

THE COMMONWEAL

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WEEKLY; ONE PENNY.

NOTES.

Mr. Chamberlain's meeting at Birmingham went off as well as might be expected; the malcontents were few, although the meeting was a free open one (according to Mr. Chamberlain, although admission was by ticket) and it was scarcely to be expected there would be no malcontents. As to Mr. Chamberlain himself he chiefly dwelt on the blocking the way by the Irish question, though he gave no sign of recurring to his demi-semi Socialism of two years ago.

The truth is, all that is a mere pretence for carrying on a private and personal war, and it must be once more said of the Chamberlain section as of their allies, the Tories and Whigs, and of a great part of their enemies, the Gladstonians, for the matter of that, that the Irish Question is a godsend to them simply because it blocks the way to the consideration of English matters.

If English matters are at some future time to be dealt with, to judge by one part of Mr. Chamberlain's speech, he is anxious that they should be dealt with "sweetly as to manner" at least, however strongly as to matter. Since, perhaps somewhat stimulated by the frankness of the wording of the interruptions, he expressed himself anxious for fresh and thorough gagging arrangements in the House itself.

He did not suggest any improvement in the office of Speaker in that august assembly, no doubt because he felt that from his point of view an improvement was scarcely possible. After all in this matter Mr. Chamberlain is logical; if coercion is good for those who differ from Mr. Chamberlain in Ireland, it must also be good for those who differ from Mr. Chamberlain in the House of Commons. His weak point is that to insist on good manners in the House will hardly suit his Tory friends.

Michael Lane and his brother-in-law O'Grady, not forgetting his wife, are champions after the heart of the old Norse story-tellers, whose matchless talent in that line is much needed in the tale of these Irish matters; and the kind of fighting courage of the opened door and the charge on the police explains the story of many a desperately won victory of the English army in which Irishmen were the main actors; but doubtless strong faith in the goodness of the cause must have been at the back of such courage, which could drive a man on to have at least one blow at his oppressors, even when he knew that if he escaped alive from the mauling he was sure to get, the prison was to follow.

How very queer our English has come to be in the penny-a-liner's hand by the way; the newspaper report of the affair told us that Lane beat the police *mercilessly* about the head. Spirit of Defoe, teach us some other word for the charge of two men on two hundred!

The Lord Mayor of Dublin and Mr. O'Brien are to be prosecuted for publishing reports of suppressed branches of the Land League in their respective papers, 'United Ireland' and the 'Nation.' This is as it should be; this is to understand coercion as far as it goes. When shall we see a Lord Mayor of London in the dock for resistance to arbitrary authority?

In our debate on Socialism, Mr. Bradlaugh took exception to Bax's statement of the tendency of manufacturing capital to aggregation; and our friend Bax, when challenged to produce examples of this process, did not go much out of his way to do so; probably because he did not think it worth while to defend a statement which he might well think that nobody but the Pope (or Mr. Bradlaugh) would be bold enough to attempt to controvert. But since some persons are staggered by the use of a distinguished name, however reckless or foolish the bearer of the said name may be, I venture (once more) to supplement my friend Bax in this matter, and quote again from Mr. David A. Wells' article in the *Contemporary Review*.

Says he: "The now well ascertained and accepted fact (not accepted by Mr. Bradlaugh it seems) that power is most economically applied when applied on the largest possible scale, is rapidly and inevitably leading to the concentration of manufacturing in the largest establishments and the gradual extinction of those which are small. A cotton mill which with a profit (formerly not unusual) of a half-penny a yard could easily pay 10 per cent. per annum on a given

capital, with a reduction of profit to a quarter of a cent. per yard would have to make and sell four times the number of yards to earn the same gross profits; which even then would fall very far short of paying the former rate of per-centage on the increased capital, machinery, buildings, etc., necessary to effect the increased production."

He goes on to show that this concentration is forced on the manufacturers, and takes sugar as an example, pointing out that the turnover which some time ago would have made a decent business would not now enable it to live. "The successful refiner of sugar to-day in place of being, as formerly, a manufacturer exclusively, must now as a condition of full success, be his own importer, do his own lighterage, own his own wharfs and warehouses, make his own barrels and boxes, prepare his own bone-block, etc. etc. . . . It is not therefore to be wondered at that under the advent of these new conditions, one half of the sugar refineries that were in operation in the sea-board cities of the United States in 1875 have since failed or discontinued operations."

He quotes the *Statist*: "It is a characteristic and noteworthy feature of banking in Germany, that the bulk of the business is gradually shifting from the small bankers, who used to do a thriving business, to the great banking companies, leaving quite a number of small customer almost without any chance to prosper in legitimate operations—concentration of capital and business in the hands of a limited number of powerful customers being the rule of the day."

Small ships, he tells, are no longer built, owing, amongst other things, to the economy in manning, brought about by the use of large ones. "The Directory of American Millers for 1886 shows a decrease in the number of flour mills in the United States for that year as compared with 1884 of 6,812 out of a total in the latter year of 25,079, but an increase at the same time in capacity for flour production. The legitimate inference from these statistics therefore is that the small flour-mills of the United States are being crushed, or forced into consolidation with larger companies."

He says that it was hoped and thought that one result of the war that ended in 1865 would be the substitution of small yeoman farmers for big plantations in cotton cultivation; but that it has been found by experience that the small cultivator cannot live at all. I could go on multiplying these examples, but I have perhaps said enough to prove that water does not naturally run up hill, even though it may be necessary for the theories of Mr. Bradlaugh that it should. Both these two articles by Mr. David A. Wells are well worth studying by a Socialist.

W. M.

PHILANTHROPIC MANIA: ITS DIAGNOSIS AND TREATMENT.

(ACCORDING TO THE SYSTEM OF DR. WORLDLY WISEMAN.)

In spite of the great progress recently made in the pathology of madness, there is one class of mania which has not received the attention it deserves at the hands of medical men in particular and the public in general. Philanthropic mania (for so, in the absence of any specific title, I will venture to designate it) is not only much more common than is usually supposed, but is largely on the increase in the present age; and as the malady is the cause of much suffering and discomfort both to the individuals affected and to the families and societies in which they reside, it is obvious that a determined effort ought to be made to remedy and counteract it.

The symptoms of this deplorable and, as there is reason to fear, contagious malady, are fortunately not difficult to detect. The patient betrays a meddling restlessness, and discontent with the existing order of society; he is haunted by an insane idea that this or that person, or class of persons, is the victim of some old-established grievance which needs abatement or redress; and acting under this hallucination he declares himself the enemy of all kinds of privilege and monopoly, recklessly espousing the cause of the masses against that of the classes, and calling for a system of strict and impartial justice without the slightest consideration for the higher interests and more delicate susceptibilities at stake. When a man or woman is observed to be affected in the manner described, a careful watch should be kept by the relatives of the patient; and if the symptoms do not presently

pass off, it may be concluded that it is a case of philanthropic mania which must be treated without delay. It has been noticed by those physicians who have specially studied the various phases of this insidious disease, that it is very partial and unequal in its manifestations; men of a thoughtful or emotional temperament being far more liable to attack than those of a contrary nature, while in a similar manner some professors suffer more severely than others. Thus it is found that students, artists, poets, philosophers, and literary men in general are accountable for a large proportion of the ascertained cases of philanthropic mania, while for some reason at present inscrutable, but perhaps hereafter to be discovered by fuller scientific inquiry, lawyers, economists, stock-jobbers, statisticians, landlords, country gentlemen, and government officials are happily and conspicuously exempt.

The remedies and course of treatment for cases of philanthropic mania must vary according to the age, character, and constitution of the person afflicted. If he be a young man, and the disease show itself only in a slight form, it is generally sufficient to trust to the beneficent and recuperative power of nature, which, after a short period of mental aberration, will often bring the disillusioned wanderer back to the fold of comfort and propriety. But if the attack be a sharp one, an attempt should at once be made to draw away the sufferer's mind from the painful subjects that engross it, and to occupy it in various kinds of social recreations and personal indulgences, giving him at the same time as generous a diet as possible. If the patient is young, a course of wild oats is often found to be a most efficacious remedy, and if, after the acute crisis is over, it be thought desirable to find a convalescent home where the air is bracing and salubrious, the well-known establishment at Vanity Fair may be confidently recommended. In dangerous cases, where the feverishness (often misnamed "enthusiasm") is virulent and inveterate, it is sometimes necessary to adopt more stringent remedies, both for the sake of insuring the patient's recovery and in order to protect the interests of those persons or classes to which he may, if unchecked, do some deplorable and irreparable injury. The complete isolation of the sufferer is the first important point; this effected, it will be well to snub and ridicule him as much as possible, with the object of expelling from his mind the perilous conceits with which it is preoccupied. The wet blanket is a valuable auxiliary in this method of treatment; and in desperate cases, when the patient's sanity is despaired of, there is nothing better than the old-fashioned prescription of a Saturday application of caustic and a quarterly bleeding. But it should be our endeavour not to allow matters to arrive at so serious a state as this, but to arrest the malady in its earlier stages by tact and delicate handling. Mental alleviations should by no means be overlooked, and there are some books which have been found especially useful in giving a more wholesome direction to the patient's thoughts and meditations. Among the writings specially worthy of commendation are those of the German pessimists and the political economists, who have done much service in checking the modern tendency to philanthropic mania; Machiavelli's 'Prince,' which is invaluable in cases where the mania takes a political turn; and such admirable works as Lord Chesterfield's 'Letters to his Son,' Malthus's 'Treatise on Population,' and Giffen's 'Tables of Statistics,' all of which have a cooling and moderating effect when the mischief is caused by a sentimental excitement concerning the sufferings of the poor and the unequal distribution of social comforts.

