

THE COMMONWEAL

The Official Journal of the Socialist League.

VOL. 1.—No. 7.

AUGUST, 1885.

ONE PENNY.

FIRST GENERAL MEETING OF THE SOCIALIST LEAGUE.

Sunday, July 5, 1885.

HELD AT 13 FARRINGTON ROAD, LONDON, E.C.

The first General Conference of the Socialist League will be remembered with pleasurable feelings by all that took part in it. It was a day of heartiness and good feeling; of realisation of hopes and the planning for future work. Whether the organisation founded in December last, and having its second birth, as it were, on Sunday, July 5, 1885, is to exist until the principles it works for are understood and accepted of men—whether it will ever be merged in a larger, wider, more international body; whether those gathered together on that Sunday will see in their time anything more than the lessened darkness of the sky before the dawn of the better day that is to come; whether any of them will be able to sing *Nunc dimittis* ere they depart—these are but secondary questions. The one thing of primary importance is that a veritable Socialist body is in existence, and is at work in England, the home of capitalism.

A genuine enthusiasm marked from first to last all that was done. Even the dry details of business reports were signals for cheering. In an assembly of men and women holding pronounced and advanced views, considerable difference of opinion upon points of detail and even, now and again, on larger questions, was assured. But even where the difference was marked enough to be called a divergence, all discussion was carried on with kindness and generosity. In one thing the Conference was unanimous—its earnestness for Socialism, its eagerness to do everything for the furthering of the cause.

And now the League is thoroughly on its feet. Its Council and officers have been chosen. The inspiration of our first gathering together is yet strong upon us. Our work lies before us. The hideous monstrosities, cruelties, and blasphemies due to capitalism, assail our every sense. Our fellows lie supine, or if they struggle at all, so fight they as those that fight the air. To work, then!

WILLIAM MORRIS.
EDWARD B. AVELING.

MORNING SITTING—11 to 1.30.

C. W. Mowbray proposed, and F. Lessner seconded, William Morris as Chairman.

C. W. Mowbray and Thomas Wardle, jun., were elected scrutineers on the motion of Lessner and Halliday.

Some discussion arose on the position of a member who had joined the League that day. It was ultimately decided that he could be present, but was not entitled to vote.

On the motion of Theodor and Mowbray, Edward Aveling, H. Halliday and J. L. Mahon were deputed to act as Secretaries to the Conference.

The Chairman, having read the agenda, said: Friends, though a speech is probably not expected of me, just a few words. The circumstances under which the League was formed are known to you all. Any body of Socialists have the right to make an association, as we have done, for the spread of revolutionary International Socialism. Their business, above all others, is to see that the doctrine is carried through purely, and not mixed with opportunism. The doctrine is a change in the basis of society. Of course, to some it seems absurd for a few people in an upper chamber to talk of this. But it is not we that are to effect this change, but the world of yesterday, to-day and to-morrow. We have to do with the past, the present and the future. We suffer many checks, some defeats, and not a little coldness at times amongst ourselves. We do not all of us always stick pertinaciously to the task, ready to make sacrifices in the certainty that things will change. For my part, I believe we shall see much of it in our own time. Now for the business of to-day. The Provisional Council, whose self-

appointment you endorsed in a measure by joining the League, will give you in their account. They ask for justice, and not charity, at your hands. I would beg of everybody to be ready to bear criticism in the interests of the cause. We are all friends, but must give no favour to one another, treating all as members of the party, and then there can be nothing personal in the criticism. Let us all speak our minds freely, and if we think mistakes have been made, name those that have made them, and then receive, and if possible accept, their explanation. Let us consider ourselves to-day and always members of the cause that we are leading in this country, and go straight forward to the end of the ideal we have in view. Let us remember that all other successes in arts, or what not, depend on the success of this movement. Although we are in a minority, we are entitled to feel, even as we walk about the streets, pride and exultation in the cause that we have at heart.

J. L. Mahon, as Secretary of the Provisional Council, read its report.

Report to the General Meeting of Members of the work of the Provisional Council of the Socialist League (July 5, 1885).

The Socialist League was formed December 30, 1884, at 27 Farringdon Street, London, E.C. At the first meeting were—Wm. Morris, S. Mainwaring, W. J. Clark, Eleanor Marx Aveling, Edward Aveling, E. Belfort Bax, James Davis, Joseph Lane, J. Cooper, John L. Mahon, Edward Watson and Robert Banner. A Provisional Council was elected to carry on the work of the League. That Council received several additions from time to time and is now constituted as follows:—W. Bridges Adams, Edward Aveling, Eleanor Marx Aveling, Robert Banner, E. Belfort Bax, Thomas Binning, Henry Charles, William J. Clark, J. Cooper, E. T. Craig, W. Hudson, Frank Kitz, Joseph Lane, Frederick Lessner, John L. Mahon, S. Mainwaring, William Morris, C. W. Mowbray, Chas. Theodor. *Provincial Members*—C. J. Faulkner (Oxford), Thomas Maguire (Leeds), James Mavor (Glasgow), Andreas Sobou (Edinburgh). The officers of the League are:—Treasurer and Editor, William Morris; Secretary, John L. Mahon; Financial Secretary, Henry Charles; Sub-Editor, Edward Aveling.

There are now eight Branches of the League—at Hammersmith, Bloomsbury, Leeds, Merton Abbey, Bradford, Oxford, Stratford, North London—the aggregate membership of which is 160. In addition to Branch members, there are 70 members enrolled at the Central Office who do not belong to any Branch, thus making the total membership of the League about 230. There is also affiliated to the League, the Labour Emancipation League, Hoxton, and the Scottish Land and Labour League, with Branches at Edinburgh and Glasgow.

Publications.—The publications issued by the Provisional Council are—

(1) The Manifesto of the League, of which 10,000 have been circulated. (2) The *Commonweal*, which will be dealt with in a separate report. (3) A Manifesto on the Soudan War, of which over 12,000 have been circulated. (4) Morris's Chants for Socialists, collected and published at one penny. (5) Socialist Leaflets (two), of which 14,000 have been circulated. (6) The first two numbers of a series of pamphlets, entitled the "Socialist Platform." Of these, No. 1 is "An Address to Trades Unions," 350 were distributed free among the engineers lately assembled in conference at Nottingham; and the sale of the second, "Useful Work v. Useless Toil," by William Morris, is proceeding satisfactorily; but it is impossible to give definite details of the sale of either, as they are quite recently issued and returns have not come in from the Branches and newsmen.

The chief public meetings carried out or taken part in by the League have been—

1. A course of 17 meetings at South Place Chapel, Finsbury, E.C. On fifteen evenings Edward Aveling gave a series of "Lessons in Socialism," being an explanation of Marx' "Das Kapital." On the other two evenings were a public meeting introductory to the Lessons and a Social Entertainment in conclusion. The attendance at the Lessons ranged from 40 to over 100.

2. A meeting was held at Neumeyer Hall, Bloomsbury, in celebration of the anniversary of the Paris Commune. The hall was filled with an enthusiastic audience, and the proceedings were of the most satisfactory nature.

3. A meeting was held at St. James's Hall on April 2, organised and presided over by Mr. Bradlaugh, M.P. The purpose of the meeting was to protest against the British military operations in the Soudan and demand their cessation. As the Council had issued a Manifesto on the subject and given prominence to a series of articles in their journal which dealt with the question in a manner distinctly different from that of any other party in the country, it was felt that some action must be taken in reference to the meeting. The resolutions to be submitted to the meeting were considered by the Council, and it was determined to send two delegates to the meeting to move a rider which contained an explanation of the cause and indicated the means of preventing the recurrence of such wars in the future. The rider was very well received by the meeting, but, owing to the trickery of Mr. Bradlaugh—who first cheated the League delegates out of their time and next confused the meeting when the vote was called for—the rider was lost.

4. On April 23 a meeting to protest against the War was summoned by the League. Immediately before the meeting the announcement of the

Withdrawal of the military forces in the Soudan was made. This had the effect of limiting the audience, but the utmost enthusiasm was shown by those who attended, and the meeting was a decided success.

Several resolutions of public interest have been passed by the Council from time to time, chief among which are the following:—

1. A resolution of sympathy with the administration of the *Cri du Peuple* in its efforts to unmask the infamous action of the Secret Police, and condolence with citizen Jean Queroy in the murderous attack made upon him by two of the emissaries of the French Republican Government.

2. A resolution repudiating the proposed "International Conference of Socialists."

3. That the invasion of the Soudan was undertaken with the covert intention of exploiting that country for the purposes of commercial greed, and that therefore the check inflicted on the British invaders should be hailed by all supporters of the cause of the people as a triumph of right over wrong, of righteous self-defence over ruffianly brigandage.

4. A resolution of condolence with the French Socialists on the death of their comrade Jules Vallés.

5. A rider to the resolutions at the St. James's Hall meeting on April 2:—"That this meeting believes the invasion of the Soudan has been prompted solely by the desire to exploit the country in the interest of the Capitalists and Stockjobbers, and warns the working class that such commercial wars will always take place until they unite throughout the civilised world in taking their own affairs in hand themselves."

6. "This meeting of the Provisional Council of the Socialist League considers the action of Mr. Bradlaugh as chairman of the St. James's Hall meeting of April 2, 1885, to have been a flagrant breach of faith towards a delegate of the League, and resolves to treat Mr. Bradlaugh in future in accordance with this consideration of his conduct."

7. "That the Provisional Council of the Socialist League after hearing the statements of the facts concerning the outrage by the police on the members of the International Club of St. Stephen's Mews, is of opinion that the police acted on that occasion in a most brutal and unjustifiable manner, and that this Council determines to take immediate steps to call public attention to the dangerous tactics of the Police authorities." This resolution was followed by action calling upon the London Clubs to send delegates to a meeting to consider the matter. A most successful meeting was held, and a Defence Committee formed in whose hands the matter now rests.

8. A resolution of indignation at the conduct of the French Government in wantonly creating disorder at a peaceful meeting in Paris on Sunday, May 24.

During the past six months lectures under the auspices of the League have been delivered at Edinburgh, Glasgow, Chesterfield, Oxford, Northampton and Bristol, by William Morris. Also by Edward Aveling and Laurence Gronlund at Oxford.

Various open-air meetings have been held in London, at which good work has been done in spreading the literature, etc. An especially good meeting was held at Hyde Park on June 28, when a large number of the *Commonweal* was sold. The most promising meetings are those in connexion with the Hoxton Branch of the Labour Emancipation League and the Hammersmith and North London Branches of the Socialist League.

Two Social Entertainments have been held; the first, in aid of Comrade Adam Weiler, from which a surplus of over £10 was made for his benefit. The second entertainment was in conclusion of the "Lessons in Socialism," and was very successful.

The attendance of Council Members at Meetings has been as follows:—Mahon present 28, absent 0; Mowbray and Lane present 25, absent 3; Eleanor Aveling present 25, absent 3 (twice on duty); W. Morris present 24, absent 4 (always on duty); Edward Aveling present 24, absent 4 (3 times on duty); Bax, Binning and Mainwaring present 23, absent 5; Lessner present 21, absent 7 (twice on duty); Clark present 21, absent 7; H. Charles present 19, absent 6; Adams present 15, absent 7; Scheu and Theodor present 15, absent 0; Cooper present 12, absent 16; Kitz present 11, absent 17; Banner present 6, absent 22; Hudson present 1, absent 24; E. T. Craig present 1, absent 27. Cooper, Kitz and Banner live out of town, and were seldom able to attend. Craig had declared his inability to attend when elected.

The conclusion of this report formally intimates that the Provisional Council ceases to exist as soon as you have heard and accepted this and the reports of its other officers.

July 5, 1885.

JOHN L. MAHON,
Secretary of the Provisional Council.

The portions of the Report relating to the Soudan War and Commune meetings were warmly applauded.

The Chairman explained that the absences of most of the members of the Provisional Council, who had made few attendances, were due to work or the distance at which they lived from the place of meeting. He urged, in the election of the new Council, that any whose names might be put up and who could not attend, should say so.

Mowbray added information as to lectures given by lecturers (appointed by the Council) in many London clubs.

The adoption of the Report was moved by Arnold, seconded by Fuller—carried.

Charles read Financial Report.

Mowbray asked, What was the deficit? Charles: "None."

Morris explained that there were £40 still standing for hire of South Place, because of certain disputed items in the bill.

Shackwitz asked about the *Commonweal* and the Lessons.

Chairman ruled that that must come up afterwards.

Nicoll asked what was the cost of printing. He thought the general expenditure excessive, needing to be cut down all round. The total expenditure averaged about £1 ahead for all the members of the League. He thought every one was hardly worth £1.

Charles pointed out that the only items which could be reduced were office expenditure, printing and the *Commonweal* payments.

Nicoll asked the cost of the Lessons.

Charles: About £40.

Faulkner thought Nicoll was under the impression that the £1 ahead had been spent on the individual members. The question was really whether the money had or had not been well spent.

Mahon gave detailed reasons for heavy office expenses and postage, showing that most of it was occasioned by non-recurrent causes.

Nicoll raised the question of hiring South Place, and of the whole expenditure on the Lessons, asking could it not have been done cheaper.

