

# THE COMMONWEALTH

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WEEKLY; ONE PENNY.

## NOTES ON NEWS.

GLADSTONE-WORSHIP is well on now among the faithful of the Liberal party, and is carried to such lengths that one cannot help thinking that some of the party must have doleful forebodings as to its future when their god takes his departure from the earth. What will be left of Liberalism when this one old man has gone; with his astonishing physical vigour, his belief in himself, his capacity of shutting his eyes to everything that his momentary political position forbids him to see, and his keen delight in playing the political game?

However, at present, there seems little need for us to speculate on what is to happen after him, and one is tempted to think that he may out-live the present political and social system now growing so crazy. May it be so!

His Dover speech will be thought a fine specimen, I suppose, and indeed it was brisk and combative enough from his own point of view, though he announced his intention of fighting after the fashion of the pre-Napoleonic generals and keeping all rules of the game: he boasted of his doing so in the Jingo period and chuckled over the result. Well, his soft fighting was discouraging enough in those days, but after all it was perhaps good enough for the occasion, for the Jingo and Dizzy at their head, never intended to go to war; they only meant bragging—I admit that we didn't know it at the time.

After all this rhetorical oracle of the Liberal Idol, in spite of all its words, was as far removed from any practical and social aspect of things as if it were delivered in another planet: except perhaps when he touched on the Protection v. Free Trade matter, he didn't talk about what people are *thinking* about, but what they are *talking* about, and indeed that is usual with him, and with all popularity hunters: because by the time a thing has become generally talked of the thinkers have got to the next subject.

The Tories have been trying a little "dishing" in Ireland, to see if it may count for a make-weight against their "resolute" Government there; they have reduced the judicial rents in the teeth of Lord Salisbury's declaration that they were to be considered fixed. The result of their experiment is not encouraging at present; the Nationalists do not accept it as a blessing, very naturally, looking at it as at once a blow at the Plan of Campaign and a base plagiarism on it; and the Loyalists also very naturally are in a fury at it, and are pulling themselves together to claim compensation from the British taxpayer, which indeed Lord Salisbury promised them. If he redeems his promise the Tories had best arrange for the fresh varnishing of the opposition benches for their behoof.

This matter is a fresh example of the slippery muddle which our present system of property always makes; it allows a privileged class to rob the people of the means of production, asserting in high words and hard deeds "the rights of property," and then from time to time takes arbitrarily from one group or another of the privileged some small portion of the plunder it has allowed them and encouraged them to acquire; and all the while, whatever it does, insists at least upon this, that there shall always be a class of hewers of wood and drawers of water to be benefitted by this—Socialism as some sanguine people are pleased to call it.

The death of John Frost in Pentonville prison is one of those events which would let in a little light on the public as to the prison system and its administration, if people were really trying to see; but probably as it is there will be little learned by it. An obviously sick man is condemned to 20 months' imprisonment, and when he gets to the prison is treated as if he were not sick but shamming; but at last "shams" so persistently that he is clearly at the point of death, when he is taken to the prison hospital and "treated kindly," but carries on his "shamming" till he dies. No one who knows anything about our prisons can doubt that this kind of thing is common enough; only the victims don't always die in prison.

It speaks volumes for the way in which the prison officials treat the

luckless men who have fallen into their power, that the wife after "trying to see the governor and being told that he was away," in addressing herself to one of the nurses, "*softened her communication* as much as possible, so that matters might not be made worse for her husband." And that the prisoner told her "to make no complaint to the prison authorities lest he should fare worse in consequence." Do smug moral well-to-do persons, who have little more chance of going to prison than they have of being made kings, understand what that means? It is time that they should learn this amongst other pieces of knowledge, in order that they may understand what class-hatred means and what it may lead to.

W. M.

Thos. Ansell, of Deptford, 88 years old, and his wife, who was 77, were very obstinate people who would not go to "the palatial dwelling miscalled a workhouse," because of the inhuman treatment they knew awaited them. Rather than be put asunder after 56 years of love and mutual aid by the red-tape of Bumbledom, they kept on battling against increasing infirmity until they could do no more. Then "the parish" gave them "outdoor relief."

The two poor old people were accorded the princely sum of 3s. 6d. per week, out of which they had to pay 2s. rent and "live" on the balance. Ansell is dead of hunger and cold, and his brave old wife is undergoing at last the torture she avoided so long—the slow death of the workhouse. Such things add a bitter point to Cardinal Manning's attack on the present method of "relief."

Day after day, as we have been reading on the one hand of great feasting by the fortunate, and also of their loudly-vaunted "charity" to their more hapless fellows, so on the other hand have come reports of deaths from hunger, and horrors unspeakable, the fruit of poverty and degradation. At no time is the baleful effect of the present system shown so clearly as at periods like that just past, which custom has decreed a festival-tide. But the time passes by, and the lesson is unlearnt, or if learnt is unapplied. How long will it go on?

The attention of all readers is directed to the announcement in another column of the intended publication of the speeches and "trial" of our Chicago comrades. This is a work in which all should help, as it is at once raising them a monument and making good propaganda.

S.

## POLICE SPIES EXPOSED.

THERE have always been found by the governments of all countries traitors ready to mingle in the ranks of every revolutionary party, including the Socialist, and by worming themselves into the confidence of the members, obtain their secrets to betray them, or by getting up dynamite plots and things of that kind, to arouse public feeling against the movement. Many other devices are there in the armoury of a tyrant, and in the days of the Third Empire they were carried, as men thought, to the utmost pitch of a devilish perfection. It has been left however for Bismark and his underlings to attain a yet higher (or lower) degree of skill and completeness of plan. Since the coming into effect of the anti-Socialist laws in Germany, 1879, police-spying, or the trade of head-monger and lie-smith, has become a recognised department of governmental work, an institution far more in vogue with the existence of the State than even in the corruptest days of Napoleon the Little. Not only does Germany look after folk within her own borders, but provides them with careful friends in every city where Socialists are to be found; thus it is really an *international political secret police* that is maintained and worked from Berlin. Our well-known co-worker, the *Sozialdemokrat* of Zürich, has always been trying to get hold of the secrets of this organisation, and has now and then succeeded in bringing facts to light, that spoiled some single plot, or exposed some spy. Of course it has had to bear the fate of the outspoken, and is often abused among a certain set as an organ of denunciation. Rather should it be praised for the courage with which it follows up a foe of the cause, and the skill with which it cuts open the disguise of a false friend, and shows the reptile underneath. *Der Sozialdemokrat* deserves the thanks of all honest Socialists for its efforts in casting light upon a hideous host of vermin, and so depriving them of their power to betray. In its issue of December 24th is given a list

of names of men who are now in the pay of the police-bureau. We assure our readers of the accuracy of the information.

The names are as follows:—

1. HERM. HEINR. SACHS, formerly lieutenant of the police at Berlin; author and professor. Police-spy in London (8 years in pay).
2. CHARLES THEODORE REUSS, formerly theatrical impresario and concert-singer, now Bismark's political agent on the *Central News* of London and the *Cable News* of New York; contributor to the *Süddeutschen Presse* at Munich and the *Berliner Zeitung* at Berlin. Police-spy in London (2 years and 6 months in pay).
3. KAUFMANN (alias Carl Morff), engineer, now partner in the "City Club." Police-spy in London (7 years in pay).
4. HEINRICH, formerly engineer, now publican at Zurich.
5. KARL SCHRODER, insurance agent at Riesbach-Zurich (7 years standing).
6. CHRISTIAN HAUPT, agent at Geneva (8 years standing).
7. MAX TRAUTNER, formerly Bavarian officer, now journalist in Paris (previously at Brussels. Military and political police-spy (8 years standing).
8. HEINR. OBERWINDER, formerly one of the leaders of the Austrian Socialist movement, now journalist in Paris.
9. H. NONNE, teacher, formerly in London, now in Paris (At Berlin, for the time being.)
10. LUDW. SCHWEINHAGEN, at Magdeburg.
11. A. WICHMANN, agent at Altona (8 years in pay).
12. NEUMANN, carpenter at Hamburg.
13. HERM. NEBEL, bookseller at Leipzig.

We need not further warn our readers against these despicable creatures, but may profitably add a word or two on those employed in London. Sachs has been for some time away doing some special political business in the South of France and on the Spanish and Italian frontiers. In London he specially took care of the German Communist Club (First Section); at the time of Most's arrest and conviction here he was a contributor to the *Freiheit*, and took away from the printing-office a lot of copy which had appeared in the paper; all of which duly reached the Berlin police. Reuss, among other things, caused the arrest of several Anarchists at Leipzig, Nürnberg, Augsburg and Berlin; was concerned in several so-called "Anarchist" trials in Vienna; and with the aid of his accomplice, Joseph Peukert, carried out the infamous scheme by which our brave comrade, John Neve, was taken and condemned. In another line of business he has to work the press in order to manufacture "public opinion" in favour of the extradition of political offenders and international repressive laws and treaties. During the late troubles in Trafalgar Square and Hyde Park, he was particularly active in this way. His blood-money is 450 marks a month (£22 10s.) It is interesting to know that he corresponds with his employer, Police-Councillor Krueger, Chief of German Secret Police, directly at Kaiserin Augusta Strasse, 72, Berlin, or indirectly through either M. Fumagalli, Court Jeweller, 138, Leipziger-strasse, Berlin, or M. Hacke, formerly Chief of Police at Frankfurt, now Police Councillor at Berlin, 31, Kulkstrasse. Kauffmann (or Carl Morff), an Austrian "Anarchist", it was who furnished, from means provided him by the police, to Stellmacher and Kammerer the money needed for the notorious attempts at Vienna. After the death of his victims he was expelled from Switzerland. Ordered to London by his master, he has lived here ever since. For a time secretary of the Third Section, he is now partner in the "City Club", a well-known rendezvous of Socialists, both English and German.

We may have to return to this theme again, but have said enough for the present.

EDITORS.

Mr. Winans, the Baltimore millionaire, now holds sporting rights over 230,000 acres in Scotland—a tract of land almost as large as Bedfordshire. This gentleman pays about £25,000 a year for the right to perpetuate solitude, and meantime help is urgently requested to export distressed Highlanders to America.

METROPOLITAN PAUPERISM.—The weekly return of metropolitan pauperism shows that the total number of paupers relieved in the third week of last month was 103,968, of whom 59,612 were indoor and 44,356 outdoor paupers. The total number relieved shows an increase of 5,576 over the corresponding week of last year, 8,429 over 1886, and 9,458 over 1884. The total number of vagrants relieved on the last day of the week was 1,073, of whom 940 were men, 116 women, and 17 children under sixteen.

A son of old John Brown writes to the *Alarm* and desires to know what Anarchism really is. He concludes his letter with the following words: "Agitate and educate, but let us mind the light. In our zeal for the cause of the oppressed labourer, let us not stumble over and put out the light we have. While we realise the truth that the destruction of the poor is their poverty, let us not forget what is equally and sadly true that the destruction of the rich is their wealth. Twenty-eight years ago my father was judicially murdered at Charlestown, Va., for his devotion to the cause of the oppressed labourers of African descent in America. Now we perceive that emancipation means more than simply freedom of the blacks from the bonds of chattel slavery. May heaven grant to all the people of our beloved country wisdom also to perceive this and to govern themselves accordingly." John Brown, jun., appears to be a true chip of the old block.—C.

FUNERAL OF THE CHICAGO MARTYRS.—At the same time that the workers of London were escorting Linnell to the grave, our five comrades in Chicago were buried. The day was bitterly cold, and the way to the cemetery long and dreary—about 15 miles. In spite of that about 5,000 persons attended the ceremony. Special trains conducted the mourners to Waldheim Cemetery. Speeches were made by Capt. Black, Paul Grottkau, and Albert Currin, and most enthusiastically applauded. J. R. Buchanan directed the crowd to file past the coffins and take the last look at the faces of the dead. The features of all the five murdered were life-like, the embalming process had been a success, and the counterfeit pink flush of life was on the cheeks; not a trace of decomposition was to be seen. Then the coffins were lowered into the grave. At the bottom of the receptacle is a block of granite, on which rests a bed of cement. Granite blocks are the walls, and the top is formed by two blocks of granite. The grave was made to fit exactly the five coffins. Mrs. Parsons and Miss Spies fainted, and had to be removed. May the silence of our martyred comrades become speedily as powerful as they desired!—C.

