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WEEKLY; ONE PENNY.

THE ABOLITION OF FREEDOM OF SPEECH IN THE STREETS.

The trial of the Socialists which ended on Friday 13th was not so well reported by most of the newspapers as some ordinary petty larceny case would have been; the Pall Mall Gazette, for instance, which was so hot about the Dod Street affair last year, not even noticing it till the last of the three days. Nevertheless, it is a matter of importance to the public generally, and not to Socialists only; for both the counsel for the prosecution and the judge laid it down as a matter beyond doubt that no persons can meet in any part of the public highway, however little the traffic over the meeting-place may be, however little the inconvenience caused by the meeting may be, without committing that terrible crime, "Obstruction." And the penalty for committing this crime is a fine which only a well-to-do person can pay; that is to say, for this crime a well-to-do man has to pay a fine, and a workman is sent to prison, there to be treated exactly as a felon is treated. Now apart from the preposterous exageration of a slight offence, and the punishing it as severely as if it were a crime, let all persons who are interested in making any cause popular by bringing it home to people who are too poor, too busy, or too shy to enter a hall,-let all such, I say, mark that they cannot any longer hold meetings in any public place except the parks (at present they are open to them) without rendering themselves liable to the above-stated penalty.

In giving his evidence on Thursday 12th Sir Charles Warren was very particular in asserting that it was obstructions and not meetings that his police interfered with, and he declined to accept the word "meeting" from the counsel who was eliciting his evidence; but now it is clear that all meetings are obstructions when held in a public place, and it is Sir Charles's duty to see that they are at once dispersed. And this not in London only, in one town or another, but throughout the length and breadth of the British Islands. Furthermore, it is not only the police who have it in their power to prevent any one obnoxious to the Government opening their mouths to speak in the open air, but it seems by last week's trial that any person can take out a summons against the persons so offending. Thus a political, religious, or temperance meeting is at the mercy of the first cantankerous person, neighbour or otherwise, or of a political or ecclesiastical enemy. In other words, it is a mere phrase without truth to say that freedom of speech exists in this country.

Last year when this very thing seemed to be threatened by the action of the police at Dod Street, the whole of the public who were not openly mere reactionists were prepared to help in sustaining the right of free speech; whereas now, when the affair has entered into a far more important and threatening stage, they seem to be apathetic. The probable reason for this is that Mr. Saunders foolishly let out what the real reason was for the police persecution, whereas the present attack has been made with a cunning which reflects much credit on the police and authorities as pupils in the school of Castlereagh. The dry official answers of Sir Charles Warren in the witness-box the other day left little to be wished for from this point of view.

But indeed the question for the non-Socialist bodies who may wish to address their fellow-citizens in the open air is not now, as it was last year, whether they will allow the Socialists to be crushed without helping them, but whether they will allow themselves to be crushed. They must understand that it is not a matter of the relative suitability of the corner of Bell Street as compared with other meeting places. Once more, all meeting in any public place except those specially set apart for it (if there be any such) is contrary to the law.

All who are on the side of progress may be well assured that if they do not take up the matter now the mere reactionists, who are the common enemies of us all, will look on with a grin of pleasure, possibly

not unmingled with surprise, while the other progressive bodies stand by to see the Socialists persecuted. This is, in fact, their revenge for Dod Street, or rather, their counter-stroke in the war for the free expression of opinion.

To speak plainly, we Socialists are not such fools that we do not understand the matter. Sir Charles Warren was put into Colonel Henderson's place after the Trafalgar Square riots that he might make a stroke on us by driving our propaganda out of the streets. The authorities probably would have no great wish to suppress the religious meetings, or those of Radicals or Secularists even; but if it must be done in order to get rid of us-well, it must; "and let's hope," would be their thought, "that they won't notice it or care about it much."

It only remains to be said that if they do not notice it, so much the worse for them, and to repeat that such petty persecution will not get rid of the discontent of the poor, nor of the only remedy for it-SOCIALISM. WILLIAM MORRIS.

PROSECUTED FOR OPINION.

Trial of Members of the Socialist League and of the Social Democratic Federation for alleged Obstruction of the Queen's Highway in Marylebone.

VINDICTIVE SENTENCE

On Wednesday August 7, at the Middlesex Sessions, Samuel Mainwaring and J. E. Williams surrendered to their bail upon the charge of obstructing the Queen's highway at Bell Street, Edgware Road, on Sundays July 11th and 18th, forenoon and evening. Mr. Mead in opening the case for the prosecution, made use of the allegation which has now almost been rendered thread-bare by constant usage, that the inhabitants of Bell Street had been seriously inconvenienced for many months past by Socialist meetings. In the course of his speech, he laid great stress on the alleged fact that the police had throughout treated all meetings—religious, political and Socialistic—with equal impartiality. He repudiated the accusation of any unfairness towards the Socialists, he quoted the street law which lays down that any person loitering in a street causes an obstruction, proceeding thence to ness towards the Socialists, ne quoted the street law which lays down that any person loitering in a street causes an obstruction, proceeding thence to explain that merely technical obstruction had to be judged in accordance with common sense, and it was only when it became a nuisance that it was interfered with. This assertion should be noted and account taken of the interfered with which which it was afterwards apprehicable. He proceeded ease and rapidity with which it was afterwards repudiated. He proceeded to call witnesses, the first being police-inspector Bassett, who gave particulars of the meeting on the 11th of July.

Cross-examined by Mr. Thompson, counsel for Williams, he admitted that Bell Street was used as a market-place, and that he had not removed the stells as being observative.

Bell Street was used as a market-place, and that he had not removed the stalls as being obstructive. I must here remark that as Mr. Thompson was questioning him concerning a Free Speech hand-bill distributed on the 11th ult., the judge (Mr. Edlin) interposed and with dignified severity pointed out that it would do the defendants no good to read that "blasphemous and seditious language." (!) On Mainwaring asking Bassett whether there were not a great number of plain-clothes detectives present on the morning of the 11th, he made the astounding assertion that it "was a little joke of some of the bystanders to stand there and be mistaken for detectives." The next witness, Superintendent Draper, admitted that religious and temperance meetings had been held thereabouts for the last ten years without police interference; had not heard complaints of the Church Army's meetings in Burkeley Street, which is a more important thoroughfare than Bell Street.

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Mr. Thompson asked him if he had general orders to interfere with other
meetings not Socialist, but the Judge interposed, and said that whether the Mr. Thompson asked him if he had general orders to interfere with other meetings not Socialist, but the Judge interposed, and said that whether the police interfered with other meetings had nothing to do with their action on the dates in question. Next we have in the witness-box the publican Hillyer, who is slightly interesting as a full-blown specimen of the type of sporting publican with a short temper, which shows itself even in these sacred precincts. A round-robin is here produced, the gentleman's customers, only one-third of whom, he admits, reside in the street. During the examination of the next witness, Mr. Thompson tried to show that the meetings in question were of a special nature, and urged that special circumstances may over-ride technicalities of the law, but the judge ruled that only the "technical obstruction" could be considered. The witness Humphreys, who is said, on what seem to be good grounds, to be in the pay of the police, gave a touching picture of himself; a frank and public-spirited British subject, unsuspectingly walking out with his wife to take the air, and losing her amid the mob assembled. To Mainwaring's rather searching question, "Is it true that you are in the pay of the police?" he naturally answered in the negative, and added that he only wrote to the Commissioner of Police complaining of the meetings, because he thought it was a shame that people should be disturbed. This kind solicitude for his fellow-citizens (he does not reside in the immediate neighbourhood of Bell Street himself) did not touch the Socialist heart of Mainwaring, for he gave the witness to understand in somewhat direct language that he found it difficult to believe he spoke the truth, or that he could do so without personal inconvenience. This little outburst on his part cost both defendants some outward show of dignity; instead of being accommodated with seats below Williams's counsel, "like genslemen," the judge signified that they would have to take their place in the dock on the following day.—Inspector Shepherd, to the charge on the indictment, added the apparently impromptu charge of the evening meeting on the 18th being disorderly. He had to admit that he had seen other than Socialist meetings there, that they had not been interfered with, and that he had, not summoned any others.—Inspector Gillis stretched the time of Mainwaring's speaking on the morning of the 18th to ten or twelve minutes, though it was already proved to have been an inappreciable time.

The case for the defence was then opened, H. H. Champion deposing that on receipt of a letter from Sir Charles Warren to the Paddington Branch of the S.D.F., he went to Scotland Yard, and had an interview with Colonel Pearson on the subject of keeping order at the meetings in Bell Street.—

the S.D.F., he went to Scotland Yard, and had an interview with Colonel Pearson on the subject of keeping order at the meetings in Bell Street.—William Morris, on being called, said that he was the speaker on the morning of the 18th, the result of the meeting being that he was fined 1s. The magistrate did not exact any promise from him not to repeat the offence. Mainwaring: "Did you see a religious meeting lower down?" [Counsel for the Prosecution objecting, the judge said, "There may or may not have been undue forbearance shown towards other meetings, but this particular case must be kept to."] Mainwaring only got up to dismiss the meeting; had he done more, should have interposed. The judge detained Morris to satisfy his mind as to the difference between the Socialist League and the Social Democratic Federation (which last name stuck in his throat like Macbeth's "Amen." every time he laboured through the numerous syllables). He had "Amen," every time he laboured through the numerous syllables). He had to be informed that Morris was not of a superior grade in the Society, and that he could only have used friendly remonstrance with Mainwaring, had it been necessary to prevent him from speaking.—H. M. Hyndman's evidence was not allowed, as irrelevant.