Mowbray objected to cavilling over the past, even if mistakes might have been made. What they had to do was to look determinedly and hopefully to the future.

E. T. Craig recommended as two means of increasing the funds: an increase in the number in branches and of the contributions of each.

The Chairman: Founding a League, like starting a new business, is expensive. Such items as the expenditure for the hiring of South Place will be unnecessary henceforth. That was one of the reasons for taking these rather expensive premises. It is hoped that money will be made out of the Hall. I must plead guilty to not taking enough trouble to bleed people. I find that the poor pay better than the rich, and, considering the object of the League, this is not very astonishing. We must be on our guard against reducing expenses to such an extent as to injure the efficacy of the work. The thing to do is to get more money rather than reduce expenditure.

Lewis Lyons pointed out that the expenses for furniture would not recur.

H. Charles suggested the appointment of auditors.

R. Banner and S. Mainwaring proposed the adoption of the Financial Report, subject to its being passed by the auditors.

Lewis Lyons asked to whom the auditors would report, and C. Mowbray suggested that they should look over the accounts that day. The late Financial Secretary replied that the accounts were too many and too complex for that to be done. He took it that the auditors would report to the new Council, and also through the paper.

Ogden supported Charles.

J. Lane pointed out that the auditors should be selected outside the limits of the Provisional Council.

On the motion of Theodor and Maudhurst, Beasley was appointed, and on the motion of Graham and Mainwaring, Wade.

The Report of the Editors of the Journal was then read by Edward Aveling.

Report of Editors of COMMONWEAL.

Our report is really before you in the six numbers of the *Commonweal* issued. Following out the principles of the League, the journal has been as much as possible educational and organising. With eight pages for the first and second numbers, the supplement from No. 3 onwards has made each issue one of twelve pages. The earlier numbers bore witness to the fact that the leading Socialists of Europe were in sympathy with the League.

The first number, necessarily a hurried production, was hardly to be, and we believe never was, taken as typical. But it contained the Manifesto.

As to the chief articles and their writers, you are in a better position to judge than even we are. But, although thanks are out of place in an organisation where all work is a free-will offering, we are constrained to mention the earnest help given by many working men.

The Reports, the most important part of the paper, have been fairly full. They can be yet fuller if all Branch Secretaries will make a point of forwarding, if possible week by week, notices of the doings of their branches.

The help, not only of secretaries and officials generally, is asked. Every individual member can aid by forwarding extracts from newspapers, paragraphs and quotations bearing upon the movement and Socialism generally. These should be sent week by week, and even day by day. Nothing that is to go into the *Commonweal* of a particular month should reach the Editors later than the first post on the 23rd of the preceding month.

An Inquiry Column has been started in the July number. The success and usefulness of this depend on the energy with which members of the League propound and answer questions and encourage the friends and enemies of the Cause to ask questions.

We are quite conscious that the *Commonweal* has not been a newspaper. As a monthly journal it could not assume this character. In discussing, as you will, the question of keeping the paper as a monthly or making it a weekly, we feel sure that you will bear in mind the relative expense and amount of literary work involved in the two cases.

WILLIAM MORRIS (Editor).

EDWARD AVELING (Sub-Editor).

E. T. Craig hoped that the future numbers of the *Commonweal* would contain a list of the places where it was to be obtained.

Donald suggested that the Report of the Manager of the *Commonweal* should be read at once, so that the discussion on the *Commonweal* might turn upon the financial as well as the literary aspect of the paper.

E. Belfort Bax moved a resolution: "That the *Commonweal* be published weekly at $\frac{1}{2}$ d., and consist of four pages only." It was essentially the most important part of our work, and if his suggestion were carried out it would be made much more effective than at present, London and the provincial Branches being kept well abreast of the movement. The relative cost of production would be reduced by one-third, while there would be far more than that proportionate increase of good. He thought it advisable that the contents of the paper should be Socialist news, scientific articles being published as pamphlets.

Lyons spoke against the conversion of the *Commonweal* into a weekly as likely to detract from its position of influence. It was on all hands admitted to be superior to any other journal in the cause. He would suggest that all Branch addresses should be given, as also the names of newsagents who supplied it.

Charles moved, Donald seconded, the postponement of discussion upon the resolution until the Manager's Report had been read.

Lessner suggested dealing with the literary matter first.

Maudhurst considered it best to deal with the financial and literary sides of the question together.

Maguire strongly supported Lessner's view.

Theodor thought that it would uselessly prolong discussion if these points were taken separately. The financial position must be made clear before any definite result could be reached.

Motion carried by a majority of 28.

J. L. Mahon then read the

Business Report of the COMMONWEAL.

The paper had started with a good circulation, the first edition (5,000 copies) of the first number being quickly disposed of, and a second edition issued. During the following six months the sale had been very regular and is now increasing. Owing to the large size of the paper and the exclusion of advertisements there is now a loss on each number, but this is steadily decreasing. There is a good list of yearly subscribers, obtained chiefly by the members canvassing among their friends. The largest amount of papers were sold at Branch meetings and by members at public meetings. The paper had certainly been successful and greater success in the future seemed assured. It only required that each Member and Branch of the League should continue their exertions encouraged by the result of their labours in the past, and the next Conference would have a still better report laid before it.

After reading his report, Mahon explained that a good deal of the expenditure would be non-recurring. There were many difficulties, involving much expense, in connexion with the first number. The first printer who undertook the work threw it up when it was partly done. The second took to editing the paper himself, and cut about the copy and the proofs. Alterations in the proofs, that cost on one occasion as much as £1 18s., were steadily declining in number and expense. Subscribers were coming in slowly but surely. More had given in their names during the last month than at any time since starting the paper. The average loss on each number was gradually reducing. Considering all these things, and that the average circulation was so large, he thought there was no reason to be despondent.

E. Belfort Bax again moved his resolution, seconded by Charles.

Theodor asked for estimates of probable cost.

Charles thought that they would come out in the discussion.

Craig explained that he spoke from an experience extending over many years. It would be fatal to the success of the paper to reduce the size or the quantity of matter now contained. The supplement was a great improvement. He was well satisfied with the quality of the paper lately. If anything, there was a little too much science in it for the reading public. The result of reducing the price was doubtful and dangerous. He was confident that if it were kept at its present high level the *Commonweal* would force a success by sheer merit. He was strongly opposed to any reduction in either size or price.

J. Lane contended for eight pages and a penny weekly. The party that took it now would support it weekly as well as monthly, and those who could pay a halfpenny could pay a penny. Only four pages would leave too little space for articles.

C. W. Mowbray supported Lane. To fall off to four pages would be detrimental. It was only a question of determination and sacrifice for individuals. There were in the office now several back numbers of the *Commonweal*, and no men to distribute them. If the paper were brought out weekly it could carry on the account of the movement from day to day, and people would take it then for news. As to the finance question, could not the printing be done on the premises of the League? There were practical printers members of the organisation, and this would help to reduce the expenditure.

Lewis Lyons was opposed to the reduction of the scientific part of the paper. The workers, he knew by personal experience, to a large extent bought the paper just on account of the scientific articles on Socialism. He would make two other practical suggestions. First, if anyone went into the country he should be supplied with extra copies of the *Commonweal* for propagandist purposes. Second, that when any regular bookseller, such as Morrish of Bristol, forgot to order the monthly supply it should be sent from the publishing office without the order.

Fox spoke in favour of a weekly issue as a working man. He supported the eight pages and penny weekly. But he wanted to see other things besides Socialism in the paper. The working classes have enough to do with their pennies, and if we are to expect them to take in the *Commonweal* every week we must make it more of an ordinary paper.

Donald pointed out that as the loss on the monthly was

what it was, we might fairly reckon that, with the knocking off of the Supplement, the weekly loss would be still considerable, and would be heavy in the course of a year. He suggested the setting aside of two pages for advertisements. There was nothing detrimental to the principles of Socialism in advertising Pears' Soap, for example. None of the existing papers lived on our lines, and it was legitimate for us to take this matter into consideration. There would also come the question of who was going to edit a weekly paper. Could not a story be run through the journal, and could not current news be given? Those that wanted scientific Socialism could get Marx' book. He did not think reports of branches were so important, but should like to see a list of the branches and their engagements in the paper.

Shackwitz thought there would be no difficulty if the sale were organised and the meetings better arranged. The sale depended very much upon the meetings, and with bad management of these there would be a deficiency in the sale. The first thing, therefore, was organisation.

E. T. Craig said this latter charge could not lie against the Hammersmith Branch. It had recently held two stormy public meetings, and had done well with the sale of the paper.

Beasley thought that we should moderate our x's and y's, especially the ex's. He suggested that the matter should be left in the hands of the Council, with an expression of the desire on the part of the Conference that the paper be made weekly. It should be borne in mind that a monthly paper was soon old, but the whole matter was a practical question that could not be discussed in the time at the disposal of the Conference.

E. Belfort Bax thought it was not right to leave too much in the hands of the Council. If the Conference or the League as a whole could not bring out a weekly paper, it couldn't; if it could, it could. They might try a halfpenny issue for a time.

Theodor believed that a four-page issue per week would only cost £7 or £8. They had a practical printer, a member of the Provisional Council, who was willing to take it up as composer and manager. He inclined to the four pages for one penny, and thought the question ought to be settled by the Conference.

S. Mainwaring felt that this was the most important question before the Conference. He objected to the halfpenny price. With so large an average sale as they had, the fact yet remained that there was a monetary loss every month. To distribute and manage the paper would cost as much with a halfpenny one as with a penny. With those likely to read the *Commonweal*, price was less the object than the time and the will to read.

T. Maguire thought it would be wise to leave the matter to the Council after all opinions had been given at the Conference. The opinions were so many and so different, and the estimates were not absolute. A decision on the matter could be better arrived at by a few than by a large number. He thought the reason the paper had not been successful was because it was not adapted to the working classes. What was wanted was to get the attention of the superficial and frothy men. The *Labour Enquirer* was the sort of paper he meant. We must tempt the people with something attractive and superficial. With a weekly paper there would be a continuity of interest, though there would be only one attempt to sell it, as compared with four for the monthly. He did not think the reports useless, though they were too long in the July number.

Robert Banner wanted a weekly paper. He wanted a daily, as probably the rest of the members of the League did. In fact, he wanted a Social revolution, but he had to wait for it. But how were they going to get a weekly? First, where was the money to come from? And second, where were the writers to come from? And did they seriously want a Socialist rag, with no literary ability in it? If they did want the superficial light stuff that some of them had been talking about, let them buy other papers. Socialists had been told long enough and often enough that their ideas were unscientific. And now, when this was being shown to be false, actually some of the Socialists themselves objected. If they were going to write for the dregs of the people, they might be sure that they would not understand anything that might be written. But if they wanted to appeal to intelligent people, they must make these see that the whole thing is based upon science. In fact, that is the great difficulty of Socialism, that it is a complex scientific question, and therefore can't be dealt with superficially. We have to teach this difficult question to the working classes, and the first thing to do is to make them understand our language.

After some little discussion as to whether the morning sitting should continue until this question was decided, it was determined to adjourn.

(Continued in the Supplement.)



All literary communications 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.

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

All business communications to be addressed, 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.

Subscriptions for THE COMMONWEAL, free by post: for 12 numbers, 1 copy, 1s. 6d.; 3 copies, 4s.; 4 copies, 6s. Parcels of a dozen or a quire, if for distribution, will be sent on special terms.

TO CORRESPONDENTS.

A MANIFESTO by the Socialist League on the Soudan War has been issued. Copies will be sent to anyone on receipt of stamp for postage.

NOTICE TO MEMBERS.—All papers received by the Secretary have been sorted and filed at the office of the League, and are at the disposal of members.

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

SPECIAL ATTENTION is invited to the new *Socialist Platform* series. Two numbers are now ready. The first, on "Trades' Unions," by E. Belfort Bax, with an interesting appendix, 16 pages, one penny; the second, by William Morris, on "Useful Labour v. Useless Toil," 24 pages, one penny. Quantities will be supplied at a cheaper rate for sale or distribution.

MANCHESTER.—This journal and all other publications of the Socialist League can be obtained from our wholesale agent, J. E. D. Bourne, 10 Herbert Street, Hightown, Cheetham.

JAMES SALWAY (Oldham).—A Branch of the Manchester Socialist Union has been formed.

MICHAEL GABRIEL is at work for the cause in Dublin.

THOS. BARCLAY (Leicester).—The *Commonweal* is on sale at the Secular Hall book-stall.

JULES BORDELLO (New York Labour Lyceum).—Your subscription pays the *Commonweal* for eight months. You will see all literature of the League noticed in this paper. You can have the first two numbers of the "Socialist Platform" at 5s. per 100, or 45s. per 1,000; in addition to this you will have to pay carriage. The Council of the League have read your letter, and will be glad to exchange news about the position of the parties. Can you send to the Council a full brief account of the position and prospects of the Socialist movement among the native Americans, either private or for publication?

T. P. BARCLAY.—Thanks for encouraging letter. Shall be glad to look at any articles you may send.

ANYONE willing to form a Labour Emancipation League in Manchester is asked to communicate with Fred Willis, 49 Wood Street.