The antiquity of the malady, to which I have given the name of philanthropic mania, is proved by the fact that St. Paul was discovered by Festus to have a slight touch of it in the year 61 A.D. There have been many other notable victims in succeeding ages down to the present time, when we see sad instances of the malignant energy of the disease in Mr. Ruskin's demented protest against our nineteenth century civilisation, in the madness of the Socialist propaganda, and in the extraordinary hallucination regarding the right of Ireland to manage its own affairs. But, apart from these salient examples, there is no doubt that many people are suffering in various degrees from the same form of insanity; and it is for their sake, or perhaps I should say for the sake of the polite society whose interests they endanger, that it seems advisable to draw attention to the subject. H. S. S.

LITERARY NOTICES.

Our Corner for current month concludes Mr. George Bernard Shaw's lucid article, "Concerning Interest"; gives a new version of some of Turgenieff's prose-poems; and has the usual other matters represented in good style.

'Socialism, the Religion of Humanity,' by John Ward, is published for the Wandsworth Branch of the S.D.F. by Rogers, 36, York Road, Battersea; price 1d., per dozen for distribution, 8d. It is a very good indictment of the present system, and plea for that which must take its place.

The speeches of the Chicago Anarchists in Court, when asked if they had anything to say why sentence should not be passed upon them, have been reprinted in book form, and should be widely read, in view of the agitation on their behalf now being carried on. Copies may be had from this office at 8d., post free 10d. They are really excellent speeches, attaining a high level of eloquence; the keynote of all being found in the closing words of August Spies:—

"Now, these are my ideas. They constitute a part of myself. I cannot divest myself of them, nor would I if I could. And if you think that you can crush out these ideas that are gaining ground more and more every day, if you think you can crush them out by sending us to the gallows—if you would once more have people suffer the penalty of death because they have dared to tell the truth—and I defy you to show us where we have told a lie—I say, if death is the penalty for proclaiming the truth, then I will proudly and defiantly pay the costly price! Call your hangman! Truth crucified in Socrates, in Christ, in Giordano Bruno, in Huss, Galileo, still lives—they and others whose number is legion have preceded us on this path. We are ready to follow!"

FREEDOM OF CONTRACT.

In this age of sham and shoddy, one is sick and tired of the cry that is being continually raised of the freedom with which the labourer can work or even play when he chooses. Our Liberal politician never tires of telling the labourer that he is free to contract as to the price at which he will sell his labour, and therefore everything rests with himself as to his condition in life.

"If you do not like your job you are free to leave it," is the sentiment one is met with when complaining of his hard lot, as if the condition of the labourer were materially improved by a mere change of employers. In the first place it is not true that the labourers, as a body, can change their employers at will. This can only be true of those who are scarce in the market, and there is scarcely a branch of industry to-day in which the supply of labourers does not exceed the demand.

But even supposing it true, the notion that this relieves the worker of his slavery is a fallacy though believed in by nearly all classes of society. The ordinary mind is thoroughly incapable of understanding any other form of slavery than that of chattel.

In order to understand how this confusion arises, we must determine what constitutes slavery.

Now there are conceivable conditions under almost any system of society, which might render one individual a slave to another; but when we speak of slavery as applied to the labourers of a nation, we necessarily mean, not the slavery of one individual to another, but the slavery of one class in society to another class.

Slavery, then, consists in one class of the community being compelled to work for another class, and at their bidding, without possessing any right of control or ownership of the product. We are as much slaves to-day as were the chattel slaves of early history, while we retain all their disadvantages and responsibilities, and lose all their rights and advantages, as will be seen presently. The free contract dogma has been preached both from pulpit and platform, until the workers have imbibed all the nourishment from it that it is possible to get. In his Lessons on Socialism, delivered at South-place Chapel, Finsbury, and afterwards appearing in Vol. I. *Commonweal*, comrade Aveling thoroughly exposed the trick by his ingenious form of rendering Marx's analysis of the contract fallacy, which it may be well to reproduce.

Economic slavery = Hidden by (1) number of sales, (2) number of masters, (3) fiction of free contract.

The number of times a man may "sell" his labour-power during his life may be quite considerable; the number of masters he may serve no less so; and to make the series complete, the preaching of the doctrine of free contract, as an effectual blinding of the workers to their true position.

In what, then, does our condition differ from that of the chattel-slave? Now although it is true that a man was owned "body and soul" when a chattel-slave and was as much the property of his lord and master as the land he tilled, the tree he cut, or the horse he rode, we shall find on examination, that with all our struggles for freedom we have never got out of slavery; we have *only changed its form*.

Mr. Bradlaugh, when addressing the Northampton branch of the National Union of Operative Shoe Riveters and Finishers, on the 7th January, 1886, on "Capital and Labour," delighted his hearers with the following:—"In old times the labourer was not reckoned at all, except, perhaps, as a sort of superior animal—a kind of conscious machine. He was never treated as a human being to be reasoned with," and "In connection with all kinds of labour, the man who directed the labour was called master, the man who performed the labour was called servant; the servant or serf, or slave, or bondsman, was owned by his lord and master, *owned as to life*, as to liberty—as to brain it was never considered."

It is quite true that a man was owned then, just as a horse or any other cattle is owned to-day. The slave owner bought his slave in the market for a stated price, and then he lived on the fare provided for him by his master; he was sheltered by the house, barn, or whatever he was bade to dwell in, just because he was considered "a sort of superior animal." Everyone knows that a horse, for instance, must be properly fed and cared for, or it will soon become diseased and unfit for work, and if it should die the owner loses the price of the animal; the chattel slave of early history occupied an analogous position to the horse to-day, and precisely because he was *owned as to life*.

The workers are terribly "free" to-day, they are free to die of starvation, to prow about in filthy rags, live in hovels not fit for pigs, and in fact do many other things which a slave owner of ancient society would not inflict on the worst of his slaves, not perhaps because he loved him but because he "owned him as to life." The wages of the chattel slave was determined by a natural standard, namely, the requirements of a healthy life. As much of his master's possessions as would suffice to keep the slave in health and vigour so that he might perform his daily labour efficiently, was given as wages. Now by what standard is wages measured to-day? Is the labourer reasoned with before he gets his wages, as Mr. Bradlaugh implies? Is he even reckoned with as a "superior animal"? nay, more, is he even considered a "conscious machine?" let us see.

With the introduction and development of labour-saving machinery the "market value" of the labour power of the individual has progressively lessened, until it has almost reached zero in the industrial thermometer.

Our economists tell us that the labourer's power to work is nothing

more than a commodity, and as such is bought and sold on the market quite irrespective of the possessor, and its price is governed by the same law as the price of a table, chair, or box of matches.

Now as Mr. Bradlaugh frequently quoted Sir Thomas Brassey during his speech, until he felt obliged to apologise for doing so, so often, I will also quote him, "We shall find, as we examine the industrial situation, that the labour market is sensitive to every fluctuation of trade, that the price of labour rises with the demand, and falls when the competition among the employers for the services of workmen becomes keen." (*Work and Wages*, p. 78.)

The labourer, then, is no longer reckoned with even as a slave; but is now the creature of an iron law on the market—demand and supply. Hence it is that the labourer is often found in open rebellion against a reduction of wages; that is, trying to force his side of the "contract" which he is told he is free to do; but he is speedily brought back to an obedient state of mind by the police or military whom the Government send to aid the employers to enforce their side of the contract.

"Strikes," says Gronlund, "are the efforts of *wares* to become men," and indeed such they will remain so long as present conditions of capital and labour continue.

H. DAVIS.

(To be concluded).

A LABOUR POLICY.

II.—IN RELATION TO TRADE UNIONISM

THE relations between the Socialist and Trade Union movements will soon be the subject of a great controversy amongst the various sections of the Labour party (if one may speak of such a thing just now). Trade Unionism is on its trial, and a very few years will decide whether it shall go forward to socialism or backward to oblivion; it is already decided that it cannot much longer remain where it is. And Socialism also is on its trial! the Socialists generally must soon choose between broadening the lines of their movement so as to include the practical aspirations of the working class, or becoming a mere group of factions, preaching, it may be, pure enough principles, but preaching them to the winds and exercising no real influence with the masses. My view of the matter is this (of course I speak only for myself) that the method of Socialist propaganda must not be merely, or mainly, preaching rigidly pure principles which the masses of the people cannot grasp, but taking hold of the working class movement as it exists at present, and gently and gradually moulding it into a socialist shape. The working class, and indeed all sensible men, must become Socialists if they only knew what it meant. The very essence of our movement and the basis of our hope is that Socialism is not a scheme or an invention which may be outdone by some better scheme or invention, but a state of society growing out of the present or the past and coming in the future as inevitably as the sunrise to-morrow.

How then shall we set about our work with regard to the trade union movement? In the first place let us be clear about what that movement means, and wherein it fails to meet the requirements of the day. As long as our foreign trade was growing at a certain rate, capitalism was all powerful; that is, while the capacity of our foreign markets grew as fast as our power of production it was premature to expect a Socialist movement to take firm and general hold of the workers. They dare not think of abolishing the system, they could only struggle for an easy corner in it. They could not stop the robbery, it was hard enough work to merely limit it; to limit the robbery of labour, to get better terms from the capitalist; to increase wages, any of these fully express the aim of trade unionism. As long as this expansion was going on the unions were able to wrest a little more from the employers. Now that expansion has ceased and even the contraction has begun. Foreign competition is really so strong that anything like a general rise of wages would cripple the British capitalists. Capitalism could be as easily killed as crippled, and the advantage would be much greater. The situation is this: just as Socialism was formerly impracticable because there was some hope of better terms from the present system so now orthodox trade unionism is becoming impracticable because such hope is vanishing, and Socialism is the next possible change. Whether Socialism is near or far need not influence us much, for this is certain that however far away, it is the nearest and the only social change that will really alter the life of the workers. Trade unionism, therefore, has but two prospects, it must develop into revolution or decay into reaction: it must choose between Socialism or suicide.

Socialists must now be alive and stirring in this matter. They should struggle to get Socialists elected to various trades' councils, they should send more Socialists to the Trade Congress, they should organise a distinct section there, and make war upon the Burt and Broadhurst gang who now use trade unionism as a tool for the Liberal party, and they should as soon as possible hasten the open struggle between the forces of progress and the stick-in-the-mud policy of the present bogus labour leaders.