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Sir Charles Warren said that with a letter of the S.D.F. on the 13th, he also received bills containing matter contrary to the spirit of the letter; he took no action in consequence. During the evidence of this witness the judge was distinctly seen to prompt Mr. Mead, who, indeed, might be called "the junior counsel" for the prosecution, the judge himself acting as senior counsel. In mentioning in his letter "open spaces," Sir Charles said he had Hyde Park in his mind. The task of discriminating between different kinds of obstruction was left to the discretion of the police. Sir Charles made a great point of his not interfering with "meetings," but only with "obstructions."

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Charles Faulkner was in Bell Street on the morning of the 18th, heard no complaints from passers-by, and saw no obstruction. On being questioned by Mainwaring as to the length of time he spoke, the judge interposed, and courteously and blandly explained to the defendant that it was useless proceeding in this direction, as defendant was fully as responsible as Morris for the meeting, being present and taking part in the same, although not speaking. To which the defendant asked his lordship why Faulkner was not standing in the dock beside him as equally responsible. Several other witnesses were called to prove no obstruction. Arnold said he was constantly present at the meetings, and had never heard complaints—until the police appeared on the scene. There was little vehicular traffic at the Edgware Road end of Bell Street. It was not more difficult to pass through the meeting than through the street market lower down, which was undisturbed. Mr. Mead objected to this statement as irrelevant. The Judge pointed out that "long-established comparative obstruction elsewhere cannot affect this issue. The stalls might have existed for so long that they have constituted a custom, and it is well known that in such cases the police are most unwilling to interfere;" (for example, the costermongers of Hammersmith and elsewhere, where police forbearance was "conspicuous by its absence"). Arnold was of opinion that the meetings were larger on these two Sundays because the people in the neighbourhood resented the interference with the right of public speech. Among several other witnesses, a milkman named Andrews asserted that he had no difficulty in passing with his cart on the 11th. A carman gave evidence that his cart passed at the trot through the same meeting. Donald said he had often spoken in Bell Street, and there was little traffic there, especially on Sundays. Wardle gave evidence to the same effect, and the case for the defence was close

Street, and there was little traffic there, especially on Sundays. Wardle gave evidence to the same effect, and the case for the defence was closed.

The trial dragged its weary length into the third day, when Williams's counsel addressed the jury somewhat at length, saying that it was an important case, and the first that had been brought before a common jury to decide upon; if they found his client guilty on an indictment so literally construed, it would be possible to find all English subjects guilty of like offences. At that rate the Lord Mayor's Show was illegal, or a crowd assembled before any street show. He proceeded to point out that it was no wilful, though technical obstruction. Did the letter to Sir Charles Warren look like law-breaking, defiance? The judge here interposed, contradicting himself wofully, for while earlier in the trial he said that custom and commonsense had modified the exact letter of the Act, yet now he would not allow Mr. Thompson to show that being willing to meet the convenience of the inhabitants, the defendants were not acting wilfully. The "Senior Counsel for the Prosecution" said there was no evidence on those points before the jury. Mr. Thompson remarked that he was precluded from showing the conciliatory intention of his client, a counter-memorial signed by thirty inhabitants of the neighbourhood not being allowed in evidence.

In addressing the jury, Mainwaring denied that all meetings were treated with equal impartiality, instancing a gentleman in Burkeley Street, who demanded of a policeman to take out a summons against a religious meeting there, and on the policeman, asking if it gave him annoyance, saying "No; but all should be treated alike." At the Grove, Stratford, the Socialists were interfered with, and Societies of other denominations left alone, as also at a place of meeting in Harrow Road, which measures 150ft. by 100ft., and at which religious and temperance meetings are held. They were asked why did they not preach their doctrines within halls? Well, they w

members are not familiar with prison life at one time or other, I myself, I am glad to say, have kept out of that. I have wandered here and there all through the country, across the sea to the United States and back, in search of a scant livelihood, and I feel that I should be wrong indeed if, thinking that there was a possibility in the future of my children avoiding the like hardships, I kept silent and did not do everything in my power to strengthen that rescibility?

The counsel for the prosecution, on rising, said that he felt unable to imitate the eloquence of his learned friend and the defendant Mainwaring; but really he was too modest, and I marvel that the jury were not much moved when he said that the law might be a bad one, but it would be an activate when it is a supposed to re-frame the laws and solemnly called moved when he said that the law might be a bad one, but it would be an evil day when juries were supposed to re-frame the laws, and solemnly called upon them to divide their responsibility. He noted that anybody could take out a summons if the highway were obstructed. As to the reference to Lord Mayor's Show, etc., why did they not take out a summons against it if they wished? (Why, indeed?) The witnesses for the defence had done what was called "watering down" the case, practically saying there was some obstruction, but not much. Was it possible for respectable police constables to perjure themselves? (Oh, virtuous indignation at the mere suggestion thereof in a court of justice!) A gross charge of unfairness was made by the defence, but if anything there had been a blameable laxity on the part of the police. If they objected to "police" interference they could appeal to a higher tribunal—they could send a memorial to Parliament, and obtain a hearing of the whole country. (How broad and dignified this sounds!) It is curious to note, by the by, that in the course of their speeches both the counsel for the prosecution and the counsel for the defence used the expression, "The police are the servants of the public, not their masters." Is it possible that the learned counsel do not listen to each other's eloquence?

In summing up the learned judge began by stating that by the Common

In summing up the learned judge began by stating that by the Common Law the highways are for the public to use in all ease and security, and that any act rendering them less commodious than they other vise would be is an act of obstruction. (Therefore Sir Charles's nice distinction between a meetact of obstruction. (Therefore Sir Charles's nice distinction between a meeting and an obstruction cannot be of any importance.) His very eloquent and lengthy charge to the jury was in point of fact a piece of sophistical advocacy on the part of the Crown. He even hinted to the jury that they might consider whether the defendants had not been guilty of inciting to violence, and indeed treated the whole affair as a crime of the greatest magnitude, although Mr. Mead had in his speech admitted that it was more like a civil case than a criminal case. All this to an innocent non-legal mind appears to be a most extraordinary proceeding on the part of a judge. In referring to Sir Charles Warren's evidence he spoke of that gentleman with a sort of hushed awe and admiration, as if fencing, not to say prejudice, were impossible, coming from so holy a quarter. The gentlemen of the jury were to bear in mind that the sole issue was that of obstruction. He dwelt on the Socialists having got hold of this word, which he said was a legal word!!

The jury retired for deliberation (and lunch too, I hope), and on their

Socialists having got hold of this word, which he said was a legal word!! The jury retired for deliberation (and lunch too, I hope), and on their return returned a verdict of "Guilty." The judge made no distinction between the case of Williams and that of Mainwaring, although Mainwaring's was a first offence. The sentence (incorrectly stated by some of the papers) was a fine of £20 apiece; each prisoner to be bound over in his own recognisances and one surety for £50 to keep the peace for twelve months, or, in default of finding surety, two months' imprisonment.

The prisoners were then enlarged on bail till Tuesday 17th, when they appeared before the Court again; Mainwaring asked for an extension of time to pay his fine in, and the judge gave him till Thursday 26th. Williams in default, was committed to prison for two months.

So ended what was really a State prosecution of the Socialists for the crime of expressing their opinions in the open air.

May Morris.

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THE GREAT TRIAL IN CHICAGO.

THE so-called trial of the eight Anarchists charged with the murder of The so-caned trial of the eight Anarchists charged with interest police-officer Dregan, and the wounding some of them fatally, of sixty-seven other policemen at the Haymarket on May 4th, was begun in Chicago on June 21st, before Judge Joseph E. Gory. Twenty-one days were consumed in selecting a jury, and 979 citizens were examined before the panel was

The opening speech by States Attorney Grinnell, was made on July 15th. The opening speech by States Attorney Grinnell, was made on July 15th. His remarks on that occasion gave ample evidence of the vindictiveness with which he conducted the case. Not satisfied with an attempt, by playing upon their fears, to prejudice the jury against the defendants, he attacked the latter with epithets and choice Billingsgate. I subjoin portions of his speech. He said: "Gentlemen, for the first time in the history of our country are people on trial for their lives for endeavouring to make anarchy rule. . I hope that while the youngest of you lives, your memory shall recall this as the only such attempt. Another will or will not take place as this case is determined. . . The testimony in this case will show that Spies, Parsons, Schwab, and Nube are the biggest cowards I have ever seen in my life. . The foundation of the whole matter was the nest of snakes in the Arbeiter Zeitung office on Fifth Avenue."