G. J. (Liverpool).—The *Altruist* is published by Alexander Longley, 712 Chestnut Street, St. Louis, Mo., U.S.A. Subscription, 50c. per annum.

R. F. E. WILLIS (Liverpool).—Article received. Probably used next month.

E. T. (Southport) suggests that the leaflets should be pasted upon hoardings, etc., in conspicuous places, and thinks this would do us good service.

ANDREAS SCHEU's "What's to be Done?" (Part III.), the "Lessons in Socialism," "East-End Workers," and the review of Grünlund's book stand over for want of space.

RECEIVED.—*Cri du Peuple* (daily)—*Neu Yorker Volkszeitung* (weekly)—*Sozial Demokrat* (weekly)—*Anarchist*—*L'Insurgé*—*Labour Leaf*—*Der Sozialist* (weekly)—*The Alarm*—*La Revue Socialiste*—*Neue Zeit*—*La Question Sociale*—*Le National Belge* (daily)—*Labour Standard*—*Freiheit* (weekly)—*Bebel's "Woman"* (Modern Press)—*Il Paria*—*Recht vor Allen*—*Ni Dieu ni Maître*—*The Altruist*—*Denver Labour Inquirer*—*Chicago Alarm*—*Norwich Daylight*—*Newcastle Weekly Chronicle*—*Belfast Labour Advocate*—*Oldham Chronicle*.

THE following additional books and pamphlets have been received for the Library of the League since last acknowledgment:—"Russia under the Czars," from Stepniak; Annual Report of the Bureau of Labour, from Pond; "National Review," from English; a parcel of books, from Craig; "English Leaders," from Beckett.

A SUPPLEMENT of Four Pages is issued with this number.

The September number (8) will be ready on Tuesday, August 25th, and will be issued with a Supplement. Reports and notices for the Lecture List must reach the office not later than Thursday, 20th.

THE CHOLERA IN SPAIN.—Everywhere the upper classes suffer but little from the epidemic.—*Daily News*, July 21.

The first concert of a series will be given on Saturday, August 1, at 8 p.m., at our new hall, 13 Farringdon Road. Admission free. Working men and their wives specially invited.

The International Working Men's Clubs Defence Committee is much hampered for want of funds. All lovers of Liberty are invited to contribute. William Morris, Treasurer, Kelmscott House, Upper Mall, Hammersmith.

THE Provisional Council of the Socialist League will be glad if those in sympathy with Socialism will send to the Editors, newspaper cuttings, extracts from books, facts and quotations bearing on the relation between capital and labour and on the symptoms of the disease of commercialism from which Society suffers, whether shown by the idle or the labouring class.

THE PILGRIMS OF HOPE.

V.—NEW BIRTH.

It was twenty-five years ago that I lay in my mother's lap
New born to life, nor knowing one whit of all that should hap:
That day was I won from nothing to the world of struggle and pain,
Twenty-five years ago—and to-night am I born again.

I look and behold the days of the years that are passed away,
And my soul is full of their wealth, for oft were they blithe and gay
As the hours of bird and of beast: they have made me calm and strong
To wade the stream of confusion, the river of grief and wrong.

A rich man was my father, but he skulked ere I was born,
And gave my mother money, but left her life to scorn;
And we dwelt alone in our village: I knew not my mother's "shame,"
But her love and her wisdom I knew till death and the parting came.
Then a lawyer paid me money, and I lived awhile at a school,
And learned the lore of the ancients, and how the knave and the fool
Have been mostly the masters of earth: yet the earth seemed fair and
good

With the wealth of field and homestead, and garden and river and wood;
And I was glad amidst it, and little of evil I knew
As I did in sport and pastime such deeds as a youth might do,
Who deems he shall live for ever. Till at last it befel on a day
That I came across our Frenchman at the edge of the new-mown hay,
A-fishing as he was wont, alone as he always was;
So I helped the dark old man to bring a chub to grass,
And somehow he knew of my birth, and somehow we came to be friends,
Till he got to telling me chapters of the tale that never ends;
The battle of grief and hope with riches and folly and wrong.
He told how the weak conspire, he told of the fear of the strong;
He told of dreams' grown deeds, deeds done ere time was ripe,
Of hope that melted in air like the smoke of his evening pipe;
Of the fight long after hope in the teeth of all despair;
Of battle and prison and death, of life stripped naked and bare.
But to me it all seemed happy, for I gilded all with the gold
Of youth that believes not in death, nor knoweth of hope grown cold.
I hearkened and learned, and longed with a longing that had no name,
Till I went my ways to our village and again departure came.

Wide now the world was grown, and I saw things clear and grim,
That awhile ago smiled on me from the dream-mist doubtful and dim.
I knew that the poor were poor, and had no heart or hope;
And I knew that I was nothing with the least of evils to cope;
So I thought the thoughts of a man, and I fell into bitter mood,
Wherein, except as a picture, there was nought on the earth that was
good;
Till I met the woman I love, and she asked, as folk ask of the wise,
Of the root and meaning of things that she saw in the world of lies.
I told her all I knew, and the tale told lifted the load
That made me less than a man; and she set my feet on the road.

So we left our pleasure behind to seek for hope and for life,
And to London we came, if perchance there smouldered the embers of
strife
Such as our Frenchman had told of; and I wrote to him to ask
If he would be our master, and set the learners their task.
But "dead" was the word on the letter when it came back to me,
And all that we saw henceforward with our own eyes must we see.

So we looked and wondered and sickened; not for ourselves indeed;
My father by now had died, but he left enough for my need;
And besides, away in our village the joiner's craft had I learned,
And I worked as other men work, and money and wisdom I earned.
Yet little from day to day in street or workshop I met
To nourish the plant of hope that deep in my heart had been set.
The life of the poor we learned, and to me there was nothing new
In their day of little deeds that ever deathward drew.
But new was the horror of London that went on all the while
That rich men played at their ease for name and fame to beguile
The days of their empty lives, and praised the deeds they did,
As though they had fashioned the earth and found out the sun long hid;
Though some of them busied themselves from hopeless day to day
With the lives of the slaves of the rich and the hell wherein they lay.
They wrought meseems as those who should make a bargain with hell,
That it grow a little cooler, and thus for ever to dwell.

So passed the world on its ways, and weary with waiting we were.
Men ate and drank and married; no wild cry smote the air,
No great crowd ran together to greet the day of doom;
And ever more and more seemed the town like a monstrous tomb
To us, the Pilgrims of Hope, until to-night it came,
And Hope on the stones of the street is written in letters of flame.

This is how it befel: a workmate of mine had heard
Some bitter speech in my mouth, and he took me up at the word,
And said: "Come over to-morrow to our Radical spouting-place;
For there, if we hear nothing new, at least we shall see a new face;
He is one of those Communist chaps, and 'tis like that you two may agree."

So we went, and the street was as dull and as common as aught you could see.

Dull and dirty the room. Just over the chairman's chair
Was a bust, a Quaker's face with nose cocked up in the air.
There were commonprints on the wall of the heads of the party fray,
And Mazzini dark and lean amidst them gone astray.
Some thirty men we were of the kind that I knew full well,
Listless, rubbed down to the type of our easy-going hell.
My heart sank down as I entered, and wearily there I sat
While the chairman strove to end his maunder of this and of that.
And partly shy he seemed, and partly indeed ashamed
Of the grizzled man beside him as his name to us he named;
He rose, thickset and short, and dressed in shabby blue,
And even as he began it seemed as though I knew
The thing he was going to say, though I never heard it before.
He spoke, were it well, were it ill, as though a message he bore,
A word that he could not refrain from many a million of men.
Nor aught seemed the sordid room and the few that were listening then
Save the hall of the labouring earth and the world which was to be.
Bitter to many the message, but sweet indeed unto me,
Of man without a master, and earth without a strife.
And every soul rejoicing in the sweet and bitter of life:
Of peace and good-will he told, and I knew that in faith he spake,
But his words were my very thoughts, and I saw the battle awake,
And I followed from end to end; and triumph grew in my heart
As he called on each that heard him to arise and play his part
In the tale of the new-told gospel, lest as slaves they should live and die

He ceased, and I thought the hearers would rise up with one cry,
And bid him straight enroll them; but they, they applauded indeed,
For the man was grown full eager, and had made them hearken and
head.

But they sat and made no sign, and two of the glibber kind
Stood up to jeer and to carp his fiery words to blind.
I did not listen to them, but failed not his voice to hear
When he rose to answer the carpers, striving to make more clear
That which was clear already; not overwell, I knew
He answered the sneers and the silence, so hot and eager he grew;
But my hope full well he answered, and when he called again
On men to band together lest they live and die in vain,
In fear lest he should escape me, I rose ere the meeting was done,
And gave him my name and my faith—and I was the only one.
He smiled as he heard the jeers, and there was a shake of the hand,
He spoke like a friend long known; and lo! I was one of the band.

And now the streets seem gay and the high stars glittering bright;
And for me, I sing amongst them, for my heart is full and light.
I see the deeds to be done and the day to come on the earth,
And riches vanished away and sorrow turned to mirth;
I see the city squalor and the country stupor gone.
And we a part of it all—we twain no longer alone
In the days to come of the pleasure, in the days that are of the fight—
I was born once long ago: I am born again to-night.

WILLIAM MORRIS.

THE "PALL MALL GAZETTE."

It has more than once been our duty to fall foul of the *Pall Mall Gazette* in this journal. We have attacked it and its editors unsparringly. And we are the more anxious now to say how sincerely we sympathise with them and thank them for their efforts—not without risk in this land of hypocrisy—to make generally known a condition of things almost too hideous for belief. The Socialist League has already, through the resolution of its Council, expressed the feeling of its members on this subject. Still, while I believe that I am speaking for many of my fellow-workers, I think it only fair to say that I alone am responsible for what follows.

The Government was, by the action of certain of its own adherents—the virtuous Mr. Cavendish Bentinck to wit—placed in a very awkward position. By its orders a few helpless men and little boys had been arrested for selling copies of a paper containing certain "revelations"—(of these revelations anon)—with regard to the "morality" of moral England. It was clear that if these men and boys were to be prosecuted for merely selling the paper, those who wrote, edited and published it must be prosecuted too. But this was impossible. It is a *secret de polichinelle* that many "highly respected" and respectable members of our governing classes would be hopelessly compromised if a prosecution were instituted. The *Pall Mall* distinctly announced that, while unwilling to expose individuals or drag certain persons into the matter, its editors would feel bound to do this in the event of a prosecution. Prudence is the better part of valour. Stern necessity forced Sir R. Cross to declare, in answer to Mr. Bentinck's question and amidst cheers from the "gentlemen," who felt evidently relieved by the decision, "that the Government would not prosecute."

So far so good. To recede is to acquit the editors of the *Pall Mall* of the only fault they could have been accused of—and which

would be indeed a serious one—the *invention* from purely prurient and base motives, of the matter published in their paper. Whatever doubts may have existed on this head—and how doubt could exist after the facts *officially* made known *four years ago* by the Parliamentary Commission is a mystery—are now set aside. We may take it that the Government and the whole governing classes admit the truth and fidelity of the *Pall Mall* revelations—which "revelations" are only, alas! stale news to those people who have studied the question. I would only here ask what compensation will be awarded the men and boys who were persecuted for selling a paper which the "Government" of the country does not dare to prosecute. Some compensation assuredly is due.

But we Socialists have something more serious to consider than even the wrong done to these few boys and men whom our "bold gendarmes" have "run in." We have to consider the question itself. The Queen, the Marquis of Salisbury, Mr. Gladstone, *e tutti quanti*, have expressed their sympathy and "horror." The question is therefore not only made respectable, but very sure to be shelved like that of the "Bitter Cry." And necessarily. All these people—and some may really be sincere in their horror—do not know how, or do not dare, to go to the bottom of the question. I have not observed that one single journal originally said that the horror was in the facts set forth, not their crude setting, or that the shame and wrong and woe thus laid bare are due to the whole condition of "Society" as it is to-day, and not to a few exceptional cases of immorality.

Then, after the first indignant protest of outraged British respectability, the middle-class press and the classes it represents soon recognised, with the perspicuity peculiar to the *bourgeoisie* of England, that a question which, if taken in hand by the workers themselves may prove dangerous, had better be comfortably killed "by much cherishing" than met by open opposition or downright honest indifference. The matter has, therefore, been "taken up"—taken up that it may be conveniently dropped so soon as the "sensation" shall have died out. And die out it must and will unless the class really concerned—unless the proletariat—take care that it does not.

I have no wish to insinuate that many of the good men and women whom the *Pall Mall* revelations have shocked are consciously helping to suppress "the movement" or aiding in the continuation of the very crimes they wish to prevent. I believe the *Pall Mall* editors and writers are thoroughly sincere. I believe the Earl of Shaftesbury and Mr. Morley are so. I even believe that there are people who can honestly "thank God Almighty" for "permitting to come to light" horrors which any respectable almighty deity would never have allowed to exist. I know many good men and women who are convinced that a new Criminal Act, extending the same penalties to men as to women (a suggestion with which I, too, am heartily in sympathy) and raising the age at which girls are supposed to be able to sell themselves, from 13, as now, to 16, or 18, or 21, would do away with the indescribable crimes and misery in our midst.