## LAW AND WAR.

THERE are some, seeing fully the evils of our present mental and physical state and anxious to amend them, who hold that this can be effected by legislation, by the making of better laws. It is urged that this can be done peacefully, and without the dreadful wrench of a revolution. Technically it rests with the law-making class to determine the character of the change. Technically, I say, but scarcely in reality, for their education is too entirely a mere filling of the memory, and crushes the mind under a heap of question-begging phrases. They are only too likely to sit doing nothing, helplessly soothing their conscience with the thought, "the remedy is worse than the disease." I do not think, however, that the dumb millions of France, for example, even in their bungled revolution of 1789, suffered any great shock. It was not the revolution that brought misery upon them, but the anti-revolution of the Consulate and Empire, and the setting up again of the ugly idol of law and legal order.

I doubt still more whether the now existing proletariat of Europe and of the world, would find it a very dreadful wrench to be shifted to a life of decency and freedom, even at the cost of many pitched battles, more tough than Waterloo, more bloody than Eylau or Gravelotte. It seems to me that we bear with much equanimity the bloodshed required to maintain and to extend our present system of law. These battles and the hundreds of others which stain the pages of history, and of the newspapers which we handle daily, are very nearly all fought with this view. Most of them have no result beyond allowing or compelling certain millions to submit to the clipping of one king or emperor, instead of being shorn by another; a few were by way of remonstrance, generally ineffectual, against clipping and shearing in general. John Bright, alluding to all this bloodshed, said in a lecture on Feb. 22, 1887, "he found the English now just as savage on the question of war, and just as barbarous as ever. How many wars had there been during the *Queen's Reign*? There was the war in New Zealand, then the Zulu war; there had been two Afghan wars, for which there had been no particular reason; three Burmese wars, and the Crimean war, the latter costing a million of lives; then the Alexandria bombardment and the Soudan war. All these wars had helped to swell the National Debt, and there had not been one of them which might not have been, with a little trouble, prevented." And the same day at the Friends' Meeting-house, he maintained that "without one single exception all the wars since William III. were absolutely unnecessary, and their only result was an enormous national debt."

In the midst of all this bloodshed, mainly caused by the bickerings of the persons privileged to sit on the thrones of the world, we need not be flurried by the thought of the great struggle which shall put an end to it all, by rooting out the evil from which it all grows, the evil of privilege and privileged classes whether great or small. When this is gone not only will the cause of the great periodic wars be removed, but of that more terrible internecine war which goes on always between classes in the same or different countries, and even between the members of the same family, and is the outward expression of the spirit of privilege and competition, which is the characteristic of an established legal system.

It seems to me that it is our legal system which is the author of our evils. Each one of our multitudinous Acts of Parliament constitutes a small privileged tyranny. The legal mind of course thinks highly of them, and praises the code as a monument of the wisdom of our ancestors, as well as of our own. The code is said to supply a necessary check to the debased and cruel nature of man. The theory is that men, left to themselves, would find their principal amusement in killing their neighbours, but that this heaven-born code keeps him in the path of virtue and honour.

It is an unreal picture. It is difficult to see how institutions founded by men, and expressing the views of the founders, can set up any standard higher than that of the surrounding society. The fulsome praise poured out by the founders, their friends and dependants, on the work of their own hands, may be safely disregarded; and while the rival theories of the "Wisdom of our Ancestors" and the "Progress of the Species" debate their rival claims to the authorship of the legal system, we may without presumption attempt to judge of its value by its results. The most we can look for from any such institution is that it may be, I do not say it is, but may be a convenience, a convenience of the same kind as a house or an omnibus. These are means for serving a number of persons with less trouble and labour, than if they were obliged to supply themselves with separate huts and carts. Now, anyone who should suggest that the shape and size, the fitting and decoration, of houses and omnibuses should be settled by a Board of Directors sitting in a distant town, would be regarded as a silly person. Yet this is what an established legal system claims to do. In its origin the law was for the convenience of men; but like any other permanent institution it becomes entangled in its own arrangements, and sinks down and down, as it first of all creates and then falls under the control of the law-hampered mind. It no doubt works with great regularity, so does a sausage-machine; and our system is like this also, in that it pays little regard to flesh and bones and blood. Society under such influences tends to have all things according to pattern, and the fact that our houses and furniture and all our common surroundings are so drearily uniform, is but one out of many evidences of the decay of all original thought. Originality cannot be fostered, except by being let alone; any system, whether we call it civilisation or law or religion, must fail in the attempt to



manage the infinitely varied dealings of man with man, with all his hopes, fears, and pleasures. Established law and established churches aim at fitting men to them, and not themselves to men. At best they can but breed the dull uniformity of the "law-abiding citizen," a being not likely to excite any one to say, "What a piece of work is man! how noble in reason! how infinite in faculty! in apprehension how like a God!" No; and yet, if that were all, we might still have the much-vaunted "law and order." But look around, and what we see is not order but war, a war more ghastly than those of Attila or Napoleon, carried on by the aristocracy of commerce and of law, under the banner of the advertising board, and with the poisoned shafts of adulteration and quackery.

The words of Carlyle, in his picture of the France of 1770, are too weak for the Europe of to-day. There are many more than "the 500,000 ghosts, who sank shamefully on so many battle-fields, from Rossbach to Quebec, that a Harlot might take revenge for an Epigram"—many more than these "to crowd around" us now. We look on more miserable, more filthy starvelings, than "those lank scarecrows, that prowled, hunger-stricken through all highways and byways of French Existence." Now, as then, "the dull millions, in the workshop or furrow-field, grind foredone at the wheel of Labour, like haltered gin-horses, if blind so much the quieter." "The great sovereign," changed now from a single man to a narrow oligarchy, wishes to keep them blind, and is still "known mainly to them as the Great Reqrater of Bread," the great engrosser that is of the means of life, under the various names of upper classes, educated classes, or ladies and gentlemen.

The engrosser of the means of life, as constituted by law, is a being of much older date than the French Revolution. William Langland, describing the condition of society in 1360, says in his "Vision concerning Piers the Plowman":—

"A fair field full of folk : found I there between,<sup>1</sup>  
Of all manner of men : the mean and the rich,  
Working and wandering : as the world asketh.<sup>2</sup>  
Some put themselves to plough : and played full seldom ;  
In ploughing and sowing : sweated full hardly,  
And won what these wasters with gluttony consumed."

Charles Dickens makes Rigaud, the wife-murderer, say of himself to his prison companion, the jovial little Cavaletto, "You know me for a gentleman. Have I ever done anything here? Have you ever thought of looking to me to do any kind of work? No; then you knew me from the first moment when you saw me here, that I was a gentleman." And Cavaletto assents to all this, and rolls the mats and sweeps the cell, and does all other kinds of service to "the gentleman." Just as we do now. The interval of 500 years has made no change in the notion of "the gentleman" or of the "upper classes." In 1360 "some put themselves to plough . . . and sweated full hardly," that the wasters in gluttony the fruit of other men's labour, and now the mark of the "gentleman" is that he should never put his hand to any kind of useful work.

Our legal code, with its high claims, has had time enough in so many hundreds of years to have amended these characteristics of Society, had it had the power to do so. But it weakly adapted itself to surrounding circumstances, and will be found to be merely an organised statement of the form of the Society in which it exists.

C. J. FAULKNER.

(To be continued.)

THE AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOUR.—This body has held its second Annual Convention at Baltimore (Ind.) This is, next to the Knights of Labour, the largest labour organisation in the States, claiming to have about 600,000 members. The purpose of both organisations is purely economical; politics are rigidly excluded; the members of both want to get a "fair day's wage for a fair day's work;" but in their constitution they widely differ. The Knights of Labour are centralised, the General Master Workman has almost papal authority; while the Federation is more autonomous, in fact is quite decentralised, the President having very little power. The Federation is composed of trades' and labour organisations, organised on the trades' union system, that is, made up of men engaged in a special industry; as against the Knights of Labour system, which allows men of every calling in a local body. An immense deal of business was transacted during the Congress. The delegates recorded their opposition to extravagance in the management of labour organisations. A resolution favouring restriction to Chinese immigration was passed. They also resolved to urge all wage-earners to use the ballot in such a way as will secure for them the power and benefits to which their number entitles them, but deemed it unwise for labour unions, as such, to take political action or permit political discussions at their meetings. The sentiment prevalent was that while nothing of a hostile nature should be done to the Knights, yet no favours should be shown to any man under their influence. An unsuccessful attempt was made to exclude bodies composed of unskilled workmen. The president, Samuel Gompers, in his address spoke of the gratifying growth of the labour movement all over the world; thought that much could be done to relieve distress, caused by displacement of labour by machinery, by reducing hours of labour, etc.; the opportunities of the Federation are that it may become a powerful organisation, fulfilling its great mission to raise mankind to a higher level, a nobler civilisation. A proposition was made to provide for an assessment of not more than 5 cents. a-week in case of trouble, and referred to all local organisations connected with the Federation to vote on the question and report at the next Convention. In the meantime, if strikes or other troubles arise, they will be sustained by voluntary contributions. It was decided that justifiable boycotts should be endorsed and pushed. It was decided to grant permission for State branches and Central Labour Unions.—C.

<sup>1</sup> i.e., between life and death.

<sup>2</sup> i.e., as the world goes.

## LUXURY AND LABOUR.

[FROM DIPSYCHUS, BY ARTHUR HUGH CLOUGH, D. 1861.]

"Luxury at present can only be enjoyed by the ignorant; the cruellest man living could not sit at his feast unless he sat blindfold."—John Ruskin.

Our gaities, our luxuries,  
Our pleasures and our glee,  
Mere insolence and wantonness,  
Alas! they seem to me.

How shall I laugh and sing and dance?  
My very brain recoils,  
While here to give my mirth a chance  
A hungry brother toils.

The joy that does not spring from joy  
Which I in others see,  
How can I venture to employ,  
Or find it joy for me?

## FACTS AND FIGURES.

MR. M. G. MULHALL, writing in answer to Mr. Balfour's "criticism" upon his statistics, gives the following damning statement of part of the evil done by landlordism in Ireland, which may be taken as typical of what it does elsewhere:—

As regards evictions, we find in the article "Ireland" of the new edition of the 'British Encyclopedia' the following passage:—

"The Government returns of evictions are incomplete, since they do not include cottiers, whose cases are decided at petty sessions." The number of cottiers unhoused between 1841 and 1861 was 402,000 families, as appears from the census returns:—

Inhabited cabins of one room in 1841	...	...	491,278
" " " 1861	...	...	89,374

Pulled down ... .. 401,904

The above being cottiers were not included in the Government returns. No reasonable person, free from political bias, can doubt that at least 500,000 families, or 3,000,000 persons, were evicted since 1837. Even the Government have no returns before 1849.

Secondly, with reference to the deaths from famine in 1847-48, the Government Commissioners reported 600,000 victims, and made the statement thus:

Population in 1846	...	...	8,288,000
Births in 1847 to 1851	...	...	1,421,000

To be accounted for ... .. 9,709,000

The manner in which they accounted for the foregoing was this:

Population in 1851	...	...	6,552,000
Emigrated	...	...	1,079,000
Went to Great Britain	...	...	500,000
Ordinary deaths	...	...	978,000
Died of famine	...	...	600,000

Accounted for ... .. 9,709,000

Two false items either casually or wilfully occur in the above. The number who settled in Great Britain according to the census of 1851 was only 314,000 in the ten years:

Irish settlers in 1841	...	...	419,200
" " 1851	...	...	733,800

The "ordinary deaths" in Ireland were assumed by the Commissioners to be "the same as in England—22 per 1,000," whereas the Irish death rate from 1864 to 1880 was 17 per 1,000, and thus the number of deaths from famine was made to appear much less than it was. Finally the census having been taken on March 31st, the emigrants for the half-year should not be counted, but only for three months. The real account stands thus:—

Population in 1851	...	...	6,552,000
Emigrated	...	...	984,000
Settled in Great Britain	...	...	314,000
Ordinary deaths	...	...	755,000
Died of famine	...	...	1,104,000

Accounted for ... .. 9,709,000

About 90,000 are said to have perished crossing the Atlantic, bringing up the total famine victims to about 1,200,000.