The next day (Friday, July 16th) the first witnesses for the State were examined, and an average of five persons have daily testified since then. The prosecution expect to finish by July 31st, and the defence will probably

examined, and an average of five persons have daily testified since them. The prosecution expect to finish by July 31st, and the defence will probably consume two weeks longer in presenting their testimony.

The trial is the absorbing topic of interest in Chicago, and, indeed, throughout the whole United States. The Court-room is crowded day after day, and the judge is usually surrounded by well-dressed members of the bourgeois class of both sexes; while many lady sympathisers of the prisoners lend their presence to inspire the devoted men with confidence and renewed courage. Long and detailed accounts of the trial appear each day in all the Chicago papers, which reports, however, convey to the outsider but a faint idea of the real progress of the great trial. Besides the regular reports, two or three editorials a day are printed in each paper, all, of course, teeming with the vilest abuse of the men on trial, and putting the worst possible construction upon the evidence presented in Court.

This neglect of the press to print the testimony favourable to the defendant's (a good deal of which is brought out in the skilful cross-examinations by attorneys for the defence) is a theme of general discussion, and to such an extent has the injustice been carried, as to provoke the indignation of its large number of people. A great mass meeting was held in Chicago, on Monday night (the 26th inst.), to protest against this wrong, at which several speeches were made denouncing the unfairness of the capitalistic newspapers, and resolutions of censure were passed. These resolutions with the published far and wide, and cannot fail to have a good effect. Indeed,

this is already seen in the modified tone of the Chicago papers, as well as in the increased impartiality of their reports; though, with characteristic malignity, they still continue their manifestations of the evidence against the defendants. Such startling head lines as "Fielden Tirade," "The Reds meant Murdet," "Lings, Dynamite Fiend," and "Murder and Pillage," are not calculated to impress the unthinking press-ridden public with sentiments of pay for the accused, or justice to our Cause.

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justice to our Cause.

The papers compliment Mr. Grinnell and his assistants upon the way they have managed the case, and declare they have produced testimony "which must result in the hanging of at least five out of the eight men on trial." The nature of this testimony will come out when the defence take the case in hand. That a good deal of it is false can be easily shown. Statements have been made under oath which I myself know to be untrue.

have been made under oath which I myself know to be untrue.

There is no doubt that there is a deliberate plan to swear away the lives of these devoted men. This suspicion became a certainty when one Gilmor yesterday testified that he stood in the alley and saw Spies light the fuse attached to the bomb, and Schnaubelt (who is still missing) throw it. In the cross-examination, Gilmor swore to the personal appearance of each man in the alley, even describing minutely details of dress and colour. Now, when it is remembered that at that time it was quite dark in the alley, and impropried to the personal appearance of each man in the lates and the subject of the propried of the subject of the subject

in the alley, even describing minutely details of dress and colour. Now, when it is remembered that at that time it was quite dark in the alley, and impossible to distinguish colours, the value of this fellow's evidence is easily understood. Yet this stakement had to be made by some one in order to connect the defendants directly with the bomb-throwing. The State has evidently now completed its case, and further testimony offered by them will probably be of a corroborative nature. Without this last link the chain was very incomplete indeed, but now the newspapers exultingly declare that nothing can save at least seven of the prisoners. We shall see.

Previous to this last proof of the revengeful spirit of the authorities the prosecution had actually no case at all. It is true that witnesses (all police officers however) had sworn that Mr. Fielden, immediately after the explosion of the bomb, had used a pistol upon the police, and it may be difficult for the defence to break this testimony, though personally I am satisfied there is not a word of truth in it. I have known Mr. Fielden several years. I know him to be the very soul of gentleness. He has repeatedly said to me and to others that he never in his life carried a revolver, and that he would not. His wife, also, declares that he never carried arms. Besides it can easily be proved that he did not even know of the existence of the Haymarket meeting until sent for to speak. The case against Spies has also looked dark from the first; and the testimony of this man Gilmor, who swore he saw him light the fuse attached to the bomb, while Fischer was standing near, is sure to convict these two comrades unless returned to the police of the properties of the same timely solve the defence. while Fischer was standing near, is sure to convict these two comrades unless materially shaken by the defence.

man Gilmor, who swore he saw him light the fuse attached to the bomb, while Fischer was standing near, is sure to convict these two comrades unless materially shaken by the defence.

Apart from this, however, the State has proved nothing except that Socialists in Chicago were actively preparing for the social revolution, that a few of the boldest and most enthusiastic had manufactured and stored explosives, that some of them were armed with rifles and revolvers, and a very few wished to ingaugurate the revolution on or about the first of May. That is all that can be made out of the testimony of the three informers Waller, Seliger, and Lehmann; that is all that can be adduced from the evidence of the police officers who ransacked the offices of the Arbeiter Zeitung and Alarm, and discovered dynamite in various out-of-the-way places; and that is all that can be proven from the testimony of those who heard the speeches of Messrs. Parsons, Fielden, Spies, and Schwab.

On the 26th the prosecution produced further "sensational" testimony by placing upon the stand one Jansen, a Pinkerton detective. This man had for the past year and a half been a member of the American Group in Chicago. The capitalistic papers pretended that his testimony was most damaging. Says the Tribune: "The testimony was the hardest against the two prisoners named [Parsons and Fielden] that has yet been submitted, and was so conclusive that even the fiendish-looking Fielden hung his head in silent submission, with great drops of perspiration on his brow." He had attended the agitation meetings of the group, which were always public, and had taken notes of some of the speeches, etc. He had also been to two meetings of the "armed section," and had drilled with them on one occasion. He had, however, seen no arms nor had he heard anything that the general public were debarred from hearing. It may surprise him before the trial is ended to learnthat his true character was well known to several members of the group, and that he was watched very closely

can have it set aside.

Notwithstanding their close confinement and the intense heat, our devoted comrades are looking and feeling well. Their spirits cannot be broken. Never have I seen or conversed with a braver lot of men. They thoroughly understand and appreciate the situation, and should the worst happen they will not flinch. Though fully aware that the general public and the authorities are thirsting for their blood, that even the judge before whom they are being tried is prejudiced against these and their cases and that the they are being tried is prejudiced against them and their cause, and that the trial is in many ways a mere farce—a form to satisfy the people,—they are cheerful, even appreciative of the humourous. Socialism is to them indeed the jest and earnest of their lives.

WM. HOLMES.

The monopoly press is giving the mechanics who are forced into idleness, the valuable information that harvest hands are wanted on the great wheat ranches of the North-west. This information is wound up with a sneering inquiry why any one is idle except a loafer. These monopolistic ranches give employment to ten men each the year round, and require about 200 thirty days in harvest. The starving mechanics and sewing women who seek in vain for employment should take the advice of the monopoly press, pack their grips and start for the North-west. This is about as sensible a solution as these fat-paunched agents of monopoly ever give to the labour problem.—Industrial News.

REVOLUTION.

(By Ferdinand Freiligrath. Translated by J. L. Joynes.)

And though ye lead her out to die beneath the fortress-wall at last, And though she lie beneath the sod, whose fair green grass at dawning red The peasant-girl with roses decks,—I tell ye all, she is not dead!

And though ye rob her forehead high of all its locks of floating hair, And choose the nurderer and the thief your dungeon-den with her to share; Though she has donned your prison dress, and ta'en the food your gaoler gave, And though she now your oakum picks,—I tell ye, she is not your slave!

And though ye hunt her from her home, and drive her out to distant lands, And though she seeks a stranger's hearth, and mutely by its ashes stands, And though she bathes by unknown streams feet sore with stones and splinters sharp,

She ne'er will deign on foreign trees to hang on high her sacred harp.

All no—she sets it at her side, and proudly strikes a strain of hope She laughs her exiled state to scorn, as she has laughed to scorn the rope; She chants a song whereat ye all spring to your feet in evil cheer, That sets your hearts—your coward hearts—your traitor hearts—a-throb

No strain is her's of grief and tears, nor e'en regret for those that died; Far less a song of keen contempt for that hypocrisy of pride, Your Beggars Opera, in whose scenes ye well know how to prance and prate, How smirched soe'er your purple be, how rotten all your robes of state

Nay, what she sings by foreign streams is not the shame of folk forlorn; 'Tis song that triumphs o'er defeat, and hails the future's mighty morn. Bright dawns her day: she speaks but that her fierce prophetic eyes can see, Of days to come, as erst your God: "I was, I am, and aye shall be!

"Yea, yet shall be, and once again before my People I shall go, Shall plant my foot upon your necks, and lay your thrones and kingdoms

low; Shall free the slave, and right the wrong, with sword unsheathed and flag unfurled.

And strong with outstretched arm of might cry Freedom's birth to all the

"Ye see me in the poor man's hut, ye see one in the dungeon den, Or wandering on the thorny path of exile arising unkind men; Ye fools! a dwelling-place is mine wherein the tyrant hath no part, A kingdom in the brave man's brow, a home in every noble heart.

"In hearts that know not how to bend, that cannot cringe, and dare not lie, That beat in sacred sympathy with all that suffer and that die, In every hut where workers toil, and men for freedom strive and strain, There, there I hold eternal right with undisputed sway to reign.