But is this so? Does not the very fact that these good people admit that many girls must and will at *some time* sell themselves to wealthy purchasers, demonstrate the rottenness of their whole theory? Does this not at once condemn any scheme of reform they may propose? And let us, for argument's sake, admit a great many improbable things. Let us suppose a Criminal Act has come into effect that embodies all the suggestions (many of which, I repeat, given the conditions of to-day, are no doubt righteous and just) of the new reformers; let us suppose a Royal Commission has actually, after a few thousand sittings, done something, and brought some criminals to book; let us suppose Sir Richard Cross has really left no stone unturned in searching for and punishing the said criminals. Let us suppose this, and that all the various "refuges," "armies" and kindly individuals have done everything they could do. What then? Where should we be? To all intents and purposes, *exactly where we are now*. A few individuals might have been punished, a few others saved. And after? All would be the same for the great mass of the people as before.

So long as this accursed system of capitalistic production holds, a curse alike and a demoralisation alike to all classes, so long *must*—it is no question of individual will—this condition that is just now shocking us all continue also. So long as the producers are the bond-slaves of the capitalist and land-owning classes, so long will these things go on. So long, indeed, as we have two classes face to face, the one literally in a position to buy, and actually buying, the *bodies* of the other, so long will the crimes that necessarily result from such a system continue. The special form of crime just now stirring even the middle-class, is only one result of the whole system. Our lives are unnatural and horrible, and engender sins not due to natural depravity and wickedness but to an artificial and abnormal state of society. We produce not only the victims, the poor helpless girls and

children; we also manufacture the criminal men and women by the conditions in which we place them.

This is no new doctrine to Socialists. They do not need sensational articles to make them realise to what humanity has fallen. The old Communist manifesto of 1848, our own manifesto of 1885, equally declare that under the present unnatural régime we must expect unnatural crimes. With our "property bourgeois marriage we must accept its complement of venal prostitution." This is no new thesis with us, but we may be allowed just at this moment to point out that we Socialists alone, of all parties, declared long since that, to quote the bourgeois press itself, "something must be done." It is only the "something" we differ about.

There are those who accuse us of being, to say the least, "unpractical," because instead of trying "to help where we can" we demand a revolution. I maintain that we Socialists alone are truly practical, because we alone dare to go to the root of the ill. Ask a doctor to cure a patient living under absolutely unhealthy conditions in the midst of pestilential air and unsanitary surroundings. He will tell you you must change these surroundings if you would save the life of the individual. We but apply to many, to all individuals—i.e., to society—what the doctor applies to the one. We say so long as human beings are the slaves they now are—whether they be the slaves of wealth or of poverty—this disease must continue.

And so, instead of trying to do what is impossible, and seeking to make healthy individuals where the whole system is diseased, we say, "do away with this unnatural state of things. Do not foster unnatural crime by unnatural conditions. Live free and healthy lives, and men and women will be free and healthy. Abolish the cause of the disease and the disease will disappear. For why do these poor little children sell themselves? *Because they and their belongings are poor.* They want the money for bread which certain rich individuals, who buy them as they would any other commodity, can give them. And so long as there is a class that must sell its labour-power—and the labour-power of the poor takes many forms—so long must this iniquity continue.

Ere I conclude, there is one special point I must touch on. There are some, even among our friends, who will be shocked that a woman should speak of these matters, and who hold that "womanly custom had left it better unsaid." Against this I protest with all my strength. If this is no woman's question, what is? We may shrink from handling it as the young medical student shrinks from entering the dissecting room, but if we would heal, we have no right to turn aside. While this wrong is being done—and as it is done to one child, to one woman, it is done to all women—we must face it, grapple with it, and vanquish it—not, cowardlike, turn back. It is no pleasant task, truly,—but are the lives of the mass of us pleasant? We, the women, must, above all the rest, bestir ourselves. Us chiefly it concerns, and we must work only with those who can really help us; those who understand that the "salvation" of society means the revolution of society. The old biblical story may serve our turn. We need a deluge—aye! though it were one of blood—to wipe out the sin and wickedness of this society of ours. It is with those who would revolutionise society that our work as women lies.

In conclusion, but a word. I would it might go forth and fill all hearts as mine is full. I say to all men and women who would change this shameful life we lead: Remember always and everywhere what the work before us is. Think, you men, of what, under the present condition of society—which no Act of Parliament can remedy—what your sisters, what the women you love, and would make your wives, what your children may be driven to. And you women, as you hold your little babes in your arms—those little ones, blood of your blood, flesh of your flesh, dearer to you than life itself—think that in a few short years they will have to sell their little pure bodies or starve. Worse than this. Think that you, who now love them so, may fall to this—that you yourselves will sell them, these babes you have brought forth in pain and anguish, as you sell any other of your few possessions—as, perchance, you have had to sell, or will sell, your own selves. Think of this and all it means. And, thinking of it, come and fight with us Socialists against a state of things so utterly hideous.

Men and women, come to us. Work with us. Do not believe those who tell you any political party, or any "reformers" or any special legislation, can do away with crimes that are only the result of our whole system of society to-day. If you would do away with these crimes, you must do away with their cause. Help us. Help us to save not only yourselves, men and women; not only your little children. Help us also to save the very criminals, who now "drain your sweat and drink your blood." Come to us. Join hands with us; and hand in hand, heart to heart with us, labour in this great cause. Never forget that when once the people will there is no gainsaying them. Once you rise "in unvanquishable number," you are many, they—your enemies—"are few."

ELEANOR MARX AVELING.

THE CONGO.*

WERE it not for our Socialism—for our conviction that the present, like every previous world-order, must pass away as a tale that is told—a book such as this of Mr. Stanley's would leave upon us a settled melancholy only to be relieved by the hope that astronomical research might before long be in a position to assure us of the absorption of this planet by the sun at an early date. "*Ewige vernichtung nimmt uns auf*," sing the crew of the "Flying Dutchman" in their weariness of the continuous round of a pleasureless and purposeless existence—a cry which the Stanleyised savage will, we imagine, before long be expressing in eloquent Congoose, as he looks back to the time before commerce, Christianity and civilisation had done their dire work—or, shall we say, to the time ere the European trader and missionary had begun to take a kindly interest in him.

"Short as was my view," says Mr. Stanley (Vol. I., p. 130), "of this concourse of bronzed aborigines, I foresaw a brilliant future for Africa, if by any miracle of good fortune I could persuade the dark millions of the interior to cast off their fabrics of grass clothing and don the second-hand costumes made, say, at Whitechapel. See what a ready market lies here for old clothes, etc." That's the style! Brilliant future, old clothes, cheap spirits, last of all, the "factory system!" Mr. Stanley talks of *persuading* "the millions of the interior" to adopt the vile European shoddy which, as he must be well aware, means deterioration of *physique*, if not death, to the savage used to natural conditions. We all know what that persuading signifies. There is a *crescendo* in the market-hunters' persuasion which culminates in the roar of Gatlings and the rattle of Schneider rifles. After this, freedom of trade in cheap goods is established, deterioration more or less slow, but none the less sure, succeeds the rougher and readier war-carnage.

The band of harpies, traders and missionaries combined, who have followed in the track of Mr. Stanley's marauding expedition may be estimated by the following extract from the preface to the present volumes:

"Besides the work of the International Association, of which these volumes are the record, the English Baptists have carried the banner of peace up the Congo beyond the equator; and the American Baptists, taking up the work begun by the Livingstone Congo Mission, are urging on the civilising work side by side with their English brethren. London and Church Missionary Societies have planted their Christian flags on Lakes Victoria and Tanganika. The African Lakes Company and the Free Kirk of Scotland are earnestly at work on Lakes Nyassa, and are advancing to Lake Tanganika. Serpa Pinto and Weissman have crossed Africa; Iven and Capello have performed remarkable journeys to the east of Angola. Monsieur de Brazza has given France a West African Empire; Germany has entered the field of colonial enterprise, and has annexed all the territory in South West Africa, between Cape Frio and British colonies in South Africa, the Cameroons territory and a fertile province in East Africa; Italy has annexed territory on the Red Sea; Great Britain has annexed the Niger Delta; and Portugal now possesses 700,000 square miles of African territory."

Thus the plundering goes merrily on. The explorer reconnoitres the ground, the missionary prepares the soil, the trader "works" it. The time is then ripe for protectorates and annexations, followed by the wholesale conversion of the refractory nation, by fire and sword if other means fail, to the gospel of—"old clothes."

The present volume narrates the process of wheedling and houching native chiefs in preparation for the "pounce." "The fact of my arrival at Ulundi has become generally known, and various chiefs have sent their boys to me to say I must expect friends and visitors. It is politic to submit to any trifling delay of this kind, for I shall presently have to obtain workmen from them to make the great waggon-way into the interior" (Vol. I., p. 164). The italics in this passage are our own, but it is only one picked out haphazard which illustrates the process above referred to.

Wellnigh every page of the book expresses the hope and faith of the market-hunter's pioneer, that the redemption of Africa by international capitalism draweth nigh. Mr. Stanley of course takes great interest in "Christian missions." But we will do him the justice to say that he can hardly deceive anyone as to the special reasons for his interest in them. Christianity, it is perfectly obvious, is to Mr. Stanley the indispensable handmaid of the great religion of the nineteenth century, commercial enterprise, and for this reason alone is to be respected. It is true he baptises a chief now and again, but there is no serious attempt to disguise the fact that the water of baptism, as received from Mr. Stanley's hands, is a sign that the devoted chief is possessed of the faith that moves "old clothes" rather than mountains. We could hardly fancy Mr. Stanley with an ineffable

* *The Congo; or, The Founding of a Free State.* By Henry M. Stanley.

sweetness on his countenance and the open Bible on his lap, majestically ordering a couple of rebel chiefs to be taken from his presence and hacked to pieces. This belongs to the art which conceals art, and the genius that can reduce humbug to such a fine art as this is made up of a rare combination of qualities. Mr. Stanley would probably exhibit less calm in the settlement of refractory chiefs. But in spite of Mr. Stanley's humbug being rather crude, it appears to go down well with the frequenters of Exeter Hall. The Baptists give him dinners and meetings, in return for which he offers them chaffing patronage and the protection of his name.

In the chapter on Europeans in Africa Mr. Stanley rails at certain adventurous young men who have gone out under his auspices, and of whose failure through personal deficiencies he holds strong opinions. In perusing his strictures one feels one would like to hear the opinion of these young men on Mr. Stanley and his "association." We know of one case in which a young man who would of course be put on Mr. Stanley's black list as a person of intemperate habits and a failure, was sent out with promise of large salary which should have been duly paid to his account at Banana, and who died some two years afterwards. Did the wife and child he left behind in England get any of the money due to him? Not a single franc. We do not venture to suppose for an instant that Mr. Stanley himself is anything less than the soul of honour in things commercial, as befits the pioneer of civilisation in the benighted regions of the earth. But the morality of the Congo Association would certainly appear to be a minus quantity, and "intending emigrants," lured by its specious promises, would do well to take note of this fact. Yet after all, it is admitted that only a tolerably well-marked product of the nineteenth century, is a fitting instrument, under Providence as embodied in Mr. Stanley, to exploit the new territory. On p. 376 of Vol. II. we read: "It is specially with a view to rouse the spirit of trade that I dilate upon the advantages of the Congo basin, and not as a field for the pauper emigrant. . . . It is the cautious trader . . . the enterprising mercantile factor . . . the European middleman"—he is the man who is wanted. "These are they," says Mr. Stanley, "who can direct and teach the black pauper," etc. "They are the missionaries of commerce, adapted for nowhere so well as the Congo basin, where are so many idle hands and such abundant opportunities all within a ring fence." We can quite believe it; the Congo basin must afford at the present moment a virgin field for the exploits of this description of rascaldom—we beg pardon, for the earnest zeal of such missionary types of the commercial spirit as those above indicated.

Mr. Stanley certainly preaches his "gospel of enterprise" (as he himself terms it) with the zeal of an apostle. He is doubtless wise in his generation.

As regards style, this book will probably please those who affect the second-rate American reporter. An attempt to be didactic is fatal to Mr. Stanley from a literary point of view. He then twaddles away in the manner of a lower-form schoolboy, as thus:

"There is a law of nature which has decreed that a man must work. The divine law declares that only by the sweat of his brow shall a man eat bread. There is a law pretty generally recognised among the advanced nations—that every honest labourer is worthy of his hire, but only the conspicuously meritorious deserve special commendation. The stern practice of the world is that a man shall not obtain his food for nothing. Unless he labours in his vocation, neither shall he receive wages."

The above is culled from the preface which we have already referred to.

"I now commit my work," says Mr. Stanley, "to the public, in the hope that it will effect a happy change for Africa, and give a greater impetus to the true civilising influences which are seen in the advancement of commerce and in the vitality of Christian missions."

