters give place to another; and at that point, it seems, they stick hopelessly.

Socialists will not fail to note that Mr. Chamberlain justified his refusal to relieve the Irish peasants who could not pay tribute to their exploiters by pointing out that others were as badly off as they are. He said: "We might address Her Majesty and say that we fear during the coming winter that the depression of trade which has continued so long will lead to a lack of employment, and be productive of much suffering, and that it will endanger social order. *That would be perfectly true*, and my only objection to an addition of that kind to the Address would be that it would be useless and improper to do so, unless the House were determined to deal with the subject-matter, and find a full, complete, and satisfactory remedy." (Ministerial cheers).

Did the Ministerial members know what they were cheering? Surely if words mean anything (and certainly that is rather more than doubtful in a Parliamentary speech), this paragraph means either an incitement to revolution, or a confession of helplessness, which should force the speaker of it into private life as a self-admitted imbecile, or at least a member of a class and a legislative body necessarily imbecile under the circumstances. Mr. Chamberlain assumes the impossibility of the House of Commons finding a remedy for wide-spread destitution among the people. Most certainly he is right in doing so, but it is a curious admission for one to make who is not a confessed Socialist.

For torturing a little boy of eight years old a ship's clerk the other day was punished with a month's imprisonment. It is true that it was done so ingeniously that the doctor said that the boy "was in no danger or his health permanently impaired." True also that the culprit was

the father of the boy, so that the holiness of the family somewhat excuses him in the eyes of that "society" of which he is an ornament. Yet certainly the amusement was cheap, compared with street-preaching.

Mr. Burnett at the Workman's Conference in Paris took upon himself to defend Mr. Broadhurst against the attack made by Grimpe. Judging from the report of it, the defence was mostly of the official and conventional kind usual amongst us on such occasions; but it is worthy of note that he thought it necessary to defend the English trades' unions against the imputation of being hostile to Socialism—a significant symptom enough of the progress of our doctrines.

Mrs. Besant returns to the charge in *Our Corner* in an article called "Why I am a Socialist." It is very brightly and clearly written, and will no doubt have a considerable effect on the as yet unconverted readers of *Our Corner*. Some exception might be taken to the passage in which she points out the instances of State interference apparently on behalf of the workers. But though a centralised State Socialism is not the goal that we aim at, it is true that these approaches to it, forced as they have been on the dominant classes, are tokens of the decrepitude of the present system of wage-slavery. They are a necessary consequence of the upholding of our false "free contract" in an age of increasing democracy. The people must be robbed, but the robbers dare not reduce them to extremity, therefore some of the plunder must be given back to them, and especially to some of the more respectable and helpful of them, so as if possible to gain a body of adherents for the robbers amongst the robbed themselves. This device, conscious or not, is a cunning one, but will fail before coming economical changes, which will bear with them commercial ruin under our present system and consequent Revolution. I should like to say how heartily I agree with Mrs. Besant on the failure of our civilisation. That lies at the bottom of our war with the present and our hope for the future, for those of us who have eyes to see and hearts to understand.

WILLIAM MORRIS.

THE GOVERNMENT AND IRELAND.

LORD SALISBURY declares the Irish Question is settled—settled by the election of 1886. By others of equally high authority we are told that the Irish Question is not settled, and others again tell us that we shall have some stormy times before we get rid of the Irish difficulty. But Lord Salisbury has spoken, and his word is accepted by tens of thousands of the English people. It is, therefore, necessary to look at the facts of the case, and see how far they agree with Lord Salisbury's words.

Lord Salisbury tells us that an immense majority of the people have declared against an independent Parliament in Ireland. But the majority is not a great one. A majority of seventy or eighty thousand in a national contest, and on such a question, is not immense. It is a mere nothing. Taking the returns as published a few days ago, the total number who voted for Gladstonians was 1,350,336, and for Conservatives 1,106,651, giving Gladstone a majority of 243,685. The Gladstonians elected numbered only 196 to the Conservatives 316. Dividing the votes recorded by the number of members, the Gladstonians received on an average 6890 each, the Conservatives 3502. If we take the total votes recorded for Gladstonians and Conservatives, and divide them between the total members, the average to each would be 4802, and the Gladstonites would have numbered 282, and the Conservatives 230. And if we add the Liberal Unionists to the Conservatives, with the Irish vote Gladstone would have had a working majority of over 60. And this anomalous state of things exists after all our Reform and Redistribution schemes. It is quite true that London has returned 48 Conservatives and 3 Liberal Unionists out of a total of 62, as Lord Salisbury boasts. It is equally true that England as a whole has returned a large majority of Conservatives, and in that respect is far behind Scotland and Wales.

But let us see what Salisbury said at the Mansion House, August 11. After referring to the fact that previous Governments had failed in dealing with the Irish Question, he said: "But I think there is one advantage which we possess over our predecessors, an advantage we shall turn to good use. We come back to office as the bearers of a mandate from the people of this country deciding, and in my belief, finally and irrevocably deciding the question which has wrecked the peace of the neighbouring island." To talk to-day about finality is

simply absurd, even from the head of the Tory party. To talk of finality is bad enough even from a Cecil, but to talk of the irrevocability of a popular vote is a thousand times worse. A decision to-day final and irrevocable is the wildest nonsense that mortal could ever utter, and is enough to make one doubt the sanity of its author. Again, "The question of independent government of Ireland has been referred to the only tribunal that can determine with authority and without appeal." This assertion is equally astonishing coming from the head of the stupid party. What, the people the only tribunal that determines any question with authority, and from whose decision there is no appeal! We thank his lordship for reminding us of the fact, and shall not forget his lordship's words when the people become more wise than they are to-day, and in their wisdom demand the abolition of Royalty, of Aristocracy, of the State Church, of the extinction of Pauperism, and the re-organisation of Society on a thorough Socialistic basis.

Lord Salisbury proceeds: "No impartial judge can doubt that the people of this country have decided by an enormous majority against independent government in Ireland. Well, that being the case, we, I think, approach the question of social order in Ireland—the dominant and most important question connected with the government of that country—we approach that question with a great advantage, of which we shall make use." It is very evident that he and his colleagues believe, or affect to believe, that they have received from the people a mandate to do whatever they please; a mandate of unlimited power, of boundless authority. It is a gross delusion. If the majority of the electors had voted for the Tory Government, nay, if the electorate had been unanimous for the Government, the latter would not, and could not, have received any such mandate. The rights of every individual are sacred—the right to life, to equal liberty, to free association,—these rights depend neither on majorities, nor governments, nor Society at large. To attempt to interfere with them is an act of tyranny; to suppress their free exercise for a single moment would be an act of usurpation. Every act of usurpation is a crime, is an act of war against the people, is a crime against humanity.

Again, Lord Salisbury says: "Governments may yield to terror; Monarchies and Oligarchies may change their opinions under the pressure and the fear that popular feeling evokes; but the people, the masses of men themselves are never moved by fear, and you may be quite certain, unless our race has lost all its spirit, that this decision, after long reflection deliberately given, is the final verdict of the English people. I will not go into details of measures, or of methods, but I will say that armed with this decision it is our duty to restore in Ireland that social order, the loss of which is their only cause of discontent," etc. "Governments may yield to terror." What a discovery! "Monarchies and Oligarchies may change their opinions" from fear of the popular will. How terrible! But the people "are never moved by fear." What a grand consolation! Would that the time had come when the people could not be moved by fear; that they could not be governed by terror; that they would not yield to usurpation. But social order is to be restored. Yes, Social Order! The catch phrase of every tyrant, the pretext for every usurpation. But social order can never exist where tyranny prevails, where any portion of the people are subject to any kind of oppression. Salisbury is quite right. Social order is the great desideratum in Ireland. But what is social order in Ireland? It is the supremacy of the aristocratic Government of England. It is the protected claim of the landlord to plunder the Irish people in the name of rent, and by eviction to reduce them to starvation and death. This is Law, this is Social Order in Ireland. The right of the land-thief to plunder the cultivator, protected in his work of rapine and murder by English bullets and English bayonets. But what is social order. The basis of social order is the harmony of interests, resulting from the operation of the principle of equal liberty, of equal justice, securing to each equal social advantages through all the ramifications of Society. Does my Lord Salisbury understand what social order is? If he does not, it is worse than folly, yea, it is folly and stupidity combined for him to prate about its restoration.

But "Law and Order" must be protected. Yes, "Law and Order." This has been the cant-phrase of the bloodthirsty order-mongers of every age and of every country. In all the states of antiquity, in every age and in every clime, through the darkest periods of human history, "Law and Order" have been the pretext for the greatest crimes, the pretended justification for the most daring usurpation, the most cruel and detestable tyrannies. In the name of "Law and Order" millions have been slaughtered, nations have been swept away, and countless numbers reduced to a slavery worse than death. But we are told it is the law; yes, the law! the law! the law! and the law must be obeyed; every one must bend his will before the *majesty* of the law; the law must be supreme. With the usurper of every age and of every clime his will has been the law, and the protection of his interests has been the basis of social order. It was so in ages gone by; it is the same to-day. To-day, the protection of class interests and the plunder of the millions is the basis of social order. The law is the will of the protected classes, the security of their right to plunder the wealth-producing masses. No one is bound to obey the will of the usurper. No one is bound to obey the pirate, the highwayman, the usurper. The only basis of law is the principle of equal liberty, of equal justice between each and all in all the relations of life, and through all the ramifications of Society. All else is but usurpation, and is no more binding on a single human being than the idle wind.