Day dawns apace; yet once again before my People I shall go, Shall plant my foot upon your necks, and lay your crowns and kingdoms

Tis no mere threat; the words ye hear are writ by Fate with iron hand-This sultry noon!—Yet while I sing, free breezes cool this foreign land."

THE CONTRAST.

Where pamper'd idlers count their gold in bags, Whilst half-starved labour toils and sweats in rags."

Live in splendid houses, in unbounded luxury, dissipation and extrava-

Keep horses, carriages, hounds, etc. Have all the places and pensions,

proud, insolent, unfeeling, and debauchéd.

debauched.

May get drunk, game, frequent brothels, and do as they like with inpunity.

Have no occasion for character.

Are armed with pistols, swords, airguns, and Eton bludgeons.

Have all the hares, partridges, and other game throughout the kingdom, at their own disposal.

Are called honourable gentlemen and noble lords.

Are persons of rank and quality. Are named but not numbered. Enjoy everything. Are in robes.

Are represented.
Do not work at all.
Have many friends.
Are people of fashion.

Live in miserable hovels, in want of coals, and every comfort; and are forced to work night and day, merely not to starve.

Can not keep even themselves. Bear all the tithes and taxes, which ultimately fall upon the labourers of the land.

Are broken-hearted and hopeless.

Are sent to Bridewell for taking a pint of ale at a beer-house after their day's labour.

Depend entirely on character.

Depend entirely on character.

Must not carry even a bread and cheese knife.

Arefined, imprisoned and transported if they kill a hare, even though their families are starving.

Are called discontented, seditious rascals and idle vagabonds.

Are rank and file.

Are numbered but not named

Are numbered but not named. Enjoy nothing. Are in rags. Are misrepresented. Do all the work. Have none. Are the swinish multitude.

-From The Man, a people's paper, Jan. 1834.

"Every man is a king in this country" we are told on the Fourth of July. What a spectacle!—barefooted kings with patched pants, begging for a chance to labour from greedy speculators, and sucking down wisdom from the lips of the ward striker and bummer! Ye gods! what hard times us kings have, who are discharged if we look crooked at a ward bummer!—Industrial News.



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

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

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

Rejected MSS. can only be returned if a stamped directed envelope is forwarded with them.

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All business communications to be addressed to the Manager of the Commonweal.

13 Farringdon Road, E.C. Business communications must not be sent to the
Editors. All remittances should be made in Postal Orders or halfpenny stamps.

TO CORRESPONDENTS.

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

Periodicals received during the week ending Wednesday August 18.

Justice
Southport Visiter
Freethinker
The Socialist
Norwich—Daylight
INDIA
Madras—People's Friend
Allahabad—People's Budget
Calcutta Statesman
CANADA
Montreal—L'Union Ouvriere
UNIED STATES
New York—Volkszeitung
Der Sozialist
Freihelt
Truthseeker
John Swinton's Paper
Boston—Liberty
Woman's Journal
Denver (Col.) Labor Inquirer
Little Socialist

ENGLAND

Toledo (O.)—Industrial News
Cincinnati (O.) Unionist
San Francisco (Cal.)—Truth
New Haven (Com.)—Workmen's Advocate
Porthism
Prance
Paris—Cri du Peuple (daily)
Le Revolte
La Revue Socialiste
La Tribune des Peuples
Guise—Le Devoit
Lille—Le Travailleur

BELGIUM
BRUSSES—Le Chante-Clair
SPAIN
Madrid—El Socialista
Bandera Social
El Grito del Pueblo
PORTUGAL
O Seculo
Voz do Operario
Lisbon—O Protesto Operario
HOLLAND
Recht voor Allen
AUSTRIA
BRUNN-Volksfreund
HUNGARY
Arbeiter-Wochen-Chronik
NORWAY
Social-Democraten
SWITZERLAND
Zurich—Sozial Demokrat

RECEIVED.—"Moderation"—"The Amsterdam Riots"—"Advertisement".
"Capitalistic Advantages of Vegetarianism."

NOTES ON PASSING EVENTS.

It is worthy of remark that while there are some brief notices in the Tory evening prints of the trial of our comrades, those papers that were most open-mouthed in support of the freedom of speech in the Dod Street affair, have not one word to say on this much more important case; if we except the Weekly Dispatch, which condemns the action of the police and the prosecution generally, though strangely enough it considers £20 a "small fine"; and still more Reynolds, who condemns the conduct of the authorities without qualification. One cause of this poltroonery is clear enough. Sir Charles Warren calls himself a Liberal or Radical, and is also, it is said, a Salvationist. No doubt he reckons on being able to let his friends of that "religion" have a good deal of their own way; but is he so sure that he will be able to do so?

As to the Tory papers, of course one does not go to them for support of freedom of speech, and their hard words do not break our bones. The Globe is as befits its "pinkness", philistine, dull and moderate. The Evening News has a joke not so bad as to the possibility of a Socialist behaving well for a whole year. Our romantic friend the St. James's Gazette, follows its kind; the report tells the obvious lie that Mainwaring's speech was almost a repetition of Mr. Thompson's. The budding genius who has written the leaderette says they were "ordered to enter into recognizances of £20 each and to find sureties for their good behaviour." The rest of this novelist's romance is not worth quoting; but really the editor should keep an eye on the cheap boys who do the inferior (?) work for him.

A friend writing from Bedford says that the working-men thereabout call the first morning train that brings down the newspapers, the Liar Train. There must be glimmerings of sense in the creatures, as Paillie Nicell Jarvie says of the highlander.

The platitudinous speech of Lord Salisbury delivered at the Mansion House banquet contained nothing in it except a taunt against the working-classes of England for not having or not using the vote, and a sort of veiled intimation which there was no need to give, veiled or otherwise, that the Irish question was to be shelved as long as possible, and that the present Government would go as far in the way of coercion as they durst. But it was no wonder that the tone of the speech should be self-gratulatory as far as the party is concerned, as there is little likelihood that he will be disturbed by the "Liberal Party," wherever that is to be found.

I owe an apology to Mr. Cook, of Birmingham, for assuming last week that he was likely to be successful in his attempt to get himself returned for East Birmingham. But it did appear that he had made up his mind to win, and it is clear that he could only win by ratting just so far as would please the Jingoes of that borough. It is satisfactory that he has refused to do so; but meantime it seems to be growing clearer that if the "Liberal Party" ever unite once more it must be under the leadership of Lord Hartington, and his humble follower Mr. Joseph Chamberlain; which would be a bad look-out indeed if the "Liberal Party" were what it gives itself out to be, to wit, the bearer of the torch of progress into the dark places of the earth. Fortunately there is something behind all that, which did indeed push the Liberal Party into its late position, and which is preparing to take its place. Lord Hartington and Mr. Chamberlain and their Whigs may shut the shutters, but that will not prevent the sun from rising.

We have not yet had the pleasure of meeting our French comrades in labour who have come over to England to study the differences between our slavery and theirs. We can at least assure them of our sympathy; and we shall believe that if any of them have any doubts of the necessity of Revolutionary Socialism as the only remedy for the misery of the workers, they will have those doubts removed by what they see here—our commercial successes on the one hand, our social failures on the other.

Sentence of seven years' penal servitude was passed on a man (a Russian) the other day for having in his possession a block for printing Russian bank notes. Of course we all know that commerce safeguards itself by most ferocious punishments as compared to those meted out to offenders against the person of their fellow-citizens; but apart from this, what was the crime for which this man is being punished? The wrappings of conventionality being stripped from the case, we perceive it to be that he designed to live without producing. It must be admitted that this is a heavy offence, because it entails infinite misery on the world if it is widely committed, and especially if those who commit it manage to acquire large fortunes, as they often do, and along with them the respect and admiration of the greater part of mankind. Heavens! what a cost we shall be at for new prisons, jailers, and so forth, when all these criminals are under lock and key, from the highest aristocracy down to the lowest pettifogging lawyer or unjust judge! Here, as with other criminals, turning them into honest men working for their livelihood is the cheaper and cleaner remedy. A remedy which, alas! these foolish persons will resist tooth and nail, invoking the ten commandments to protect their special robbery all the while; so that it is to be feared that they must be compelled to be honest, since argument does not touch them.

The Daily News recently indulged in a sorry piece of rhodomontade apropos of the late execution of the poisoner, Mary Ann Britland, at Manchester. The Daily News had no word of support for the abolition of capital punishment when proposed in the last Parliament. It has never, apparently, experienced the "thrill of horror" it speaks of on this occasion, on any one of the many former occasions, when some wretched man has had to undergo the extreme penalty of the law for, perhaps, a fatal blow given in haste, and who has also had to be dragged in a state of prostration by warders to the scaffold. Yet because Mrs. Britland, although admittedly guilty of murder tenfold as calculated and atrocious, happens to be a woman, and to have made a loud noise over being hanged, the middle-class sheet waxes maudlin. But, after all, perhaps our governing classes, who refuse to abolish the hangman's office in obedience to justice and humanity, may grant it to the braying of a sickly and passive sentimentalism, which they can better appreciate.—E. B. B.