This conclusion to the same precious document sounds as if Mr. Stanley had some faculty for sarcasm, but perhaps he is only naïve. At all events, the whole book sings the same song. We take leave of Mr. Stanley with this quotation, and resign him and his "association" to the final verdict, not of the Civilised world of to-day, but of the Socialised world of to-morrow.

E. BELFORD BAX.

RECORD OF THE INTERNATIONAL MOVEMENT.

GERMANY.—Lieske, accused of assassinating Police-inspector Rumpff (one of the worst specimens of the police-agent, who after doing more than one man to death was himself stabbed, as my readers may remember, at Frankfort); Lieske, has been "found guilty" and condemned. Bearing in mind the many cases in which bourgeois judges and bourgeois juries have legally murdered men; remembering the Manchester and the Clerkenwell martyrs, the many French, German and the recent dynamite trials; remembering all these, I think I may still say that not one of them has been more infamously unjust than this

Frankfort trial. I cannot, like some of our Socialist German papers say that "only in Germany" would such an iniquity be possible. I believe that exactly the same thing would, under the circumstances happen with French bourgeois judges, or with a "respectable" British jury. But this does not make the infamy less. The interest is increased if we can take this trial as typical of bourgeois "justice" in general rather than as an example of German bourgeois injustice in particular.

As to Julius Lieske there is no, absolutely no, evidence against him. Those who have followed the whole trial will admit that I am not exaggerating in making this statement. But readers of the *Commonweal* shall judge for themselves. I will simply give the facts. I will not suppress or seek to attenuate a single one, but state them exactly as they were brought forward by the prosecution.

Rumpff, it may be remembered, was found dying from a wound inflicted by a sharp instrument, in the front garden of his house, on January 15 of this year. *No trace of the assassin could be found.* Many persons were passing the streets at the time, and many swore to having seen the assassin. Of their evidence presently. On January 19 a young working man was arrested at Hockenheim. The incriminating circumstances against him were these. (I reproduce them almost verbatim). When arrested he behaved in a fashion that showed he had "something on his conscience;" he offered resistance to the *gendarmes*, trying to shoot one. It was found that the papers he presented were not his; that up to the Rumpff affair he had been at Frankfort; that in Switzerland Lieske had belonged to an Anarchist club, and that "witnesses" (!) were there to prove he had spoken "threateningly." Further, *he had a wound on his left hand.* This is all. Now we will admit that this might be enough to authorize an inquiry. But if these "incriminating circumstances" did not lead to further discoveries, they would mean nothing. But this would not do. A victim must be found, and Lieske being to hand, probably he would do as well as any other for the purposes of the police.

For five months the "inquiry" was carried on, and at last Lieske is placed on his trial. Rumpff had been killed by a wound from "some sharp instrument." Note that none of the doctors and experts could say what *kind* of instrument. But no sooner is it known that Lieske is a shoemaker, than it is taken for "absolutely proved" that the wound "must have been inflicted" by a double-edged knife, such as is used by shoemakers. This is the first piece of weighty evidence. Then comes the wound on the left hand, which was made the *pièce de résistance* by the prosecution. But in face of the actual facts, this wound, far from proving *against* Lieske, proves for him. It is pretty certain that the assassin of Rumpff seized him by the *throat* (the likeliest thing, both to stop cries and get a stronger hold), while the stab was struck in the left side, straight at the heart. Now if, as the prosecution alleged, the wound in Lieske's hand had been inflicted by himself while holding his "victim," he would have had to simply seize him by the coat, and thus give him a chance of struggling. Is this, I ask anyone, probable? It was shown by the doctors that the wound had been struck straight and with great force. How, then, could the striker have managed to cut his own hand? Yet, impossible as it will seem, this hand-wound was the "chief count." So important was it considered, that the prison doctors stooped to the infamy of *preventing it to heal.* It was artificially kept open and made worse! There yet remain the "witnesses" who "saw" the accused commit the act. *Not two of these gave the same evidence.* Each contradicted the other in a fashion that, were it not so horribly tragic, and were not an innocent man's life in question, would be simply grotesque. Neither as to appearance, dress, actions, did two of these credible persons swear the same thing. Yet on this evidence has Lieske been condemned to death. All reports are unanimous that the sentence has created the greatest sensation, and that the public "fully expected Lieske's acquittal." The venal bourgeoisie press have since tried to show that, though there was no real evidence, "the man's behavior after the sentence proved his guilt." Was there ever such logic?

Let us note here that this "behaviour after his trial" refers to his excited demand for proof of guilt. "You say I am a murderer," he cried, "give the proofs—the proofs!" And, on being led away, he shouted to the multitude, "Throw dynamite bombs!" What does this prove? All through the trial, from beginning to end—Lieske is hot-tempered, and easily loses his head—he has strenuously *denied* everything in the counts against him; has denied being an Anarchist, or connected with Anarchists; has denied any desire to remove Rumpff or any other police-agent. And probably that cry of his means only that since such iniquities are possible, dynamite is the only weapon left. I have no desire to represent Lieske as a hero. He has strongly denied being an Anarchist or Socialist. But if the German Government kills him, it will be one of the most horrible murders ever committed even by the German Government. There may be truth in the suggestion that Lieske knows who the actual executioner of Rumpff is, and that all his denials are only cloaks to hide what he is too brave and generous to betray. If this is so, Lieske is doubly a martyr. But in any case his name will not be forgotten, nor those of the criminals who have done this innocent man to death.

E. M. A.

[There is not much space left for the "Record" this month. I have therefore thought it better to give readers a full account of a matter every one of us should take to heart, and of which but little can be learned from the ordinary press, and to leave over all other news for next month.]

Custom may lead a man into many errors, but it justifies none.—*Fielding.*

SIGNS OF THE TIMES.

As a consequence of the crisis, the shower of "Court holy-water" has been falling pretty heavily, and has even reached artistic circles in the form of baronetries for Mr. Millais and Mr. G. F. Watts. Mr. Watts has declined the "honour" however, a fact which artists must rejoice over, as Mr. Watts, in spite of his being a member of "Society," has always shown real enthusiasm for his art. Mr. Millais, once a great painter, now a real picture-dealer, seems to have accepted. His acceptance does not disgrace his second calling.—W. M.

A new Socialist paper, the *Worker's Friend*, has been started by the Jewish section. This journal, which is printed in Hebrew character, and appears monthly, promises, so far as can be judged from the first number, to be a very useful co-worker in the cause.

At a meeting held at Morley Hall, Hackney, on July 1, in favour of — Russell, Q.C., M.P., as candidate for that division, the chairman, in introducing him to the audience, informed them, among other extraordinary things, that he (the chairman) was not in favour of the State lending small farmers money to buy land, as he believed that to be rank Socialism. There is evidently ground for good work in Hackney.

The second volume of Karl Marx' work on Capital is now out in Germany. It is on the circulation process of capital and is almost purely scientific. The third part, the manuscript of most of which is in hand, will be the most lively reading of the three. Those who know the verve and play of passion and humour with which certain parts of the first volume are written will know something of what to expect.—E. A.

BRANCH REPORTS.

INTERNATIONAL EXCURSION.—On Sunday, July 19, an excursion of Revolutionists, organised by the International Club, Stephen's Mews, went to Epping Forest. They were conveyed in twenty large brakes and a few smaller vehicles, all of which were gaily decorated with red flags and liberty caps. A good band was in attendance and played revolutionary airs on the route. The day was merrily spent in various open-air amusements. William Morris and F. Kitz delivered short speeches in the Forest, which were enthusiastically received. Nothing of an unpleasant nature occurred to tarnish the day's pleasure, and the Socialists of London have good reason to be proud of the large and orderly company which turned out at their invitation.—J. L. M.

BLOOMSBURY.—Since the public meeting in June, this Branch has started a series of meetings for discussion in Soho. The first, held on Thursday, July 16, took the form of a talk on "What is Socialism?" followed by a series of interesting questions and answers. On the last two Thursdays in July the members and their visitors will take for discussion the Bradlaugh and Hyndman debate. The help of Mahon and Charles from the North London Branch was very useful.—Thomas E. Wards.

OXFORD.—This Branch of the League has met weekly, and has had discussions on Socialism, in which most of its members have taken part, and some good debates have followed on the subjects.—F. Martin, Sec.

LEEDS.—At a meeting held on Sunday, the 12th, at the Vicar's Croft, the following resolution was unanimously adopted by an assembly of about 500 working men: "That we heartily admire and applaud the brave stand made by the conductors of the *Pall Mall Gazette* in exposing the criminal vice which obtains throughout London Society." A quire of the *Commonweal* was sold.

STRATFORD.—This Branch is progressing slowly. We have no meeting-place yet, but hope to get one for the winter. On Saturday, July 11, a most successful open-air meeting was held, at which Comrades Banner, Nicoll, Lyons and Sparling spoke. We are causing great excitement.—H. H.

NORTH LONDON.—During the past month the open-air meetings have been carried on with great success. At every meeting there have been interesting questions and lively discussion. Literature has sold well, over three quires of the *Commonweal* having been disposed of. Two indoor meetings have been held, at which papers on "Co-operation" and "The Wages Question" were read by L. Grünlund and J. L. Mahon. In addition to this the members of the Branch have attended two political meetings, Radical and Conservative, and by asking questions and raising discussion excited the interest and sympathy of the audiences. Of course the attitude assumed at political gatherings has been non-political. Sporting Conservatives, wealthy Radicals, and Labour Candidates—who have turned against their class—are all alike subjected to our criticism, which always has upon purely social questions.—J. L. M.

MANCHESTER (Socialist Union).—On Saturday, July 11, the Manchester Socialists had a great field day. At the invitation of the M. S. U., William Morris delivered a lecture at the Memorial Hall on "The Hopes of Civilization," and comrades and friends assembled in force and gave him the heartiest of welcomes. An animated discussion followed the lecture. Several old Owenites asked questions, one alluding to E. T. Craig; the Co-operationists pleaded their scheme as a solution, which the lecturer controverted; a teetotaler bored the meeting with a long and pointless harangue; but on the whole the discussion was good, and throughout the greatest interest was shown in Socialism. All the newspapers here give excellent reports of the proceedings, and the M. S. U. has enrolled a long list of new members.—Thomas Ewing.

PECKHAM.—A. Schu lectured on Owen, Marx and Blanqui, on July 19, at the Chamberlain Club, Peckham, to a good audience who received the lecture well, and an interesting discussion followed.

ROYTON.—William Morris lectured on the afternoon of Sunday, July 12, at the Cucumber Gardens at Royton; subject, "The Depression of Trade," Mr. Lord, an old Owenite, taking the chair. Several members of the Manchester Socialist Union were present. The audience, largely composed of young men, was attentive, but the subject of Socialism was clearly quite new to them, and they did not know what to think of it. In the discussion which followed the opponents showed their usual inability to grasp the subject from the class point of view, clung fondly to the humbug of Parliament, and, though themselves the obvious victims of physical force, were very anxious that the lecturer should pin himself to the Quaker doctrine of peace at any price.

OLDHAM.—It had been announced that William Morris would address an audience in the Old Market Place, but the authorities had thought fit to veto the right of public meeting there. The members of the Manchester Socialist Union, with Morris and other friends, waited in a coffee-room overlooking the market-place, and watched an excited crowd gathering there, and "law and order" moving them on. On the Socialists going out into the square they were received with applause. Comrades Oldman and Morris then led the way to "Thomfields," the present market, where a thoroughly good meeting was held, some 1,500 being present. Comrade Oldman presided and opened. Morris followed, speaking altogether of Socialism, as did T. Ewing, who gave a lucid speech. Oldman wound up proposing

a resolution condemning the authorities for their interference with the right of public meeting, which was carried unanimously, and it was announced that the question would be fought out to the end. Comrade Sellar, an indefatigable worker in the cause, had his name taken by the police for selling the *Commonweal* in the market. The meeting throughout was most orderly and attentive, and much assent was shown to the Socialist arguments. The Manchester Socialist Union is working enthusiastically and with judgment, and is doing good work in the neighbourhood.

DESBOROUGH.—William Morris gave an address on July 14 in this village, which is inhabited by shoemakers and iron-stone-quarrymen. The audience was mostly composed of workers, only some half-dozen of the middle class being present. The working part of the audience was very sympathetic. What opposition there was came from two middle-class persons, one male, one female. Their arguments were quite beside the point, and were received with emphatic signs of dissent by a large part of the audience. The general feeling here is very good, and some of our friends are most enthusiastic and are working with much intelligence in the cause. Our delegates could always be sure of a good reception in Desborough, and it ought to be cultivated and made a rallying-place for Socialism in those parts.

BRADFORD.—On Sunday afternoon, July 12, Midgley lectured at Laycock's Temperance Hotel on "The Robbery of Labour, and the Remedy." Referring to the existence of the widespread poverty and misery which was known and acknowledged by all parties in the state, he, as a Socialist, affirmed that the cause was simply labour-robbery. In the evening Mitchell lectured at the "Royal Oak," Shipley, on "The Principles and Aims of Socialism," which he defined as "the nationalisation of thorough co-operation and the institution of real Democracy." He drew attention to the present position of Socialism in England and the large amount of notice it was receiving in the higher-class magazines and reviews. He explained that Socialism was the natural evolution of society. Rawlings and Bamford opposed; Bland and Minty also took part in the discussion. Rawlings undertook to deliver an opposition lecture on Sunday evening, August 2, at the same place. We believe we have opened up good ground for propaganda at Shipley.