It may be said, "Do you mean to say that we are to try to win the trade unionists by going in and raising the devil amongst them?" I answer no, not exactly that, but we are going in the good old fashioned way to save them by casting the devils out of them.

J. L. MAHON.

A LETTER FROM AMERICA.

THE Supreme Court of Illinois has confirmed the sentence passed on the seven Anarchists, and the 11th November has been selected as the day for the execution. The 11th November happens on a Friday: will it be the Good Friday of the coming society?

The Opinion was written by Judge Magruder, who was helped in his infamous work by the other six judges. The judges were unanimous in their decision with the exception of Judge Muekey, who wished it to be understood that he did not believe the Record to be free from errors; but none of the errors, in his opinion, were of such a serious character as to require a reversal of the judgment.

As regards the legal points in the case, not a shadow of evidence could be brought forward that any one of the seven condemned men ever threw the bomb or induced anybody else to do so. This has been admitted by the judge as well as by the prosecution, and also reaffirmed by the Supreme Court.

Why, then, are seven men to be murdered and one condemned to spend his life in jail? Simply because they advocated the emancipation of the wage-slaves in the States and belonged to an association styling itself "The International." The word "international" seems to have the same effect on an average capitalist as a piece of red cloth has on a bull. Not only did these men advocate a more rational system of society, but also, being men gifted with logical reasoning power, they ridiculed the idea of freeing Labour by constitutional means. They consequently directed their energies to the practical organisation of the people and called upon the down-trodden unfortunate to prepare themselves in time.

It seems that the fear of coming events has paralysed Capital's last remnant of logic, or the lessons of history would have prevented the judges in their capacity as servile servants of the hideous monster from pronouncing this atrocious sentence. Whatever evil effect the famous Chicago bomb may have had upon the minds of some timid people, it will be more than counterbalanced by the proposed cold-blooded assassination of Aug. Spies and his comrades. Already from every quarter—from north and south, from west and east—resolutions are pouring forth, condemning in no uncertain voice this latest violent eruption of class-hatred. Knights of Labour, Trades-unionists, Federated Labour, United Labour, etc., etc.—all are protesting unanimously against this decision of the Court, which, if carried out, would demonstrate plainly to all the world that if their interests are threatened seriously American capitalists are much lower and certainly more ferocious than cannibals. The Labour press daily publishes resolutions from every direction which prove most conclusively—even to the most sceptic—that Organised Labour is determined to make a firm stand, and tells Capital in plain words, "Thus far, and no further."

Capital, of course, like all clumsy brutes, maddened by the enormous progress Labour is daily making, tries to crush an idea by crushing men! It is my opinion—and the same opinion is growing like a superstition in labour circles—that these men never will be hung. But should this opinion, against all expectations; turn out to be erroneous, the blood of these martyrs will cement the now politically disunited labour elements, and hasten the settling day to come.

There are but two men prominent in the Labour movement who are well known for their antipathies against the seven men, and who almost wish they might be hung. These are Henry George and T. V. Powderly. The former has already turned his back on the men who were silly enough to lift him into power, and has pendulomed over to the petty bourgeoisie. The latter, if he does not himself resign at the coming conference of the Knights of Labour at Minneapolis, will be candidly told to shift. They are no longer factors in a real Labour movement, and their opinion in consequence is worthless.

No stone will be left unturned to prevent the execution; but should the powers that are happen to be so idiotic as to strangle seven men who loved mankind better than themselves, they and no one else will be responsible for the consequences. It will be they who will give a deadly wound to their much-beloved Constitution, which gives so much liberty to the strong to exploit the weak. Let them beware.

So mad is Capital at present that the authorities refused the citizenship to John Most, trying to induce people to believe that if ever Most should have the honour (a dubious one) to be a citizen, he would play pitch-farthing with all the just (*sic*) arrangements in the Land of the Free.

In conclusion, to show how well money, land, and religion are at present united, permit me to quote the words of one who professes to follow the doctrines of him who, 1900 years ago, was hung—beg pardon, crucified—for having conspired against the laws of the land. Said the Rev. N. B. Thompson, of the Free Baptist Church, last Sunday: "I thank God for the judicial decision by which the action of the Lower Court was confirmed in passing sentence of death upon the seven Anarchists of Chicago. Hang these men? Yes, and every man who dare dispute the very divine mechanism of government by which this great nation lives. Woe to the men who aim at our overthrow. . . . Hang these Anarchists? Yes, every one of them." If this is Christianity, I am sincerely glad I am not a Christian; and I wonder whether in time to come revolutionists will ever remember all these pretty utterances of class-hatred?—Yours fraternally,
HENRY F. CHARLES.

New York, September 20, 1887.

MINERS AND THEIR HOMES.—On Thursday the 29th ult., at the Northumberland miners' meeting, Mr. C. Bradlaugh, M.P. lost his temper over the severe opposition he met with, and this may account for his strange assertion that the miners' houses were as good as his own. The following is an extract from a letter in the *Newcastle Daily Leader*:—"At the colliery in which I live there are what we call seven rows, divided into several sections, and in each row there are double and single houses. The single house contains a kitchen and a garret; the double house a kitchen and two rooms. The double houses are supposed to be for the use of big families, and the single ones, I suppose, for the smaller families. In addition to these two classes of houses there is another special class reserved for privileged individuals—whether they have big families or not. These are fitted with gas, water, and other domestic conveniences, which are withheld from the ordinary miner. There is not one of those rows that is not more or less morally corrupted in consequence of this state of things. The single house probably contains a family of say four daughters and two sons, and their only bedroom is a small garret, which is gained by a ladder, while washing and dressing, etc., has to be performed openly in the kitchen. The double houses are almost as bad, because they are generally more people living in them."—Poor Mr. Bradlaugh! after so many years to be so badly off!



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

Communications invited on Social Questions. They should be written on one side of the paper, addressed to the Editors, 13 Farringdon Rd., E.C., and accompanied by the name and address of the writer, not necessarily for publication.

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

Rejected MSS. only returned if a stamped directed envelope is forwarded with them. Subscriptions.—For Europe and United States, including postage, per year, 6s. six months, 3s.; three months, 1s. 6d.

Business communications to be addressed to Manager of the COMMONWEAL, 13 Farringdon Road, E.C. Remittances in Postal Orders or halfpenny stamps.

TO CORRESPONDENTS.

CORRESPONDENTS are asked to remember one or two things that most of them forget. The Editors and the Manager are separate and distinct people, with differing functions. Letters intended for one should not be addressed to the other. MSS., reports, notices, etc., are for the Editor; business communications and cash for the Manager. Letters addressed to any other person or sent to any other address are so at writer's own risk. Reports, notices, etc., should not all be mixed up together on one piece of paper and on both sides of that; this entails the labour of re-writing the whole thing, and we cannot afford the necessary time.

ENQUIRER.—We are trying to arrange for an exhaustive article upon the French National Workshops, of which you speak. You are right, they were never given a half-chance of success, but were ruined by bourgeois violence and intrigue.

E. and E. B. A.—Matter already in hand. See announcements elsewhere. W. C. H. (New Cross).—Thanks for information. Bakounine's 'God and the State,' 1s. Reeves, Fleet Street.

Periodicals received during the week ending Wednesday October 5.

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| ENGLAND | Denver (Col.) Labor Enquirer | ITALY |
| Justice | Hammonton(NJ)Credit Foncier | Milan—Il Fascio Operaio |
| Norwich—Daylight | N.Haven—Workmen's Advocate | Marsala—La Nuova Eta |
| Labour Tribune | Detroit (Mich.)—The Advance | Rome—L'Emancipazione |
| Londoner Arbeiter-Zeitung | FRANCE | Gazetta Operaia |
| Church Reformer | Paris—Cri du Peuple (daily) | SPAIN |
| Cotton Factory Times | Le Socialiste | El Productor |
| Personal Rights Journal | La Revoltte | Madrid—El Socialista |
| Jus | Guise—Le Devoir | GERMANY |
| INDIA | Lille—Le Travailleur | Berlin—Volks Tribune |
| Bankipore—Behar Herald | BELGIUM | AUSTRIA |
| CANADA | Liege—L'Avenir | Brunn—Volksfreund |
| Toronto—Labor Reformer | Ghent—Vooruit | HUNGARY |
| UNITED STATES | Antwerp—De Werker | Arbeiter-Wochen-Chronik |
| New York—Der Sozialist | De Socialist | ROUMANIA |
| Volkzeitung | Brussels—L'Avant-Garde | Jassy—Lupta |
| Truthseeker | Srussala—Le Reveil | DENMARK |
| Roston—Woman's Journal | HOLLAND | Social-Demokraten |
| Chicago (Ill.)—Labor Enquirer | Hague—Recht voor Allen | SWEDEN |
| Vorbote | Amsterdam—Voorwaarts | Stockholm—Social-Demokraten |
| Milwaukee (Wis.)—Volksblatt | SWITZERLAND | Malmö—Arbetet |
| St. Louis (Mo.)—Die Parole | Zurich—Sozial Demokrat | |

FREE SPEECH IN AMERICA.

OUR readers will see that meetings to protest against the cold-blooded judicial murder of the seven Chicago prisoners are to be held within the next fortnight. Since this number of the *Commonweal* may come into the hands of persons who have not read other numbers and who have but a vague idea of the bearings of the whole case, or as is most likely, have been prejudiced by the misrepresentations of the press—the stark lies of the American capitalistic press, the careless lies of the English—it may be well to state briefly what the real crime of these men is in order that it may be determined whether their execution would be an act of justice or a crime.