One characteristic of our time should not be forgotten by the privileged classes: that is, the enormous increase of the intellectual proletariat. A French contemporary, writing on this subject, shows that in Germany the number of students has doubled in fourteen years. It is pretty much the case in our own country, though I have not the exact figures. There is no doubt that there is an ever-increasing number of men of high education thrown on the world, without any prospect of earning sufficient to supply their wants, which, owing to their education, are very considerable. The Indian service is becoming blocked with numberless applicants, and so it is all round the other Government offices. The supply of teachers at present is enormously greater than the demand; I know of many graduates of universities that are working for less than £2 a-week. It appears evident that this intellectual proletariat is a very dangerous element in our present society, from the point of view of the plundering class. Because, once these men become alive to the fact that the shopkeepers and manufacturers are, generally speaking, most ignorant men, they will take

means to prevent such folk having a preponderating influence in the commonwealth. The intellectual proletariat, when it begins to understand the Social Revolution, will be on its side. This is clear from the formation of Socialist societies in connection with several of our universities.

If any more argument was required to show that judges' summing up to the jury should be abolished, one might be found from the procedure of Mr. Edlin, Q.C. (the judge, by the way, in the Mrs. Jeffries' house-of-ill-fame case). In the case of the Queen v. Mainwaring and Williams, for obstruction, tried at Middlesex sessions last week, a letter was read from Sir Charles Warren saying that Socialist meetings would not be interfered with provided they caused no obstruction. Sir Charles undoubtedly meant by the word "obstruction" the causing of some real tangible difficulty for the public using any thoroughfare. Judge Edlin praised this letter and alleged that it showed great consideration on the part of the relies towards. Societies The relies towards are the relies towards. sideration on the part of the police towards Socialists. It was shown by police evidence, and that of more respectable people, that except on one occasion no practical difficulty was caused to passers up and down the street in question, and this meeting was on all sides admitted to have been an exceptional meeting. The old judge, in summing up, in spite of his recognising what Sir C. Warren implied in his letter, that the obstruction required to be a real one before he would take any notice of it, told the jury they had no other course but to find both defendants guilty, as the mere presence of a person standing in a road, causing it to be less passable than it otherwise would be, was obstruction, and it did not enter into the question at all whether any one really wanted to pass through the road. On this view of what the judge alleged to be the law, Sir C. Warren's letter was an invitation to Socialists to break the law, on a promise that they would not be interfered with for so doing. Yet the judge praised the letter. If judges are to be allowed to brow-beat the juries and to tell them they have only one course—to bring in a verdict of guilty—trial by jury becomes a mere farce, which it was at Middlesex Sessions last week.

"The Cost of Criminal Trials.—James Stewart, of Belfast, was charged at Heywood on Thursday with stealing a pound of meat. Alderman Isherwood hoped that the law, which required them to commit a prisoner to the sessions to be tried at a cost of some £20 to the country for so small an offence, would soon be altered, and that magistrates might deal with similar cases. After consulting, the magistrates decided to commit the prisoner to jail for a month, and to break through the existing rule."—Freeman's Journal, August 14.

Stewart—poor devil!—is doubtless an Orangeman who would be patted on the back by his ecclesiastical superiors for shooting down a "Papist," and who would be encouraged to toast "the pious, glorious, and immortal memory." But when he attempts to save himself from starvation, the law, harsh as it is, is strained against him. The Belfast Dogberry, Isherwood, deserves well of his class.—O'G.

ORGANISED LABOUR.

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

II.

Now the lot of the worker, even under the most favourable circumstances of full employment at what are termed "high wages," is not a very enviable one; what, then, must it be to our unfortunate comrades who have to drag out a weary existence of precarious toil and anxious idleness?

An agitation for an Eight Hours' Working Day is mooted as a remedy. It is thought by this means that the unemployed will be absorbed, and that the increased demand for commodities will bring about good times and higher wages. But the reasoning is fallacious. In the first place, the amount of exploitation may be as great in eight hours as in nine. A large employer and commercial philosopher, Mr. C. W. Allen, of the Allen Tobacco Company, Chicago, more astute than most of his class, has, from much observation and experience, reached the following conclusion: "The daily capacity of a man for work is an ascertained quantity. Hours worked in excess of eight are a mere waste of physical energy. Men working eight hours a-day gain in capacity for hourly production to such an extent over those whose hours are longer that their day's work becomes nearly an equivalent for the longer day of their fellow-workmen. For this reason we have adopted the eight-hour day without any diminution of pay; and after two months' trial, we are satisfied that we were right in our estimate."

Certain trades, especially those having little to fear from the competition of machinery, may be able to obtain a reduction of hours without a reduction of pay, but the practical result would be an intensification of labour, which might to a certain extent be beneficial to the employés by adding to their leisure, but otherwise would have little or no effect upon the general question. In the case of most trades, however, it would be found very difficult and, in fact, under present conditions, absolutely impossible to get the hours reduced without the pay being also reduced, which, of course, would be of no advantage to the workers as a whole, though it would benefit those who might be enabled to get work thereby. It is exceedingly doubtful whether, after all, the ranks of the unemployed would be materially thinned even if such lessening of the hours were general. It will not do to calculate as some of the short-sighted over-sanguine advocates of the eight-hour movement are apt to do, that the demand for labour will increase in exact proportion

to the number of hours reduced. There are very few industries where the employes are fully occupied during the present nominal working-hours; the effect of a reduction of one hour per day in the first place and in most cases would result therefore simply in concentrating and equalising the work of those already employed, whilst the temptation to work overtime which is so difficult to deal with at present, would certainly be increased. The probabilities are that those who expect such a clearance of the labour-market as would enable them to obtain a speedy rise of wages would find themselves mistaken. In any case they would have to fight for it, for the employers would certainly resist; there would be a difficult and costly struggle, and even if the

workers succeeded, their victory would be brief and barren.

It is an established economic fact that an increase in the cost of production is the greatest stimulus to invention. Where labour is cheap, it is sometimes preferable to machinery, especially when the machinery is high-priced. The machine needs the investment of large capital. Human labour-power is not fixed nor is it constant capital, the first cost is nothing, which is important to the "poor" capitalist, who can thus pay a small sum for the proceeds, after the labour has been performed. The effect, therefore, of raising the cost of production is to drive out the small employer, to cause more machinery to be used, with as a necessary consequence a repetition of the same miserable weary round of feverish activity, reaction, discharge of workers,

lowering of wages, strikes, etc.

Of course, it is obvious that the workers as a whole can only benefit by obtaining a larger absolute share of the total wealth produced. It is absurd to suppose, as the advocacy of a mere reduction of hours as a settlement of the labour question, seems to imply, that the less there is produced the more there will be to divide. It is true that the fewer hours worked under the capitalist system the less surplus-value is created, and that the workers are thus enabled to retain a larger relative proportion of the products of their labour. But this very fact is surely convincing proof of the horribly unjust state of society. Is it not monstrous that the very industry of the people should prove their destruction? That the greater the amount of wealth created the more abject and hopeless should become the condition of vast numbers of our fellowmen? What a satire upon our boasted civilisation that plenty should bring misery to many, and that people should actually starve because of the very abundance? Yet to-day it would really advantage great numbers of the most useful members of the community if after working hard to produce various commodities, they should immediately destroy the product of their labour, in order that they might still continue to be employed in replacing the wealth so destroyed, and thereby avoid being cast out into the streets to become tramps and paupers.

A very little consideration will show that Trades'-unionism is utterly powerless to raise wages all round. Those unions who get a rise of wages benefit only so long as their position is exceptional. Directly there is a general advance of wages, there is a corresponding rise in the prices of the necessaries of life—food, clothing and shelter—which eventually reduces matters pretty much to the condition they were in before the advance was gained. In fact, the inevitable tendency of all efforts to improve the condition of the workers on the ordinary trades'-union lines is simply to bring about an equalisation of wages—an averaging between the highest and lowest price paid for labour, not only in any one country, but over the whole of Europe and America, and in fact wherever the accursed rule of capital extends. Thus any advance which the workers gain in one country is immediately counteracted by the importation of cheap labour, or the transference of capital to places where the workers can be more easily plundered. Nothing less, therefore, than an international combination of the workers to bring about a simultaneous and universal strike, can accomplish even such a comparatively paltry palliative as the eight hour working-day.

But even supposing (for the sake of the argument) that it were possible for such terms to be made with the monopolists by the trades' unions as would entirely satisfy them. What then? They cannot if they would, and they ought not to, if they could, separate their interests from the rest of the workers There are large classes of the community whose condition daily grows more and more intolerable. soon demand in no uncertain terms to have a voice in any settlement that is to be made. What of the thousands of small traders who are being daily crushed out by the large firms—the small employers vainly endeavouring to compete with the big capitalists? beside the hosts of workers of all kinds who are entirely outside the scope of trades-union effort? By every consideration of humanity, and even of expediency, trades' unionists are bound to take the position of these classes into account. An organisation that does not work for all productive interests cannot expect them to look out for its interests; and if the unions are to look out for their own members only, without regard to the well-being of others outside their ranks, they are simply acting like the monopolist who believes that every one else was born for his use and convenience.