The famine deaths, be it remembered, as we have pointed out and proved before, were wholly unnecessary, and caused by landlords and the English Government.

WAGES.—It is the easiest thing in the world, says the Milwaukee *Labour Review*, to get some sort of figures with regard to wages, but there is nothing harder than to get figures that can be relied upon. Employers who pay low wages like to conceal it if possible when answering any question upon that point. Without absolutely lying, their answers will be made to unduly favour the idea that they pay good wages. The employers who pay good wages like it to be known, and invariably, when speaking on, or answering any questions on this subject, over-estimate their own goodness, and lead people to believe they pay higher wages than they really do. Again, when a statistician sends out circulars to working-men asking questions regarding their wages, they only get answers from about 50 per cent. of the number who are asked for answers. Only the most intelligent of the workers answer, and it is safe to conclude from that fact that they earn somewhat more than the average wages. From these facts we conclude that wage returns by statisticians are always higher than they should be, and that in any discussion of the problems of our times, wage figures are useless for most practical purposes. The question is not, are we getting more wages than our fathers fifty years ago, or are we getting more wages than the people of other countries? It is, are we getting what we ought to get? It does not matter whether we get 1 dol. a-day or 50 dols., if through new invention or any other improving causes we can earn more than 50 dols. a-day, we want it, no matter if we can live for 2 dols. a-day—and, what is more, we are going to have it. All we can earn we are going to have, and more, we will not submit to enforced idleness through monopolies. The working people are in earnest about this matter. They are bound to win, and don't you forget it.



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

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

As all articles are signed, no special significance attaches to them because of their position in these pages. None to be taken as more than in a general manner expressing the views of the League as a body, except it be so explicitly declared by the Editors. Rejected MSS. only returned if a stamped directed envelope is forwarded with them. Subscriptions.—For Europe and United States, including postage, per year, 6s. six months, 3s.; three months, 1s. 6d.

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

Periodicals received during the week ending Wednesday January 4.

ENGLAND	Volkszeitung	BELGIUM
Church Reformer	Boston—Woman's Journal	Seraing (Ougree)—Le Reveil
Die Autonomie	Liberty	Ghent—Vooruit
Jus	Chicago (Ill.)—Knights of Labor	Antwerp—De Werker
Justice	Chicago—Alarm	Liege—L'Avenir
London—Freie Presse	Vorbote	SWITZERLAND
Labour Tribune	Chicago—Labor Enquirer	Zurich—Sozial Demokrat
Norwich—Daylight	Hammonton (N.J.) Credit Foncier	ITALY
Our Corner	Milwaukee (Wis.)—Volksblatt	Gazetta Operaia
Personal Rights Journal	N. Haven—Workmen's Advocate	Milan—Il Fascio Operaio
Railway Review	Paterson (N.J.) Labor Standard	Rome—L'Emancipazione
To-Day	San Francisco (Cal.) The People	Marsala—La Nuova Eta
Worker's Friend	Coast Seamen's Journal	SPAIN
SOUTH AUSTRALIA	San Francisco Arbeiter-Zeitung	Madrid—El Socialista
Melbourne—Liberator	FRANCE	GERMANY
New South Wales	Paris—Cri du Peuple (daily)	Berlin—Volks Tribune
Hamilton—Radical	Le Socialiste	HUNGARY
INDIA	Lille—Le Travailleur	Arbeiter-Wochen-Chronik
Bankipore—Behar Herald	Guise—Le Devoir	ROUMANIA
UNITED STATES	HOLLAND	Jassy—Lupta
New York—Der Sozialist	Hague—Recht voor Allen	DENMARK
Freiheit	Amsterdam—Voorwaarts	Social-Demokraten
Truthseeker		

## WHAT 1887 HAS DONE.

THE year 1887 is come to an end, a year in many respects eventful; what will it be chiefly known by in the future, when it has become mere history? To some it will be the Jubilee year; to some the central year of the great Tory ascendancy; to some, it may be, for a little while, the last of the thoroughly bad years of the depression of trade. Yet again it may be known hereafter as the last year of the European armed truce; and to others it will be remembered as the great year of Coercion. Which will it be? Another question can be our only answer. Is our future to be that of patient slaves bearing their hard lot apathetically, and idle and vacant lords who live by their labour, with no thought but for the follies and toys with which they kill the dragging and unhappy hours of their dull lives? Is the knowledge of the world still to bring us degradation, its wealth misery, its power slavery? If that is to be so let us remember the past year as the year of the Queen's Jubilee, and be mildly satisfied at the thought of the hundreds of thousands of slaves and slave holders who turned out into the streets to witness the symbolic procession of the triumph of Official Dishonesty, and let us note the year as the first of a new epoch of "Resolute Government," the rule of tyrannous fools and pedants over helpless and unthinking cowards. But if, on the other hand, our future is to be the struggle of slaves to free themselves, however intermittent it may be; although that struggle be irresolute and unorganised, at whiles timid, at whiles rash—as, alas! the rebellion of slaves is but too apt to be,—if REBELLION is to be our future, then we must look back at the past year with hope as one of the noteworthy landmarks on the road of revolution.

Let us briefly review the events of 1887, then, and see whether anything in them points to the conclusion that we shall be driven to forget our hopes, and accept the prospect of the immediate future as one of apathy and despair.

From the "political" point of view the Irish Question has been the only one of the past year; and no doubt there will be many in these last days of 1887 who will both say and think that the Irish are further from reaching their goal than ever; that Resolute Government will keep the excitement under till from sheer weariness and despair people yield, and sit still in sullen discontent, and that the hopes of the Home Rulers, which were brightening in the early part of the year, are now clouded over. This opinion is not without some foundation in reason, and would be amply justified if the only point in the Irish Question were the establishment of an Irish Parliament in Dublin with more or less real authority over the Irish people; but, as has often been pointed out in these columns, the question goes much deeper than that, and necessity will compel either or both of the political parties

to act in a way more or less revolutionary, and to do some things which the Dublin parliament if established would have to do. For the question rests on the livelihood of the Irish peasants, and whether their landlords shall be allowed for ever to squeeze their incomes in the shabbiest possible manner out of the poverty of these poor people, so that shelving the question is impossible; nor is it of any moment to Socialists or sensible people which of the two parties in the game of politics gives way and yields some practical measure of home rule as a step towards the attempt to deal with the question. Between a "dishing" Tory measure and a compromising Gladstonian one there will be little if any difference.

Meanwhile the Tories, in following out their natural course of upholding the shabby landlord tyranny in Ireland, have passed the Coercion Bill usual in dealings with that country. Under ordinary circumstances such a measure would have received little notice in England; but with the present revolutionary feeling that is in the air, its results have been much more telling than the results of such measures are used to be. Although the Gladstonians resisted it feebly enough in Parliament, and no determined protest was made against it except by the Socialists and extreme Radicals, yet the carrying out of its provisions in Ireland itself have as it were raised aloft the sufferings of the poor as a banner for all revolutionary-minded people to rally to. The imprisonment of Irish members and the Lord Mayor of Dublin, and the arrest of Mr. Blunt, merely as a piece of arbitrary high-handedness, and the quashing of the case against the police murderers at Mitchelstown, have forced the dullest to see that Ireland is in rebellion against the Government, not the people, of England; and if anyone goes further to seek the cause for the rebellion, he cannot fail to find out that it is with the Irish landlord, as with the French seigneur before the Revolution, according to Carlyle's epigram: The widow is gathering three nettles for herself and her children, and two out of every three she has to yield up the lord as *rent*. Is it too much to hope that the enquirer who has thus got to the bottom of the Irish question will follow the enquiry up as to the condition of the workman throughout civilisation, and will get to know the meaning of *rent*, *profit*, and *interest*, and the way in which the proprietary class work them? Thus the Irish question will educate many in revolution, and the events of 1887 will certainly help on his education in this direction.

There is another series of events in which the past year has been rich, which must be lumped together as interference with the right of public meeting. In the beginning of the year these events seemed to most people to be of little importance except to the small body of men against whom they were immediately directed—the Socialists, to wit; and they have been for years accustomed to have their meetings attacked by the police on the specious grounds of public convenience. But the special point of all the attacks made on [redacted] had been their obvious malignity and vindictiveness, shown by the sentences on the men who fell into the power of the authorities. The game began with Justice Grantham's sentence on our comrades Henderson and Mowbray at Norwich, in which, as usual in such cases, the judge made himself an advocate for the prosecution. Then came the sentences on the members of the S.D.F. and other men (not Socialists) who got entangled in the police-manufactured riot at the gates of Hyde Park in March. At this the general public kicked somewhat, and the magistrates sentences were impossible to be wholly upheld on appeal. But as the days wound round to the autumn, and it became clear that we were to have the usual unemployed demonstration in greater force than ever, the respectable classes took the alarm, and the police were set on to make the attacks on peaceable citizens who had committed the crime of being poor, which culminated in the shameful day of November 13th, and the still more shameful scenes in the police and law courts which followed it. This time the Socialists found themselves in alliance with the extreme Radicals, as in the affair of Dod Street. But the allies were deserted by everybody else, even by the Irish party (with the single exception, as far as I know, of Michael Davitt), although they are suffering from the same tyranny themselves. In fact this time the affair, as far as it has gone, has been an ominous flash from the smouldering volcano of class war which underlies modern sham-society. This has been so well felt that all respectability promptly sided with the attack on elementary political rights, and outside the definite Socialist organs we have had the whole of the press against us except the *Pall Mall Gazette* and *Reynolds*; while on the other hand no one who witnessed the sympathetic demeanour of the huge crowds that accompanied or looked on at Linnell's funeral procession could venture to deny that the masses in London are on our side.

To turn to the struggle of the workers in the net of capitalistic production. The year began with the abortive strike of the Lanarkshire miners, in which our comrades at Glasgow took a part at once bold and considerate, and thereby did much to forward the work of propaganda. This was followed by the strike of the Northumbrian miners, which again was taken advantage of by Socialists, with most encouraging results. These have been the most typical instances of the direct labour struggle; but the whole year has been full of labour disputes, which is the more remarkable since up to the present time it has been a year of great depression; though just now there seem to be signs of a revival of business in several trades, which, if it turns out to have any endurance, will no doubt be hailed as a token of the stability of our present system of production, and the lasting glory of the British Empire which is not ashamed to live on the ruin of the Celtic peasants, and the desperate misery of the London slum-dwellers.

Abroad the American middle-classes have relieved their fear or satisfied their cold and stupid malice by the consummation of their revenge on the revolutionists who had the temerity to be actively on

the workmen's side in a bitter Chicago labour struggle,—nor will they know till the revolution is upon them how dearly their revenge will cost them.

Bismarck has had one or two triumphs: won a huge majority in the spring; carries his army bill easily now; he has reduced the number of Socialist members to five, but has not succeeded in reducing the number of Socialists, which still goes on growing. He is engaged in strengthening the law against the Socialists, as a counter-stroke to the international congress which is to come off this year.

France having disappointed her enemies and the enemies of progress by avoiding a political revolution which could have been but political only, is still busily engaged by means of her bourgeoisie in contributing her share to the embroglio of corruption which must end at last in deadlock and the fateful outbreak and change.

In Russia the universities are closed in order to damp down the revolutionary fire spreading so swiftly among the students, and everything grows more and more unbearable.

And with all this the year has ended as it began with the terror of a great European war, concerning which Lord Salisbury, wishing to make the best of it, could say little more than that he didn't think it would come just yet.