J. SKETCHLEY.

Socialism proposes to have more workers and less work for each.

RUSKIN AS A REVOLUTIONARY PREACHER.

IV.

Mr. Goschen at Edinburgh during the latest political shaking up said of the Irish, "that they held views contrary to the received doctrines of England and Scotland on almost every political, economical, and agricultural subject. And if they are right, we are egregiously wrong" (*Times*, 25-6-86). The *Times* does not put any "Hear, hear," but many "Hear, hears" were thought by the audience, I am sure.

John Ruskin has a number of students in Edinburgh, and some of them probably called to mind his suggestion that the Irish faith, "that people ought to be lodged for nothing," might spread beyond Ireland. That faith has spread pretty rapidly and wide since 'Fors' No. 4 was penned.

The bitterness of such as Goschen arises from the fact that a large number of the people *do* believe the orthodox political economy to be, what Ruskin calls it, "a bastard science," like witchcraft or astrology.

In another part of the same speech Goschen protests against being "carried away by a phrase as to the necessity of obeying simply the voice of justice." We all know how little he is likely to be so carried away.

"Ye who judge the earth give *diligent* love to justice;" not merely, says Ruskin, "love," but "diligent love"; and, continuing from where I left off in my last, he explains on page 84 his idea of what may be called diligent love:

(30) . . . "one circumstance only interfering with the simplicity of this radical idea of just payment—that inasmuch as labour (rightly directed) is fruitful just as seed is, the fruit (or 'interest,' as it is called) of the labour first given, or 'advanced,' ought to be taken into account, and balanced by an additional quantity of labour in the subsequent repayment; . . . so that the typical form of bargain will be: If you give me an hour to-day, I will give you an hour and five minutes on demand; If you give me a pound of bread to-day, I will give you seventeen ounces on demand; and so on. All that it is necessary for the reader to note is, that the amount returned is at least in equity not to be *less* than the amount given."

Not a loop-hole does he leave to the Goschens and Brights and other high-priests of competition; for (p. 85):

(31) "And this equity or justice of payment is, observe, wholly independent of any reference to the number of men who are willing to do the work. I want a horse-shoe for my horse. Twenty smiths, or twenty thousand smiths, may be ready to forge it; their number does not in one atom's weight affect the question of the equitable payment of the one who *does* forge it. It costs him a quarter of an hour of his life, and so much skill and strength of arm to make that horse-shoe for me. Then I am at some future time bound in equity to give him a quarter of an hour and some minutes more of my life (or of some other person's at my disposal), and a little more, in making or doing what the smith may have need of."

The first of these two passages knocks, I think—to use a Yankeeism—the "everlasting stuffing" out of that creditably ingenious fiction, the "wage-fund theory"; and the two passages are complete enough proof that "revolutionary" is a correct term to apply to our preacher. By this light we see the "wage-fund" to be no fund provided by the capitalist simply out of his exceeding goodness of heart, but in reality a fund into which the defrauded labourer is continually pouring fresh, compulsory deposits.

Our writer deals with the modifications which in practice have to be submitted to, simply from reasons of convenience, mainly induced by use of a symbol of exchange—"money." But he will not allow any deviation from the principle; for these difficulties

(32) . . . "do not affect the principle of exchange. The worth of the work may not be easily known; but it *has* a worth, just as fixed and real as the specific gravity of a substance." (P. 88.)

(33) "This impossibility of precise knowledge prevents neither from striving to attain the desired point of greatest vexation and injury to the other, nor from accepting it for a scientific principle that he is to buy for the least and sell for the most possible." (P. 89.)

Quite a large number of Socialists may learn something from this passage. I earnestly submit to them that discussions on "Personal duty under the present system" may be simplified by every Socialist understanding the full bearing of this last quotation. There are many Socialists who by hunting for the lowest possible estimate and bating down prices still strive for the point of greatest vexation to the other. They should all the time bear in mind,

(34) "It is easier to determine scientifically what a man ought to have for his work than what his necessities will compel him to take for it. His necessities can only be ascertained by empirical, but his due by analytical investigation." (P. 90.)

The empirical system—which is, in plain terms, the continual trying to see the least the labourer can exist on—has been worked for its full power during the last hundred years—the period of cotton and steam. He will be a bold prophet-economist who will dare by his science to prove its continuance for another such century of horror.

He analyses next the two cases of just and unjust purchasers of labour, "when two men are ready to do the work and only one wants to have it done":

(35) "The unjust purchaser forces the two to bid against each other till he has reduced their demand to its lowest terms. Let us assume that the lowest bidder offers to do the work at half its just price." "The first or *apparent* result is, therefore, that one of the two men is left out of employ, or to starvation. . . . This first or *apparent* difference is not the actual difference [between the just and the unjust]. "By the unjust procedure, half the proper price of the work is left in the hands of the employer. This enables him to hire another man at the same unjust rate, on some other kind

of work; and the final result is that he has two men working for him at half price, and two are out of employ." (Pp. 90, 91.)

This unjust system is then shown to be an increase in one man's power over other men's lives, but eventually a decreased fruitfulness; and finally that the unjust employer is the worse for his unjustness:

(36) "Distress (irrespective of that caused by sloth, minor error, or crime) arises on the grand scale from the two reacting forces of competition and oppression. There is not yet, nor will yet for ages be, any real over-population in the world; but a local over-population, or, more accurately, a degree of population locally unmanageable under existing circumstances for want of forethought and sufficient machinery, necessarily shows itself by pressure of competition; and the taking advantage of this competition by the purchaser to obtain their labour unjustly cheap, consummates at once their suffering and his own; for in this (as, I believe, in every other kind of slavery) the oppressor suffers at last more than the oppressed." (P. 99.)

The teaching of Essay III. is socialistic in tendency; and yet we right here come on one of the passages Ruskin is so fond of slipping in as protest against Socialism, his great fear being not Socialism, but Equality:

(37) "If there be any one point insisted on throughout my works more frequently than another, that one point is the impossibility of Equality." (P. 102.)

But Socialists who discriminate between equity and equality need be under little concern at this disclaimer, in view of this:

(38) "Whereas it has long been known and declared that the poor have no right to the property of the rich, I wish it also to be known and declared that the rich have no right to the property of the poor." (P. 103.)

(39) "I said in my last paper that nothing in history had ever been so disgraceful to human intellect as the acceptance among us of the common doctrines of political economy as a science." (Pp. 103, 104.)

At pp. 159, 160 he has another of these queer protests against what he calls Socialism, his notion of which, in 1862, was a rough division of all property, which he illuminates as follows:

(40) "I am not taking up nor countenancing one wit the common socialist idea of division of property. Division of property is its destruction, and with it the destruction of all hope, all industry, and all justice: it is simply chaos—a chaos towards which the believers in modern political economy are fast tending, and from which I am striving to save them. The rich man does not keep back meat from the poor by retaining his riches, but by basely using them. Riches are a form of strength; and a strong man does not injure others by keeping his strength, but by using it injuriously. The socialist, seeing a strong man oppress a weak one, cries out, 'Break the strong man's arms'; but I say, 'Teach them to use them to better purpose.'" (Foot-note, pp. 159, 160.)

Socialists have little to be afraid of in the above as making against them; the economist is the more concerned, for again he is told that chaos is before him, again he is told that ruin and not wealth is the result to be looked for.

Essay IV., entitled "Ad Valorem," the last, is about double the length of any of the others, is really a chapter of definitions of Value, Wealth, Price, and Produce, which definitions he arrives at by a *reductio ad absurdum* smashing up of the definitions of the orthodox economists, which he does so unmercifully as to account for their hatred. As a definitionist, John Ruskin is E. B. Aveling with a difference; to satisfy Ruskin you must know *all* the possible variations of a definition, and keep them ready for use. This is somewhat of a strain when, as in the case of the title of "Letters to the Workmen," 'Fors Clavigera,' there are some twelve or fifteen readings.

(41) "It were to be wished that our well-educated merchants recalled to mind always this much of their Latin schooling,—that the nominative of *valorem* (a word already sufficiently familiar to them) is *valor*; a word which, therefore, ought to be familiar to them. *Valor*, from *valere*, to be well, or strong; strong *in* life (if a man), or valiant; strong, *for* life (if a thing), or valuable. To be 'valuable,' therefore, is to 'avail towards life.' A truly valuable or availing thing is that which leads to life with its whole strength. In proportion as it does not lead to life, or as its strength is broken, it is less valuable; in proportion as it leads away from life, it is invaluable or malignant." (P. 118.)

Naturally arising from this on "Ad Valorem" comes his definition, which is Mill's definition with a small but very vital addition.

(42) "Our definition of Wealth, expanded, becomes: 'The possession of useful articles, *which we can use*.'" (P. 123.)

"THERE IS NO WEALTH BUT LIFE. Life, including all its powers of love, of joy, and of admiration. That country is the richest which nourishes the greatest number of noble and happy human beings." (P. 156.)

Almost of necessity every reader will see, that all expenditure on account of war, and for war material, must be regarded, in the light of the above definition, as production of a wrong kind.

(43) "Production does not consist in things labouriously made, but in things serviceably consumable; and the question for the nation is not how much labour it employs, but how much life it produces. For as consumption is the end and aim of production, so life is the end and aim of consumption." (P. 155.)

(44) ". . . Consumption is the crown of production; and the wealth of a nation is only to be estimated by what it consumes." (P. 150.)