Besides, the classes to which I have referred as being outside the pale of Trades'unionism are being continually largely recruited from the ranks of the artisans and mechanics; for it must be borne in mind that the demand for handicraftsmen, owing to the causes already referred to—increase in the use of improved machinery, etc., etc.—does not keep pace with the population. Notwithstanding the fact, therefore, that the sons of trades'-unionists drive the fathers wholesale into the ranks of the unemployed, the vacancies are still insufficient to supply all the youths in need of employment; and every parent at least knows that the difficulty of finding any occupation for them promising a decent livelihood becomes greater and greater every day.

Tracles'-unionists, then, cannot be indifferent to these things. Their

welfare and that of their families is involved in the general well-being of the people; but even supposing that, looking merely to their own selfish interests, and by ignoring every other consideration, it were possible for them to gain any substantial benefit by assisting the bourgeoisie to maintain the present corrupt society, with its frightful social inequality and widespread misery and degradation, they would deserve the execration of Humanity if they consented to do so. a course of action, however, would be totally at variance with the spirit and traditions of the trades'-union movement, and I for one have no fear of such an unholy alliance. I have a profound conviction that the trades' unions are destined to play an important part in the Social Revolution, when once they perceive how incompatible is the present economic basis of society with the happiness of the people.

T. Binning.

(To be concluded.)

WOMAN'S WORK.

The Annual Congress of the British Medical Association was opened at Brighton on the 10th. We are told that the chief text of Dr. Moore's address was the higher education of women, considered in the light of Mr. Herbert Spencer's dictum—that the first requisite of good living was to be a good animal, and that to be a nation of good animals was a first condition of national prosperity. Whilst disclaiming any prejudice against women entering the medical profession, he argued that the strain of competitive struggles against the admittedly superior strength of men proved the ruinous unwisdom of encouraging the competition of women with men in severe brain-work, and that the higher education of women disposed them against matrimony and unfitted them for the duties of motherhood. "The over-training of women," he adds, "would do more to deteriorate the race than all the triumphs of Girton to improve it—in short, women were intended to be not men but the mothers of men." If the doctor means that women should not have outside work along with the thought and care of home duties, which are quite enough under our present condition of society to drive any woman mad, he is quite right; but can he tell us how it can be prevented, any more than can be prevented the competition of the lower classes of women against their fathers, husbands, and brothers in our present warfare for existence? It is all a matter of bread-and-butter from beginning to end!

Dr. Moore would make us believe, if we did not know better, that women only suffered in health by "over-training," but what about the hundreds of men who lose their health over the very same studies? The strain is not in study, but in the useless over-work which is the curse of our competitive system, whether in study or commerce. will our would-be philanthropist see this? His anxiety about women is somewhat amusing, as his sympathies are entirely devoted to women who (according to him) injure their health by all this higher education. He quite overlooks the constant strain of toil and hard work that the women of the lower ranks of life have to submit to; why is he not as anxious about these women who are also "thereby unfitted for the duties of motherhood," which he so much deplores? "Over-training of women deteriorates the race; in fact, women are intended to be not men, but the mothers' of men." One would imagine from this he thought that those women who toil at making shirts at 1d. each, or stitch their finger-ends off in back slums at dressmaking, or stand about in shops for twelve hours a day, are not supposed to be "mothers of men," and are not to be considered at all in the woman question. Professional men are evidently wider awake than the so-called working-classes; they see that the employment (not education) of women will injure them in the present scramble for existence; they do not know how to alter it, so put a philanthropic gloss over it, by assuming profound concern for the health of (studious) women. The cloven foot is too palpable. When will people see that the only remedy for these evils is to change the system of society under which we groan.

SARAH S. GOSTLING.

"The Spoils to the Victors,"—The following is, according to Truth, the apportionment of the spoils of office to peers and to peers' sons:—Lord Salisbury, £5000 per annum; Lord Halsbury, £10,000; Lord Ashbourne, £8000; Lord Granbrook, £2000; Lord Iddesleigh, £5000; the Hon. E. Stanhope, £5000; Lord Randolph Churchill, £5000; Lord George Hamilton, £5000; £000; Lord Londonderry, £20,000; Lord Dunraven, £2000; the Hon. F. Stanley, £5000; Lord Londonderry, £20,000; Lord Dunraven, £2000; the Hon. F. Stanley, £5000; Lord Lathom, £2000; Lord Dunraven, £2000; the Hon. Worthcote, £1200; Lord Charles Beresford, £1200; Lord Lathom, £2000; Duke of Portland, £2500; Lord Mount Edgcumbe, £2000; Lord Arthur Hill, £1000; Lord Lewisham, £1000; Lord Folkstone, £1000; Lord Onslow, £700; Lord Limerick, £1000; Lord Henniker, £700; Lord Hopetoun, £700; Lord Elphinstone, £700; Lord de Ros, £700; Earl Waldegrave, £700; Lord Beauchamp, £1000; Lord Harris, £2000; Hon. S. Herbert, £1200; Lord Coventry, £1700; Lord Barrington, £1200; Lord Kintore, £1000. Total, £110,000 to peers and sons of peers. Besides this, the Duchess of Buccleuch receives £500 as Mistress of the Robes, and eight peeresses £500 each as Ladies of the Bedchamber. These salaries, says Mr. Labouchere, would give £50 per annum to 2722 persons who are not peers or sons of peers.—

Pall Mall Gazette, August 11, 1886.

Work is withheld from women in theory, only to be more harshly and clumsily inflicted in practice.—Value of Life.

The form of association, if mankind continues to improve, that must be expected in the end to predominate, is not that which can exist between a capitalist as chief, and work people without a voice in the management, but the association of the labourers themselves, on terms of equality, collectively owning the capital with which they carry on their operations, and working under managers elected or removable by themselves.—John Stuart Mill.

CORRESPONDENCE.

EVILS OF PIECEWORK.

SIR,-I am not yet optimistic as to the speedy realisation of Socialistic

SIR,—I am not yet optimistic as to the speedy realisation of Socialistic aims and ideals; nevertheless, every instinct within me revolts against the brutal and brutalising régime of our present-day Individualism. To those self-interested prophets who urge that the carrying out of Collectivist theories will land us in a condition akin to primitive barbarism and slavery, I have to reply that "barbarism and slavery" are more closely allied to so-called civilisation than superficial and superfine persons care to admit.

All the resources of civilisation that are intrinsically valuable, are more likely to be persistent when the capitalist, gambler-like, can no longer use white slaves as dice in his money-grubbing diversions. There is neither beauty nor utility in the "gentlemanly" chimney-pot hat to exalt it above all hats; on the contrary, the wearer of one is consciously or unconsciously invested with the insignia of a slave-master. For it is beyond all doubt that the extravagant adornment of one person is a logical corrollary to another person's raggedness, and the elaborately dressed lady is no doubt well aware person's raggedness, and the elaborately dressed lady is no doubt well aware that so far from increasing the general well-being of the community by her lavish expenditure, she really does nothing more than assume a superiority over her poorer sisters, which is fictitious indeed, but neither poetical or

beautiful.

There is sadness in the thought that fresh from the bath no one could tell the patrician from the "pleb", unless, indeed, it were to judge wrongly owing to the colour washing out of the former. But, if I pursue this idea

the patrician from the "pleb", unless, indeed, it were to judge wrongly owing to the colour washing out of the former. But, if I pursue this idea further, I shall grow tearfully pathetic, and, furthermore, brevity should be insisted upon where a neophyte to your gospel essays public utterance.

I believe, sir, that the greatest enemy of Socialism, or one of the greatest, is the selfish or blindly-contented apathy of the lamb-like Briton who is in employment. That being assumed, it devolves upon us to arouse those who would rather be door-keepers in the house of a lord than dwell in the tents of Righteousness. The particular phase of the Labour question I should like for a moment to touch upon is suggested by the increasing rage for piece-work. And here I must say that while in a sense Jack is as good as his master, he is not so wise. In the great legalised fraud called Competition, the working-man must not continue to engage, for Capital, like Promotheus intensified, will all the more hungrily gnaw at his vitals if thus encouraged to do so. I will not be so sweeping as to condemn all round the employer who introduces piece-work, for in some instances it may be the most equitable arrangement between wage-earner and employer. But speaking generally, the man who offers piecework is virtually enticing powerful fools to ruin their own physique, and at the same time make it increasingly difficult for persons of lesser physical strength to earn a bare existence. The primary object in offering piece-work is, of course, to produce work at the lowest possible cost, and while the deluded worker fancys his employer a philanthropist, that gentleman is as surely feeding on blood as the horse-leech. It is high time for the worker to perceive that if by almost superhuman exertion he earns something more than his day-working fellows, the master will soon secure the benefits by cutting down the price. I know men who are performing twice as much work for about ninepence an hour as other men would do for a penny per hour less. A c

LITERARY NOTICES.

The Republican, it is now announced, will henceforth appear under the style and title of the Radical, as "many people associate Republicanism with violent revolution, and refuse to heed the voice of its preachers; while a very large number of Radicals regard it as an academic subject of comparatively little importance"! We are sorry to see our bright little contemporary taking this retrograde step, the more especially that the times are becoming more and more frankly revolutionary year by year, although we are glad to note the confession that Radicals are beginning to see that no mere governmental change will be of benefit.—S.