Certainly it must be said that the past year has not been of such a kind as to give confidence to the upholders of the stability of the present system. Democratic ideas tending towards Socialism have been evolved from the Irish struggle, and men's minds have been familiarised thereby with resistance to authority; the precariousness of livelihood under the capitalist has been brought home more and more among the workers, and the preaching of Socialism has inspired them with hope to change all that; the special tyranny of the last two months has embittered the Radicals against the Government, and also shown them how little they can depend on their so-called leaders among the Liberals, and how powerless they are as an affix to the Liberal party; it has shown them that they as working men must be true to their class or be of no account in politics at all; the sentences passed on the so-called rioters, after evidence which one would have expected even a lawyer to reject, have shown the "lower classes" that the boasted equality before the law is a gross sham; that the law is made for the rich man and the master and against the poor man and the worker, and that when the class-war rises to its height, no more mercy will be shown by the "moral" smug British bourgeois than by any tyrant of modern or ancient times; that law and civilisation are no protection for those who may frighten the proprietary classes, and that the strong arm only will help them. All this has been speedy education towards revolution, and will sink deep into the mind of the people. Doubtless the past year has been a landmark on the road to revolution, and the reaction of which the stupid Tories and their allies the pessimistic prigs of "culture" make so much of is but a measure of the advance of the tide of the new social life. "Progress" no longer means a political game in which these high personages could take a part without any danger to their position, or offence to their sensibilities: the "common people" have now to be dealt with as real persons threatening real things, and respectability shrinks back before them, partly in fear, partly in hatred. This explains the recrudescence of Toryism, the apparent victories of reaction. Once again the class-war is becoming obvious to all, and 1887 has done a great deal to make it so.

WILLIAM MORRIS.

### LITERARY NOTES.

'Was it a Fair Trial,' by Gen. M. M. Trumbull, is a telling exposure in pamphlet form of the rascally and murderous conduct of the whole trial of the Chicago Anarchists. May be obtained from Lucy E. Parsons, 787 Milwaukee Avenue, Chicago, Ill., at 7d. a copy, 10 for 3s. 6d. post free.

We have not yet seen the 'Letters of David Ricardo to Thomas Robert Malthus, 1810-23' (8vo, 10s. 6d.), published by the Clarendon Press, but these letters cover the whole time of the friendship of two men who for many reasons are interesting to Socialists.

The *Canadian Workman* (Montreal) is a "labour paper." It is the organ of the Knights of Labour, apparently of the orthodox Powderly section. For a journal which sets out to "educate the masses" it should have an editor rather better informed on the general labour movement than the man who now runs it. In a late issue he informs his readers that the S.D.F. "is the only society in existence in England which has a Socialistic platform or anything approaching it," and their programme he styles "utopian."

Articles of interest to Socialists in the January magazines. *Murray's*: "The Royal Irish Constabulary," Col. R. Bruce, C.B. (late Inspector-General of the Force). *Longman's*: "The Unemployed and the 'Donna' in 1887." *Chambers's Journal*: "Why is Wheat so low in Price?" *Fortnightly*: "Chas. Darwin," F. W. H. Myers; "Egypt in 1888," Col. F. Duncan, M.P.; "The Distress in London," Earl Compton and Cardinal Manning. *Contemporary*: "The Workless, the Thriftless, and the Worthless," by the author of "Social Wreckage"; "The Value of the Individual," Vernon Lee. *Time*: "The Moral Aspect of Socialism," Prof. Caird. *National Review*: "The Poor Law and the Church," Rev. Morris Fuller, M.A.

MARGARINE.—Those who remember the outcry made by *Jus* and the party it speaks for against the "Act for the better Prevention of the Fraudulent Sale of Margarine," passed last August, can hardly do better than send one ½d. stamp and a stamped wrapper to Eyre and Spottiswoode (East Harding Street, Fleet Street), and receive in return a copy of the Act. Then it will be seen that it can harm none but the dishonest, as it does not interfere in the least with the sale of margarine, except as butter. Margarine may still be sold without let or hindrance, but it must not be palmed off on an unsuspecting public as what it is not. Of course as fraud is recognised by *Jus* and the L.P.D.L. among legitimate means of competition they are naturally sore at the little game being hindered.—S.

### EVOLUTION.

All life is progress: that which groweth not  
Is dead or dying. He that would retrace  
The happy footsteps of our infant race,  
Who seeks for man no fairer future lot,  
Or scanning o'er the waste one pleasant spot  
Deems it indeed man's final dwelling-place,  
Essays to close his hand on time and space,  
And when the world stands still the world will rot

Fight then beneath this banner, and be bold,  
Knowing that Fate, though silent, never sleeps  
Though gazing long into the mists of old,  
And far into the future's mystic deeps,  
For vigil-vision thou mayst but behold  
One of its slow gigantic spiral sweeps.

REGINALD A. BECKETT.

### SAMUEL FIELDEN.

SAMUEL FIELDEN was born on February 25th, 1847, at Todmorden, Lancashire. His father, Abram Fielden, was a weaver. The Fielden Brothers' mills were the largest in that part of the country, and they contained two thousand looms. His father was a man of more than ordinary intelligence, a person of deep thought, with whom few cared to cross swords in an argument. Samuel says: "I remember that the most intelligent people of our acquaintance instead of going to church on Sunday used to meet at our house to discuss politics, religion, and all subjects pertaining to social and political life. These meetings carried on in the rich Lancashire accent contained a peculiar charm for me, and gave me my first taste for the study of Sociology. I used to wonder how they knew so much. My father was a peculiarly eloquent conversationalist, and the recital of the most ordinary incident from his lips bore the charm of romance. When the ten hour movement was being agitated in England, my father was on the committee of agitation in my native town, and I have heard him tell of sitting on the platform with Earl Shaftesbury, John Fielden, Richard Ostler, and other advocates of that cause. He was an earnest admirer of the principles advocated by Fergus O'Connor. He was also one of the incorporators of the Consumer's Corporation Society in the town of Todmorden, and one of the officers of that society for a long time. He was also one of the share-owners in some co-operative manufacturing establishments of that vicinity. He was one of the prime movers in the Odd Fellow's Benevolent Society. Although my father was a severe man, there seemed to be a sort of freemasonry between him and the children of the neighbourhood. They all loved him dearly. He was a staunch supporter of every measure for the relief of Irish peasantry from the greed of the foreign blood-suckers—the English landlords. My mother died when I was ten years old, and I only remember her as a sweet, patient, little dark-eyed woman with a pleasant face; her maiden name was Alice Jackson; my first great sorrow came with her death. I don't think the world is ever as bright after so great a loss. Although but a child when she died, the lines of Cowper on the death of his mother came home to me, oh, so forcibly at times:

"But while the wings of fancy still are free,  
And I can take such mimic views of thee,  
Time has but half succeeded in his theft,  
Thy self removed, thy power to soothe me left."

"My father died August 28th, 1886. I undoubtedly inherit from my father that hatred of shams and hypocrisy, and from my mother that sympathy that I find it impossible not to feel for every form of suffering, and which has impelled me to try to do something toward alleviating it, and I believe, now, to-day, even with this great shadow hanging over me, that I was fortunate in having such a father and mother. When I think of those who have no higher ideas of human life than to make money, that if my lines had fallen in different places I could do a great deal more. In my early home life was sown the germ of that philosophical character which some people have given me credit for possessing in late years. I received my early education at a small private school. A great deal of my early life was spent in a factory, of which I could write volumes, but limited space will not permit. But I will say this; I think, that if the devil has a particular enemy whom he wishes to unmercifully torture, the best thing for him to do would be to put his soul into the body of a Lancashire factory child and keep him as a child in a factory the rest of his life. I think that would satisfy the love of cruelty of his Satanic Majesty." Samuel Fielden is a fine-looking man, he has a very kind face and laughing eyes, and is spoken of by all of his friends as "the good-natured Fielden." In Fielden's speech at the Haymarket meeting, even as reported by Mr. English, a reporter for the *Chicago Tribune*, not one word can be found which has the least reference to the bomb-throwing, or contained any proposition or suggestion for the use of violence that night or in the immediate future, and Mr. English himself says his instructions from the *Tribune* office were to take only the most incendiary part of his speech. In speaking of the so-called McCormick riots on the afternoon of May 3rd, "Men in their blind rage," was the characterisation by Fielden of the persons who threw stones at McCormick's factory hands. Fielden has ever been an honest, upright, hard-working man. His presence at the Haymarket and his speaking there, resulted simply from the request for speakers sent to the meeting of the American group.

If the bulk of the human race are always to remain as at present, slaves to toil in which they have no interest and therefore feel no interest—drudging from early morning till late at night for bare necessities, and with all the intellectual and moral deficiencies which that implies—without resources either in mind or feelings; untaught, for they cannot be better taught than fed; selfish, for all their thoughts are required for themselves; without interests or sentiments as citizens and members of society, and with a sense of injustice rankling in their minds, equally for what they have not, and for what others have,—I know not what there is which should make a person with any capacity of reason concern himself about the destinies of the human race. . . . But there is no ground for such a view of human affairs. Poverty, like most social evils, exists because men follow their brute instincts, without due consideration.—*Mill's 'Political Economy,' Book 2, Chap. 13.*



## THE LABOUR STRUGGLE.

### BRITAIN.

**DUNDEE MILLWORKERS.**—Dundee millworkers have resolved, in view of the improvement in trade, to ask the employers to make an early advance on their extremely low wages.

**EDINBURGH JOINERS.**—The masters are said to be working short-handed in order to keep men on the market, with a view of enforcing a reduction of the rate of wage from 7d. to 6½d. The men are determined to resist and a strike appears inevitable.

**BOLTON ENGINEERS.**—The arbitrators in the Bolton engineering strike have not been able to agree as to a basis of wages, and the services of Mr. Pope, Q.C., Borough Recorder, have been secured as referee. He is expected to give his decision about the middle of January. The settlement of the Blackburn dispute depends upon this decision. The men are at work pending the result.

**LANCASHIRE MINERS.**—The leading colliery firms in the Manchester district have decided to advance prices of house coal at the beginning of the year 10d. per ton, and furnace coal and burgy 5d. per ton. At the same time an advance of wages of about 10 per cent. is to be given. It is expected that a similar movement will take place in other colliery districts of Lancashire.

**NORTHUMBERLAND MINERS.**—The sliding scale in the Northumberland coal trade terminates to-day, and as no arrangement has yet been come to, the men will work on the same terms as regards the rate of wages as they are now doing. The masters have taken no action on the subject of restrictions.

**NORTHAMPTON SHOEMAKERS.**—As was noticed last week the dispute has at last been settled, both sides having agreed that all reserved questions should be submitted to a court of appeal consisting of a representative of employers and employed, a third to be appointed by those two, the decision of the three to be absolutely final. The operatives, of whom about 15,000 have been locked out, returned to work on Monday at all the factories, with the exception of that of Messrs. Cove and West, where the original dispute broke out. The unionists decline to work with the "accommodators" vulgarly termed "scabs" at this factory, but it is hoped that the difficulty will be arranged by making separate shops. Owing to an accident to one of the furnaces at Hunsbury Hill Factory the works are temporarily closed and 150 men are out of employment. Great distress still exists in the town. Collecting-sheets are at 63 Fleet Street, where London sympathisers may enter contributions.

**MANCHESTER SHIP CANAL.**—The total number of men now employed is close upon 900. The excavation of the three great docks which are to form the Eastham terminus of the canal in Cheshire, is making rapid progress. Two steam "navvies" are at work—one of them being kept going night and day.

**LEVELLING DOWN.**—At a meeting of a Scotch Highway Board last week a member called attention to the rate of wages paid to surfacemen on the Berwickshire roads, the wage all over being 18s. a week. He thought the time had come for reducing these, as hinds were not now earning more than from 14s. to 14s. 6d. a week. There were many men going idle, who would be glad to engage as surfacemen at reduced wages. The matter was remitted to the district committee for their consideration.

**MANCHESTER AND SALFORD TRADES COUNCIL.**—In the course of an address at a meeting of this Council, Mr. H. Fielden gave statistics with reference to the condition of employment in the cotton trade in Lancashire, the ship-building trades, engineering, the building trades, the various iron trades, the Birmingham and Wolverhampton trades, the potteries, and the mining industry. So far as mining was concerned, he estimated that the loss in wages since 1874 had now reached a total sum of 14 millions per year upon this class of work, and taking the whole of the trades of the country, he estimated that the loss of wages through irregular employment, or want of employment, was at least twice as much as all the gain to the working classes from the decreased cost of commodities and the increased purchasing power of their wages.