(45) "The final object of political economy, therefore, is to get good method of consumption, and great quantity of consumption; in other words to use everything, and to use it nobly." (Pp. 150, 151.)

It matters not to the labourer, so far as his immediate profit is concerned, whether he be employed in growing a peach or making a bomb-shell, only, says Ruskin, the mode of consumption.

(46) "The worst of it, for the peasant, is, that the capitalist's consumption of the peach is apt to be selfish, and of the shell, distributive." [A somewhat grim pun this, by the way.] ". . . 'Somebody's roof must go off in fulfillment of the bomb's destiny. You may grow for your neighbour, at your liking,

grapes or grapeshot; he will also, catalectically, grow grapes or grapeshot for you, and you will each reap what you have sown." (Pp. 154, 155.)

(47) "It is one very awful form of the operation of wealth in Europe that it is entirely capitalists' wealth which supports unjust wars. Just wars do not need so much money to support them; for most of the men who wage such, wage them gratis; but for an unjust war, men's bodies and souls have both to be bought; and the best tools of war for them besides; which makes such war costly to the maximum; not to speak of the cost of base fear, and angry suspicion, between nations which have not grace nor honesty enough in all their multitudes to buy an hour's peace of mind with: as, at present, France and England, purchasing of each other ten millions sterling worth of consternation annually (a remarkably light crop, half thorns and half aspen leaves,—sown, reaped, and granaried by the 'science' of the modern political economist, teaching covetousness instead of Truth). And all unjust war being supportable, if not by pillage of the enemy, only by loans from capitalists, these loans are repaid by subsequent taxation of the people, who appear to have no will in the matter, the capitalists' will being the primary root of the war; but its real root is the covetousness of the whole nation, rendering it incapable of faith, frankness, or justice, and bringing about, therefore, in due time, his own separate loss and punishment to each person." (Foot-note, p. 154.)

THOMAS SHORE, jun.

CRIME UNDER SOCIALISM.

Not only opponents but also well-disposed inquirers often ask what will be done with criminals in a Socialistic order of things. They opine that, admitting the justice and benevolence of the Socialistic theory, it is fitted only for virtuous citizens and does not take into account the vicious and ill-disposed, whose misconduct would, they say, upset all our calculations and render the new social order unworkable. Now (passing over the fact that the most hurtful of all criminals now constitute that most respected class whose example guides the bourgeois world, the rich, who by their monopoly of the sources of subsistence and enjoyment impoverish and enslave the majority of mankind, and whose existence as a class it will be the first work of the coming revolution to destroy) a sufficient answer can readily be given to the foregoing question by saying that should the worst come to the worst the future society can always have recourse to the same measures as the existing one for the repression of crime, and with at least as good effect. A more satisfactory solution of the matter will however be found in the natural reply to another question, which I will put thus: What will become of crime under Socialism? With the exception of certain crimes against Nature, such as drunkenness and the indulgence of other perverted appetites, the victims of which may rightly be restrained but are none the less worthy of commiseration as sufferers from our execrable social system, with its luxurious excess on the one hand and its despairing penury on the other, and omitting also such artificial, law-created offences as "sedition" and "blasphemy," all that is now recognised as crime may be classified under one or other of two headings: 1st, offences against property, and 2nd, offences against the person. Crimes of the first category will cease with the abolition of monopoly in the means of subsistence and enjoyment, for no sane person can have any motive for depriving another of that which he needs when he himself possesses an equal share of all things requisite, particularly when his own claim is entirely dependent upon his recognition of the equal claim of everybody else to an undisturbed participation in all available advantages. Of crimes against the person—*i.e.*, of violence—by far the greater number are committed in the execution of attacks against property, and are therefore referable to that baleful usurpation. The desperate deeds perpetrated by highwaymen, burglars, garotters, and poachers, belong to this category, and must cease with the removal of their cause. It may safely be said that crimes of violence which are totally unconnected with attacks upon or disputes concerning property do not contribute more than a very small contingent to this second class of crimes, and will be greatly and progressively diminished by the ever-deepening sentiment of fraternal solidarity inculcated and fostered by every detail of the relationship between men in the future associations of equals, which will, moreover, be far more competent to protect their members than is our present miscalled "society," which, torn of conflicting interests, is compelled to act through the agency of an administration organised mainly in order to support the existing unjust social system. The justest judge will be an untrammelled public conscience, and a free people the best police.

HENRY GLASSE.

Some of our labour exchanges are harping away about the Democratic and Republican parties just as though they were two distinct parties working for the advancement of different ends and objects. Let this nonsense cease; the country has been under the one party of monopoly for twenty years and is to-day worse than ever.—*Industrial News.*

THE LAND QUESTION.—The Catholic Archbishop of Dublin, in reply to an interviewer lately, stated, when asked if he considered a purchase scheme as a final settlement: "No, certainly not. I am so thoroughly convinced that the form of land tenure now popularly known as 'the nationalisation of the land' is the only system fully consonant with the principles of justice, that I must hesitate in regarding as absolutely final a scheme based upon any other principle."

The Chicago grain gamblers have decided to go to work at 10.30 a.m. during July and August, and take a holiday every afternoon. Although these gentry work only one and a half hours a day, one of them bags more grain than 1000 farmers who work fifteen hours a day, and the very sound of eight hours for mechanics sets them wild with virtuous indignation. What a world this is, and what a fashionable god the dollar is.—*Industrial News.*



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

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

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

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TO CORRESPONDENTS.

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

A CHANCE READER.—The subject is of no importance.

P. R. DOMONEY (Southampton).—Held over till next week from want of space.

Periodicals received during the week ending Wednesday September 1.

ENGLAND	Denver (Col.) Labor Inquirer	Lille—Le Travailleur
Justice	Cincinnati (O.) Unionist	BELGIUM
Free-thinker	Toledo (O.)—Industrial News	Brussels—Le Chante-Clair
Norwich—Daylight	San Francisco (Cal.)—Truth	SPAIN
Club and Institute Journal	Bulletin	Madrid—El Socialista
Church Reformer	New Haven (Conn.)—Work-	Cádiz—El Socialismo
Bedford and County Record	men's Advocate	El Grito del Pueblo
INDIA	Washington (D. C.)—National	El Angel del Hogar
Madras—People's Friend	View	HOLLAND
Allahabad—People's Budget	Springfield (Ill.)—Voice of Labor	Recht voor Allen
CANADA	Chicago (Ill.)—Vorbote	AUSTRIA
Toronto—Labor Reformer	Herald	Brunn—Volksfreund
UNITED STATES	Tribune	Arbeiter-Wochen-Chronik
New York—Volkszeitung	Salem (Oreg.)—Advance-Thought	NORWAY
Der Sozialist	FRANCE	Social-Democraten
Freiheit	Paris—Cri du Peuple (daily)	SWITZERLAND
Truthseeker	Le Socialiste	Zurich—Sozial Demokrat
Dramatic Times	Le Revolte	
Boston—Woman's Journal	Guisse—Le Devoir	

RECEIVED.—"To the Police"—"Money and Men"—"Mostly Fools"—"Vegetarianism."

ADVERTISEMENT.

To many minds not the least attractive promise in the prophecy of Socialism, will probably be that of the almost entire disappearance of what is known as advertisement. Except to the bat-like intelligence, alas! too common, which thinks to justify the capitalist's position by pleading that he "gives employment," or "makes money circulate," and so forth, the conception of the possibility of lifting from the shoulders of Labour this heavy burden comes to a man as a revelation. For it is certain that under a Socialised system of production and exchange, wherein all contribute to the common wealth and from it satisfy their needs, and when none can any longer achieve, or desire to achieve, private aggrandisement by exploiting his fellows, all the vast human energy now kept in meaningless stir at the miserable and slavish task of "pushing" wares, all this life-blood, so to speak, recklessly split by the supposed necessities of commercial rivalry, will be set free for happiness and for leisure.

In Judge Haliburton's 'Clockmaker,' we read that Sam Slick's two unflinching allies in persuading the country-folk to buy his clocks were, on his own amusing confession, (1) Soft Sawder and (2) Human Natur; in fact, an active and a passive element united to form the product, a bargain. This distinction of his, strikes me as truly philosophical and strictly analogous to that other famous classification of humankind which we owe to the fertile inventiveness of the Tichborne Claimant, that "some folks has plenty money and no brains, and some folks has plenty brains and no money." What can be more natural and proper, starting from such a condition of things, than that the latter class should by a persistent use of soft sawder prey upon the human natur' of the former, and thereout suck no small advantage? Bored and bored, advertisers and advertisers, divide our modern world. With the passive class it is impossible not to sympathise, considering how many and grievous things they endure at the hands of the bill-sticking fraternity. From the cradle to the grave, kind creatures throng our