HAMMERSMITH.—On Sunday, June 28, J. C. Foulger lectured on "True and False Freedom," combatting the received Radical opinion that political freedom would emancipate the workers. In the course of his instructive address, he showed clearly that we never shall be really free until we have equal political freedom. In the discussion which followed comrades Craig and Grünlund spoke, the latter criticising a statement of the lecturer, who had said that he thought society would follow the ordinary law of development—centralisation, followed by de-centralisation and ultimately by communism. On July 5, in consequence of the Conference, no meeting was held, many of the members attending it. On July 12, W. Bridges Adams lectured on Emigration. Beginning with an able retrospect of the colonisation of classical times, the lecturer gave a mass of statistics from the most worthy sources, proving beyond the possibility of doubt, that an enormously larger population might live, and in comfort, in this country if the labour-power of the whole of its inhabitants were organised for useful production. A considerable discussion followed, to which two returned colonists contributed some facts, which, however, only served to strengthen the lecturer's position. On July 10, G. Brocher lectured on "The Icarian Communities in America," founded by Caba about 35 years ago. The history of these communistic societies shows how, notwithstanding almost every imaginable debt, unskilled labour, most of the original emigrants being makers of articles de Paris, artists, literary men and the like, and the strong attraction which boulevards, cafés and theatres have to draw Frenchmen back to their native land, notwithstanding all these difficulties—difficulties which would certainly have broken up an ordinary colony—the communistic principle has been so strong that the communities, though small, are in a flourishing condition to-day. Our comrade's most interesting lecture was followed by considerable discussion, in which comrade Beasley made a brilliant reply to questions on competition and compensation. The out-door meetings at the top of Welye Road have been continued every Saturday. Comrades Rock, Donald, Beasley, Morris, Kitz, Mowbray, Lane, Banner and others speaking. The want of intelligent opposition at the out-door meetings is much felt; the sort we have been most favoured with being rather of the braying order.

LECTURE DIARY: August, 1885.

- Sunday 2.—Hammersmith, J. L. Mahon, at 8.
 —Hoxton, C. W. Mowbray, "Co-operation for Production," at 8.
 " 9.—Hammersmith, G. B. Shaw, at 8.
 —Hoxton, W. C. Wade, "The Cry of the Children," at 8.
 " 16.—Hammersmith, Laurence Grünlund, at 8.
 —Hoxton, W. Morris, "Commercial Depression," at 8.
 " 23.—Hammersmith, William Morris, at 8.
 —Hoxton, David Nicoll, "Socialism and Political Economy," at 8.
 " 30.—Hammersmith, E. Marx Aveling, at 8.
 —Hoxton, E. B. Aveling, "Curse of Capitalism," at 8.

BRANCH MEETING ROOMS.

- Hoxton (L. E. L.)—Exchange Coffee House, Pitfield Street, opposite Hoxton Church, N.
 Hammersmith.—Kelmescott House, 26 Upper Mall, W.
 Merton.—High Street, Merton Abbey, Surrey.
 Bloomsbury.—Stanley Coffee House, 183 Wardour Street. Every Thursday at 8 30 p.m.
 North London.—"The Locomotive," James Street, Camden Town. Wednesdays at 8 p.m.
 Leeds.—54 Myrtle Street. Meets every Wednesday. Open-air station, Vicar's Croft.
 Edinburgh (Scottish Section).—4 Park Street. Meets every Saturday at 7 30 p.m.
 Bradford.—Laycock's Temperance Hotel, Kirkgate. Meetings every Wednesday. Sympathisers invited.

Manchester Socialist Union.—County Forum, Market Street, Manchester. Meets each Tuesday at 7 p.m.

Oldham.—Coffee Tavern, Yorkshire Street. Meets every Monday at 7 p.m.

OPEN AIR PROPAGANDA.

(Socialist literature should be on sale at all the meetings. Each speaker will always carry a supply of the COMMONWEAL.)

North London.—The Cobden Statue, Hampstead Road. Meetings every Tuesday at 7 30 p.m. 4, C. W. Mowbray; 11, H. H. Sparling; 18, D. Nicoll; 25, W. C. Wade.

Hoxton (L. E. L.)—Pitfield Street, opposite Hoxton Church. Every Thursday at 8 p.m. and every Sunday at 11.30 a.m. 2, H. H. Sparling; 6, W. C. Wade; 9, Nicoll; 13, Mowbray; 16, Mahon; 20, Nicoll; 23, Lyons; 27, Lane.

Mile End Waste.—Every Sunday at 11.30 a.m. 5, Nicoll and Mahon; 12, Lane; 19, W. C. Wade; 26, Lyons.

Hammersmith.—Every Saturday evening at 6 o'clock. Speakers from the League and the Branch.

Stratford.—"Argument Lamp," end of churchyard. Every Saturday at 6 p.m. Open-air speakers will meet at 13 Farringdon Road on Wednesday, August 19, at 8 p.m., to arrange lectures for September.

Supplement to "The Commonweal."

VOL. 1.—No. 7.

AUGUST, 1885.

FIRST GENERAL MEETING OF THE SOCIALIST LEAGUE.

AFTERNOON SITTING—3 p.m.

Chairman: We now have to resume the discussion on the paper. Since we closed the morning sitting another resolution in the name of Theodor and Beasley, "That it be referred to the Council to take steps for the bringing out of the *Commonweal* as an eight-page weekly paper as soon as the necessary funds have been guaranteed," has been handed in.

Bax and Charles were willing to withdraw their resolution in favour of that of Lane or that of Theodor.

Lane withdrew his in favour of Theodor's resolution, which was carried *nem. con.*

Lane suggested that the names of those willing to take so many quires of each issue of the weekly paper should be given in at once.

Mahon suggested that it should be understood that these guarantee copies would be taken at the full price.

Hopkins thought they ought to be taken at the trade price.

Charles that both methods might be adopted.

Many names of guarantors were then given in, and the list read by H. Halliday.

Some further discussion then took place on the question of full price or trade price.

Theodor and Lane proposed and seconded that the matter be left to the discretion of each individual.

Benson asked if the guarantees applied to the weekly only.

Bax: Only for the weekly.

Chairman: If we're unable to manage the monthly, clearly we cannot the weekly. As I understand, we try to get a scheme for a weekly and as soon as possible get into regular working order. All that have said they would take a certain number of copies of the weekly issue will assuredly do the same for the monthly.

On Fox inquiring again as to the literary character the paper would assume, the Chairman said it was impossible to be opened again. For himself, unless it were thoroughly Socialistic, he would have nothing to do with it.

On the motion of Banner and Charles the Conference passed to the next business. This was the reading of Branch Reports.

BLOOMSBURY.—Started on March 1 1885. Received the charter from the League on showing twelve members on its books. Little or no work was done the first month, save the election of officers and drawing up the necessary rules. April brought accessions, and the branch had to think about changing its quarters. This took time and prevented the members from attending to anything more useful to the welfare of the cause. May opened with more new members, and an Oxford member attached himself to the Branch while in town. It was in this month that the Branch organized the public meeting held the following month, also the drawing up of the Statistic Sheets. June brings more new members and the public meeting, which may be considered a success. To it are due the new members of June. The publishing of the Statistic Sheets, the Branch trusts, will be taken up by the League. On Thursday nights a series of lessons and discussions on Socialism for the working classes are to be held. The Branch considers it wise to close its books at the end of June, as the end of the half year, although it has only been in existence three months. The balance-sheet is appended for inspection.—Thomas E. Wardle, Sec.

BRADFORD.—Our Branch was formed in March last. Since the formation of the Branch we have had weekly meetings mainly devoted to the mutual education of our members in the Principles of Socialism. The more advanced have evinced great earnestness and desire that we should all thoroughly grasp the end we have in view and be quite unanimous thereon. We have also fraternal discussions as to the best means to be adopted for spreading a knowledge of our principles and of gaining adherents to our Branch. It appeared to us that the best thing we could do for a start, would be to visit in a body a well-known Radical debating-room in the town, and obtain permission to state our principles and invite discussion. We have done this on several occasions and desire to record our grateful appreciation of the help afforded to us by Maguire, of Leeds, who rendered us valuable assistance by delivering an admirable lecture entitled "Socialism: Is it Practical?" Our Librarian, Minty, has also twice lectured to good audiences at the same place, and his efforts have been provocative of much useful discussion. Two other members of our Branch are now preparing lectures to be delivered this month. Our audiences have been deeply interested, and we have undoubtedly produced an impression. We desire to record our appreciation of the valuable assistance we have received from Secretary Mahon, through his numerous and encouraging letters, also of the promptness with which he has attended to our communications. We are very pleased with the manner in which the *Commonweal* is conducted and trust that the high-class tone it has hitherto maintained will be continued. The only suggestion we desire to make, is that reports of the meetings of the Executive Council should be inserted in the *Commonweal*. We regret we shall not be able to send a delegate to the Conference, but all comrades present may rest assured that our heartfelt sympathies are with them.—Fred. Pickles, Sec.; George Minty, Librarian.

EDINBURGH AND GLASGOW.—The report of the Scottish Section, the Scottish Land and Labour League, showed that they have two active branches, one in Edinburgh, another in Glasgow. The work done has consisted of a regular course of weekly lectures in both cities, which were well attended. At some of the larger meetings the League has had as many as 600 in an audience. At all the meetings the literature of the party has been on sale, and about 4,000 pamphlets have thus

been put into circulation. The Manifesto of the League has been widely distributed throughout Scotland. The Edinburgh branch kept open a free reading-room during the winter months, and it is the intention of both branches to have one in the ensuing season. The *Commonweal* circulation is increasing, and some members are exerting themselves to get it put on sale in the shops of the country booksellers, and this with some success.

HAMMERSMITH.—This Branch was founded on January 28 last, and holds its meetings in a room provided by our Treasurer and adjoining his house. Amongst those who constitute the Branch at present, there is a greater evidence of seriousness and of a desire to work for the cause of Socialism than has been shown heretofore. Until last month it has been the custom for the members to meet twice a week—on Sunday and on Wednesday evenings. The meeting on the latter day, which was held solely for the purpose of conducting the business of the Branch, has been discontinued, and the business is now transacted at the meeting held on Sunday evening, one hour before the lecture. An attempt is now being made to organise a series of outdoor meetings during the summer months. Two of these have been held in King Street, Hammersmith, with tolerable success. Although the Branch is inclined to place greater trust in the indoor meetings, still it is felt that as a means of propaganda the open-air gatherings may become valuable, especially as affording an occasion for the sale of Socialist literature. The lectures, which have been given every Sunday since the starting of the Branch, are generally well attended, and often good discussions take place, some of our hardest working members having come originally as opponents. A reading-room, open to the public on Saturdays and Sundays, has been provided during the last three months. A library of Socialist and general literature for the use of the members has been presented by our Treasurer and other members. A Manifesto has been printed and circulated locally.—Emery Walker, Sec.

LEEDS.—As yet our work has not been so much a matter of enrolling names and acquiring members as of spreading a general knowledge of the principles of Socialism. Tens of thousands of people have been enlightened more or less in this regard who had never before even heard of Socialism save in connexion with riot, robbery and bloodshed. Open-air meetings and debates are held every Sunday, our great lack as yet being a sufficiency of speakers. Our object just now is to get into rooms of our own before the dark days set in, so that we may the more efficiently organise ourselves, continue our agitation through the winter, and reap the fruits of our summer labours. In conclusion, then, we are glad to be able to speak in terms of the highest praise with regard to our official treatment, which has always been of a kind and encouraging character.—T. Maguire, Sec.

MERTON ABBEY.—Good work has been done, but the weekly lectures have not been so successful as the members of the Branch had hoped they would be. It is now determined to make a new start, to take a larger hall where the Radicals meet, and instead of weekly meetings, to have monthly ones. This new work will be taken in hand immediately.—J. Simmons, Sec.

NORTH LONDON.—The North London Branch was only formed a few weeks ago. Our propagandist work consists in the commencement of a promising series of open-air meetings. The first was held under the shadow of Cobden's Statue, in Hampstead Road, a week ago, and was attended by a large crowd of people, who listened with interest to an hour and a half of Revolutionary talk, and afterwards purchased over 40 copies of the *Commonweal*. We are very hopeful of carrying on these meetings throughout the summer with increased success. A short leaflet, calling attention to the Social question, has been issued. The Branch also have in view the starting of a series of meetings for discussion among members, for the purpose of interchanging opinions and qualifying for public speaking. One special action the Branch has determined on is to push the sale of the *Commonweal*, and as long as there is a loss on the production of the paper it will pay in to the Council one penny for each number, instead of keeping a profit on the sale.—J. L. Mahon.