The translation of Lissagary's History of the Commune of Paris, by Eleanor Marx-Aveling, is now to be had. This book is too important to be passed over with a short notice, and it will be duly reviewed in the Commonweal. Meanwhile it must be said of it that it is the only book which can lay claim to be considered a history of that great event, and should be read by all students of history as well as by all Socialists.—M.

all students of history as well as by all Socialists.—M.

'The Woman Question,' by Edward and Eleanor Marx-Aveling. This pamphlet is to a great extent a résume of the book 'On Woman,' by August Bebel, the German Socialist Member of Parliament, who has just been condemned to imprisonment on account of his Socialistic views. The writers forcibly show how the woman question is to a very great extent an economical one, and that it can only be solved by the social revolution. To those who have not looked at the question from a Socialist point of view, this little pamphlet will be very useful. The writers' views on chastity have been severely commented upon by a contemporary. Asceticism, however, has had its day; and I am sure that all sensible persons, whether Socialists or individualists, will indorse the Avelings' views on this point.—D.

'Socialist Talse and True' by George Blaiklock. To attempt to enumer-

individualists, will indorse the Avelings' views on this point.—D.

'Socialism, False and True,' by George Blaiklock. To attempt to enumerate all the delusions and absurdities in this "exposure" would take up too much room, as it would mean printing the pamphlet entire. For Mr. Blaiklock's sake we will point out one very patent absurdity—i.e., the advocating the possibility of having your pie and eating it. He believes in making land and railways common property, but he proposes to buy out the landlords and shareholders. This, he thinks, would be a benefit. What it means is an enormous number of bondholders having usury on their bonds, instead of landlords having to collect their rents. The ground on which Mr. Blaiklock advocates this procedure is that the landlords have a right to the land and that the railway shareholders made the railways, both of which positions are denied by Socialists. If he continues his studies he will find that "true Socialism" has nothing to do with the kind of compensation he speaks of. We want to compensate the right parties, and they are not the men who have "bed us.—D.

FRANCE.

FRANCE.

At the Assize Court of the Seine, Louise Michel, Jules Guesde, Paul Lafargue, and Susini, were tried on the 12th of August for revolutionary speeches made at a meeting at the Château d'Eau, speeches it was alleged, inciting to murder and violence. A verdict of Guilty was found in all four cases, Louise Michel being condemned to four months' imprisonment and a fine of £4, Guesde and Lafargue to six months' and a fine of £4, Susini to four months' and the like fine. Judgment by default was given in the cases of the three last, as Louise Michel was the only one who thought fit to appear in Court to take her trial. A Bonapartiournalist, Mariotte, was charged at the same time for seditious articles against the Republic, and was acquitted and immediately set at liberty. On being asked whether she had anything to say, Louise Michel took the opportunity of congratulating the jury on their verdict on M. Mariotte, and thus upholding the liberty of the Press; she declared that Socialists were not enemies of the Republic, as it was attempted to prove in coupling in the same hearing the Bonapartist who attacked it with the Socialists who defended it. There was only one witness for the prosecution, a commissary of police who had wandered into the hall of the Château d'Eau on the occasion of the meeting in question—in his sleep apparently, for his evidence was, to put it mildly, lame and incomplete. So much so, indeed, that the defendant, with a kind considerateness somewhat put of place in a Court of Justice, several times came to his assistance and prompted him with a word, to the intense gratification of the public. Decidelly people get more passing amusement out of justice as it is administered in France, than they do out of that commodity with all its pompous machinery in England!

Armentieres.—Deschildres, a Socialist who fired off a pistol at Cassagnac's meeting, which ended in such a scene of disorder, has been sentenced to one year's imprisonment.

VIERZON (CHER).—The workers at the "Compagnie Française," manufacturers of agricultural plant at Vierzon, are on strike in consequence of persistent reduction of wages. The Committee of Strikers called a meeting last week to explain their grievances, at which the mayor of the town and several officials who are in sympathy with them, were present.

There has been a rather stormy manifestation of disfavour against those traffickers in human flesh in Paris, the bureaux de placements (agencies for situations). A crowd of waiters out of place "waited" at the doors of a certain agency, where they were soon joined by a large crowd, which, as the doors very naturally remained closed against the tardy-aroused indignation of the exploited, amused themselves by hooting at the agents, and finally betook themselves through the streets singing the Marseillaise. The police behaved with their customary brutality and arrogance. A League was formed lately, issuing a manifesto on the subject, to which was added a petition to the Chamber requesting the suppression of the bureaux de placement.

Porquerolles.—Everything possible has been done to hush up the affair of the agricultural colony of Porquerolles, and if we were foolish enough to believe the bourgeois journals, all the blame rests on a dozen "incorrigibles" among the children, who are to be indicted at the Assize Court. M. and Mme. Roussen were guardian angels of children! Instruments of torture? Pure invention! The press, however, can say what it will, but those who know what "agricultural colonies" in general are, and what children are when well treated, cannot be made to believe that the revolt was without cause.—Le Revolté.

There is another bagnio of the same description, the glass-works of Bailleul, near Clairvaux

The Adjourned Case of T. E. Wardle and J. Allman at Marylebone Police Court.

Marylebone Police Court.

This case which was adjourned by Mr. Cooke for "the public convenience" to August 14th, came before Mr. De Rutzen for re-hearing. The evidence given showed that an obstruction in the legal sense of the word had occurred; but that in its common-sense meaning no obstruction had taken place. Wardle pointed out that the space at the corner of Fernhead Road came within the meaning of the words "an open space" in Sir Charles Warren's letter. A witness stated that it was on the advice of Mr. Cooke and Sir Charles Warren that he looked about in Marylebone for a more suitable place than Bell Street, and he thought he had found one at Fernhead Road, and that there was every desire on the part of the Socialist League to prevent the public being inconvenienced by their meetings. Mr. De Rutzen in passing sentence, remarked in reply to defendants, that the police would in future take care to clear the streets of all bodies irrespective of their opinions, and that obstruction in its legal sense would be prosecuted, irrespective of the fact that no public inconvenience had been caused. Whether or not this will be carried out we shall see. He said that any Socialists causing obstruction in future would be prosecuted at Common Law, and not under the Highways Aet. The defendants were fined 2s. 6d. each and 2s. expenses.

A PROPAGANDIST EXCURSION. "Fresh fields and pastures new."

"Fresh fields and pastures new."

I wish to inform our comrades through the medium of our paper that some members and friends of the Socialist League have decided to have a propagandist excursion, partly for pleasure, but principally to advertise the Commonweal and introduce Socialist literature into some of the towns within forty miles or so, of starving, slavish, smoky London. We intend starting one Saturday, and returning about the following Tuesday (or whenever the majority may decide) and as we are not capitalists we shall have to walk most of the way. The route is not yet decided upon, so that any suggestions from comrades as to the best direction to take to do the most good will be thankfully received by J. Slodden, care of the Secretary, 13 Farringdon Road, E.C., and should be sent at once, as we wish it to take place in about a fortnight, as the wet weather will soon be coming on. We hope that some speakers will take part, and any comrades willing to join in such an excursion, and willing to rough it a little, combining business with pleasure, should communicate at once as above. Members of the Hackney, Hoxton, and Mile End Branches will take part.

P. S.—Sinee writing the above, four speakers and about a dozen other comrades have promised to take part; it has been decided to start on Saturday week, August 28th. A comrade will bring his tricycle to assist to carry literature. A meeting to arrange details will be held on Monday next, at 8.30 p.m., in the Office (not the hall) 13 Farringdon Road, All comrades interested are invited to attend.—T. R. C.

Forget nationality; think only of Humanity; princes and kings only have diverse interests; the people of all countries are friends. $-Victor\ Hugo$.

In every disputation, let us hope more from the lucid moments of Reason, than "from the weight of Authority.—Cicero.

THESOCIALIST LEAGUE.

Offices: 13 Farringdon Road, E.C.

Branch Subscriptions Paid.

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

A Concert was held at Farringdon Hall last Saturday in aid of the *Commonweal* Printing Fund, which was a general success.

The Hall was full, and programmes and papers sold well.—Thos. E. WARDLE.

BRANCH REPORTS.

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

and papers sold well.—Tions, E. WARDLE.

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

BLOOMSENEY.—On Friday, August 13, at Artington Hall, W., George Bernard. Shaw lectured to a good audience upon "Socialism and Malthusianism." T. E. Wardle has resigned the office of secretary to the Branch, and W. A. Chambers was elected in his stead, to whom all communications should be addressed at 13, Charlots with the steady of the steady o

On Sunday, the 15th inst., an open-air meeting was addressed by several comrades on St. Catherine's Plain, who were well received by the audience.—On Monday, 16th, an interesting lecture was delivered by comrade Morley on "Socialism and Christianity," which led to a good discussion by those present. We are now awaiting the visit of Mowbray, and are anticipating some glorious times. Several new names have been taken down.—T. M., joint sec.

new names have been taken down.—T. M., joint sec.