way, all performing endless variations of one and the same motive, "Codlin's the friend, not Short." Acres of closely-printed benevolence beam upon us from the newspapers, made up of disinterested advice to shun imitations, to call a spade a spade, to avoid complicated braces, and so forth. Kind enquiries as to where we mean to dine, or what is our crest and what is our motto perpetually jostle us, while philanthropists who, for a paltry enclosure of thirteen stamps, freely guarantee £5 weekly to persons of either sex, without hindrance to present occupation, are as thick as blackberries. Beneficent beings! almost incredible is it that the world should need bettering when good angels such as ye abound! To give up your insinuating ministrations will cost us a pang no doubt, but the inevitable wrench must and shall be borne with fortitude. In the name of human development we will resign without a murmur the pressing attentions of street-touts and bill-distributors, whether of photographer or quack, and restore to the army of useful labour those enforced deserters whom a corrupt and emasculating Society degrades into human sandwiches doomed to tramp the gutter in dismal squalor, unless glorified by some enterprising theatrical manager with the masquerade costume of a sailor, a convict, or a heathen Chinese. Flaring gas-jet announcements, stencillings on the pavements, and handbill-showering balloons will disappear, in company with the sensational placards containing large-type allusions to "Murder!" or to "£2000 Reward!" The automatic climbing-monkey, walking-race, and wrestlers, now used by ingenious shopkeepers to draw a well-dressed crowd before their plate-glass, will find their occupation gone. Doomed also are the insidious puffery of *Pall Mall* interviewers, and the effective device of a willy-planned action for libel. We may reasonably expect that tributes to the efficacy of Cocker's Pills will cease to find their way into works of travel. Those irritating contributions to our ephemeral literature, the paragraphs ending with ADVT., and "Toughened," "Bilin' Water," and such-like enigmas of the Agony Column, will no longer squander incalculable foot-pounds of brain-power daily. Shakespeare will not be dragged through the mire in order to "push" a button or a brace. The astute medicine vendor, who takes his stand on a Biblical text, and stoutly upholds the doctrine that the blood is the life, will draw no further profit from his contest with that untiring antagonist of his whose theory that electricity is life so naturally suggests a reference to his magnetic belts. Eno's flord periods, so persuasive to lull the qualms of the bourgeois as to the consequences of excess at table, will lose somewhat of their ubiquity. In fine, a clean sweep will be made of the obtrusive heterogeneous world-wide swarm of competing claims which may glad the heart of the advertising contractor, but surely of him alone. And yet the world will go on when every wall, arch, and conveyance, has been released from Willing's hideous sway; and not only that, but our deliverance from the attacks of tedious impertinence and aggressive ugliness made on us by the reckless commercial spirit of selfishness and wastefulness combined (selfishness, because one man's success to-day necessarily implies another's defeat; and wastefulness, because the mighty human forces employed spend themselves mostly in neutralising one another), and our deliverance from the unwholesome presence of brazen self-assertion and flagrant insincerity, will bring into human life a charm which is stifled in the atmosphere of to-day.

C. W. BECKETT.

MODERATION.

WHEN the dominant classes bestowed upon the worker the right of grumbling when he felt his condition was not quite what it should be, they told him above all to be careful in the language he used concerning his wrongs; they were content to let him think as he pleased, as long as he did not translate his thoughts into words or action; above all, they abjured him in most moving terms to be moderate. "Although we take from you by legal trickery the wealth that you have made, although you are plundered on all sides, be moderate. We know you are ill-treated as a class. Your sons are sent to sea to drown in rotten ships for our profit and advantage, yet don't lose your temper, my good friend, be moderate. It is true that your daughters, if beautiful, are thrown on the streets after they have ministered to our pleasures, and in the end they perish in disease and dirt in some reeking cellar in this giant city, but, my good fellow, I can't allow you to talk in this manner. Moderation, my friend, Moderation! We admit these are grave ills, but if you will leave us alone we will remedy them *in time*. Wait, my friend! Patience is a beautiful virtue, do we not see it admirably displayed by those interesting animals, the sheep and the donkey? How quietly the sheep stands shivering in the cold wind of spring, naked, stripped of his fleece by the skilful hands of the fleecer! And the donkey, behold that admirable quadruped quietly trotting to market with a heavy load of vegetables, bearing in patience the abuse and blows of his master; though half-starved and ill-fed he never complains and never dreams of rebellion! My friend, these meek and useful animals teach you a lesson, they are patient under discomfort and suffering, why, because they know their misery and wretchedness is a distinct gain and benefit to those who have most earnestly their welfare at heart, their well-meaning and indulgent masters. My friend, we are going to grant you a great boon, the right of free speech. For some time we have allowed you to think as you pleased, not finding it possible to stop you, but we have always endeavoured to raise and elevate your thoughts far above the toil and strife of this earthly world, to that happy region where want is unknown and misery is forgotten. Do not worry about the filthy lucre of this world, but lift your eyes prayerfully and calmly to that land beyond the clouds, where

your meekness and moderation will receive its due reward. This right we grant you, must be used with moderation, and strong language will not be allowed. We give you the chance of 'baa-ing' or 'braying' when our kindness has been too much for you, but be careful to convey no particular meaning into your utterances. Do not covertly insinuate that your fleece is your own, or that you have a right to a fair share of the greens you are taking to market, because this will not do. Language of a seditious and revolutionary character will not be permitted. Now you may go, but bear this caution in mind!"

Why do the middle-classes love mildness? Why do they so earnestly entreat us to be always quiet and constitutional in our utterances? Is it because they have an objection to hearing the naked truth, or do they dread the people hearing it? Is it possible to use mild language in describing our present Society? Is the workman likely to feel in a good humour when he gazes back upon the long weary years that have passed, years that have been spent in heavy drudgery, for what? To heap up riches for his master, and to hand down slavery to his children. This world to the workman is a wilderness of work, fruitless and wasted; his labour has only served to keep him in poverty, and to make others rich and miserable. Can we destroy this accursed system by mild words and soft phrases? Can you make a revolution with rose-water, and will you charm away the present system by eloquence of the Parliamentary pattern? I don't think so. Some of the middle-class appear to think that Socialism might be realised by degrees, that it is an excellent idea, only they would rather not have it carried out in their time. Cannot we let them down slowly into this new world, as a sudden change would be so shocking to their delicate nerves? But that is not our business, it is entirely their own affair. The middle-classes may grant us Socialism in small instalments if they choose, but it is for the workmen to demand all that is due to them. Above all, let them learn that it is not moderate men who have changed the world, moderate men have never led the way; they have always been in the rear, and shouted with the crowd. "Desperate diseases require desperate remedies," and the disease from which Society suffers to-day will not be swept away by the mild medicine of moderation.

"It would be amusing were it not so sad," to hear these "practical politicians," who, after drawing a painful picture of the misery of the labouring multitude, calmly propose as a remedy for all these ills some petty measure of land reform or little allotment scheme to enable the cultivator "to grow his own outdoor relief," and while these gentlemen are talking, other men still more moderate are busy denouncing them as sacrilegious innovators and sanguinary revolutionists. So the great political game is played—talk, talk, talk, year after year; moderate men and moderate measures—nothing whatever is done. The poor are left in misery, while the aspiring gentleman who longed to represent them, and who burned with ardour to redress their wrongs, now he has written the two magic letters after his name, lounges in his cushioned seat in "the best club in London," having totally forgotten the people who sent him there.

If the working-people are not sick of Moderates and moderation by this time, they ought to be. Every day it appears clearer that they have nothing to hope from any one but themselves. Parliament is a place for talk, not for action, a court of chancery which humbugs and tortures, not a few suitors, but a whole nation. The moderate men that sit there, will give you nothing but compliments on the magnificent manner in which you bear cold and hunger. What you win from them will be only gained from their fears. Show them you are losing your sheep-like character, let them know distinctly that you are sick of their humbug, and tired of their wearying cant. Make them once understand this, and your end will be attained; whatever you ask will then be granted you, but Moderation will give you nothing!

D. NICOLL.

"NE SUTOR ULTRA CREPIDAM."

THE ostensible journalist who, in the New York *Dramatic Times* deals with events theatrical, and chronicles small beer, leaves his last awhile to get off the following words of wisdom:

"When I perceive, through the trials of the Chicago Anarchists, that there are at least 30,000 people in that blessed city, who hold it to be a sacred duty to kill, burn, and destroy, I wonder whether they, or the rest of the world, are crazy. Is there any extravagance that may not now be preached with the certainty of making hundreds of conscientious proselytes? *When Spies and the rest are hanged, there will be hundreds of thousands of people to honour them as martyrs to a noble Cause.* I wonder, by the way, what is the Ultima Thule of the Anarchists' creed. Supposing they burned all the buildings, slew all the capitalists, stopped all the factories, exploded all the police in the world, what would they do then? I suppose hang each other. What a lucky chance that the Chicago authorities can begin at that end of the job."

His lucubration is of no value in itself save for the admission we italicise, but it well illustrates the crass ignorance and malignant stupidity of the average moulder-of-public-opinions-at-a-price.—S.

A meeting of black-coated gentlemen is called an assembly; but a meeting of the men who feed, clothe, and house them is called a mob.—*W. Harrison Riley.*
I am a honest middle-course man, desiring and hoping for social progress with all my might, but resolved not to purchase it at the cost of universal overthrow. I foresee that a tolerably violent crisis is inevitable. But I would have that crisis brought about with all the discretion compatible with existing circumstances, and, besides this, I am more than persuaded that the mad attempts made by the men of action (those who act from emotions) do but retard and render it more risky.—*Count Cavour.*

CORRESPONDENCE.

A FRATERNAL GREETING.

Le Socialiste, 17, Rue du Croissant, Paris, August 23rd.