OXFORD.—On February 25, W. Morris and Edward Aveling lectured here on "Socialism." The meeting which they addressed numbered about 400, and consisted about equally of the Town and University. At a meeting on March 2 by a section of what had once been the Oxford Radical Association, it was agreed to apply to the Socialist League for leave to join that Society as a Branch. Leave was given and the Oxford Branch of the Socialist League came into existence shortly afterwards. Another result of the visit of W. Morris and Edward Aveling was the foundation of the Marx Club among the undergraduates of the University, a Club which turns its attention to the discussion of Socialism and questions concerned with it. The Branch has met regularly once a week and at some of its meetings members of the Marx Club have read papers, and these have been followed by discussions. On Monday, June 9, W. Morris and L. Grönlund lectured to a meeting of about 80, organized by the Oxford Branch and the Marx Club acting together. The subjects of the lectures were "Useful Work v. Useless Toil" and "Socialism as a Necessary Development of Society." On Monday, June 22, and Thursday, June 25, Rev. C. L. Marson lectured to the Branch on "Why I became a Socialist. And how the poor live and die." The Branch has founded a library which contains about 60 volumes. Most of these are on Socialist matters, but a certain portion of them are books of general literature.—F. Martin, Hon. Sec.

STRATFORD.—Branch only formed June 25, with great promise of success.—H. Halliday.

As the agenda originally planned for the morning sitting were now worked through, a new Chairman had to be elected.

On the motion of Mowbray and Mahon, Morris was re-chosen.

It was decided to adjourn for twenty minutes at five o'clock.

Charles suggested that rules be taken after the adjournment. Scheu objected.

Charles moved, Banner seconded, that motions relating to Executive be taken at once.

Motion ruled out of order.

Discussion of rules proceeded with.

The Chairman stated before the rules were read that a large number of amendments to them had been put in from Liverpool in the names of R. F. E. Willis and Jenny Moule, neither of whom was able to be present.

Andreas Scheu proposed that no motion or amendment should be taken whose mover and seconder were both absent. His proposition fell through.

The Chairman then read each rule, asked for discussion upon it and amendments to it. When the rule was left intact or

finally modified as the result of discussion and amendment, he put it in its ultimate form to the meeting.

The rules as amended will be found on p. 76. Upon one or two of them interesting discussion took place.

Division IV., Rule 2.—There was considerable discussion as to whether the literary publications of the Branches should or should not be submitted to the Central Council.

It was proposed by Smith and seconded by Kitz, that the direction "all publications and rules of Branches require the endorsement of the Executive Council" be omitted. It was pointed out that occasions might arise when the immediate production of leaflets or manifestoes was necessary; and that it was wise to create a feeling of independence among the Branches, and that over-centralisation was an evil.

Edward Aveling opposed the proposed alteration. The Council would have no check upon the utterance of any Branch, and yet would be held responsible by the public for whatever was said. If any unwise or inaccurate publication was made there would be no blame of the particular Branch, but there would be any amount of blame of the League with which the Branch was associated.

Mainwaring proposed the insertion of the words "where practicable" after "rules." He instanced a strike of workmen in Wales, in which he had taken part, where delay in communicating with the central body had rendered the strike practically useless.

Rose seconded.

Adam Taylor: There was a difference between the cases with which the rule was concerned and those quoted as parallel. To grant perfect freedom of publication to all the Branches of the League would be the "thin end of the wedge." They might publish manifestoes bearing on national questions which would implicate the League.

J. Cooper moved the insertion of the words, "to be issued at the risk of the branch," in the place of the last seven words. Nicoll seconded.

W. J. Clark asked how many alterations were permissible in any one rule.

H. Charles, why individuals should not be subject to the same censure as branches.

Andreas Scheu said there was no distrust of the branches implied in the provision, nor any actual tyranny. The League was a young organisation. All of the branch-formers were enthusiastic, but they had not had too much experience. Caution was necessary. The loss of time involved in any case would not be great, was certainly not of great moment as yet, and might be incurred with advantage. The General Election was near, and there would be much opportunity then of making blunders and committing the League to them.

F. Lessner took it that the object of the rule was to secure the position and action of the League in the future. The only intention was to see that Socialism alone was promulgated, and to guard against any possible loss of principle.

J. Lane: The power ought not to be taken out of the hands of the branches. It would do them good to take part in public questions on their own account. The country members would be found quite as capable as those in London.

W. J. Clark said that he was of opinion that as the affiliated bodies were allowed to do as they liked in the publishing of leaflets, and so on, some of the members of the League would take to joining the affiliated bodies. As to any collision with the authorities there could be as yet no danger in it. As to the General Election it was still a question whether this should be let alone or not by Socialists. He considered that they ought to act as firebrands and utilise the meetings of the political parties to disseminate their principles. On the amendment that the last clause be omitted being put, it was lost by a majority of two. Mainwaring's amendment of the insertion of the words "where practicable" was lost by a majority of five; Cooper's, the substitution of the words "to be issued at the risk of the branch" was lost by a majority of seven.

Rule 5.—Donald and Lyon moved and seconded the insertion of the words "the funds of the dissolved branch to go to the Central Executive;" the former putting the possible case of a donation to a branch intended for the League becoming alienated if the branch went over to another body. It was suggested that this should go into the branch rules, Scheu pointing out that the Council might be accused of wilfully dissolving a branch in order to get their funds if such a regulation held. After some discussion the suggestion was adopted.

Rule 6.—On the motion of Faulkner and Cooper it was decided, after some discussion, that a branch should not become extinct even if its members fell below six, before a period of three months had elapsed. A minority of three voted against this. The adjournment then took place.

The discussion of the rules was resumed at 5.20.

Division V., Rule 4.—Adam Taylor proposed that the editors of the official journal should be elected by the Council, and not the Conference. He had been very pleased with the *Commonweal* so far, but he thought the editors would be better chosen and the paper managed by the Council.

Childs seconded.

Scheu raised an objection, and, on the amendment being put, it was lost by a considerable majority.

On the motion of Binning and Bax, it was decided that the Conference should fix the maximum salary of the Secretary, not merely the salary.

Rule 5.—Mahon and Halliday proposed the substitution of "should" for "must." Carried.

Rule 6.—Lessner and Beasley proposed that the words "at least three months" be substituted for "more than three months." Carried.

The motion by Shackwitz and Mowbray, that "one month" and "a fortnight" be respectively altered to "six weeks" and "one month," was carried after discussion, in which Binning and Beasley supported the original reading.

The 8th of the Provisional Rules, that "each annual Conference appoints time and place of next meeting," was, on the motion of Faulkner and Mahon, struck out.

Division 6, Rule 1.—It was moved by Charles, seconded by Nicoll, that the Council consist of fifteen members. Arnold supported twenty as the best number, giving larger attendance.

Binning pointed out that the possibility of the many different committees would impose a severe strain upon any less number than twenty.

Bax agreed with the amendment.

Morris thought it would be a great mistake to reduce the number.

Charles suggested that committees were not necessarily composed wholly of Council members.

Scheu said that twenty was much the better number, as tending to be less exclusive.

The amendment was negatived.

Beasley moved, Binning seconded, to omit "who is able to attend," and to insert "that three successive absences without adequate cause shall vacate the seat, such seat to be filled up by remaining members of Council."

Clark moved that when three vacancies had occurred, an extraordinary Conference be summoned to elect new members.

Mowbray seconded.

Upon the motion of Binning, seconded by Clarke, it was agreed that vacancies be filled up by co-optation, unless the lapsed member belonged to a Branch, when such Branch should elect his successor.

Rule 2.—In the rule as drawn up for submission to the Conference there was inserted, on the motion of Edward Aveling and Faulkner, "that the Executive Council appoint time and place of Annual Conference."

Rule 3.—F. Lessner and Bax proposed that the three Branches on whose initiative an Extraordinary Conference might be summoned should consist of not less than 50 members.

Faulkner suggested that the 50 should be any 50 drawn from not less than three Branches. This was accepted by the mover of the Amendment.

After Wade and Mowbray had supported the rule as it stood, the amendment was put and lost by a majority of 11.

Rule 4.—Upon this Lyons was anxious to know on what conditions exclusion would take place.

The Chairman pointed out that it was impossible to lay down any hard and fast conditions, but that it was possible for branches or affiliated bodies to take public action that would be out of harmony with the principles of Socialism.

On the motion of Beasley and Faulkner, the euphemism to "call on any member to resign" was replaced by the phrase "to expel."

After the discussion of the rules for the Executive Council, which had been drawn up and suggested by the Provisional Council for the consideration of the Conference, two additional rules on the motion of individual members were discussed.

Theodore and Bax proposed that the Secretary should not be a member of the Executive Council.

Faulkner did not agree with the proposal.

Binning reminded them that they must avoid the difficulty of not being able to select the Secretary from amongst those elected for the Council, though he was distinctly in favour of such Secretary not having the power of voting.

Beasley thought paid officials of any kind should be allowed a voice in the deliberations.

Edward Aveling said that there was no desire to close the mouth of any particular individual, but it was absolutely necessary, for the conduct of business, that the Secretary who had to look after and record all that was taking place, should be

left quite free to do this. If he were allowed at the same time to take part in the discussion, neither portion of his work would be done well.

After a little further discussion the resolution was carried *nem. con.*

Theodor then moved another resolution, that not more than one member of a family should have the right of voting on the Council. He only introduced it as a matter of principle, without any personal feeling whatever, but he thought that the influence, for example, of husband and wife might lead to biased voting.

Fox seconded.

Mowbray opposed, and asked if it were likely that a man and a woman who had their hearts in the cause would work less well for it after than before marriage.

W. J. Clark objected to any organisation becoming a family association.

Binning contended strongly against the resolution. He pointed out the fallacy of thinking that because two people were members of the same family they should necessarily agree.

Andreas Scheu, answering Clark, hoped that the Council of the League itself would partake more and more of a family association.

The resolution was put and lost, only three voting for it.

Rule 7, dealing with the *Commonweal*, was amended on the motion of Wess and Lazarus by the insertion of the words "or affiliated bodies."

Beasley and Mahon proposed that the rules, so amended, should be published in the *Commonweal*—carried.

Branch Rules then came on for discussion.

On the suggestion of Beasley these were to be headed "suggested Branch rules."

The Chairman then asked for discussion on these.

Lane called attention to Rule 2, and moved that the word "occupation" be struck out. He thought the name and address of any member would be quite sufficient. To ask for the occupation was rather inquisitorial, and the giving of it might lead to difficulties in the case of the working-men members.

Mowbray seconded.

Scheu spoke in favour of the retention of the word. The more closely connected we are and the more we know of each other the better. He could not think a man or woman fit to be a member of the League who was unwilling to give his or her occupation. Nor did he at all see any more likelihood of danger to a working man who might join the movement from the fact that his occupation would be entered along with his name and address. The objection to giving such details appeared to him anti-socialistic.

Graham spoke of the advantage that would follow from our knowing what classes of workmen were represented in the League, and what was the strength of each class.

Lane's motion on being put was lost, only five voting for it.

Faulkner reminded the meeting that with Rule 12 must be incorporated the "three months" decision arrived at in connexion with Rule 5, Division 4. The Chairman reminded everyone that the Branch Rules are only suggestions, and by no means compulsory.

The Chairman having stated that he had certain motions from R. F. E. Willis and Jenny Moule bearing upon the Manifesto, and having read the motions, it was unanimously decided, on the motion of Theodor and Mowbray, that the proposals of the Liverpool members should be allowed to drop.

The next business was the election of the Council. Some 34 names were proposed and written upon a black-board. Every member of the League present was then required to write out 20 selected by him from the 34 as the members of the Council for whom he voted. The scrutineers reported the following as elected. The names are given in alphabetical order: H. Arnold, Edward Aveling, Robert Banner, E. Belfort Bax, Thomas Binning, H. Charles, C. J. Faulkner, Laurence Grönlund, Frank Kitz, Joseph Lane, Frederic Lessner, J. L. Mahon, S. Mainwaring, Mary Morris, William Morris, C. W. Mowbray, David Nicoll, C. Theodor, W. C. Wade, Thomas Wardle.

On the motion of Adam Taylor and Emery Walker, William Morris and Edward Aveling were re-elected editors of the *Commonweal*.

E. Belfort Bax and Oscar Richards proposed that the maximum salary of the Secretary should be £2 a week.

W. Cooper and — Graham proposed as an amendment £1 10s., but after some little discussion the amendment was withdrawn and the original proposition carried *nem. con.*

This closed the business of the Conference.

After the actual business of the Conference was at an end, the members present sat down to supper. This over, William Morris was called for. He said that he was very anxious that the literary character of the paper should be maintained. He,

for one, could not offer to the workers what he did not himself think good. The journal must be Socialistic. He was also very anxious to get some music as a power in their organisation. It roused the spirits often apt to be depressed with the hardness of the work. Sentiment and the passions must be appealed to. Further, all must be prepared to sacrifice. He longed to see yet more of the revolutionary fervour. Then as commercial matters grew worse, as they of necessity must, instead of accepting everything dolefully, of lying down to die, all would be up and doing.