These seven men are condemned to death for being present at a meeting called to protest against the murderous attack on a demonstration of workmen on strike by the police and the hired swashbucklers of the capitalists. At that meeting a bomb was thrown which killed and wounded several policemen. The police fired on the meeting, and the workmen defended themselves, and the capitalist government took this opportunity of hatching an accusation against our comrades, brought them to trial and condemned them in the teeth of the evidence. On their appeal they have been kept in prison for more than a year and re-condemned by a court which is practically the same as the first one. These men are really condemned for supporting the workmen in their strike and for speaking out their opinions on the vile, miscalled "Society" of America and civilisation generally. They are persecuted for holding and expressing the opinions which we hold and express whether we call ourselves Anarchists or Socialists, and for applying those opinions to the events of the passing day and the oppression of

the American workmen going on under their eyes. Their persecution is an *in terrorem* measure directed against freedom of speech in America; and it will be a disgrace to the British workmen, whatever their politics may be, if they do not express themselves clearly and emphatically on this attack on the liberties which the United States have been supposed to guard so jealously, but which it would seem are but a one-sided affair after all. We appeal, above all, to our Radical and Democratic friends who are now trying to destroy the base anti-Irish prejudice once so current in this country, not to consider men outside the pale of fair-dealing because they express revolutionary ideas; and to remember that whether they may think our Socialist theories right or wrong, we claim at least equal liberty for all, and that amidst the present welter of politics in which reaction is struggling so hard to lift up its head, if we do not guard the liberties we have won with the utmost care and jealousy we shall find them encroached on day by day till at last Radicals will have no more doubt than Socialists that they are the slaves of the rich and powerful in all senses.

WILLIAM MORRIS.

CONDITION OF WORKERS.

FARINGDON, BERKS, AND NEIGHBOURHOOD.

THIS is a fair example of a farming neighbourhood in Berkshire or Oxfordshire. Population of town 3,139.

Wages mostly 10s. weekly in summer, 9s. in winter half of year for farm workers; least wages of men 8s., boys less. Extra money in harvest, or at Michaelmas, but much less than formerly. More for some kinds of work. Usual time of hiring, old Michaelmas Day, for the year, but sometimes half year. Some landowners keep on their labourers without lowering the wages agreed upon in more prosperous times, and only dismiss for "misconduct." At Coleshill, the Earl of Radnor also gives a pension of 7s. weekly to men who in his service have become too old or infirm to work. In the town of Faringdon live many whose wages are no higher as a rule, but who go out as extra hands in summer, and are out of work in the winter. Houses and small gardens in the villages sometimes free in addition to wages. Before the equalisation of poor rates within each union, many cottages were pulled down to drive the people into the towns, from which they have not returned to the country. At Coleshill, an example of a "model village," a house which probably cost £300 to build, and a good sized garden, are provided for each family, at a rent of five guineas a year. In Oxfordshire those landowners have done best who have improved the old picturesque grey stone and stone slated cottages, instead of building new ones. In Faringdon the rent of a cottage with a small garden is in most cases 2s. 6d. a week, and no allowance in wages is made to meet the rent.

Allotments can generally be rented at the same rate per acre as the farms, which is from 10s. per annum upwards, with great differences for different land, and various arrangements as to parochial rates and tithe, £2 an acre free is not unusual. It is usual for the employer in the Wantage district to plough the labourer's potato or corn allotment gratis, but sometimes he changes the ground allotted from year to year. In the town of Faringdon are some cheap allotments called The Sands, belonging to a "charity"; but the rest are let at the rate of £10 and some even £16 per acre yearly.

Remarks.—The workers dare not take any steps to help themselves without the protection of some great patron like Lord Wantage, or of the shopkeepers, to which last both farmers and workers are much in debt. The small shopkeepers are almost ruined by the large ones, and a further lowering of wages would surely stop them from recovering debts from labourers.

Witney, Oxfordshire.—Blanket making is still carried on here. The machinery is driven chiefly by water power. Wages 10s. weekly for women, one loom each; no men employed except the foremen.

Connorville in Minster Lovel parish, near Witney, founded by Feergus O'Connor. In spite of former mismanagement and present heavy burdens, the allotment holders, having security of tenure, are able to plant fruit trees, and know how to farm better than the original colonists, but have to seek further employment outside their "small holdings," or take several holdings.

Lechlade, pop. 1,176, and Buscot, pop. 371. Wages.—Eight years ago labourers got 15s. weekly. There has been much piece work also, and contract work. Steam ploughmen by piecework might make 30s. weekly. In farming work this has for the most part come to an end, and there is more dairy work by regular labourers. Weekly wages now 12s. with many exceptions, better or worse; a few still get as much as 15s. Boys, 6s. or 7s.; old women, for half time, about 4s., extra money in harvest balanced by deductions in winter. Mechanics may still earn as much as 30s. weekly, but generally less. There is an iron foundry in Lechlade; the ordinary trades are much combined, many small employers working with their men, and carrying on more than one trade assisted by the same men. Most men can also work on the land, they are thus more than usually independent.

Houses with gardens in Buscot, 1s., in Lechlade, 2s. weekly; sometimes given in addition to wages from 11s. to 14s.

Allotments in Buscot at rate of £3 4s. per acre yearly with parochial rates in addition, but not tithe, this rent being 4s. per acre more than the rest of the farm under the same landowners. In Lechlade, a large

allotment field belonging to a public trust is let at the rate of £2 per acre per annum in small portions. Other allotments and small holdings let by private landholders from £3 to £6 per acre. Some small landowners or "peasant proprietors." Lechlade is called a "free town."

Remarks.—Dairy farming is the chief industry, and much produce sent to London and further; "separated milk" may be had for one halfpenny a quart, good for children's bones. The labourers prefer pig keeping to cow keeping for themselves.

Lechlade and Buscot are in Faringdon Union; but friendly societies, such as the Labourers' Union at Fairford, to which only a few belong, and the Foresters', to which many belong, provide largely for the sick, and the aged poor are often kept at home without help from the rates. The guardians, unlike those in Lancashire, refuse to pay school fees in any case, except as part of outdoor pauper relief, which is more required in Faringdon.

Newbury, Berks, pop. about 10,000, is no more prosperous than Faringdon, except for traders; but there are many commons in the neighbourhood, and labourers keeping cows on them are going to form a co-operative dairy, having already co-operative stores. Wages, even the lowest, are not paid with regularity.

Hours of work, and numbers employed.—Farm workers are of course under no Factory Acts limiting hours of work, which are often from sunrise to sunset for field workers, and longer for milkers and cattle feeders, who work on Sunday almost as much as other days. There is an old tradition, confirmed by experience, that there ought to be one milker for every nine cows; but more and more employers keep reducing the number of people employed. Reversing the rule of manufacturers, they employ men rather than women as milkers, because the men work faster though more roughly than women.

Commons and wayside strips.—There must have been what we must call "a great robbery" of commons, if we are in harmony with the rhyme whose origin I should like to know:

"It is a sin in man or woman,
To steal a goose from off a common;
But who shall plead that man's excuse
Who steals a common from a goose?"

The Faringdon Highway Board claim the wayside grass, and sometimes sell the sods, to relieve the rates, to the adjoining farmers. In some other districts the adjoining landowners or farmers claim the grass, illegally I believe, except that they may unfortunately enclose it by law to some extent when making a new fence.

Relations of employers and employed.—The older workers regret the time when they used to have board and lodging in the farm houses, at least before they were married, and the farmers though sparing, as always, of money payments, were generous in everything else they had to give. The old men say that the "bad work" of the present generation arises from the change of customs, and not, as the masters say, from the "spread of education," which is after all very slight.

The general condition is not easy to get at, owing to variations arising in great measure from the circumstances or spirit of various landowners; but examples are well known. I avoid "averages" as misleading.

OSWALD BIRCHALL.

RUSSIAN FACTORIES.

A BRIEF notice occurs in *Le Socialiste* of the recently issued report of the Inspectors of Factories in Russia, and a few specimen facts are given which show the need for a thorough revolution in a system of society which can permit (nay, which exists by the help of) such barbarities.

For example, the inspector of the Vladimir district declares that the conditions of work in the shops are such as to render observance of hygienic principles impossible. The workers are in constant danger of being killed or disabled for life. The shops are destitute of ventilation, and of all means for preventing accidents; they are full of a fine coal-dust which penetrates the body and covers the workers in thick layers. "I, myself," says the inspector, "could not stay more than ten minutes in a shop; I swallowed a mass of this coal-dust and was covered with a layer of fine floury material." This was in the spinning factories.

In the tobacco factories the air of the shops is saturated with nicotine, which produces when one enters contraction of the larynx and smarting of the eyes, and if one remains long in this atmosphere, vertigo.

In the refineries of Kiev the work is done under most barbarous conditions. Thus the workers who are engaged in pressing are always up to the knees in a warm mass, and have no shelter against either rain or frost—and this day and night.

Nor are the conditions any less horrible of their life away from work. Their habitations resemble stables. Indeed, the stables of a good breeder are far better than the dwellings of these workers, who are lodged in barracks, where they rest after work on the bare and dirty floor, without undressing, in a promiscuous heap, regardless of age or sex. Returning from their weary and weakening toil, each throws himself down in his place, which is still humid with the exhalations of his predecessor.

And should the worker fall sick or be injured, as often happens under the conditions indicated in these reports, it is impossible for him to get medical aid in the first few days, even in a case of urgency. Thus in the district of Kazan, says the inspector, there are only sixteen infirmaries for 353 factories. (The word "infirmary" bears a somewhat wider meaning than in this country, which makes the deficiency all the worse.) In the Kharkov district there are in all 658 different factories, and of these 631, employing 20,085 persons, possess not a single medical resource. It may here be remarked that in Russia, where medical assistance is unobtainable, so to speak, except in large towns, the large factories ought to possess their proper infirmaries, i.e., one or two rooms, with beds.

In conclusion, *Le Socialiste* points out that Russia is the only country besides Belgium without labour legislation, and that in it the adult worker finds himself at the sole mercy of the factory owners and masters. A similar remark might with truth be made of our own land, but there is the difference that in England the same state of slavery as exists in Russia, is veiled under "freedom of contract" and other specious phrases.

EUGENE TEESDALE.

SOCIALISM IN THE MIDLANDS.