To Citizen Belfort Bax,—Dear friend, we take the opportunity of the first return of the day of our existence as a Socialistic periodical to greet our English friends, and wish them success in their spirited exertions against capitalism, our common enemy. We keep an attentive eye on your daily progress, and cannot but notice with high satisfaction the increase of Socialism in the mother-land of civilisation, reputed by the advocates of the bourgeoisie to be its last stronghold, and now won, or on the best way to be won, to the modern ideas of justice and freedom. As your Continental friends, and associated in the struggle towards the single and same aim, the independence of Labour, we send you a hearty cheer, and join in your hopes so closely related to our own.—The Managing Committee of the *Socialiste*,
P. LAVIGNE, JULES LEFINE, L. DUBOIS.

[We are glad of this opportunity to congratulate our friend the *Socialiste* on its accomplishment of its first year of usefulness, and most cordially wish it success in the future. It is scarcely worth while to dwell on the fact of the completeness of our sympathy with the workers who happen not to live in England, or our abhorrence of national rivalries. We look forward to the day when the word "nation" will only refer to the past, and "foreigner" will be a mere dictionary word.—THE EDITORS.]

SLAVERY OF SHOPWOMEN.

Of late, Socialists and others have given attention to the injurious effects on the system of excessive hours and standing continually, enforced by drapery "bosses" on their unfortunate female slaves. But there are greater evils behind the scenes. In this trade girls are fed and boarded by their exploiting masters, receiving a monthly salary as well. But this monthly salary is *always expected to be drawn in goods*. Result when trade becomes slack, the girls are often thrown out without a shilling in their pockets; as for the food, in some houses it is good and abundant, but very much oftener girls are half-starved; as to their sleeping accommodation they generally sleep two in a bed, and there are often six beds in a small room! Fancy twelve adult females in a closet breathing the same air the whole night! In the larger towns, in houses doing a good trade, the cellars are often fitted up as "departments" or workrooms, and being under the street level have no ventilation whatever, and are absolutely stifling, being always lighted with gas, often a dozen jets. Factory inspectors may know of their existence, but they never visit them.
J. S. MCCARTHY.

SOCIAL ADVANTAGES OF VEGETARIANISM.

It seems a great pity that Socialists should trouble themselves (*Commonweal* Aug. 28, *Justice* passim) to quarrel with vegetarian and suchlike propaganda, which, beyond its direct advantage to the adopter, has the almost more important advantage that it is a sure if indirect way of bringing people into contact with the whole social problem, and of giving them energy to face it and money to help out the solution. The number of recruits to Socialism by this mode is very considerable.

The opposition is intelligible enough, arising as it does from two misconceptions—the first, that any one who economises his personal expenditure makes a capitalistic use of his wealth; the second, that standard of comfort means the number of pence spent for food. The reverse of the first proposition—viz., that one who economises personal expenditure makes a social use of his wealth—is for vegetarians as near the truth.

If one gets nothing but food out of life then the amount of food may be taken to measure the amount of comfort, as it represents the amount of labour spent for a certain income of power to live on, and if there be any margin over this spent in the pleasures of life, whichever he choose, this must be reckoned to the amount of comfort; and any choice of food which increases this margin may be an advantage: this depends entirely on the power to use it. Were there any likelihood of a general economy before the workers are so far educated as to interfere with the "iron law" this would be a disadvantage; but one must be a despondent Socialist as well as flesh-eater to look for this; and meanwhile it seems to me a great social gain to place as many as possible in the position of advantage, and we shall gain more and more surely by the social education which vegetarianism gives its adherents than by quarrelling with them.

Not every one has the grace to jump stride by stride with the Socialist prophet; but there is certainly no creed surer to make people dissatisfied with the life and work of their neighbours in their present condition than is vegetarianism.
R. C. BUIST.

MARSHALL & CO.

Mr. John Marshall complains that he has been "hit in the dark" by "a loaded bludgeon" wielded by your correspondents J. L. M. and T. M. This is, most obviously, untrue. The article, whatever its other defects may be, was not wanting in straightforwardness. The statements are there to be read by any one and the space is free to Mr. Marshall if he wants to refute the statements. It is no use to whine about being hit in the dark. Mr. Marshall contradicts only one of our assertions. It appears that his brother is *not* going with his machinery to America. But this is an unimportant point, as Mr. Marshall's personal movements are of no interest to the public.

If Mr. John Marshall wishes to discuss the matter I shall be glad to do so with him. As to the charge of being personal, I repeat that the writers of the article were not personal, since they assumed that the Marshall family were, like most capitalists, unconscious of the economically dishonest position of their class. If, however, Mr. Marshall comes forward to defend the system or champion the class he belongs to, he can make the matter to some extent personal. But that is his doing, not ours.

In Friday's issue of the *Hull Daily Mail*, there is a letter complaining of the influx of people in search of work who had been discharged by Messrs. Marshall in consequence of the removal of their business to America. This is a good piece of independent testimony to the main point of our article.

In order that Mr. Marshall should know where to begin his defence, and as he prefers the matter put in a personal way, I will repeat the gist of the article thus—Some thousands of men, women, and young girls are now tramping about in search of work. Most of them miserably poor (or they wouldn't tramp). The condition of these people is the result of the capitalist

system with which Mr. Marshall is identified. These people are poor and miserable because the fruits of their labour have been stolen from them, partly by Marshall and Co. and partly by their fellow capitalists. Marshall and Co. have a thumping good fortune (or a few fortunes) among them, which have been gathered up, like other fortunes, by hiring people to do the work and stealing the biggest part of the produce of their toil from them.

I hope this statement of the case is plain enough. It is, perhaps, not elegantly expressed, but Mr. Marshall does not write with academical civility (for which I rather like him), so he will not mind my rough way of putting it.

J. L. MAHON.

SOCIALISM IN CAMBRIDGESHIRE.

I am sure it will be interesting to you and your readers to know that the principles of Socialism are spreading in these districts. For many years we have had a large number of gardens which have been managed by individuals who have occupied from three to four acres. These have found work for their families; but of late years a change has taken place. The farmers are turning their land into garden farms, pushing out the small gardeners. This year there have been very large crops of berries, strawberries, and raspberries. One of our large growers has had large huts built upon his land for the accommodation of some of the inmates of Holborn Union, London, whom he or his agent in London has induced to come into these districts to pick his fruit. In connection with this firm of Bath and Crampton an interesting case was brought last week before the Wisbech Board of Guardians. Two women, whose names are Jane Green and Ruth Howe, were induced to come here; they were told that they could earn from 3s. to 4s. per day; they, with others, came from Holborn Union, their fares being paid from London; they worked Thursday and Friday, and instead of earning 3s. or 4s. a-day, Jane Green earned 2s. and Ruth Howe 3s. 4d. in the two days, which was paid them on the Saturday. This small sum had to last them until Monday, when their kind and considerate masters discharged them. Now here were two young women brought from London to Wisbech, a distance of 95 miles, the only bedding provided for them straw-litter, with nothing to cover them. On the Monday they were penniless—what could they do? On Tuesday August 5 they applied for assistance to the Wisbech Board of Guardians to assist them back to London. Now this firm are in the habit, at the commencement of the season, of advertising very largely in the papers of our larger towns for workpeople, and it is no uncommon sight to see working men and women footsore and weary coming into the town applying for work, to be told that they are full. The disappointment to these people is something awful. Now Bath, who is at the head of his firm, was one of the supporters of Joseph Arch in the late election. Another of his supporters, who grows about 100 acres of gooseberries alone, because the business has not been making such large prices this year, has reduced the wages of his people all round, some 3s., others 2s. per week. These are specimens of the men who were the supporters of Joseph Arch. Need I tell you the workers are dissatisfied with these political "guides," and some of them are beginning to see in Socialism a better way?

Wisbech, Cambridgeshire, Aug. 16. W. ADDISON.

"IMPROVEMENT OF THE PEASANTRY."

May I draw your attention to a leader in the *Christian World* of Aug. 19, headed "Improvement of the Peasantry," in which the writer asks "Why should not the man of wealth and station learn to find as much pleasure in the sight of a brave honest and handsome peasantry as in that of partridges and deer?" Then he goes on to say "What a changed appearance would England present if instead of nests of hovels throughout its inland villages those hovels were exchanged for thatched cottages, each with its garden and its pasturage." It is simply the old story—as of cities so of country places. For near our fashionable streets and houses of the wealthy and "noble" are the dens and squalor of the poor; by the side of the country mansions are hovels and misery. The same question might just as well be asked of the rich dwellers of the town as to why they could not learn to find pleasure in the sight of brave, well-fed, handsome workmen; for why should the peasantry only have this advantage, and why should the rich dwellers of towns be encouraged to be more hard-hearted than the "man of wealth and station" in the country or who is the possessor of property in the country? The article in question dwells chiefly on the misery of the peasantry, and endeavours to encourage the landlords to interest themselves in the extension of the allotment system, and asks individual landlords to give themselves to such work upon a much larger scale than has yet been done. Might as well ask banks to give up a greater portion of their share of the profits than they do to their clerks, or the manufacturer a portion of the machinery or a portion of what is produced to the badly paid worker. We all know that if this were done there would not be so many starved, poverty-stricken looking workers or wearied, care-worn, anxious-looking mothers of the same class, with ill-fed, ill-clad children. But the point lost sight of is, what is to triumph over the selfishness and greed that aims at crushing the poor until they become destitute? The possessing classes, with their greed and their crushing propensities will not bring about a better state of things; neither will the "charities" and other spurts of the more thoughtful of them solve this problem. If the possessing classes are too busy or too selfish or too sentimental to concern themselves or go deep enough into the matter, there is no question that in the course of a few years, when the knowledge of facts will filter down to the humbler classes of society, who find the struggle of life growing harder and fiercer every day, will result in a change of the most radical nature. We need not look far round to see that the land question is not the only one that has to be solved—landlords are not the only miscreants in this poverty question. "The improvement of the peasantry" will not settle the question that is stirring both town and country; for what about the oppression that goes on with private and public companies, so that shareholders who never do a stroke of work may receive good large dividends? Take for instance such companies as the tramway companies, of which so much has been heard lately—men having to work for seventeen hours for 4s. 6d. a-day, which is only given under certain conditions.