Edward Aveling was then called upon. He reminded them that Socialism was essentially a scientific question. The first appeal should certainly be to people's feelings. But, these once aroused, the solid, reasoned basis on which the whole thing rested should be shown. Just as the working classes that thought had accepted Darwinism in natural science as at once satisfying their longings and their reason, so in good time, on the same grounds, would they all accept Socialism in economics. Taking, for the moment, the threefold division of mind into Feeling, Intellect, Will—we must first stir the emotions of men and women, next satisfy their reason, and thus stimulate their will. That will, when once it was that of a people that felt and that thought, must be irresistible.

Frank Kitz and Andreas Scheu were also called for.

Kitz said: Comrades, I had no desire to speak, but as you have called upon me, I will say a few words. Without being egotistical, I may say that this gathering is to me an event of singular importance; for, looking back some ten or eleven years, when associated with the remnants of the followers of Owen, Bronterre O'Brien and Feargus O'Connor for Socialistic propaganda, we met with so little success that Socialism seemed dead in England. In fact, so conspicuous did the few workers become, through isolation, that it was said, in a university town whereat a Socialist lecture was delivered, that there was only one Socialist in London, and he, myself. A few comrades, some of whom I see sitting around, gathered together, purchased press, type and paper, and paid the rent of a room wherein to print Socialistic literature. Yet we made our influence felt. Our pleasant experience to-day should not be exceptional, but general. In the darksome houses of the wealth-producers and their bitter struggle we find our inspiration and incentive.

Scheu spoke of the international character of the movement, congratulated the League on its women helpers, and dwelt upon the forbearance that each should have for and from his fellows.

Other speeches were made by L. Grönlund, Thomas Binning and Eleanor Marx Aveling. The "Marseillaise" and "La Carmagnole" were sung by Kitz and Brocher respectively. The chorus in each case was taken up by all present. Morris's "March of the Workers" and "No Master" were also sung as choruses.

A C O N T R A S T .

THE marriage is about to take place of a young lady of the Royal family. The veteran manipulator of the taxes of the country obtained for her £6,000 a year. It being subsequently discovered, apparently, that the intended husband had no money, £30,000 is proposed to buy their furniture. This couple have never worked, nor want to work; they live on the earnings of the people.

In a room at Chelsea live a young man, his wife, and child (an infant). The husband has been out of employment four months and owes rent. On Saturday night came a loud knock, followed by a timid "Come in." The landlord appeared. He wanted his rent. The woman answered, she had no money to buy food. "Then go on the streets and get some," replied the property-holder. The husband sat silent, but this was too much for even a broken-spirited man. He rushed to put the landlord out; was seized; a scuffle ensued. The poor fellow being weak from want of food was easily mastered. "He might have killed me," he said afterwards; "he had me by the throat." His wife wept as she bathed his bruised face, and trembled at the cursings of the retiring landlord. This couple are workers, willing to work when work is obtainable; but compelled to assist to keep the Princes and Princesses in laziness.

Are there not some things to account for the spread of Socialism?
J. B.

It is possible to play the part of a demagogue to a ruling as well as to a subject class, and he who demands that the voice of the poor should be heard in the councils of the State, is not so dangerous to the public peace as he who flatters the insolence of wealth, and bids it maintain a system which secures its own ascendancy.—J. Bryce.

"The English live under squires, territorial potentates, extensive employers, and local oligarchs, and under this régime they endure an amount of positive tyranny or negative neglect, that they would not find surpassed under the most despotic system of the Continent."—It will amaze the reader to learn that this inflammatory passage is taken from the *Times* newspaper of October 19th, 1864.

COLLAPSE OF A WORKSHOP.

LEADS was startled for a few minutes on the 1st of July by the direful news of the fall of a nail-factory, wherein six women had been crushed to death and four others seriously injured. Hastening to the scene of the disaster, I was surprised by the appearance of the mill. An irregular pile of old and new buildings, the finely-squared bricks of the red and the new portions contrasting in a marked manner with the jagged, mortarless bricks of the black and the old portions, so much so that the walls which were unaffected by the accident presented the look of a ruin that had been patched here and there to keep it from crumbling to bits.

The accident happened in one of the sections of the older portion, a building of three stories, some 20 yards by 18 in length and breadth. The two upper stories were closely packed with hundredweight bags of nails. In the uppermost storey there were half-a-dozen machines at work, and half-a-dozen more on the bottom floor, where ten women were engaged in tending them. The vibration of these nail-machines is something tremendous, sufficient alone, one would think, to reduce so ricketty an edifice to dust and rubbish. It is believed that the top floor first gave way, carrying with it the second. Then they descended together, an avalanche of masonry, bricks, machinery and hundredweight bags, burying the ill-fated people beneath, the dead along with the living. Seven or eight people working in the upper storey escaped with life at the expense of limb, some by jumping out of the windows, others by sliding down the rain-spout. After two hours' work among the ruins six broken and mangled corpses were recovered and four mutilated survivors, who were removed to the hospital.

It is a sad side of latter-day civilisation. All the deceased were women, and married. One was close upon her confinement. Another's husband had emigrated, another was a widow. The rest were mothers, doubtless forced to work in order to provide for their families and their unemployed husbands. Great, notwithstanding, is civilisation! And great will be the progeny of such women used so well, so well cared for under this the capitalist reign of glory, A.D. 1885! But surely the owners of the factory will be prosecuted. Have we not Factory Acts and an Employers' Liability Act specially provided to protect the workers? The prosecution of the employers will not undo what has been done, nor serve to exercise material influence upon other employers for that matter. Labour is now employed simply for fortune-making, and the way to make fortunes, according to Political Economy, is to produce cheaply and sell dearly. Therefore the employer will patch his mill, prop his mill, or risk his mill—do anything, in fact, to save expense but the right thing, because it is his interest thus to do.

Thus do well-intentioned Acts of Parliament fail, and thus they are doomed to fail, until they deal with *causes* instead of *effects*. It is to the employer's interest that he shall incur as little expense as possible in production—competition has so ordained it. Hence his unwillingness to repair or improve. Hence the factory inspector's grumblings.

All the penalties in the world (and how shamelessly tardy is "the law's delay" in this direction!) will never avail while it is to the employer's interest to set the law at covert defiance. And so it will always be until the community supplants the individual. But when, by virtue of Socialism, the individual capitalist is no more, then will the cause of these evils be forever abolished. Then may we go on our ways rejoicing that the commonweal of the just is with us.

T. MAGUIRE.

INQUIRY COLUMN.

"Your Manifesto is silent as to the *mode* in which 'the instruments of production' are to be 'declared and treated as the common property of all.' Do you propose to return Socialists as members of Parliament in such numbers as will enable them to make it the law of the land that they shall be so dealt with, or do you propose to seize upon them by mere superiority of physical force—in other words, do you mean to fight for them and attempt to form your ideal state of loving universal brotherhood by killing those of your fellows who are opposed to your plan?"

"If the Revolution you speak of is to be effected in a peaceful manner by Parliamentary action, must it not be brought about very gradually, by instalments of measures, incomplete in themselves, but nevertheless stepping-stones to your desired goal? And in this case is it not wrong to say that no amount of mere administrative changes would be of use?"

"When you are in possession, do you Socialists propose to establish a system of equal pay for all, whatever a man's occupation may be, and regardless, not only of his natural capacities, but also of his willingness or unwillingness to exert those capacities to the utmost, for the common

good? You will admit that some men do more and better work than other men, at the same jobs and in the same time."

"Is not Herbert Spencer right in affirming that you cannot change men's hearts by Acts of Parliament—Socialistic or otherwise. And is not this change of heart, 'regeneration,' as religious folk term it, the one indispensable thing needful to establish an earthly paradise? Is it not also entirely true that you will never get golden results from leaden instincts? And does it not therefore follow that the essential thing to be done is to improve the individual moral character of yourselves and others?"

"Are the last eight words of the Manifesto to be understood as meaning that all the persons whose names are appended to it are Atheists or Agnostics? How is it that the majority of the leaders of Socialism everywhere belong to that class?"

AMENDED RULES OF THE SOCIALIST LEAGUE.

I.—This organisation to be entitled "The Socialist League."

II.—Any person may join the Socialist League who will accept its principles as stated in its Manifesto and adhere to its rules; and who is not objected to by the Executive Council.

III.—The weekly subscription of members is AT LEAST ONE PENNY. Members, able to afford more than this minimum, are free to fix their regular contributions according to their means. Country members belonging to no Branch may contribute one shilling per quarter. Exceptions to this Rule only to be made by the Council, or by Branch Committees.

IV.—(1) If any number of MEMBERS (not less than seven) apply to the Executive Council for leave to form a Branch in their district, the Council shall at once inquire into the circumstances, and, if these are satisfactory, furnish Rules and render every necessary assistance. (2) Branches thus formed shall elect their own Officers and Committee of Management, draw up their own rules (provided such rules in no way oppose the principles of the League), and issue manifestoes and leaflets for local purposes. All such publications and rules require the endorsement of the Executive Council. (3) Branches must contribute one penny per member EVERY MONTH towards the general expenses of the League, to be forwarded monthly to the Treasurer of the Executive Council. (4) Branches are invited to communicate with the Executive Council before holding any important public meetings, or taking any important steps in propaganda, and are expected to send monthly reports of their work and of the number of their members to the Executive Council. (5) A Branch may be dissolved by the Executive Council if that body is unanimous in the conviction that the existence of such Branch is injurious to the cause. The Branch may appeal to the Annual or a Special Conference, whose decision is final. (6) A Branch may dissolve itself by a vote of three-fourths of its members. If the number of members fall below six a Branch shall become extinct. (7) Any Socialist body may be affiliated to the League by the Executive Council. The terms of affiliation to be arranged by the Executive Council and the body desiring to affiliate.

V.—(1) There shall be an Annual Conference, consisting of Delegates elected by the Branches of the League and its Affiliated Bodies. (2) Every Branch shall be entitled to send one representative. Branches numbering fifty members may send two, and one delegate for every additional fifty. The expenses of the delegates to be defrayed by the body which elects them. (3) Affiliated Bodies can only send one delegate for every one of their Branches, whatever may be their number of members. Should they affiliate on the terms of Branches they will have the same representation. (4) The Annual Conference shall decide generally the work of the League for the ensuing year, and receive the account of the retiring and elect the new Executive Council; it shall elect the Editors of the "Official Journal," "THE COMMONWEAL," fix the salary of the Secretary, appoint two Auditors to audit the financial statement of the Council, and despatch other business of importance that may be proposed. (5) All Branches and Affiliated Bodies intending to be represented at the Annual Conference, should give notice to the Council at least six weeks before the Conference. (6) Branches and Affiliated Bodies that have not been in existence at least three months before the Conference cannot vote by their Delegates without permission of the majority of the other Delegates. (7) Notices of intended amendments to the Programme or Constitution of the League must be sent to the Executive Council at least six weeks before the Annual Conference, and must be printed on the digest of the business. This digest must be sent to all bodies entitled to take part in the Conference at least four weeks before the Conference.

VI.—(1) The Executive Council shall consist of twenty members, who shall be elected at the Annual Conference, subject to removal by a vote of censure at an Extraordinary Conference, and shall consist, as far as possible, of a Delegate from each Branch or Affiliated Body, who shall report each week to his society, the business transacted at the Council Meetings. The Executive Council shall appoint its own officers, the chairman to be appointed at each meeting from among those present. Any member absent from three consecutive meetings without due cause given and allowed, shall lose his seat. All vacancies to be filled up as follows: if the retiring member belong to a Branch his successor to be chosen by the Branch, otherwise by co-optation among the Council. (2) The Executive Council shall be bound to carry out the resolutions and instructions of the Annual Conference; it shall cause to be drawn up and forwarded to all Branches and Affiliated Bodies a half-yearly report and financial statement, and appoint time and place of Annual Conference. (3) It shall be competent for the Executive Council or for any Three Branches to summon Extraordinary Conferences in the course of the year. (4) The Executive Council has power to refuse admission to, or may exclude any Branches or Affiliated Bodies from, the League. Such Societies or Branches may appeal against the action of the Executive Council to the Annual Conference, or may demand to have their case brought before any of the Extraordinary Conferences. (5) The Executive Council has power to expel any member provided that not less than two-thirds of the Executive Council deem him or her to be acting contrary to the interests or principles of the League.

VII.—THE COMMONWEAL is the official Journal of the Socialist League. All notices to the Branches, or to Affiliated Bodies, or to members, appearing in it must be taken as official. Every Branch should have a file of the journal for reference. Members and Branches are invited to do their utmost to extend the circulation of the journal. Secretaries are requested to send Reports of Meetings.

VIII.—(1) Anything not provided in the present Rules shall be supplied by special regulations from the Executive Council subject to revision by the Annual Conference. (2) These Rules shall come into force from and after the date of the present Conference.

NOTICE.—Following out the instructions of the Conference, the Council are making arrangements for the printing and publishing of the *Commonweal* at the offices, 13 Farringdon Street. They hope to issue the October number thence. They have decided that it is not possible to bring the journal out as a weekly before January, 1886. To do so then will only be even possible in the event of a guarantee to a considerable extent being forthcoming. That guarantee the supporters of Socialism are asked to provide. Communications should be addressed to the Manager (not the Editors), 13 Farringdon Street, E.C.