As in other parts of England, bad trade has pinched all grades of society. The working classes have of course been the first to suffer, and have suffered most severely; but many middle-class people find that the course of free competition has ruined them. There has been a very large number of labour disputes during the past half year. The hand-made nail trade has almost entirely suspended operations. The nailers, not being able to earn a livelihood, ceased working some weeks ago. The masters, as usual, are likely to have the best of the struggle, as the large stocks they have on hand are sufficient to enable them to supply their orders for a good while to come, while the nailers have nothing to fall back on. The chainmakers' dispute has now continued for a twelvemonth at Cradley without a satisfactory settlement having been arrived at. In this trade workmen at Cradley have had to slave for 60 or 70 hours weekly to earn 9s., and the women who make the lighter chains have only been able to earn 4s. In this trade the profits are enormous, and no foreign competition has to be encountered, the fact being that the German chainmakers are more highly paid than the English. In the cast-nail trade a dispute is at present in progress, the serious rioting that occurred in Birmingham some weeks back being in connection with this strike. Several mining disputes are taking place just now, which render a large number of miners idle. In Birmingham a firm—Geo. E. Bellis and Co.—that does work for the Admiralty has lowered their piecework price-list, though they are making very high profits. The men have struck, but black-legs in large numbers have been found to carry on the works as usual. Thus, look at the worker's position in any trade and you find it insecure, the success of one reduction being generally made the ground for another by the employers. Commercial failures amounting in the gross to half a million in three months show the shaky condition of the capitalist class. One of the leading firms, if not the leading firm, in the sheet-iron trade—Morewood and Co.—failed a week or two ago, and were reduced so low as not to be able to pay the wages of their workmen. Another firm—Dawes, Oldbury—became bankrupt recently, leaving 1200 men in the lurch, who quite frightened the Oldbury Board of Guardians by their going in large numbers to the poor-house. Ultimately a large number were put on the highly productive employment of stone breaking. Another serious failure is Greenway's Bank. The amount of money that the depositors have lost is not yet known; traders, old women, and the Corporation of Warwick have all lost their money, which the bankers used for speculating in foreign tramways. The only towns that are in any way busy are Birmingham and Wolverhampton. In South Staffordshire the coal and iron trades are at a standstill, hundreds being out of employment, and of those that are at work a large number are on short time. It is the opinion of competent authorities that good times will never come again to Stafford under free competition. The excessively heavy freights charged by the railway companies, in their anxiety to earn high dividends, and the old-fashioned machinery in use, place the district at a great disadvantage in competing with northern towns on the coast, who have the most modern plant and have little or no railway freight to pay on export orders.

All these features render the district a good field for Socialist propaganda. The Socialist League branches at Birmingham and Walsall have carried on a vigorous propaganda during the past three months, and towns that knew nothing of Socialist proposals are now informed on the subject. One great drawback in the Black Country is the surprisingly large number of men who are unable to read. The poor fellows have been sent to work in early boyhood, and what little that they were taught at school has been forgotten. Trades' unionism is feebly developed; in some places, as at Willenhall, among the lockmakers, they had fairly good societies which have collapsed. In the smaller towns our speakers are generally enthusiastically received, notably at West Bromwich, Tipton, and Wolverhampton. The local politicians are jealous of our presence, and have in some places organised disturbances. The Tories at Wolverhampton have been peculiarly active in endeavouring to disturb our meetings, but have always been kept in order by the crowd, until last Saturday at our evening meeting there. When I arrived at the speaking place in Queen's Square, I found a sergeant of police with a brace of constables in waiting to prevent the meeting being held; so I took up a position in the Market-place instead, and had an enormous crowd who listened attentively for about twenty minutes, when a contingent of well-dressed rowdies came from the Conservative club and managed to create a disturbance by their hustling, hooting, and singing. The meeting was closed in the regular way, and arrangements were made after it was over for effectively dealing with the rowdies when they appear again. In Birmingham the cause is making satisfactory progress, and the meetings are rapidly increasing in numbers. Last Sunday week, the scene caused by the Chamberlaine mob, which was grossly misrepresented in the local press, caused a much larger attendance at our meeting at the Council House. The police, headed by an inspector, were present in force, and no doubt their presence aided the disturbers of the week before into silence. The local branch of the S.D.F. hold meetings on Sundays in Birmingham, and one of their members, Haddon, has put up as a candidate for the Town Council, with fair chances of success. While our speeches are listened to eagerly, and our views very widely approved of, it must be confessed one would think the men would be more ready to organise than they are, and it is to be hoped that the Birmingham readers of the *Commonweal* will without delay make up their minds to join our organisation. They must know that the mere sympathising with the Cause will never realise it, and surely with the forces that Labour has arranged against itself, there can be no doubt of the necessity of organisation.

A. K. DONALD.

THE LABOUR STRUGGLE.

BRITAIN.

THE BOLTON STRIKE.—One firm of ironmasters have conceded one shilling advance, and on the understanding that the other shilling is to be given as soon as trade improves, the men have accepted the offer. The other four firms still hold fast in refusing any advance and continue to import men.

DOCKYARD DISCHARGES.—Orders have been received at Portsmouth for the discharge of 50 shipwrights and 30 smiths; and it is believed that further dismissals will be rendered necessary owing to the alleged determination of the Admiralty to send no further work to that port until the close of the present financial year.

On Saturday last the chief constable of Norwich applied to the magistrates for leave to swear in 200 special constables to look after the unemployed. The cause of this exhibition of fright was a bill posted over the city during the week by unknown hands. It read thus:—"NOTICE TO ALL CONCERNED.—The unemployed do not intend to starve any longer. If employment is not found for them, they will soon make some."

THE NORTHAMPTON SHOE STRIKE.—After lasting ten weeks the great strike in the boot trade at Northampton is now in a fair way of settlement. The dispute is to be submitted to the Arbitration Board, a local organisation on which employers and employed are equally represented. In consequence, however, of repeated disturbances, one of which has resulted in a fatality, about thirty men have been sworn in as special constables, several of them being men on strike.

DOCK LABOURERS.—During the week the dock-labourers have held several meetings in the East-end in order to strengthen and support the societies. About 900 members are now on the roll of the recently formed Association of Tea Operatives and General Labourers. A subscription of only 2d. per week, with an extra 3d. at the end of each quarter, entitles them to 10s. a week strike money. There never was a time when it was more desirable that the labourers should combine.

STRIKE OF MINERS.—On Thursday, a meeting of miners on strike at Netherend, Cradley Heath, was held at the Hope and Anchor Inn. Mr. B. Winwood presided. It was reported that the employers were willing to pay the old price for ripping down the rock providing the men would submit to a reduction of 3d. per ton. It was unanimously decided to reject the offer, and to continue the strike until the masters agree to pay the old list of prices.

PROPOSED RESTRICTION OF COAL OUTPUT.—At a meeting held on Saturday of the Fife and Clackmannan Miners' Association it was resolved that there should be a national and simultaneous stoppage of work for one week or a fortnight, with a view of restricting the output, and that the representatives of the association should support this policy at the International Conference of Miners to be held in Edinburgh on the 11th inst.

TWO THOUSAND WELSH COLLIERIES ON STRIKE.—A very serious dispute has arisen between the Dowlais Iron Company and their colliers, in consequence of which not less than eleven collieries on Tuesday suspended operations. About 4,000 men and boys are idle. The colliery proprietors of South Wales have declined to entertain the proposals of the men for a reform of the sliding scale agreement, and a very serious crisis is threatened.

THE DERBYSHIRE MINERS.—A conference of Derbyshire miners' delegates was held at Chesterfield on Saturday afternoon. Resolutions were passed thanking the miners' representatives for their services in connection with the Mines Regulation Bill, urging the limitation of the output, expressing the desirableness of making each Saturday a "play day," recommending a general federation of miners, and deciding to petition Parliament to pass an Eight Hours Bill.

PRESTON COTTON-WEAVERS.—Last week the weavers of the Castle Street Mill, Preston, presented themselves to resume work, but as the manager refused to accept those whose places had been filled during the strike, the whole body of weavers refused to start in pursuance of a resolution passed on Saturday. They assembled at the Weavers' Institute at 10 o'clock, and were joined at 11 by weavers from the Manchester Mill, who had also refused to resume work because of the rejections at the Castle Street Mill.

NEWCASTLE JOINERS.—The joiners out on strike at the Elswick shipbuilding yard, forwarded about a fortnight ago, a communication to the employers from the United Trade Committee with respect to the strike. The men are still waiting for some intimation from the directors in reply, as to what they propose doing. Should no answer be received, the men will consider the propriety of adopting other methods of hastening a settlement of the dispute between the carpenters and themselves.

The workers at Dingle's shoe factory, Norwich, have just won in a dispute with their employer. The indoor hands were charged 6d. a week shop rent, and were being paid 3d. a dozen less than the outside workers. A fortnight ago about forty came out on strike, and after a week of it the master yielded. But during the next week it was found, in order to yield to the demands of the indoor men, he had taken the extra money off the outside workers. Both then united and the master gave in without making a strike necessary.

THE LIVERPOOL TRAMWAY COMPANY AND THEIR MEN.—On the 30th ult. the wages of the drivers in the employ of the Liverpool United Tramways and Omnibus Company, which has almost a monopoly of the traffic of the city, were reduced by 3s. per week, and the hours increased by 12. A strong feeling was manifested by the men against the change, and opposition was expected, but up to the present the traffic has not been interrupted. The men have no organisation. Their wages are now 32s. a week for 16 hours daily.

NAILMAKERS.—In the Midlands, the great strike of nailmakers for an increase of wages continues. All the operatives in the trade are on strike with the exception of a few women in Gornal and Sedgley districts. At a recent meeting Mr. J. Price said it was a most painful duty for him to conduct the strike, as the operatives were in such a deplorable condition that they did not know where to get a meal from. He considered there was not a class of workers in existence that were more poverty-stricken than nailmakers. If a nailer worked a full week he could not earn 9s., and they were determined now to better their condition.