It has been said that sentimentally all men are Socialists; they say it is dreadful to have an East End and a West End. Out of the fulness of the heart men speak, but not out of the fulness of the head. The writer of the leader referred to is one of the number; but to be a good and useful philanthropist he must aim at being a practical Socialist.

SARAH S. GOSTLING.

Remember, that all the unemployed people in the world, rich or poor, are interested by the employed.

INTERNATIONAL SOCIALIST AND LABOUR NOTES.

HULL.

A meeting of the Hull Trades and Labour Council was held last Thursday to discuss a resolution of a semi-Socialist kind. The resolution, proposed by Mr. Biggins, called upon the State, through the corporations, to employ the unemployed who are suffering from the chronic distress—the workers thus employed to consume their own products as far as possible. The resolution was moved in a speech full of sympathy and earnest thought on the question. The apathy and selfishness of trades-unionists generally was boldly commented on, and the party politicians remorselessly put aside as people from whom no real help might be expected. The speaker also warned his fellow-councilmen that unless they now did something to settle the unemployed question they would some day find it much more formidable, and perhaps a peaceful solution impossible. Neither the speech nor the resolution were Socialistic, but both showed a spirit which is only too scarce amongst trades-unionists, and also a really thoughtful knowledge of the question. The very least that can be said of Mr. Biggins' speech and resolution is that they gave a splendid opening for a good discussion on an aspect of the labour question that working-class "leaders" ought to feel interested in. But, alas! the Trades and Labour Council showed less intelligence and less concern than might have been shown in a Church mutual improvement society. Only two speeches were made and these in moving and seconding an amendment of, to say the least, a curious kind. It affirmed that the permanent good of the workers could best be promoted by (1) universal co-operation, (2) land-law reform, (3) labour representation. The first thing about this is that it was no amendment at all: any one might have consistently voted for both resolution and amendment. Next, the absurdity of universal co-operation and land-law reform and labour representation! Under universal co-operation the land laws would be abolished altogether, and there would be none but labourers to represent. Newton's big aperture for the cat and a small one for its kitten was nothing to this amendment. The speeches of mover and seconder of the amendment were entirely disheartening. They showed a total want of appreciation of the problem touched by the resolution, and a fervour for such a paltry and vague measure as land-law reform that was comic to see and sickening to think of—sickening to think that men who are leaders of the working class cannot rise above paltry reforms, which are chiefly used to hoodwink them. Of course Mr. Biggins was bespattered with compliments. The Council in fact said: "You're a nice young man, Mr. Biggins, and we're proud of you as a colleague, but you mustn't do this sort of thing again. You really ought to be content with the opinions held by your colleagues and not bring up questions like these, which they know nothing about, but upon which it is presumptuous for you to teach them anything. If you must shine as an 'advanced' man, surely labour representation is quite revolutionary enough." Perhaps Mr. Biggins will try a stronger motion next time. Anyhow he must now have his doubts as to the fitness of the Hull Trades Council to take care of working class interests.—J. L. M.

FRANCE.

LYONS.—The cabinet makers and varnishers at some of the workshops here are out on strike against a reduction of their wage.

RONCHAMPS (Hte. Savoie).—There has been a strike in the coal-pits of Ronchamps, and it is expected that the masters will apply for military assistance against them.

FLEURS (Nord).—A correspondent of the *Travailleur* writes at length to that paper concerning the many and various abuses submitted to by the workers at some leather-works at the Pont du Breucq, where they not only toil through the week 17 and 18 hours a-day, but work on Sundays also. Some of the children employed work 15 and 16 hours a-day, the women 16 and 17. So much for the law passed in 1874 limiting the labour of women and children to 8 hours!

VIERZON (Cher).—The development of the strike at the "Société Française for the manufacture of agricultural plant" is highly interesting, as showing, as far as it has gone, a solidarity, self-reliance, and determination unfortunately not common enough among the exploited classes. In spite of the prolonged sojourn of battalions the place has been perfectly quiet since the first day or two, the inhabitants being resolved not to weaken themselves by violent expression of feeling whatever the provocation, and the soldiers showing a disposition to fraternise with them. The strikers' Committee were summoned to an interview with the Prefect of the Department, who advised them to accept the terms offered by the Company, and pointed out the harm they would do themselves by forcing their employers to procure labour elsewhere. In answer to this "fatherly advice" they declared that they would only go in on their own conditions; and as to imported labour, "any men who were so devoid of *esprit de corps* as to consent to come, would soon go away again on discovering that they were required to work at a wage on which it was impossible to support life." One correspondent of the *Cri* says that the Société has been obliged to set the overseers and foremen to work in the empty shops. They have as yet been unsuccessful in all their attempts to procure foreign labour from the industrial centres of the district, all the workmen refusing to supplant their fellows. Thus the strike bids fair to be one of importance. If the workers gain the victory it will be an encouragement to others—an encouragement sorely needed, unity of action being more a characteristic of the capitalist than the worker. Revolutionary groups everywhere are subscribing to the necessary funds, and meetings are being held in Paris in favour of the strikers, organised by the Central Revolutionary Committee, while the *Cri du Peuple* has opened a subscription and sent out subscription-sheets for the same object.

Taking advantage of the general disturbance and the presence of the military at Vierzon, most of the porcelain-manufacturers have agreed to concoct a reduced tariff to present to their workers on the 1st October. In a meeting of the workers called to discuss the same it was unanimously agreed to leave the workshops immediately the masters have presented the tariff. The more the merrier! The whole of the district will then be on strike, and the better able to hold its own.

On Sunday last the *Socialiste* celebrated its anniversary by a banquet, presided over by Paul Lafargue. We take this opportunity of offering our best wishes and congratulations to our French comrades.

LILLE.—The revolutionists of Lille have formed under the title of "Les

Parias de Lille," an Anarchist group, whose mission will be to create in this town an agitation in favour of revolutionary ideas. This circle, called together in a town so full of misery and suffering, should make a fruitful propaganda. M. M.

HOLLAND.

Recht voor Allen gives the following particulars of the prosecution of Socialists in Holland. Those already tried are Domela Nieuwenhuis, sentenced to twelve months' solitary confinement; C. Crol, to six months; Van der Stad, six months and fined 110 florins; Van der Veer, eight months; Fortuin, three months; Meegens, six months. Waiting for trial, Mater and his daughter, Voormey, Belderok, and forty minor cases for selling the papers in the streets.

The subscription-list for the relief of the sufferers by the late riots in Amsterdam is still open. Remittances may be sent to K. A. Bos, Kleine Wittenburgenstraat 34, Amsterdam.

EGYPT.

"The defence of the Oasis of Assiout is entrusted," says *Le Tribune des Peuples*, "to the mercy of a band of soldiers who commit the most frightful excesses. These bandits beat unmercifully the unfortunate fellaheen, pillage their dwellings, and violate their women. Distress is general amongst the agriculturists. But in spite of the daily increasing deficit, European correspondents (English and French) pronounce emphatic eulogies on the financial prosperity of the country."—E. T.

PARAGUAY.

A correspondent of *La Tribune des Peuples* says that the land of this country is now in the hands of a few large proprietors, and that the small farmers and field-labourers are rapidly becoming the slaves of these new lords of the soil. The names of some of the "land-grabbers," with the quantity of land they hold, are given, thus: Cassado possesses 2000 leagues; Dr. Argerich, 700; Vernet, 453; Dr. Sauze and Son, 200; Dr. Castro and General Santos, 350; and so on. The writer in *La Tribune* points out that these figures will cause the workers of Paraguay to speedily consider ideas of Social Revolution, and we echo his hope that we may see Paraguay soon abreast of the revolutionary movement which is spreading over the whole world.—E. T.

LITERARY NOTICES.

In the *Herald of Health* for current month appears a well-written article on "Historical Parallels," which is worth reading, especially as appearing in a non-Socialist paper.—S.

Acracia (Barcelona), which always contains interesting matter, has in the August number an able and thoughtful article on "War and Civilisation," showing war to have been the basis of all civilised society, and war, or at least the "force of the majority" to be its basis for a long time to come. Following on this, a little article on "Force and Science" in the hands of the workers, is of interest.—M. M.

FREE SPEECH DEMONSTRATION IN TRAFALGAR SQUARE.

On Sunday, August 29, a demonstration was held by the Social Democratic Federation in Trafalgar Square, to protest against the sentences passed upon Mainwaring and Williams, and against the whole interference with free speech. The meeting was large, well organised, and orderly. Resolutions in accordance with the objects of the assemblage were carried unanimously. Successful as the meeting was, its effect would undoubtedly have been redoubled had it been representative of the whole Socialist party, and also of the Radicals. Some of the French delegates spoke, and were enthusiastically received. S.

DR. AVELING'S LECTURE TOUR IN THE STATES.