Canning Town Lecture Society.—On Sunday morning, August 15, we had a large attendance to hear Mowbray discourse on "What is Profit?" He was listened to attentively by about 500 people. There was slight opposition offered, but easily explained away.—In the evening, at the Temperance Ale Stores, 144, Barking Road, Herbert Burrows gave us an excellent lecture.—H. H. Sparling will attend on the 22nd to speak on "Current Events."—J. O. S.

Sheffield Socialists.—On Monday 9th August Raymond Unwin gave us a lecture on "Communism in the Past, and what it Teaches." He pointed out how village communities had existed in early times, not only in Europe, but in Peru, China, Mexico, India, etc.—in fact, nearly all over the world. He then went on to give a special account of the Russian Mir, or village community, and of the Servian family community, both of which forms linger, with modifications, down to the present day. Among the mountains, also, of Switzerland the ancient communism may still be found; and here, in fact, in these secluded valleys, the highest conservativism preserves for us the most democratic of institutions. The lecturer then pointed out the general course of man's development in society—how the reckless individuality of merely savage life gradually passed over into the communism of the early historical period, which communism became at last so absolute as to hamper men's freedom, and develop their social qualities at the expense of their individual powers; how since that time, and during all the historical period, a reactionary movement had caused the social instincts to be suppressed in favour of individualism, culminating to-day in the modern struggle for existence, and constituting almost a return to the primitive savagery of each for himself; and how in the future these two principles of communism and individualism would have to be combined in the realisation of a perfect manhood. The lecturer was received with much interest, and Commander Carpenter,

LECTURE DIARY.

London Branches.

Bloomsbury.—Arlington Hall, Rathbone Place, Oxford Street, W. Friday, August 20, at 8.30 p.m. Edward Aveling, D.Sc., "How to bring about the Social Revolution." Last lecture in England before leaving for America.

Clerkenvell.—Hall of the Socialist League, 13 Farringdon Road, E.C. Sunday August 22, at 7.30 p.m. R. Banner, "Chartism." Wednesday 25, at 8.30, H. H. Sparling, "Woman's Position To-Day." 29. Music and Readings.

Croydon.—Royal County House, West Croydon Station Yard. Sunday at 7 p.m. Hackney .- Kenton Coffee House, Kenton Road, Well Street, every alternate Tuesday at 9, for the enrolment of members and other business.

Hammersmith.—Kelmscott House, 26 Upper Mall, W. Sundays, at 8 p.m. August 22. Wm. Morris, "Our Tactics." Half-yearly general meeting of members, at 6 p.m.

Hoxton (L. E. L.).—Exchange Coffee House, Pitfield Street, opposite Hoxton Church, N. Sunday August 22, at 7.45 p.m. H. A. Barker, a Lecture. 29. A. K. Donald, "Methods of Propaganda."

Merton.-11 Merton Terrace, High Street. Sundays and Wednesdays at 8 p.m. Mile-end.—East London United Radical Club, Mile-end Rd. Tuesdays at S p.m. North London.-32 Camden Road. Meeting every Friday at S p.m.

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

Country Branches.

Birmingham.—Carr's Lane Coffee House. Every Monday evening, at 8. Bradford.—Scott's Temperance Hotel, East Parade, Leeds Road. Meets every Wednesday at 8 p.m.

Edinburgh (Scottish Section).-4 Park Street. Meets every Friday at 8.30 p.m. Edinburgh (Scottish Section).—4 Park Street. Meets every Friday at 8.30 p.m. Glasgow.—Reading-room of the Branch, 84 John Street, open from 10 a.m. till 10 p.m. every day. Saturday afternoon, 21st August, Propaganda Excursion to Hamilton and Blantyre. Members to meet in Rooms at 4 p.m. prompt—train from Central Station at 4.13.—Sunday 22nd, at 7 p.m., in the Rooms, 84 John Street, a lecture on "White Slaves," by John Adams.

Hull.—Foresters' Hall, Charlotte Street. Every Tuesday at 7.45 p.m. Aug. 24, J. L. Mahon, "The Meaning of Social Revolution." Discussion to follow.

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

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

Manchester.—145 Grey Mare Lane, Bradford, Manchester. Club and Reading Room open every evening.—On Sunday August 22 Edward Carpenter will lecture in the Mechanics' Institute, Pottery Lane, at 7 p.m.: subject, "Justice before Charity."

: Norwich.—No. 6 St. Benedict St. Lecture and discussion every Monday at 8. Reading-room of the Branch open every day from 8.30 a.m. to 10 p.m. Oldham.—Mrs. Wrigley's Coffee Tavern, 9, Old Market Place. Wednesdays, 7.30. Oxford.—Temperance Hall, 25½ Pembroke Street. Next Meeting on Thursday September 2, at 9 p.m.

Open-air Propaganda for the Week.

LONDON.						
Date			Speaker.			
Sat.	21.—Euston Road—Ossulton S	t 7D	. J. Nicoll	N. London.		
	Hyde Park (Marble Arch)	7Т	.E. Wardle	Clerkenwell.		
	Regent's Park	7Н	. H. Sparling	N. London.		
	Mile-end Waste	8Н	. Davis	Mile-end.		
* 3 .	22.—Croydon Marylebone—corner of Sa	11U	ttley	Croydon.		
	Marylebone—corner of Sa	lis- 11.30S	ımmerville	Marylebone.		
	bury St. and Church St).				
	Hackney-Well Street	11.30H	L. A. Barker	Hackney.		
	Hammersmith—Beadon F	td. 11.30G	B. Shaw	Hammersmith.		
	Hoxton Ch.—Pitfield Stre	et11.30J	. Lane	Hexton.		
	Mile-end Waste	11.30	L Davis	Mile-end.		
	Mile-end Waste	11.301	J. Nicoll	N. London.		
	St. Pancras Arches	11.30	Vestwood	Bloomsbury.		
	Walham Green, opposite St	ation 11.30 V	V. Morris	Hammersmith.		
	Hyde Park (near Marble A	irch) 3.301	he Branch	Marylebone.		
1	Victoria Park		. Lane	Hackney.		
_	Cierkenwell Green	71	he Branch	Clerkenwell.		
"Tu.	24Soho-Broad Street	87	. L. Wardle	bloomsbury.		
	26. Hoxton ChPitfield Str	et 8I	i. A. barker	Hoxton.		
	Mile-end Waste	8.30\	Vestwood	Mile-end.		

PROVINCES.

Braulford.—Corner of Godwin St. and Tunbridge Road, every Sunday, at 6 p.m. Hulme.—The Viaduct, Chéster Road. Sundays, at 7.30 p.m. Leeds.—Hunslet Moor, Il a.m.; Vicar's Croft, 7 p.m. Manchester.—Grey Mare Corner, Ashton Old Road, every Sunday, at 11 a.m.; Gorton Brook, every Sunday afternoon, at 2.45. Oldham.—Curzon Ground. Sundays, afternoon and evening.

CANNING TOWN LECTURE SOCIETY, Corner of Beckton Road.—Sunday 22nd, at 11.30, H. Halliday Sparling on "Passing Events."

N. E. Bethnal Green Radical Club, St. James Street, Victoria Park.—Sunday 22nd, at 11.30, H. Davis, "The Modern Trinity: Land, Labour, and Capital."

HERNE-HILL WORKMEN'S CLUB, Chaucer Road.—Sunday August 22, at 8 p.m. W. B. Robertson, "Trospects of the Working Classes." 29. H. H. Sparling, "Unrest and Unreason."

EAST LONDON UNITED RADICAL CLUB, Mile-end Road.—Wednesday August 25, at 8 p.m., lecture by C. Solomons. Subject, "Radicalism and Socialism."

"Commonweal" Printing Fund.

The Treasurer of the Socialist League, 13 Farringdon Road, London, E.C., will gladly receive Subscriptions from all friends willing to aid in carrying on our Paper.

FREE SPEECH DEFENCE FUND.

Our comrades and friends are asked to bestir themselves to secure Our comrades and friends are asked to bestir themselves to secure freedom of speech in our public ways, in contradistinction to freedom of speech for certain classes and sects only. The spirit of Socialism is at war with class interests: officialism is giving its support to class interests only. For endeavouring to assert the right of free speech the Socialist League has been heavily fined; and the Council of the League hereby asks that all friends of freedom should support the League with subscriptions in aid of this righteous cause. The Treasurer of the Socialist League, 13 Farringdon Rd., E.C., will gladly accept, and acknowledge the receipt of, Pence, Shillings, or Pounds from friends of the Right of Free Speech in Public Places.

Previously announced, £4, 7s. 4d. F. Hall, Decken, and Beckett, 2s. North London, 2s. 9d. Clerkenwell, 2s. 1d. Kuehnel No. 8284, 1s. To £4, 15. 9d.—P. W., Aug. 14. Total.

A Concert to raise the amount of the fine imposed on Comrade Mainwaring will be held shortly. Comrades E. Pope, Rose, Snelling and Wardle are the committee, with whom all willing to assist should communicate at once.

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