YORKSHIRE COAL TRADE.—A leading member of the Employers' Association intends to bring before the council a proposal of considerable importance. To counteract the effect of the severe competition among the employers in lowering the price of coal, it is proposed to intensify the work of the miners by giving bonuses to those men who send out the largest quantity in any given period. This is a somewhat bold suggestion, especially at a time when

the leaders of the Miners' Associations in various parts of the country are discussing the question of restricting the output of coal. Whether the men will fall into the trap remains to be seen.

KIRKINTILLOCH MINERS.—At a meeting of the Kirkintilloch Miners' Association, Mr. John Sneddon in the chair, it was agreed to fall in with the policy adopted at the Scottish Federation Conference—namely, ten days per fortnight and eight hours per day, the policy to be adopted as soon as practicable. Deputations were then appointed to wait on the employers for the purpose of asking back the 6d. taken off the men last summer. Mr. John Torrance was appointed to represent the district at the approaching National Conference to be held at Edinburgh. It was agreed to admit the Campsie and Milton men into the district association.

LONDON COSTERMONGERS.—A demonstration of costermongers took place in St. Luke's last Friday night, against the imposition of a toll of 1s. per week on each stall in Whitecross Street. It was stated by one speaker that Whitecross Street had been a market-place for over two hundred years. The resolution of the vestry was characterised as iniquitous, as the stall-keepers have a hard struggle even now to gain a livelihood.—On Tuesday afternoon an extraordinary scene took place at the meeting of the Vestry, a crowd of costermongers, male and female, attending to ask the Vestry to rescind the order. An old man named Eden acted as spokesman. In the end, after a prolonged and heated discussion, a motion to rescind the order was carried by a majority of twenty, amidst loud and prolonged cheering from the occupants of the gallery, which was crowded.

THE NATIONAL LABOUR FEDERATION.—At a meeting to promote the objects of the above, held last week in Newcastle, the Rev. W. Moore Ede, who presided, said: "Anyone who had followed the labour question, however, could not have failed to notice how frequently the system of trades unionism had shown itself to be unequal to extended and prolonged contests when trades unionism was broken up into small and independent bodies. He had long felt that if only some plan could be devised whereby the skilled and unskilled workmen could be taught to act together in their own interests and to help those who were too weak to resist when needed, it would be a great advance. This labour federation did include all sections of labour; it emphasised the principle that in great labour questions it would be an advantage for all those resisting a reduction of wages to act together."

LONDON TAILORING.—A correspondent sends the following: "At the firm of Messrs. J. R. Bousfield, wholesale and retail clothiers of Houndsditch, they pay the cutters, etc., what they call "log"—namely, so much per month besides the ordinary weekly wage. This "log" varies from 4s. to 15s. per month. Now, if the master finds the least fault with an employé, he can stop the whole or part of this "log," the master alleging that it is given as a present and that he can therefore stop paying it whenever he pleases. The idea of its being given as "a present" is absurd, because every man's "log" is reckoned from his book, so much being paid per garment for cutting and trimming; and woe betide the man who has not made enough profit for his master! A few of the prices paid for making clothing will no doubt also interest your readers. For making a pair of corduroy knickerbockers (lined through) the "hands" are paid the handsome sum of 34d. A juvenile knickerbocker suit, lined all through, bound edges, and fancy trimming on jacket, is made for 6d. The same style of suit, only without the fancy trimming, for 5d. Boys' corduroy trousers are made for prices varying from 4d. to 6d. Men's ditto, from 6d. up, 1s. being reckoned a good price. The prices paid for making men's unlined tweed trousers vary from 7d. to 14d. Most of the common trousers are sent to large firms of sweaters in the country to make, who employ a quantity of "hands" indoors, the masters of course getting a large profit out of them; so that in the case of common trousers they get about 4½d. or 5d. for making them. If they lose a ticket they are fined a farthing. For making a blue pilot reefer they get the large sum of 1s. Men's jackets are made for 8d. and 9d.—Now I want to know how people can live honestly on such pay as that? They cannot even earn enough in a week by slaving day and night to keep body and soul together, so what wonder if the women sell their bodies in order to get a crust for the children? Under the present system, a workhand gets the smallest pay for making the hardest garment, and the highest pay for making the easiest one. Under Socialism, I hope, this will all be changed, the worker receiving the luxuries and comforts, and the idler nothing.—W. H.

BROXBURN MINERS.—At a largely attended meeting of the Scottish Mineral Oil Association, held on Wednesday in the Chamber of Commerce, it was reported that the miners on strike in the oil trade had arranged to resume work at the full reduction, excepting those of the Broxburn Company. The object of their men being kept out was fully explained, viz., that the Broxburn Company are to be "boycotted," and should they be beaten by these tactics, then the other companies are to be attacked singly. The Mineral Oil Association, in pursuance of former resolutions, have now definitely arranged to support the Broxburn Company and give them every assistance. At a special meeting, on Wednesday, of the Broxburn Oil Company, after some discussion, a motion was agreed to that the directors take steps to have the men who refused to work ejected from the company's houses. With a view to giving some stimulus to the men in their struggle, a demonstration was held on Thursday afternoon in the Broxburn Town Hall, which was crowded. The local instrumental bands paraded the streets for some time before the meeting. Large numbers of men from the surrounding district, where work has been resumed, were also present. Mr. John Wilson, secretary of the Union, occupied the chair. Mr. Blaikie and Mr. Mallinson, of Edinburgh Trades Council, next addressed the meeting. The former said he brought with him £25, and the latter said they would be the greatest fools under heaven if they allowed the union to be broken up. Mr. Cunningham-Graham, M.P., who was received with cheers, several times renewed, said that the way he could most serve them was not only to give them his own sympathy, but outside this country many others were employed like them, whose eyes were on them. He would tell them of their case to secure their sympathy. He advised them to go on till they were successful; but that would not be unless every man in the hall thought that on him and him alone did the success of their struggle rest. A ballot vote was then taken as to whether they would resume work. Only one voted for working.

The measure of a man's wages is what a majority in the same occupation can live on, for the simple reason that if he tries to get more some other fellow who is out of a job will come forward and work for just the sum that will enable him to live without saving anything. The slave gets his food and clothing, and house room, and an allowance for beer and whiskey. If all the slaves should stop drinking beer and whiskey they would simply get no allowance.—*Toronto Labor Reformer.*

MY AIM.

I LIVE for those who love me, whose hearts are kind and true,
For the Heaven that smiles above me, and awaits my spirit too ;
For all human ties that bind me, for the task by God assigned me ;
For the bright hopes yet to find me, and the good that I can do.

I live to learn their story, who suffered for my sake ;
To emulate their glory and follow in their wake ;
Bards, patriots, martyrs, sages, the heroic of all ages,
Whose deeds crowd History's pages, and Time's great volume make.

I live to hold communion with all that is divine.
To feel there is a union 'twixt Nature's heart and mine ;
To profit by affliction, reap truth from fields of fiction,
Grow wiser from conviction, and fulfil God's grand design.

I live to hail the season, by gifted ones foretold ;
When man shall live by reason, and not alone by gold ;
When man to man united, and every wrong thing righted,
The whole world shall be lighted, as Eden was of old.

I live for those who love me, for those who know me true ;
For the heaven that smiles above me, and awaits my spirit too ;
For the cause that lacks assistance, for the wrong that needs resistance,
For the future in the distance, and the good that I can do.

G. LINNÆUS BANKS.

[The last stanza of above was printed in No. 88 as a poem in itself, signed "Thomas Guthrie." It is so given in 'The Humbler Poets,' by Slason Thompson, Chicago, 1886, 8vo, but I regret its ascription to the well-known cleric was allowed to pass without scrutiny. Comrade N. W. Smee (with others) pointed out the error and forwarded a copy which (after comparison with that given at p. 21 of 'Daisies in the Grass,' poems by Mr. and Mrs. G. L. Banks, London, 1865) is here reproduced.—H. H. S.]

CONTINENTAL NOTES.

SPAIN.

Last Sunday, a mass meeting was held at Linares, where over seven thousand Socialists met in order to denounce the various political parties who try to over-reach the workers' organisations, and strong resolutions were passed condemning participation by Socialists in party politics. The Spanish artisans have been so often cheated by politicians of all sorts that they have at last become tired of playing the game of these humbug democrats.

Another enthusiastic meeting was held a few days ago at Valencia, where comrades Iglesias and Caparo, from Madrid and Barcelona respectively, developed the revolutionary Socialist ideas of the workers in direct opposition to the recent manifesto of Pi y Margall, the chief of the Republican Federalists, and the former head of the Executive of the Spanish Republic of 1873. The Socialists are more and more severing their cause from that of the Spanish Republican party, whose various shades are headed by men like Pi y Margall, Zorilla, Castelar, Salmeron, who are, in spite of their affirmations, at the bottom of their hearts the worst enemies of Socialism.

BELGIUM.

At Ghent, the strongest fortress of the Belgian Social Democratic party, an Anarchist paper has just been started, *De Opstand* (the Rebellion), under the editorship of comrade Lootens. It is in reality the third series of the same paper, the first having been issued at Brussels by comrade De Roy, which was obliged to stop its publication owing to several prosecutions and condemnations ; the second series, edited at Amsterdam by comrade Van Ommeren, who was sentenced to one year of solitary confinement, met with the same sad fate. We wish our new Dutch colleague good success and a long life.

On September 24, a Congress of the Co-operative Societies of Ghent, Brussels, Antwerp, Louvain, Tolimont, Menin, Liege, Verviers, Ougrée, Warquegnies, and Dison, was held at Brussels in the local of the Workmen's Party. Italy was represented by Ugo Rabeno, Holland by Otten and Velthuyzen. And these nice fellows, who have at all times their mouths full of progress and democracy, accepted a resolution declaring that the co-operators ought to abstain themselves from all Socialistic propaganda ! M. Anseele, the leader of the Socialists of Ghent, was also the *deus ex machina* of that Co-operative Congress !