Our comrade started Monday August 30 on an extended tour in the United States, under the auspices of the Socialistic Labor Party. The following are the dates and places at which it is arranged for him to speak: September 14, Bridgeport; 16, New Haven; 17, Meriden; 19-23, New York and Brooklyn; 25, Jersey City Heights, Hoboken, etc.; 26, Newark; 28, Philadelphia; 30, Elizabeth. October 2, Rockville; 5, Hartford; 7, Adams; 9, Holyoke; 14, Manchester; 16, Boston; 18, Lawrence; 20, New Bedford; 22, Providence; 24, Albany-Troy; 26, Syracuse; 28, Rochester; 30, Buffalo. November 1, Cleveland; 3, Detroit; 8, Chicago; 11, Milwaukee; 14 and 15, St. Paul-Minneapolis; 20 and 21, Davenport-Moline; 24, Kansas City; 27 and 28, St. Louis; 30, Indianapolis. December 2, Louisville; 4 and 5, Cincinnati; 7, Dayton; 9, Springfield, O.; 11 and 12, Pittsburg; 14, Williamsport; 18, Baltimore; 20, Paterson; 22, Greenpoint; 25, New York.

FREE SPEECH DEFENCE FUND.

Already acknowledged	£14 5 2½	N. E. Bethnal Green Club	£0 1 8
Hoxton Branch	0 1 3	Bradford Branch	0 5 0
North London Branch—23d	0 8 8	Edinburgh Branch	0 7 6
" " " 30th	0 11 4	Donation	0 1 3
Harrow Road Sympathiser	0 1 4	Total	£16 3 2½

PH. WEBB, Treasurer, Sept. 1, 1886.

A BENEFIT CONCERT

WILL BE HELD AT

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

ON

SATURDAY, SEPTEMBER 18th, AT 8 O'CLOCK,

For the purpose of raising Funds to pay the Fine (£20) imposed on SAMUEL MAINWARING at the Middlesex Sessions.

Admission by Programme only. . . Sixpence Each.

Which can be obtained from WM. BLUNDELL, 13, Farringdon Road, E.C.; H. G. ARNOLD, 6, Little Carlisle Street, W.; E. POPE, 6, York Street, Church Street, Bethnal Green, E.; and T. E. WARDLE, 9, Charlotte Street, Bedford Square.

The Committee requests that early application be made for Programmes by all who can help to sell them.

INTERNATIONAL WORKINGMEN'S EDUCATIONAL CLUB.—On Tuesday Sept. 7 comrade A. Litvinoff Finkenstein, who happened to be one of the innocent victims of the justice of our civilisation, will be released from Holloway Gaol, after having suffered for six months. All his friends are kindly invited to attend at the Club, 40 Berner Street, Commercial Road, E., at 8 p.m., where a cordial welcome will be given to him on that evening.—W. W.

1649. 1792. ???.

(By HENRICH HEINE. Translated by J. L. JOYNES.)

THE Britons' behaviour was hardly the thing
That it ought to have been, when they killed their king.
Not a wink of sleep could his majesty get
On the night ere he paid his final debt;
For still through the window there rang in his ears
The noise at his scaffold, the taunts and the jeers.

And even the Frenchmen were scarce more polite.
In a four-wheel cab and a pitiful plight
They carried king Capet to meet his fate,
And allowed him no coachmen or carriage of state,
Which a king by the rules of the old etiquette,
Whene'er he goes driving, ought always to get.

But a still more unqueenly, undignified part
Had the fair Antoinette, for she rode in a cart;
And in place of her ladies-in-waiting she got
For her only companion a rough Sansculotte.
The widow of Capet thrust out in her scorn
The thick lip with which ladies of Hapsburg are born.

But Frenchmen and Britons have never been blessed
With a scrap of good-nature: good-nature's possessed
By the German alone, who good-natured remains
When the worst and the reddest of Terrors reigns.
The Germans would always his Majesty treat
With the utmost respect, as is proper and meet.

In the grandest and royallest chariot-and-six,
Whereto the sad servants black trappings affix,
With the coachman flooding the box with his tears,
Will a German monarch one of these years
From all that might ruffle his feelings be screened,
And with loyallest deference guillotined.

THE SOCIALIST LEAGUE.

OFFICES: 13 FARRINGDON ROAD, E.C.

Notices to Members.

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

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

Open-Air Speakers are specially summoned to a meeting to-day (Saturday September 4), at 6 p.m., to arrange stations, etc., for ensuing month.

Executive.

At their meeting on Monday August 30 the Council received a letter from the "Metropolitan Open-Air Temperance Mission and Advocates' League," requesting that arrangements be made for the Council to receive a deputation to confer upon the question of open-air spaces and meetings, with a view of agreeing mutually that meetings of the two bodies shall be held at such times and places as not to interfere with each other. It was resolved to notify the willingness of the Executive to receive such deputation on Monday next, September 6, at 9 p.m.

It was voted that E. B. Aveling's and C. W. Mowbray's tendered resignations be accepted, on the ground that it was imperative that membership of Council be restricted to those able to attend and take part.

General Meeting.

The General Monthly Meeting of London Members was held on Monday last. Branch reports submitted showed a satisfactory state of affairs. *Commonweal* Manager's report was submitted, and discussed at some length. At the same time the literary character of the paper was considered, and a strong desire was expressed on the part of most of the members for more home labour-notes. The Editor pointed out that he was always trying to get such notes, and urged upon every one the great importance of every one doing their best to contribute items of interest in this direction.

Branch Subscriptions Paid.

Croydon, Merton, to May 31. Clerkenwell, Dublin, Mile-end, North London, to June 30. Bloomsbury, Hackney, Hammersmith, to July 31. Bradford, Leeds, Birmingham, Manchester, Norwich, to August 31. Hoxton (Labour Emancipation League), Marylebone, Oxford, to September 30. Branches not mentioned here have not paid to date, and some are months in arrears. This laxity on the part of Branches is one of the greatest hindrances to the propaganda of the League.—P. W.

BRANCH REPORTS.

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

BLOOMSBURY.—On Friday, August 27, at Arlington Hall, W., A. K. Donald lectured to a fair audience on "Methods of Propaganda." The general principle advocated was that the Socialists should use every means likely to advance the Cause. He criticised the views of those Socialists who disbelieved in political and parliamentary action, and thought that much good work might be done in that direction. Discussion followed.—W. A. C.

CLERKENWELL.—On Wednesday, August 25, H. H. Sparling lectured on "Woman's Position To-day," a good discussion followed.—On Sunday evening, August 29, we held a good meeting on the Green, comrades Sparling, Chambers, Somerville, Blundell assisting; we then sang the *Marseillaise*, in which the audience joined heartily, and closed the meeting by inviting the audience to the London Patriotic Club to hear a debate between T. E. Wardle and H. Hardaker, the subject being "Socialism v. Individualism;" the result was good. Sale of literature during the week fair.—W. B.

NORTH LONDON.—The members of the Branch, with supporters from Bloomsbury, Marylebone, and other Branches went in good force to Harrow Road on Saturday night. The speaker was T. E. Wardle, and the meeting was most enthusiastic. At the opening our comrade was warned by three policemen in a body that they would be obliged to take his name if he persisted. A resolution was then passed without a single dissident expressing entire disapproval of the action of the authorities. For almost an hour Wardle spoke to an interested crowd, who received his remarks with many expressions of approval. Then Mrs. Taylor followed with a telling speech for some time, after which Wardle renewed his arguments. He had scarcely spoken two minutes, however, before several policemen headed by an inspector surrounded him, and requested him to stop. Cheered by the crowd, he refused and went on speaking, whereupon the

inspector threatened to remove him to the station. Still he refused to stop, and was then marched off under convoy of four policemen, a fifth covering the retreat with a majestic air, followed by a crowd vigorously hooting the constables. As the audience seemed, like Oliver Twist, anxious for more, Henderson resumed the meeting amid loud cheers, until Wardle, having been released, returned and was greeted with great applause. The meeting was then adjourned until next Saturday.—The usual meeting was held in Regent's Park on Sunday morning by Henderson. The audience was large and favourable, and showed its favour substantially by giving 11s. 4d. to the Defence Fund, and buying a good number of *Commonweals* and some Manifestos.—F. H., sec.

MILE-END.—On Tuesday, August 24, Wm. Morris lectured here to a very large audience on "The New Epoch." He took a survey of the present system of production and distribution, and showed the iniquities of the former and inequalities of the latter, these two elements combining to produce all the evils which spring from poverty, the great parent evil. He dwelt at some length on the education of the working-classes, which, he contended, was very far from what was necessary for the due understanding of the labour problem. He also showed, to the evident satisfaction of the audience, who frequently applauded him, that the present state of things could not last; the markets of the world, opened in many cases at the point of the bayonet, were rapidly closing, thus shutting off the channel through which we dispose of our wares, and this would bring about a strong reaction which would lead to the Social Revolution. There was no opposition. We received notice to quit the hall on or before the 31st, so we are again without a place to meet in. Comrade Westwood lectured to a good audience on the Waste on Thursday evening. Good sale of *Commonweals*.—H. DAVIS, sec.