**A LAND DEMONSTRATION—STORNOWAY.**—Last week a procession numbering about a thousand crofters and cottars from Portnaguran and several other townships in Lewis marched to the farm of Aignish, situated on the peninsula of Eye, within three miles of Stornoway. This farm is at present occupied by Mr. Albany Newall as a sheep-farm, and capable of maintaining some forty families. The people were accompanied by musicians, and some carried flags. On reaching the boundary of the farm they met Mr. Newall, and the spokesman of the party informed him that they required the farm to provide holdings for the starving cottars and families in the district. They were willing to pay a rent equal to his own. His answers were considered unsatisfactory, and they announced that within fourteen days he must remove his stock. Mr. Newall said he should have force sufficient to prevent this. The people marched through the farm, and afterwards started for Melbost sheep-farm, tenanted by Mr. Thomas Newall, a relative of the Aignish tenant. Hearing that he was absent, they halted and held a meeting, at which resolutions were passed in favour of the land being allotted to the people at a fair rental before any general plan of emigration was accepted by the crofters.

Here, by the way, is the dangerous passage in Cardinal Manning's article to which we briefly referred the other day:—"All men are bound by natural obligations, if they can, to feed the hungry. But it may be said that granting the obligation in the giver does not prove a right in the receiver. To which I answer that the obligation to feed the hungry springs from the natural right of every man to life, and to the food necessary for the sustenance of life. So strict is this natural right that it prevails over all positive laws of property. Necessity has no law, and a starving man has a natural right to his neighbour's bread." Was ever such rank sedition preached before? Many a poor fellow for much less strong statements than that has been locked up or "bound over." Cardinal Manning "ought to have known better," and Mr. Matthews—if he means to deal fairly all round—should lose no time in sending Sir Charles Warren's men to arrest so dangerous and ill-disposed a member of society as this archiepiscopal preacher of practical Christianity.—*Pall Mall Gazette.*

### AMERICA.

The colliers throughout the Pennsylvania anthracite region, except the Wyoming Valley, refuse to accept any reduction in their wages, and have left work, 30,000 miners being thus idle. The present supply of coal is said to be short.

The striking flint-glass workers at Pittsburgh have submitted a proposition to the manufacturers withdrawing the demand for an advance in the wages of "gatherers" and conceding the right of the employers to discharge workmen for incompetency and drunkenness. The proposition also suggests that fifty-five hours be considered a week's work in the moulding department, and fifty-eight in the cutting department.

Local Assembly 8298 of Silk-Ribbon Weavers of Hudson County, N.J., has withdrawn from the Knights of Labour, and will be known as the Concordia Lodge of Silk Weavers.

General Secretary Litchman of the Knights of Labour states that the compiled report of membership for October last from the various district assemblies in the order shows a total of 500,982, which is an increase over the report of last July.

The Central Labour Unions of New York and of Chicago have resolved to boycott Milwaukee beer, to assist the brewers in their struggle against the bosses.

T. V. Powderly is announced to be dangerously ill, suffering from hemorrhage.

The brewers are beginning to boycott the States which have voted for the exclusion of liquors made from malt. They began by instructing their brokers not to buy any more barley from Iowa or Kansas.

All the cigar-makers in Havana have resumed work except in one factory.

The cabmen of New York are on strike. They notified the proprietors or foremen, and submitted the following agreement, which many of the liverymen speedily, in consideration of the snow, signed: "I hereby agree to take back my men in a body without prejudice, and to pay the wages (14 dollars per week) demanded. I guarantee to keep them at the above wages one year."

A strike of Cincinnati shoemaking hands is expected, involving about 2,000 employes.

Every table-ware glass-works in the Pittsburgh district but one is idle as a result of the late strike.

#### LIST OF STRIKES FOR DECEMBER.

Number of strikers known to December 8	1,153
Pittsburgh, Pa.—Flint-glass (table ware) workers, against rules adopted by Manufacturers' Association, December 9	1,400
Washington, Pa.—Labourers (Italian), against discharge of one of their number, December 9	35
New York city—Building hands, in consequence of two men being discharged, December 9	40
New York city—Painters, for unionism, December 11	—
New York city—Pail-makers, against reduction of wages, December 11	9
Chattanooga, Tenn.—Lumber-mill hands, against night-work, Dec. 3	10
New York city—Waiters, against discharge of head-waiter, Dec. 13	25
Pottsville, Pa.—Rolling-mill hands, against new method of working	—
Dover, N. H.—Lasters, against reduction, December 12	—
Total number of strikers known to December 12	2,672

### NEW SOUTH WALES.

**SYDNEY.**—The Australian Socialist League is getting in a good deal of work by way of lectures, discussions, and open-air meetings, and is creating quite a stir. The *Radical* continues its good work, and the *Bulletin*, one of the most powerful papers in the colony, has got as far as Land Nationalisation and is like to go further. Local journals in way-back towns, have taken up the subject, and it is clear that not only has the thin edge of the wedge been introduced here, but some heavy blows given toward driving it in.

## INTERNATIONAL NOTES.

### FRANCE.

Our French comrades have decided to start a new Anarchist paper, to be published at Paris and written by all who care to do so; in other words, there will be no special editor for it. As *La Révolte* is becoming more and more an international paper, the new organ will be more specially devoted to the interests of the French revolutionists.

During the last few weeks a considerable number of strikes have occurred throughout France. Among the most important we may mention the diggers of the railway from Monton to Sarlat, who struggled against a reduction of wages and won their battle; the ribbon-weavers of Thiberville, who refused to follow certain rules dictated by the masters, and who likewise won their cause; the china-makers of Vierzon, who protest against a reduction of their salaries, and are still out of work; the bakers of Nice, who desire to have the same rate of prices as in the towns of Toulon, Marseille, etc.; the weavers of Rheims, who refuse to accept any lowering of their wages, already at a starvation point; the moulders and other iron-workers at Nouzon, Revin, Laffour, Petite-Commune, etc., in the Ardennes Department, who strike for higher wages; the metal-workers of Vivier-au-Court, who struck because one of their comrades, sent to the congress at Charleville as a delegate of their union, has been, in consequence of his delegation, dismissed by the employers; the glass-blowers at Vierzon, because the same thing happened to their delegate to the congress at Montluçon; the skinnners of Mazamet (Tarn Department), who demand an augmentation of salaries and the maintenance of their union; the moulders of St. Michel (Aisne Department), who are still out of work; the weavers of Cholet (Vendée Department), 10,600 in number, and who won a splendid victory after nearly four months' struggling; the miners of Meurchin (Pas-de-Calais Department), who were not so lucky as their comrades of Cholet.

Last week, one of the veterans of European Socialism died at Ville d'Avray, near Paris. Constantin Pecqueur was born in 1801, at Arleux (North Department), and became in the year 1848 member of the Luxembourg Commission of Work, with Louis Blanc, Vidal, Albert, etc. Afterwards he was appointed librarian of the National Assembly, but was obliged to resign, refusing, after the *coup d'état*, to take the oath of allegiance to Napoleon. Pecqueur is not so well known as Saint Simon, Fourier, Considerant, Proudhon, Louis Blanc, Cabet, etc., yet in the period preceding the revolution of 1848, he was an exceedingly able writer, a sound and profound

thinker, and in many respects his works are superior to those of the above mentioned Socialists, because they are essentially scientific. His writings are based on the principles of economical science and historical evolution, and he is to be considered with Vidal, Key, Collins, De Potter, sen., as one of the forerunners of modern Collectivism. The modern theorists of scientific Socialism, Rodbertus, Marx, Lassalle, Schaffle, Tchernychewski, etc., proceed in their works from the conceptions of Pecqueur. Marx, in his 'Capital,' quotes him several times. His chief works are: 'The interests of commerce, industry, agriculture, and civilisation at large, considered under the influence of the application of machinery, 1838,' 2 vols.; 'New Theory of Political and Social Economy, 1842,' 1 vol. of 900 pages; 'On material ameliorations in connection with the theory of liberty, 1846,' 1 vol. He was also a contributor to the *Globe*, the *Phalanstere*, the *Revue Independante*, the *Revue du Progres*, the *Reforme*, the *Presse*, the *Dictionnaire de la Conversation*, the *Salut du Peuple*, which was founded by himself, etc.

HOLLAND.

Domela Nieuwenhuis and C. Croll have been re-elected editors of *Recht voor Allen*.

A new trade paper, to be published fortnightly, has been issued at Amsterdam—*Algemeen Volkblad* (General Trade-paper)—which intends to discuss the general interests of all Dutch trades unions. It is published by the Trades Council of Amsterdam, and edited by P. P. Koning. A special feature of the paper will be a complete report of the conditions of work in all countries.

Last week the Socialists of Holland held their annual congress at Amsterdam. Two important resolutions were carried: 1, That the branches of women, which up to the present time have been independent of the general organisation, should be put on an equal footing with those of men, and so become regular branches of the Dutch Socialist party; 2, That the system of the referendum should be introduced in all transactions of the party.

ITALY.

On the 20th of last month, the Association of the Republican Youth of Torino has issued the first number of a new weekly, called *Il Ribelle* (The Rebel), written in the line of Giuseppe Mazzini's well-known programme.

I regret to announce that, owing to the denunciation of a scoundrel, the entire edition of the 'Trial of the Chicago Anarchists' has been seized by the police of Torino, not one single copy of the book having escaped.

SWITZERLAND.

NEW FACTORY LAW IN BASEL.—The Great Council of Basel is debating a project of law for the extension of the provisions of the Factory Law to the women and girls employed by milliners and tailors, and also to shop-girls. Many of the latter are unpaid apprentices, or, as they are named in the fatherly language of the German-Swiss *Lehrtochter*, "learning daughters." They do not always get very fatherly or motherly treatment from their employers, but the very reverse; so the State, as standing *in loco parentis* to such young citizens, has righteously determined to interfere for their protection. There are numbers of "Modistinnen" and "Schneiderinnen" who do not like to be called "work-women." They are "young ladies," like a similar class in all other countries, and if they enjoy a more dignified title, they have a less secure protection from the State than the women and girls in factories. Persons in a small way of trade, according to the debates in the Basel Council, appear to be severe exploiters and over-workers of these young ladies. The regulations of the Swiss Federal Factory Law, it seems, do not extend to milliners' shops and mode warehouses, in many of which work sometimes begins at five or six in the morning, and is continued until ten or eleven at night. The new law proposes to put a limit of eleven hours upon the labour wrought in the service of fashion, and to impose early closing on the eyes of Sundays and other festivals. Extra pay is to be given to all women and girls when they are obliged, by the pressing character of the work, to serve in a work-room or shop longer than the normal period. Special protection is given to apprentices and to all girls under eighteen years of age.

REVOLUTIONARY CALENDAR.

FORTNIGHT ENDING JANUARY 14, 1888.

1	Sun.	1840. Jno. Frost, Chartist, sentenced. 1881. Blanqui died. 1863. Slaves emancipated in the United States.
2	Mon.	1731. Franklin convicted of seditious libel.
3	Tues.	1794. Execution of Grégoire Joseph Chapuis.
4	Wed.	1642. Attempted arrest of the five members by Charles I. 1649. Commons vote that all power rests in the people.
5	Thur.	1757. Damiens' attempt on Louis XV.
6	Fri.	1661. Rising of "Fifth Monarchy men" suppressed.
7	Sat.	1715. Fénelon died at Cambrai.
8	Sun.	1642. Galileo died at Florence.
9	Mon.	1871. Bombardment of Paris.
10	Tues.	1645. Archbishop Laud beheaded, 1840. Penny post introduced.
11	Wed.	1831. Carlile sentenced for publishing <i>Pioneer</i> .
12	Thur.	1840. Chartist rising at Sheffield.
13	Fri.	1790. Monasteries suppressed in France.
14	Sat.	1858. Orsini's attempt upon L. Napoleon. 1887. "Battle of Ham Run" at Norwich.