After all, Belgian Socialism is becoming more and more water and milk, and I mean much more water even than milk. In a few days municipal elections are to be held in one half of the country, and the *Parti Ouvrier* (Workmen's Party) has nearly everywhere amalgamated with the corrupt Liberal party in order to enter the municipal councils. The Liberals, having to elect ten, twelve, or fifteen councillors in a town, allow the workers to have one, two, and in rare instances three candidates on their list ! And in the preparatory meetings of these elections, one would notice such disgusting scenes as the following one :—" *Bourgeois* : You are a candidate of the workers. You are a Socialist. *Candidate* : I am a worker, sir, not an Anarchist or a Communist. *Bourgeois* : But a Socialist you are ? *Candidate* : Well, I am a member of the Worker's party. *The Chairman* : Pray let that man with the Socialist ideas be, he knows very well, as we do, that Socialism cannot be realised before three or four thousand years. Don't bother him for that. Isn't it so, sir ? *Candidate* : Right you are, sir !"—(Extract from *La Nation*, Brussels). Now, mind you, that very candidate was, twenty years ago, a member of the General Council of the International Workingmen's Association ! Time moves on, and Belgian Socialism also,—but backwards !

At Louvain, we can at least notice the starting of a new paper, somewhat more Radical than the above-mentioned candidate, *Le Forçat* (the Galley-Slave). We wish it good luck. D.

The wages of agricultural labourers in Norfolk, recently reduced from 11s. to 10s., are in many cases being further reduced to 9s. per week.

CORRESPONDENCE.

SOCIALIST CO-OPERATION.

SIR,—As one of those who voted for comrade Davis's amendment at the co-operative meeting on Wednesday 21st Sept., I should be glad if you would give me the opportunity of explaining the position of the minority. No one can, of course, object to a group of people starting a co-operative store for their own benefit ; and I have no doubt that if the Socialists start such a store it will bring in the pecuniary benefit they need, and may lead to an extensive business. What I must protest against is the tone of comrade Varley's arguments and of those who supported him, who represented that such a business could be carried on on Socialistic principles and could be the means of accomplishing the change in society which we desire. I must say I was as much surprised as the postman who wandered into the meeting expecting to hear Socialism at the style of argument used by comrade Varley and his supporters. The way in which the business is to succeed is by no other means than by competition ; and comrade Varley pointed out that by paying no interest on capital they would thereby be able to undersell even the "sweaters" ! Comrade Varley and his supporters talked quite coolly about "killing out" the shopkeepers. Well, if they do want to kill this class of beings out, I would ask them to have the manliness to do the killing in a straightforward way, and not by the sneaking method of competing them out of existence. And if by this new method of shopkeeping they merely compete other shopkeepers out of their profession, I would remind them that these ruined men must either join the army of paupers or enter the ranks of the workers and increase competition amongst them ; so that this process of killing out the shopkeepers would amount to either increasing the army of the paupers or intensifying competition in other callings. Besides that, Socialistic co-operation should begin with productive labour, whereas this scheme is to begin with distribution ; and why ? In order to make profits by trading, and thereby get capital for a productive enterprise. Well, I don't consider this either a Socialistic or a straightforward way of getting capital.

The advocates of co-operation said that it would be an answer to those enemies who complain that the Socialists are all principle and no practice. I was surprised at such twaddle from professing Socialists. Surely the League has a good record of practical work done in promoting the union of the workers, and its practical work must ever consist in promoting international union, and not in starting enterprises to compete in the world's market. If comrade Varley and his supporters are not content with this, there is plenty of good Socialistic work that can be done within the party. Let those who have been blessed with a good education do all they can to brighten the lives of their poorer comrades by free concerts and free instruction in the various branches of knowledge. Such practical work is of the first importance ; for if we cannot persuade men to cast out of them the selfishness which the present system of society engenders, the new system which we seek to establish will not prosper. And I am sure that the cultivation of the spirit of fraternity will do more than any competitive co-operative profit-making store towards preparing men for that state of society in which we shall live "each for all and all for each."—Yours fraternally,

ALBERT TARN.

THE SOCIALIST LEAGUE.

OFFICES : 13 FARRINGTON ROAD, E.C.

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

"COMMONWEAL" PRINTING FUND.

J. D. (Woolwich), 2s. H. A. B. (Sec.), donation, 5s. A. M., 4s. "Thirsty Soul," 1s. W. B., 6d. T. B., 6d.

THE NORWICH PRISONERS' AID FUND.

For Mrs. Mowbray—A Few Fabians, per Annie Besant (weekly), 10s.—C. W. Mowbray will be released on October 15, and it is requested that all monies and subscription-lists be returned by that date, so that the fund may be wound up as soon as possible after that time. J. LANE, Treasurer.

REPORTS.

CLERKENWELL.—On Wednesday, Sept. 28th, G. Porter lectured on "Living Socialism of To-day ;" excellent discussion followed. Sunday, good open-air meeting on Green, addressed by Turner, Nicoll, Mainwaring, and Wardle. In hall, an enjoyable "social" evening by members and friends was held. Literature steady sale.—A. T. and W. B.

FULHAM.—For want of a lecture-room the indoor work of this branch has been somewhat neglected for the past few months, although the usual out-door meeting has been held at Walham Green regularly every Sunday. We are now trying to find a suitable room for lectures during the winter months.

HACKNEY.—James Allman and Quinton addressed an excellent meeting at the Broadway, London Fields, on Wednesday last. Brooks and Cores spoke at the Salmon and Ball on Sunday morning. J. J. Allman, James Allman, and W. B. Parker addressed a good meeting in the evening at Warner Place, Hackney Road.

HAMMERSMITH.—Our indoor and outdoor meetings have been well attended during the last few weeks, and twelve new members have joined the branch. We have started a new open-air station at Starch Green, an outlying district, and have some hopes of making it a good centre for propaganda.

HOXTON.—Good meeting Sunday morning. *Commonweal* sold well. In the evening, J. R. Macdonald gave a most interesting lecture on "The Character of the Social Question." Discussion followed.—C. J. Y.

KINGSLAND GREEN.—A large and attentive audience addressed here by H. Graham. Fair sale of *Commonweal*.—J. F.

MILE END AND BETHNAL GREEN.—Allman and Turner spoke on the Waste on Tuesday. Usual meeting in Victoria Park on Sunday, addressed by Lane, Brooks, and Davis. Slight opposition satisfactorily answered. Good sale of *Commonweal*.—H. M.

MITCHAM.—Good meeting on Fair Green on Sunday morning, addressed by Kitz. 59 *Commonweal* sold, two new members made, and collected for propaganda, 1s. 2d.—R. C.

NORTH LONDON.—On Tuesday last we held a very good meeting, addressed by Cantwell, Wardle, Chatterton, and a coloured friend Dr. Taylor spoke in support. At Regent's Park on Sunday morning, Cantwell and Davis spoke ; 2s. 5d. was collected for propaganda.—T. C.

STAMFORD HILL.—On Sunday evening, Brooks and Graham addressed large and attentive audience on Stamford Hill.—J. F.

GLASGOW.—On Saturday, Bullock, Glasier, and Paterson went to Kilsyth, where a first-rate meeting was held and a good deal of enthusiasm was shown.

IPSWICH.—Unable to hold customary meetings on Sunday; better news next week. Two more members enrolled.—J. R.

LEEDS.—Large meeting on Sunday morning, addressed by Hill, Paylor, and Sollitt. In the afternoon, Heaford (of the S.D.F.) lectured in the Oriel Hall.

NORWICH.—Morley and Slaughter addressed good meetings in the Market-place and Agricultural Hall Plain. Mrs. C. M. Wilson lectured to a crowded audience in the evening at our hall on "The Revolt of the English Workers in the 19th Century," and on Monday evening at St. Augustine's Schoolroom, to a very full and packed audience on "The Social Revolution," protesting against the unjust and brutal sentences passed by the Illinois Court on our eight Chicago comrades.

NOTTINGHAM.—Sunday night, Waine and Proctor addressed meeting in Market-place. In rooms paper read and discussion ensued on "The Coming Revolution."—A. M. C.

NORFOLK.—Henderson held good meetings during the week at Yarmouth, Carrow, St. Faith's, Hamford (new ground), and in Norwich on St. George's Plain, Haymarket, and Market-place on Sunday morning and evening.

DORCHESTER.—Catterson Smith, a member of the Hammersmith Branch, lectured at the North Square Assembly Rooms, on Monday, 26th ult., upon "Socialism." There was a good attendance, the lecture was closely followed and much applauded; good discussion at the close, followed by vote of thanks to lecturer.

WOOLWICH.—Last Sunday, Barker spoke at the Arsenal Gates to a large audience on the "Aims of the Socialists." We had a little opposition, which was easily disposed of. Literature sold well, and a collection was made to defray branch expenses. A meeting of those desirous of joining the Political Economy class, which will be conducted by Graham Wallas, in connection with the Working Men's College, Great Ormond Street, will be held in the Middle-class School, Upper Market Street, Woolwich, on Saturday, Oct. 9th, at 4 p.m.

North of England Socialist Federation.

BURRADON.—First Socialist meeting was held in this village on Monday, Geo. Handy in chair; speaker had full sympathy of audience. Every prospect of good branch here.

ANNITSFORD.—Usual weekly meeting held at Dudley Colliery. Macdonald spoke on the "Irish Question from a Socialist Standpoint." F. Rivett in the chair.

SEATON DELAVAL.—Meeting postponed in order that its members might attend C. Bradlaugh's meeting, which was rather a lively one.

BLYTH.—Good meeting held in the Market-place on Saturday night.

EAST HOLYWELL.—Macdonald lectured on "The Government, what it can do for the People, and what the People can do for themselves."

NORTH SHIELDS.—J. H. Stevens spoke on the May-side on "The Policy Pursued by the Liberal Hack Labour (?) Representatives," being warmly applauded by the crowd.

SOUTH SHIELDS.—Macdonald spoke in Market-place to sympathetic crowd.

M. MACK, Gen. Sec., 4, Back Marlow St., Blyth.

Scottish Land and Labour League.

DUNDEE BRANCH.—Mahon spoke on Monday and Tuesday at the Bank and West Port. Branch meeting held and provisional committee and officers elected. Arrangements made for holding three open-air meetings a-week by members of branch. Also agreed to take a good-sized hall for a course of indoor lectures during the winter.