MERTON.—Last Sunday, we held a meeting upon Mitcham Fair Green, when F. Kitz lectured upon "The Position of the Working-class in England To-Day," and showed how the workman in free England must first of all work for another man's profit or starve, and how when he expends his wages he is robbed again by the cheating, sanctimonious shopkeeper, who puts on a smiling face to the housewife when laying out her husband's wages, and sneers at the husband when he takes part in a movement for the bettering of his condition, and monopolises social power as a "Guardian of the poor" (*sic*), and punishes in the bastille workhouse those who are unable longer to afford him a profit upon labour or distribution of goods. Our meeting was, as a first attempt upon new ground, a great success; nearly a quire of *Commonweals* sold, and 5s. collected for Defence Fund.—F. KITZ, sec.

GLASGOW.—On Friday evening, comrades Mavor and Glasier (S.L.), McCulloch (S.D.F.), and Shaw Maxwell (L.R.L.), called upon the French Artisan Delegates at Nelson's Hotel and exchanged greetings. At the station on their departure a large body of Socialists had gathered, and cheers for the Social Revolution were lustily given, the delegates waving a red flag as they moved out of the station.—On Saturday afternoon, the Branch held a meeting at Hamilton near the Cross (not at the Low Quarries as was announced). Comrades Warrington, Glasier, Downie, Kennedy, and Small addressed the audience, which was large and sympathetic. Two quires of *Commonweals* sold and a quantity of pamphlets.—On Sunday afternoon, a large Free Speech Demonstration, organised by the Glasgow Branches of the S.L. and S.D.F., was held on Glasgow Green, from 10,000 to 12,000 people being present. There were two platforms, one occupied by the Social Democratic Federation and the other by the Socialist League, some of the speakers being exchanged. Resolutions condemning the attempted suppression of Socialists' meetings, and the sentences passed upon Mainwaring and Williams, and demanding the immediate release of the latter, were passed unanimously and with acclamation.—In our Rooms, John Street, at 7 p.m., an interesting discussion on Socialism took place.—On Monday evening, an open-air meeting was held at Bain Square.—J. B. G.

HULL.—J. L. Mahon lectured on August 24th, on "The Meaning of Social Revolution." A good discussion followed on the questions of force, testotalism, and palliatives.—E. T.

MANCHESTER.—On Sunday morning, comrade Parkinson addressed a good audience on the Ashton Old Road, and expounded the principles of Socialism in a way that told. Paper sold well. Some more open-air work was done in the afternoon, and in the evening a good discussion was held in the club-room. Things look more hopeful altogether, the advantage of having even a small room is beginning to be evident.—R. U.

CANNING TOWN LECTURE SOCIETY.—On Sunday morning, August 29, J. Lane lectured on "Capitalistic and Socialistic Morality," and was fairly listened to. He was opposed by some, who dwelt upon the cry of "revolution and bloodshed," and crediting Socialists with a little more than they utter. Another opponent from the temperance standpoint condemned both word and action of Socialists. After the lecturer's reply the meeting terminated.—J. O'S.

SHEFFIELD SOCIALISTS.—The above section met again on Monday evening at the top end of Fargate, and the crowd was larger even than the week before. The speakers, T. Garbutt, E. Carpenter, and W. S. Drury, attacked the system of interest. One of them read an extract from Bishop Jewett, saying that to lend £100, and for it covenant to receive £105, was "filthy gains and a work of darkness." The speakers maintained that to live in idleness, and by preying on the needs and adversities of your neighbour, was unchristian and immoral. The crowd listened with the greatest attention, and when the main meeting was over resolved itself into knots, which kept gyrating around, and carrying on the discussion to a late hour.

LECTURE DIARY.

London Branches.

Bloomsbury.—Communitic Club, 49 Tottenham Street, W. Friday September 3, at 8 p.m. No public lecture will be given, but a general meeting will be held to discuss the position of the Branch. Members are earnestly asked to attend.

Clerkenwell.—Hall of the Socialist League, 13 Farringdon Road, E.C. Sunday September 5, at 7.30 p.m. H. Davis, "The Modern Trinity." Wednesday 8, at 8.30. H. A. Barker, "The Deserted Village."

Croydon.—Royal County House, West Croydon Station Yard. Sunday at 7 p.m.

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

Hammersmith.—Kelmescott House, 26 Upper Mall, W. Sundays, at 8 p.m. September 5. W. B. Robertson, "Over-Production and Over-Population."

Hoxton (L. E. L.).—Exchange Coffee House, Pitfield Street, opposite Hoxton Church, N. Sunday at 7.45 p.m.

Merton.—11 Merton Terrace, High Street. Sundays and Wednesdays at 8 p.m.

Mile-end.—East London United Radical Club, Mile-end Rd. Tuesdays at 8 p.m.

North London.—32 Camden Road. Meeting every Friday at 8 p.m.

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

Country Branches.

Birmingham.—Carr's Lane Coffee House. Every Monday evening, at 8.

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

Edinburgh (Scottish Section).—4 Park Street. Meets every Friday at 8 p.m.

Glasgow.—Reading-room of the Branch, 84 John Street, open from 10 a.m. till 10 p.m. every day. Saturday afternoon, September 6, Propaganda Excursion

to Motherwell.—On Sunday, at 4.30 p.m., open-air meeting on the Green.—In our Rooms, 84 John Street, at 7 p.m., lecture on "Some Lessons on Economics," by James Mavor.—Monday evening, 8th, open-air meeting at Parkhead Cross.

Hull.—Foresters' Hall, Charlotte Street. Every Tuesday at 8 p.m. September 7, a Special Lecture will be given by J. L. Mahon, on "Trades-unionism and Socialism." The chair to be taken by Charles L. Biggins, vice-president of the Hull Trades' Council and delegate to the Trades' Congress, 1886. Trades'-unionists are particularly invited to attend. Discussion to follow.

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

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

Manchester.—145 Grey Mare Lane, Bradford, Manchester. Club and Reading Room open every evening. Business meeting every Thursday at 8 p.m.

Norwich.—No. 6 St. Benedict St. Lecture and discussion every Monday at 8.

Reading-room of the Branch open every day from 8.30 a.m. to 10 p.m.

Oldham.—Mrs. Wrigley's Coffee Tavern, 9, Old Market Place. Wednesdays, 7.30.

Oxford.—Temperance Hall, 25½ Pembroke Street.

Open-air Propaganda for the Week.

LONDON.

Date.	Station.	Time.	Speaker.	Branch.
Sat. 4.	Harrow Road ("P. of Wales")	7	The Branch	N. London.
	Hyde Park (Marble Arch)	7	W. Chambers	Clerkenwell.
S. 5.	Croydon—Cross Roads,	11	D. J. Nicoll	Croydon.
	Canterbury Road			
	Marylebone—corner of Salis-	11.30	Henderson	Marylebone.
	bury St. and Church St.			
	Hackney—Well Street	11.30	H. Davis	Hackney.
	Hammersmith—Beadon Rd.	11.30	W. Morris	Hammersmith.
	Hoxton Ch.—Pitfield Street	11.30	Somerville	Hoxton.
	Mile-end Waste	11.30	J. Lane	Mile-end.
	Mitcham Fair Green	11.30	Tochatti	Merton.
	Regent's Park	11.30	R. A. Beckett	N. London.
	St. Pancras Arches	11.30	W. Chambers	Bloomsbury.
	Walham Green, opposite Station	11.30	H. H. Sparling	Hammersmith.
	Hyde Park (near Marble Arch)	3.30	Henderson	Marylebone.
	Victoria Park	3.30	H. Graham	Hackney.
	Clerkenwell Green	7	H. Davis	Clerkenwell.
Tu. 7.	Euston Road—Ossulton St.	7	The Branch	N. London.
Wed. 8.	London Fields—Broadway,	8.30	Flockton	Hackney.
	opposite "Sir Walter Scott"			
Th. 9.	Hoxton Ch.—Pitfield Street	8	Utley	Hoxton.
	Mile-end Waste	8.30	H. Davis	Mile-end.

PROVINCES.

Bradford.—Corner of Godwin St. and Sunbridge Road, every Sunday, at 6 p.m.

Glasgow.—Glasgow Green, Sunday at 4.30. Parkhead Cross, Monday evening.

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

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

Manchester.—Grey Mare Corner, Ashton Old Road, every Sunday, at 11 a.m.; Gorton Brook, every Sunday afternoon, at 2.45.

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

LITERATURE OF THE SOCIALIST LEAGUE.

The Manifesto of the Socialist League. Annotated by E. Belfort Bax and Wm. Morris. An exposition of the principles on which the League is founded. 16pp. crown 8vo. 1d.

For Whom Shall We Vote? Addressed to the Working-men and Electors of Great Britain. Spp. cr. 8vo. For distribution, 2s. per 100. 3d.

Art and Socialism. By William Morris. Bijou edition. 3d.

Chants for Socialists. By William Morris. 16 pp. crown 8vo. 1d.

The Labour Question from the Socialist Standpoint. By William Morris. 32 pp. cr. 8vo. 1d.

THE SOCIALIST PLATFORM.

1. **Trades' Unions.** By E. Belfort Bax. 16pp. crown 8vo. 1d.

2. **Useful Work v. Useless Toil.** By Wm. Morris. 24 pp. 1d.

3. **The Factory Hell.** By Edward Aveling and Eleanor Marx-Aveling. 1d.

4. **The Commune of Paris.** By E. B. Bax, Victor Davé, and William Morris. 24pp. 2d.

5. **Organised Labour: The Duty of the Trades' Unions in Relation to Socialism.** By Thomas Binning (London Society of Compositors). 16 pp. 1d.

SOCIALIST LEAGUE OFFICE, 13, FARRINGTON ROAD, LONDON, E.C.

THE

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