*Frost's Rebellion.*—About 10,000 Chartists from the neighbouring mines, armed with pikes, etc., arrived at Newport, Nov. 4, 1839. They divided into two bodies; one, under the command of Mr. Jno. Frost, an ex-magistrate, proceeded down the principal street; the other, headed by his son, took the direction of Stow Hill. They met in front of the Westgate Hotel, where the magistrates were with part of the 45th regiment and some special constables. In the attack upon the hotel the mayor and several others were wounded; among the "mob" about twenty were killed and many wounded. A detachment of the 10th Hussars arrived and the streets were cleared. The next day Frost was arrested, with his printer, and other influential Chartists. He and others were tried and sentenced to death in the following January, but the sentence was afterwards commuted to

transportation. On May 3, 1856, they were amnestied, and returned to England in ensuing September. Frost died, aged 96, July 29, 1877.—S.

*Blanqui.*—In a few weeks will be begun an account of his life and work.  
*Negro Emancipation in the United States.*—On Sept. 22, 1862, President Lincoln issued a proclamation that he proposed on 1st Jan. following to declare all persons held as slaves within any State the people whereof should be in rebellion against the United States, free thenceforward and for ever. The rebellion still continuing, on Jan. 1, 1863, a further proclamation was issued, as "a fit and necessary war measure for suppressing said rebellion," that slaves in all parts of the United States but a few specially excepted places were free. It was not, however, until Dec. 18, 1865, that the abolition of negro-slavery was made part of the United States Constitution by the 13th Amendment.—S.

*Grégoire Joseph Chapuis.*—Medical man and politician; was born at Verviers, 1761. After the revolution which broke out in 1789 in the bishopric of Liège, Chapuis was appointed registrar of births, deaths, and marriages in his native town. This was at the time a very important and even dangerous position, as this registration had been done until then by clerical and not by lay officers. Reaction set in, and Chapuis had to fly in order to escape the fury of the bishop of Liège. He was detected and sent to prison. After a sham trial he was sentenced to death "for the example of others," as the judgment said. Conveyed in chains to Verviers, his execution took place on the Place des Récollets. The executioner, after having given him seven blows, failed in chopping off his head, and finally was obliged to saw it off. Ever since the memory of Chapuis has been kept in honour by the people of Verviers, who in 1684 erected a statue to him on the Place des Récollets, now called Place du Martyr. On the day of the inauguration of this statue, the Socialists of Verviers, by Pierre Fluse, who made an impressive speech, associated themselves with the official ceremony.—V. D.

*The Five Members.*—The division between King and Parliament was growing wider, and war (which broke out eight months later) was becoming ever more certain, when Charles, stung by the Grand Remonstrance presented Dec. 1 the previous year, thought by one decisive act to strike terror into his rebellious subjects and restore his authority. With a band of cavaliers and ruffians he went to the House of Commons to arrest Pym, Hampden, Hollis, Haselrig, and Strode, but they had been warned and escaped by the river: in less than a week he himself fled from Whitehall. Seven years after on the same day the Commons voted the Commonwealth, though it was not proclaimed until Charles had been beheaded.—S.

*Robert François Damiens* was born 1715 at Jieulloy. In his youth he was called Robert the Devil. In 1756 he resolved to assassinate Louis XV., and on Jan. 5th next year stabbed him while leaving Trianon. In prison and at his trial he behaved with great coolness. After dreadful tortures he was put to death, March 28, 1757. He gave as his motive that the people were starving while the Court wallowed in luxury. The people accused in turn the Jesuits, the Jansenists, the Dauphin and the Parliament of complicity with Damiens. He however said that he had no accomplice, and critical history has now proved that in reality there was no plot or conspiracy, but that Damiens decided for himself alone the course he took.—V. D.

*Fifth Monarchy Men.*—A puritan sect who supported Cromwell in the belief that his government was a preparation for the "Fifth Monarchy" which should succeed the Assyrian, Persian, Grecian and Roman, and during which Christ should reign on the earth with his saints for a thousand years. They were republicans, and were strongly communistic; having, indeed, close kinship with the Anabaptists who sought to realise the "Kingdom of God" in Münster a hundred years before. Disappointed at the delay in the arrival of this millennium, they tried to organise a revolt against Cromwell, but the arrest of Feake and Powell, the two most violent, cooled their ardour, and they plotted in secret until after the revival of the monarchy, when, on Jan. 6, 1661, fifty of them, led by a wine-cooper named Venner, tried to take London in the name of "King Jesus." Most of the fifty were killed or taken prisoners, and on Jan. 19 and 21 Venner and ten others were executed for "high treason." From that time the special doctrines of the sect either died out or were merged in the religious millennialism that still exists.—S.

*Fénelon*, one of the greatest writers of French literature, represents, in the seventeenth century, freedom of thought against Bossuet, who represents, in matters of religion, the old spirit of tradition. He wrote, for the sake of the education of the Duke of Bourgogne, that immortal work, the 'Adventures of Telemachus,' which has been republished a thousand times and translated almost in every tongue. This book, which at that time was regarded as a satire upon Louis XIV. and his government, caused the famous prelate to be banished from the Court, and he was sent to Cambrai, into a sort of exile, where he remained until his death.—V. D.

*Penny Post.*—A penny post was first set up in London and suburbs by a Mr. Robert Murray, upholsterer, who, in 1683, assigned his interest in the undertaking to a merchant named Docwra; it was however decided by the King's Bench to belong to the Duke of York, as a branch of the general post, and thereupon annexed to the revenue of the Crown. In 1794 it was made a twopenny post. In 1837 Rowland Hill broached his plan for a universal penny post within the United Kingdom. After much opposition it was adopted, 1839, parliamentary franking being at same time abolished. The new plan was carried into effect Jan. 10, 1840, leading to an enormous increase in the correspondence carried and a great growth of revenue. Although not in the least a Socialistic institution, the post-office is a good example of the economy and efficiency that may be realised by organised effort on the part of the community.—S.

*Chartist Rising.*—This will be dealt with in an article giving a general sketch of the history of Chartism under another date.  
'Ham Run'—see under 22nd.

THE SOCIALIST LEAGUE.

OFFICES: 13 FARRINGTON ROAD, E.C.

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

BRANCH SUBSCRIPTIONS PAID.

Mitcham, Walsall to July 31. Bloomsbury, Leicester, Hoxton (Labour Emancipation League), Hull, Wednesbury, to September 30. Clerkenwell, Hammer-smith, Mile End, Oxford, to December 31.

"COMMONWEAL" PRINTING FUND.

Hammersmith Branch (6 weeks), £3. Oxford Branch (4 weeks to Dec. 29), 8s. C. J. F. (ditto), 8s. K. F. (ditto), 4s. A Medical Student, 5s. Llednub, 6d. W. B. (weekly), 6d.

**Children's Party.**—Collected by a Friend of the League, 10s. J. A. M., 3s. Tarn, 2s. 6d. Leonard Wells, 1s. A Friend (per May Morris), 2s. W. Jones, 2s. Mrs. Walker, 2s. 6d.—M. GROVE.

**Propaganda Fund.**—H. S. Salt, £1, 1s. C. Walkden, 5s.

For Wives and Families of the Martyred Anarchists.

C. Walkden, 5s. J. S., 6s. C. B., 1s. Medical Student, 5s. W. H. C., 10s.

## REPORTS.

**BLOOMSBURY.**—Enjoyable social evening last Thursday.—D.

**CLIKKENWELL.**—Business meeting held, after which members and friends spent a pleasant "social" evening.—B.

**GLASGOW.**—Being the festive season no propaganda work has been undertaken this week. On New Year's Day we held a social meeting in our rooms. After partaking of an excellent tea, prepared by Mrs. Gibson, comrade Muirhead gave an address on "Organisation." Gilray, of Edinburgh, reported on the progress of the movement there. Afterwards, songs and readings were rendered by several members, and altogether we spent a most enjoyable afternoon.—J. A.

**SOUTH SUSSEX.**—Ordinary meeting on Saturday night at Bexhill-on-Sea, present seven members. Discussion on "Continental Crisis," opened by Hall, to whom communications, Wratten House, Bexhill, should be sent.

**WALSALL.**—Saturday, Dec. 31st, open-air meeting held on The Bridge, H. Sanders spoke, audience large; questions put at close satisfactorily disposed of.—J. T. D.

**DUBLIN.**—At Saturday Club, Dec. 31st, T. Fitzpatrick lectured to a large audience on "Socialism, what is it?" He described in eloquent language the horrors of the competitive system, and gave a lucid exposition of the principles of Socialism, and was listened to with great attention for more than an hour. The opposition of a co-operator and a trades' unionist was of the feeblest description, each of them admitting the justice of our Cause but denying its practicality. The veteran Adam O'Toole, of the old International, also made an eloquent plea for Socialism. The debate was adjourned for a week.

## LECTURE DIARY.

## LONDON.

**Bloomsbury.**—Communist Club, 49 Tottenham Street, Tottenham Court Road, W. Thursday January 5, at 7.30, Special business meeting—members urgently requested to attend. 8.30, Walker on the "Unemployed." 12th, Athenæum Hall, 73 Tottenham Court Road, H. M. Hyndman, at 8.30, "Why the Social Revolution is inevitable."

**Clerkenwell.**—Hall of the Socialist League, 13 Farringdon Rd., E.C. Business meeting every Sunday at 7. Sunday Jan. 8, at 8.30, Wm. Morris, "The Political Outlook." Wed. 11, at 8.30, H. H. Sparling, "Health and Wealth." Sunday 15th, at 8.30, Ben. Ellis (Radical delegate to Ireland), "Ireland, and what I saw there."

**Fulham.**—Committee meets Wednesday evenings, 8 o'clock, at 4 Werlery Avenue, Dawes Rd., Fulham.

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

**Hammersmith.**—Kelmecott House, Upper Mall, W. Jan. 8, at 8 p.m. Sidney Webb (Fabian Society), "The Irish National Movement, and its bearing on Socialism." 15th, C. J. Faulkner, "Property, the New Bigotry." Wed., Jan. 18, at 8 p.m., Annie Besant, "The Evolutionary Aspect of Socialism," Saturday 21st, at 8 p.m., Dramatic Interlude, "The Tables Turned." (Tickets, 6d.)

**Hoxton (L.E.L.).**—C. J. Young, 8 Dunloe Street, Hackney, Road, Secretary. Concert and Draw on January 14. Tickets 6d. (See below.)

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

**Mile-end and Bethnal Green.**—95 Boston St., Hackney Road. Business Meeting every Thursday at 9 p.m. Debating Class for members after Business Meeting.

## PROVINCES.

**Aberdeen (Scottish Section).**—James Leatham, secy., 15 St. Nicholas Street.

**Birmingham.**—Meetings at Summer Row Coffee House every Saturday evening at 8.

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

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

**Glendebath (Scot. Sec.).**—J. Duncan, 30 Arthur Pl., sec

**Dublin.**—Saturday Club, Central Lecture Hall, 12 Westmorland Street. Saturday Jan. 7, at 8 p.m. Adjourned debate on "Socialism: What is it?"

**Dundee (Scot. Sect.).**—Meetings every Sunday in the Trades Hall, opposite Tay Bridge Station. Political Economy class, 2 p.m. Lecture at 6.30.

**Edinburgh (Scottish Section).**—4 Park Street. "Das Kapital" class every Thursday at 7.30. Members requested to pay weekly subscriptions on that night. Sunday evening lectures, Trades Hall, High Street.

**Galafrids (Scot. Sect.).**—J. Walker, 6 Victoria St., sec.

**Gallatoun and Dysart (Scottish Section: Fife).**—Meet every Tuesday at 7 p.m. in Gallatoun Public School. Secretary, A. Paterson, 152 Rosslyn St.

**Glasgow.**—84 John St. Reading-room open 10 a.m. till 10 p.m. daily. Propaganda Committee, Mondays at 8. Shorthand Class, Tuesdays at 8. Music Class, Tuesdays at 9. Discussion Class, Thursdays at 8 (Jan. 12, J. Adams, "Political Panaceas"). Sunday 8th, meeting of members in Rooms at 2 p.m.—business, Finance and Organisation. In Hall, 8 Watson Street, at 7 p.m., R. J. Peace of Newcastle, "What Socialists should do."