LOCHEE.—Mahon spoke here Tuesday. Agreed that members join Dundee branch, and that meetings should be continued. Local secretary appointed to collect subscriptions.

CARNOUSTIE BRANCH.—Large meeting on 27th to hear Mahon, but had to be stopped after half an hour's speaking owing to rain-storm. Meeting of branch afterwards, and secretary and provisional committee appointed. Arrangements made for taking a hall and organising winter meetings.

ARBROATH BRANCH.—On Sept. 29 Mahon lectured to Bootmakers' Union on Socialism and Trade-unionism. On 30th a meeting was held at Brothock Bridge and second meeting in High Street Hall. Good discussion took place, and seven new members enrolled. Branch flourishing.—W. S., sec.

ABERDEEN.—First Socialist propaganda opened here by Mahon Oct. 1. Town had previously been prepared by the vigorous advocacy of Socialism carried on by the Rev. A. Webster (Unitarian). Comrades Leatham, Duncan, and Barron, and friends Gerrie and Bisset, Rennie, helped in arrangement of meetings. Saturday night Mahon addressed about 1000 people in Castle

Street. Leatham presided and made a vigorous speech at the close. On Sunday two large meetings were held, and proved very successful. Number of names are being given to form a branch.

Reports of police interference at Aberdeen and Tory riot at Lowestoft, received as we go to press, unavoidably left over to next number.

LECTURE DIARY.

LONDON.

BLOOMSBURY.—Communist Club, 49 Tottenham Street, Tottenham Court Road, W. On Thursday Oct. 13, Mr. Barry, "Scientific Boycotting" 20th. Mr. Varley, "Socialistic Co-operation."

CLERKENWELL.—Hall of the Socialist League, 13 Farringdon Road; E.C. Sunday October 9, at 8.30, Mrs. C. Wilson, "The Social Revolution." Wednesday Oct. 12, at 8.30, a lecture.

HACKNEY.—23 Audrey Street, Goldsmith Row. Club Room open every evening from 8 till 11.30; Saturday 7 till 12.30; Sunday 11 a.m. till 12 p.m.

HAMMERSMITH.—Kelmecott House. Upper Mall, W. Sunday October 9, at 8 p.m. Wm. Morris, "The Poetry and Sagas of the North."

HOXTON (L.E.L.).—Globe Coffee House, 227 High St., Hoxton. Members' Meeting on Saturday at 8.30. On Sunday 9, at 8.30, J. H. Pope, "Our Parochial System."

MITCHAM.—Corner of Merton Lane and Fountain Place. Club Room open every evening from 7.30 till 11.

MILE-END AND BETHNAL GREEN.—95 Boston St., Hackney Road. Business Meeting every Thursday at 9 p.m. Debating Class for members after Business Meeting.

PROVINCES.

ARBROATH (Scot. Sect.).—High Street Hall. Meeting Friday evenings. W. Smith, 17 Lindsay St., sec.

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

CARNOUSTIE (Scottish Section: Forfarshire).—Secretary pro tem., D. M'Dougal, East Path.

COWDENBEATH (Scot. Sect.).—J. Duncan, 30 Arthur Pl., sec Dublin.—Irish Labour League, Carpenters' Hall, 75 Aungier Street. Meetings every Thursday at 8 p.m.

DUNDEE (Scot. Sect.).—Victoria Café. Meets Fridays 7.30. A. Simpson, 10 Forts Lane, secretary.

DYSART AND GALLATON (Scottish Section: Fife).—Sinclairtown and Boreland men may enroll in this branch. Secretary, A. Paterson, 152 Rosslyn St.

EDINBURGH (Scottish Section).—4 Park St. Business Meeting Thursdays at 7.30. Discussion Class 8 p.m. Sunday night lectures, Trades Hall, High Street.

GALASHIELS (Scot. Sect.).—J. Walker, 6 Victoria St., sec. Glasgow.—84 John St. Reading-room open 10 a.m. till 10 p.m. daily. Choir Practice, Wednesday at 8. In the Hall, 8 Watson Street, Gallowgate, lecture on Sunday evening at 7 o'clock.

HAMILTON.—Paton's Hall, Chapel St. Thursday, 7.30. Hall.—Merrill's Dairy, 56 Walker St. Mondays, at 8.

LEEDS.—17 Chesham St., Sweet St. Club open every evening. Business meeting Wednesdays at 8 p.m. On Sunday October 9, at 7 p.m., T. Maguire, "The Need of a Labour Party."

LEICESTER.—Hosiery Union, Horsefair St. Fridays at 8. Lochee (Scottish Section: Forfarshire).—Secretary (pro tem.), P. M'Dougal, 10 Mercer Street.

NORWICH.—Gordon Hall, 5 Duke Street. Free Lectures every Sunday at 8. Business Meeting Monday at 8.30. Speakers' Class Sunday at 10.30 a.m. and Wednesday 8 p.m. Social Evening Saturdays at 8.

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

OXFORD.—Temperance Hall, 25½ Pembroke Street. Thursdays, at 8.30 p.m. Walsall.—Temperance Hall. Meets every Monday.

OPEN-AIR PROPAGANDA.

LONDON—Sunday 9.

Table listing open-air propaganda locations and times for London on Sunday 9. Includes entries for Starch Green, Hackney, Hoxton Church, Kingsland Green, Merton, Mitcham, Regent's Park, St. Pancras Arches, Walham Green, Hyde Park, Victoria Park, Stamford Hill, Clerkenwell Green, Polygon, Somers Town, Mile-end Waste, Ossulton St., Broadway, Hoxton Church, Pitfield St.

PROVINCES.

Glasgow.—Jail's Square: Saturday, 6 p.m.—Downie, Gilbert, and Adams. Sunday, 1 p.m.—Glasier, Paterson, and Bulloch.

Paisley Road Toll: Sunday, 5 p.m.—Glasier, Bulloch, Downie, and M'Kechnie.

Kilsyth.—Saturday at 6 p.m.—Bulloch, Glasier, and Paterson.

Leeds.—Sunday: Vicar's Croft, 11 a.m. Norwich Branch.—Sunday: Market Place at 3; Agricultural Hall Plain at 7.

Dereham.—Every Wednesday, Market Place at 7. Yarmouth.—Thursday, on the Quay, at 7.30.

St. Faith's.—Sunday, on the Green, at 3. Norwich.—Carrow, Friday at 1.30. St. George's Plain, Saturday at 1.15. Haymarket, Saturday at 8. Market Place, Sunday at 11 and 8.

SCOTTISH LAND AND LABOUR LEAGUE.

(Scottish Section of the Socialist League)

Fri. 7.—Arbroath. Branch Business Meeting, High Street Hall, 8 p.m. Carnoustie. The Cross, 7 p.m. Lecture by Mahon in Good Templars' Hall, 8 p.m.

Sat. 8.—Lochee. Corner of Mid St., 4 p.m., Mahon. Dundee. Grassmarket, 7 p.m.

Sun. 9.—Edinburgh.—Queep's Park, 3 p.m. Dundee. West Port, 11 a.m. Hilltown, 3 p.m. High Street, 6.30. Lecture by Mahon on "The Policy of the Socialist Party," Trades Hall, Tay Bridge Station, 8 p.m.

Fri. 14.—Dysart. The Cross, 7 p.m. Gallatoun. The Big Brae, 8.15 p.m.

Sun. 16.—Meetings at Edinburgh, Dundee, etc., as usual.

Aberdeen.—Meetings on Saturday and Sunday, Oct. 9th and 10th. For time and place see local press. On Monday, Tuesday, and Wednesday meetings will be held at Edinburgh in connection with the Miners' Conference.

ELEUSIS CLUB, 180 King's Road, Chelsea.—On Friday October 7th, at 8 p.m., Annie Besant (Fabian Society) will lecture, "Why we Work for Socialism."

IPSWICH.—Public meeting in Co-operative Hall, October 15, at 8 p.m., to welcome C. W. Mowbray on his release. Speakers—Mowbray, Kitz, Mainwaring, and others.

North of England Socialist Federation.

BRANCHES AND SECRETARIES.

Annitsford.—F. Rivett, Dudley Colliery. Backworth.—W. Maddison, C. Pit.

Consett.—J. Walton, Medonsby Road. Blyth.—Martin Mack, 4 Back Marlow Street.

South Shields.—F. Dick, 139 Marsden Street, West. North Shields.—J. T. Harrison, 24 Queen Street.

East Holywell.—J. M'Lean, Top Row, Bates's Cottages. West Holywell.—F. M'Carroll, West Holywell.

Seaton Delaval.—W. Day, Seaton Delaval. Seghill.—Wm. Whalley, New Square. M. Mack, Gen. Sec., 4 Back Marlow Street, Blyth.

SOCIALIST CO-OPERATIVE COMMITTEE.—Meeting at Commonwealth Office, 13 Farringdon Road, on Sunday October 9, at 3 p.m. prompt.

'COMMONWEAL' PRINTING FUND.

A GRAND CONCERT

IN AID OF THE ABOVE FUND

WILL BE HELD AT

13 FARRINGDON ROAD, E.C.,

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WHEN AN ORIGINAL DRAMATIC SKETCH WILL BE PRODUCED FOR THE FIRST TIME.

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FREE SPEECH IN AMERICA.

Seven men condemned to death for holding a public meeting.

A PUBLIC MEETING

IN SUPPORT OF

THE RIGHT OF FREE SPEECH

WILL BE HELD AT

SOUTH PLACE INSTITUTE,

FINSBURY, E.C.,

On Friday October 14,

AT EIGHT P.M.

Several Prominent Radicals and Socialists will take part.

The Committee organising the meeting consists of ANNIE BESANT, JOSEPH LANE, WILLIAM MORRIS, G. BERNARD SHAW, CHARLOTTE WILSON, and

H. A. BARKER, Secretary.

Printed and Published by WILLIAM MORRIS and JOSEPH LANE at 13 Farringdon Road, London