**Hamilton.**—Paton's Hall, Chapel St. Thursday, 7.30.

**Leeds.**—17 Chesham St., Sweet St. Club open every evening. Business meeting Wednesdays at 8 p.m.

**Leicester.**—Hosiery Union, Horsefair St. Fridays at 8.

**Lochgelly (Scottish Section: Fife).**—Secs. (pro tem.), John Greig and Hugh Conway, The Square.

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

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

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

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

## OPEN-AIR PROPAGANDA.

## LONDON—Sunday 8.

11 ...Acton Green .....Hammersmith Branch  
11.30...Garrett—"Plough Inn" .....The Branch  
11.30...Hackney—Salmon and Ball .....Wardle  
11.30...Hoxton Church, Pitfield St. ....J. J. Allman  
11.30...Merton—Haydons Road .....Kitz  
11.30...Mitcham Fair Green .....The Branch  
11.30...Regent's Park .....Nicoll  
11.30...St. Pancras Arches .....Bartlett  
11.30...Walham Green .....The Branch  
3 ...Hyde Park .....J. Allman  
6 ...Stamford Hill .....Parker

## Wednesday.

8 ...Broadway, London Fields .....Graham

## Thursday.

8 ...Hoxton Church, Pitfield St. ....Allman & Pope

## PROVINCES.

**Leeds.**—Sunday: Vicar's Croft, 11 a.m.

**SHEFFIELD SOCIALISTS, Commonwealth Café, Scotland Street, Sheffield.**—Discussions or Lectures every Sunday evening at 7 o'clock. Free.

## North of England Socialist Federation.

## BRANCHES AND SECRETARIES.

**Amnitsford.**—F. Rivett, Dudley Colliery.  
**Backworth.**—W. Maddison, C. Pit.  
**Consett.**—J. Walton, Medonsby Road.  
**Blyth.**—Martin Mack, 4 Back Marlow Street.  
**South Shields.**—F. Dick, 139 Marsden Street, West.  
**North Shields.**—J. T. Harrison, 24 Queen Street.  
**East Holywell.**—J. M'Lean, Top Row, Bates's Cottages  
**West Holywell.**—F. M'Carroll, West Holywell.  
**Seaton Delaval.**—W. Day, Seaton Delaval.  
**Seghill.**—Wm. Whalley, New Square.  
M. Mack, Gen. Sec., 4 Back Marlow Street, Blyth.

**SOCIALIST CO-OPERATIVE FEDERATION.**—Meeting at *Commonweal* Office, 13 Farringdon Road, on Sunday January 8, at 4 p.m.

## The Chicago Martyrs.

A COMMITTEE has been appointed by several of the Socialist and revolutionary bodies of London to arrange for the speedy publication of the speeches of the eight prisoners and a full record (from the official copy) of their trial. This work is in progress, but want of funds seriously delays its completion. In order to meet this difficulty the Committee are issuing coupons entitling bearer on payment of 6d. to a copy of the first issue made, and it is hoped that all members and friends of the cause will do their utmost to aid in the commemoration of our brave comrades and at same time in the pushing forward of the cause they served.

J. BARBER, Treas.

H. REUTER, Sec.,

101 Albert St., Camden Town, N.W.

L. E. L.

## GRAND CONCERT AND DRAW

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ON SATURDAY JANUARY 14, AT 8 P.M.

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by H. A. Barker, will be performed. All tickets to be paid for by the 11th of January the latest. The Secretary of the L.E.L. will be in attendance on Sunday afternoons in *Commonweal* Office to receive payments for tickets.

## THE TABLES TURNED.

## ENGAGEMENTS.

January 21 . . . HAMMERSMITH BRANCH S.L.

Applications for engagements to be made to the Manager, H. A. Barker.

## SOCIALIST LEAGUE LITERATURE.

**Chants for Socialists.** By William Morris. . . 1d.

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

**Socialism on its Defence. A REPLY TO PROFESSOR FLINT.** . . 1d.

**The Aims of Art.** By Wm. Morris. Bijou edition, 3d.; Large paper, 6d.

**The Tables Turned; or, Nupkins Awakened. A Socialist Interlude.** By William Morris. In Wrapper . . . 4d.

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# THE COMMONWEALTH

The Official Journal of the Socialist League.

VOL. 4.—No. 105.

SATURDAY, JANUARY 14, 1888.

WEEKLY; ONE PENNY.

## NOTES ON NEWS.

ON Saturday, 7th, another Trafalgar Square victim was buried with the "honours of war." William Curner, member of the Deptford Liberal Club and N.S.S., was at Trafalgar Square, got bludgeoned, arrested, and in the approved law'n'-order fashion sentenced to fourteen days for doing nothing. The inquest is not finished, and so we do not know all particulars, only enough to make it sure that his death lies at the door of the police. The society to which he belonged gave him a public funeral, in which the Law and Liberty League and Socialist League took part.

He died at home, poor fellow, or there would have been an attempt to smother the affair as at Pentonville, where a man, named Frost, who died from ulcer in the stomach, was kept on gaol diet which he could not eat, and did not eat for *eight days*. He was taken five times to the doctor, who disbelieved his statement, and suspected him of pretending to be unable to eat; the doctors knew he was suffering from chronic bronchitis, yet they reported, "There is nothing the matter that we can detect with the man." This falsehood they admitted they told, but—"out of consideration for his friends!" A letter written by the deceased, dated December 17, seen by the deputy-governor two days afterwards, was suppressed on a pretext of illegibility, and another sent to his wife in its place—the "unreadable" letter contained a clearly-written statement that the two prison doctors "had taken a dislike to him from the first, called him an old impostor, and would do nothing for him."

They had resolved to carry out at all costs their preconceived opinion, and as the poor devil did not fit their ideas, so much the worse for him! Proved up to the hilt as it was, the jury passed by the contradiction between the man's actual state and needs, and the doctor's view and treatment of him, rendering a verdict of "natural causes," while the coroner said "the jury had no concern with the suppression of Frost's letter. That was a question of prison discipline, and if the friends felt themselves aggrieved, they were at liberty to complain to the prison authorities."

As he was only a prisoner for burglary, and a poor man, nobody seems to care about it all, save the *Pall Mall* and ourselves, any more than they do about the conduct of Barendt of Bootle, a doctor who refused to see a dying man "as he was in evening dress and going to a ball!" At this the coroner "expressed dissatisfaction," but the jury, being partly composed of men who would have done the same thing, disagreed, and would add no rider to their verdict.

"The policeman" (P. C. Broad, 120 B) "had trumped up a false charge and not told the truth," said Mr. Partridge at Westminster on 15th. Commenting whereupon the *Pall Mall* says: "If he had said 'deliberately perjured himself,' he would have stated the fact. We have not yet heard that Police-constable Broad, 120 B, has been promoted, but that no doubt will come in due time. If such zealous officers are to be discouraged in this way by magistrates, how can the *esprit de corps* of the force be kept up!"

Broad struck a man who happened to push against him on the pavement, and being out of his awe-inspiring blue-with-buttons, and having no truncheon wherewith to knock his victim senseless, he ran away. Meeting a comrade on duty he returned with him and gave the man into custody whom he had hit, on a charge of assault. Happily he could bring witnesses and got off; but how differently he would have fared if his assailant had been armed with his truncheon, and "corroborative" (police) evidence, to first knock him senseless and then swear away his freedom!

Even Mr. Edlin's best efforts failed on Thursday to convict the drummer Hatwell, who was assaulted by the police in Holborn in flagrant violation of Warren's parole. The Treasury adjourned the case from last sessions because they saw the jury was in favour of justice, with the result that after all another jury has found Hatwell not guilty. Although this was one of the best known cases arising out of the suppression of the right of public meeting in London, not a single daily newspaper save the *Times* and the *Pall Mall* is frank enough even to notice the acquittal. A conviction they would probably have reported by the column.

Scene, Piccadilly; Time, Sunday (New Year's Day) morning. Respectable tradesman walking along; to him enter a man who takes him by the collar, saying "Here, I want you!" The tradesman, with visions of battle, murder, and sudden death before his eyes, calls loudly for the police. A constable standing near comes up at once, but instead of helping him, says to the other man, who it seems is a plain clothes officer, and therefore a privileged garotter, "If you want any help I will give it you."

Thereupon the pair dragged the man through Regent Street to the Vine Street police-station. In vain he asked to be taken in a cab, and equally in vain why he was so treated. "You will know when you get to the station," said the officer. At the station he was charged, to his great surprise, with trying to pick pockets. It was only when he had tendered his card and convinced the inspector of his respectability that he was allowed to go, the inspector warmly wishing him a prosperous new year and assuring him that the little mistake would not become public.

However, the tradesman was not quite satisfied, as indeed might be expected, and went to Mr. Newton for redress. Mr. Newton did credit to his name by finding that the best way of settling the matter was for the tradesman to write to Warren—who from his usual ways and manners may be expected to promote the policeman and reprove his victim for making the affair public.

Speaking on Friday at Dundee Lord Aberdeen sought to reassure those who "were deterred by an impression or misgiving that the concession of self-government to Ireland would in some way or another be a concession to Socialism." He affirmed that "the national instincts and tendencies of the Irish people are not Socialistic," etc., etc. Lord Aberdeen may believe all this, and it is in one sense true. The Irish have been so long slaves to an alien power that their idea of liberty is a slavish one, native slave-owners—or *land-owners* if you will.

But let them once have bitten the Dead Sea fruit of political liberty without economic freedom and they will range themselves under the red flag beside their fellows of other lands. In this sense self-government for Ireland is a step toward Socialism, and a long one. And as to their "instincts and tendencies," the Irish are not so unlike other folk as some would have us think, they are "men like unto ourselves"; if anything, they are fitter for Socialism than most peoples, being less commercial. S.

Mr. Blunt's appeal has been rejected, and he is in the jail where he is to expiate his "crime." No one, I suppose, expected any other result from the appeal, although a good deal was said about the illegality of his arrest both before the trial (if we must needs dignify it with that name) and afterwards. What is the use of passing a Coercion Act if it has meshes wide enough to let such fish slip through as one's avowed political opponents? Meantime, let us say that now Mr. Blunt is in prison, we will not forget that he spoke out well and boldly for the poor people in Egypt who were condemned to similar torture there by our English stockjobbers.

Apropos of this trial, the *Pall Mall Gazette* asks in a straightforward leader, "Is there any right of public meeting?" Our contemporary, one would think, does not ask the question because it does not know the answer to it, which is a short one enough, "NO." But one may expand the answer by explaining to those who have not thought about the matter, that in a "constitutional" country there is liberty enough for every one belonging to the privileged class, but no liberty for any one else; and what sort of liberty of public meeting is that privileged class likely to allow to "any one else" who is attacking its privilege openly?

The Radical clubs of Hammersmith have sent a delegation to the Metropolitan Board of Works, asking them to adhere to their bye-law as to the newly-acquired Ravenscourt Park, setting aside a portion of it for public meetings, whereas the Hammersmith Vestry have passed a resolution asking the Board to alter this. I may inform those who do not know Ravenscourt that it is a very large tract of ground, and that it would be easy to set aside a part of it for public meetings without in the least spoiling it for recreation. In fact, the Vestry are simply following their kind in trying to put a stop to public meetings in Hammersmith. Considering how much recreation ground will be in and about Hammersmith, it will be preposterous if the inhabitants

have no regular meeting-place allotted them; but no doubt the local curmudgeons will take any excuse they can to put a stop to free speech in this neighbourhood. One would think that there was something hurtful to the public pleasure in a political meeting judging from the way that our Bumbles are dealing with the matter; whereas, to put it on the lowest grounds, a political meeting is a pleasurable excitement to most people who are not very "superior persons." The Hammersmith clubs must be congratulated on taking action in this affair, and it is to be hoped that they will not let it drop. W. M.

## LAW AND WAR.

(Continued from p 3.)

It is, however, urged that if a system were once started in conformity with justice, it could be amended as occasion arose and circumstances altered. It is impossible to frame a system which shall be just to the infinite variety of the wants of man; I do not mean only his bodily wants, but the necessities and aspirations of his whole nature. It is unlikely, so unlikely as to be outside the need of consideration, that such a system, even if started by infinite wisdom, could be amended from day to day. We are at this moment practically under the law, which was imposed on a large part of Europe by the Roman Empire, and which has lasted from Justinian's time for some 1500 years. His time was that of the decay of the Empire, a decay due to the action of the principle embodied in the established law. It is the principle of *contract*, of gambling with futurity; it treats every man as a liar, and bids us entangle each other with engagements, whose meaning in the present is doubtful, and whose bearing in the future is quite in the dark. Yet the system, when put in form, that is codified, has lasted on with its essential character unaltered, for some fifteen centuries more, and has in that time ruined many another society. It is a signal instance of the curse of an established law, a signal proof of the enormous difficulty of really amending it when once established.

We may go farther back than the Roman Law, eight hundred years farther back than Justinian, and see that even the law as established was only another name for the interest of the stronger. Socrates, one of those men put to death by the privileged class, because he spoke the truth plainly, is discussing the nature of justice with one of the ordinary politicians of the day. The latter expresses himself with cynical frankness thus: "There are different forms of government, tyrannies, democracies, and aristocracies, the Government being that which has power in each state. And the different forms of Government make laws democratical, aristocratic or tyrannical, with a view to their several interests; and these laws, which are made by them for their own interests, they deliver to their subjects as justice, and punish him who transgresses them as a breaker of the law and unjust. And that is what I mean when I assert that in all States there is the same principle of justice, which is neither more nor less than the interest of the Government; and as the Government must be supposed to have power, the only reasonable conclusion is, that everywhere there is one principle of justice, and this is the interest of the stronger."<sup>1</sup>

The interest of the stronger, the interest of the governing classes, that was what was enforced under the name of justice 2000 years ago. It seems to me that "the reverential attitude which befits Force in the presence of Justice"<sup>2</sup> is seen as little now as then, and that our Law and Government, though they call their place "Palace of Justice," rest on force and not on reason, and constitute therefore a state of war.

War is any set of circumstances in which a question is settled not by discussion and the use of reason, but by force. There need not be fighting to make war. An army is reduced by starvation, by wet weather, by toilsome marches, as much as by the actual storm of battle. Moreover, a body of soldiers, posted near to a battlefield, though not actually fighting, is counted as giving assistance by their presence. Thus, in so-called peaceful society, the vast body of police and soldiers, though they seldom actually fight, are always present as supporters of those whose business it is to enforce the law. We are, in fact, all engaged in enforcing the law, some actively, and more by supine acquiescence.

That it is the intention of the privileged governing classes to carry out the law by force, before any question of its justice is admitted, is very clearly expressed by conspicuous members of those classes both in deeds and words. Strikes are battles in which the weapons on one side are semi-starvation, and on the other the prospect of commercial ruin. There is a very serious strike against rent now going on in Ireland, and in regard to this various representatives of the governing classes have expressed themselves clearly enough. Lord Hartington, for example, finished a speech at Newcastle on February 2, 1877, by saying: "So long as you recognise the right of the landlord to any enjoyment of his property at all, you cannot dispense with evictions." He was here alluding to the brutalities of the Glenbeigh evictions. He then went on to urge people "to assist the Government to enforce the law," and ended up with: "In order that these measures (emigration, etc.), may be undertaken, in order that such a policy may be undertaken with any prospect of success, it is necessary, first of all, that the law and the supremacy of the law should be established."

Again, Sir Michael Hicks-Beach, Chief Secretary for Ireland, said in the House of Commons on January 28, 1887, "We are pledged to

maintain the Union, but it is worse than useless to maintain the Union, and it would be better to have separation, unless with the Union we maintain the reign of law in Ireland." That was characterised as a memorable declaration. It may, at least be taken as the openly expressed determination of the governing classes, to enforce their claims, regardless of mercy and justice, as at that very time, and right down to the present time, the law has been enforced in Ireland, by a series of evictions, in which men and women, infants and the bed-ridden sick, have been treated with cold, formal brutality, we see what the enforcement of the law means. It means now what it meant in the case of the negroes before the extinction of chattel-slavery, a few years since in America. Many feel this, but somehow, whether in America, or England or Ireland, our hands are raised in horror, only when not engaged in the self-interested work of enforcing our own legal claims. If the choice, which the bright imagination of the Jewish mind once offered, between seven years of famine, or three months of war, or three days' pestilence, were before us now, we might well follow David, and choose either of those calamities, which did not bring us under the hand of legal war.

The fact that from the earliest periods of history law has not been in accordance with justice, but merely the expression of the interest of the stronger, is, I think, due to the corrupting influence of any legal system when once established.

We may please ourselves with imagining some system of law, originally framed with a straightforward, reasonable attempt to make it just. It could not long continue without creating privileged classes. For if the law as it stands at first is just to all, it must become unjust to the members of the next generation, not only because the whole generation changes, but also because its members and their surroundings differ from each other in ways unthought of before. Thus in the second generation, one kind of man gets more than his due, or than was intended, and another man less. So we have at once a privileged class and an impediment to reform.

Let us suppose for a moment—a ludicrous hypothesis, but it will serve for an illustration—let us suppose that the rents fixed for Ireland under the Land Act of 1881 were fair and just, and such as to allow all small tenants to live decently. Since 1881 prices have fallen, and rents which were just in 1881 are now unjust. Besides this, the prices of agricultural produce have fallen very unequally, so that the farmer producing one kind is scarcely affected, while one, whose farm produces another kind, is ruined. Here, then, is a simple case, in which an arrangement made only four or five years ago acts unequally, and in a way not intended, and this too not from any change in the persons concerned, but because some petty surrounding circumstances have altered. Hence the attempt to be just by means of a fixed law has in these few years actually created a privileged class, namely, those whose rents still allow them to live decently, while others are ruined.

Even with the best intentions it would seem, then, that no fixed system of law can avoid the creation of privileges; and then it cannot be amended without touching class interests of some kind. Amid the infinite varieties of life, and with the impossibility of looking even a small way into the future, any such system, however wisely and ingeniously set going, will rapidly become related to people in all sorts of unexpected ways, will, in fact, include privileged classes of many kinds. Any man who attempts to introduce alterations, whether towards fancied or real improvements, can only do so by treading on this or the other privileged class.

Suppose, for example, that a railway bill is to be passed through Parliament. A great deal, no doubt, is said about the good of the country, but the terms of the Bill are really between the two great parties, who bribe each other by compensation for some imagined injury. The question where the compensation really comes from is never brought forward, nor is it pointed out that of every threepence paid for passenger fare, or for goods carriage, one penny goes off to some injured interest, and another to another.

If we take a wider range, we find the same war of privileges. Just lately there were *fishing riots* at Ostend, and something similar at Nova Scotia. If we look at any account of these disputes, as, for example, one given in the *Pall Mall Gazette* of August 30, 1887, we find over and over again the following phrases: "The privilege that the foreigner has enjoyed for so many years has not been reciprocated"—"a spirit of rivalry and resentment has grown up"—"this malice must be put down by the strong arm of the law"—"the Belgians object as much to the competition of the French as of the English"—"we must protect British interests"—"we must obtain . . . privileges . . . in *foreign ports*," and so on. There is not one word in all this to suggest that the dwellers on the two sides of a narrow sea, whether we call them foreigners to each or not, are in fact much more nearly allied to each other in race, religion, language, and history, than the different sections of the "British empire." To speak of "protecting British interests" and of "obtaining privileges in foreign ports," to threaten that in the defence of privileges "the strong arm of the law" shall intervene between the dwellers on the two sides of the narrow sea, is as unnatural as it is for these same privileged classes (for these are the persons alluded to in the words *British interests*) to forward in their own country their own private ends, by the process of competition, and by rousing the evil spirit of rivalry.

C. J. FAULKNER.

(To be continued.)

A ballad-singer was sentenced at Dromore last week to one month's imprisonment for singing a ballad having reference to a proclaimed meeting.

<sup>1</sup> Plato's 'Republic,' Bk. i.

<sup>2</sup> Victor Hugo, 'Notre Dame de Paris.'

## LETTER FROM AMERICA.

THOMAS B. BARRY, of the General Executive Board K. of L., has just returned from the South, and reports that labour there is in a deplorable condition. Everywhere he heard stories of intimidation at elections; the police regularly called in to help in the intimidation, and with their clubs prevent voters getting to the polls. The ballot of the workman if not counted out is not allowed to get in the box. In Lynchburg (Va.), the men last fall solidified in politics, and elected one of their number to Congress. He received a letter written in a disguised hand, saying that if he took his seat four determined men would shoot him. At Fishing Creek (N. C.), the superintendent of the mills called his help together, and gave them twenty-four hours in which to leave the K. of L. or be discharged. About 60 were Knights, and they decided to leave the order. Then the superintendent organised a body known as the "Jayhawkers," a kind of Ku Klux Klan, formed to fight the K. of L. The Jayhawkers were told that if they put away the Master Workman and Secretary of the K. of L. Assembly, everything would be all right. So the Jayhawkers went to the homes of Master Workman Harris and Secretary Wilson with the purpose of dragging them out and lynching them. The two men were away at the time, but the wife of one of them when she saw the masked men come after her husband with ropes in their hands was so frightened that she has been ill ever since. When Harris and Wilson were coming home they were told by their neighbours of their danger. They took to the woods, and were followed by the Jayhawkers for ten days. At Clifton, S. C., Barry found the same spirit prevailing among the masters, and says it is as much as life is worth to be known as a member of the K. of L.

John H. Keiser is a practical philanthropist of a kind. For the last two weeks he has been feeding upwards of 2,000 men daily in New York City, giving them one square meal at morning and one at night. In the early morning they congregate before his little frame house and are examined to see whether they are all sober and belong to the working-classes. After having satisfied his "Christian" scruples he hands a ticket to each, and they may now enter the kitchen forty at a time. In a small room, not more than 30 ft. in length and 12 ft. in width, stand eight tables with room for five men at each table. The men are mostly able-bodied, ranging from youth to old age. The following is a census taken by Mr. Keiser of the men he fed on the morning of December 15th: "Mechanics of various trades, 184; waiters, 12; longshoremen, 24; labourers, 40; miscellaneous, 28; semi-paupers, 16; full paupers, 40; women, 4." In the morning the men get coffee and bread, in the evening soup of beef and vegetables, and hot baker's bread. Keiser says he will have to break up his establishment in a week's time, as the crowd will by that time have increased to 5,000.

The *World*, a capitalistic sheet *par excellence*, says: "The past year has been exceptionally good for business, the factories have been running full time, the building trades have been kept at work, the clothing and shoe trades have seldom been better, the iron trade has been booming, and thousands of men have been employed on the streets, but yet with all this work and prosperity there are thousands upon thousands of men and women in this city who are out of work and on the verge of starvation. . . . The exact number of those who are idle from choice or necessity can never be found; a census might discover it, but even that is doubtful for there are very many who would be unwilling to acknowledge that they have no means of existence—yet that is what idleness means to the wage-earners. . . . If so many persons are idle now, what will it be when the dull times come again, and what will be the ultimate outcome of what may be called chronic idleness?" The reporter declares that from personal investigation he can firmly maintain that there are at present *nearly 100,000 men and women* out of employment in New York. In the month of November, 1886, 11,908 persons found shelter for a night in the police-stations. The police-stations give nightly refuge to a miscellaneous company of homeless men and women. In November, 1887, 8,863 men and 5,241 women found a night's shelter in the police-stations; that is, 14,104 persons, an increase in one year of 2,196 persons. The secretary for improving the condition of the poor says that about 20 to 30 men visit his office every day looking for assistance. The great problem of the age in his opinion is, "What are we going to do with the unemployed? At the employment bureau in Castle Garden, about 200 men apply every day for work. The report might be continued to fill the whole *Commonweal*, but this much will give an idea of the state of affairs.

A gigantic strike, involving at least 65,000 men, has been quickly ended. Over 1,000 employes of the Philadelphia and Reading Railroad Company quitted work on the 23rd inst. This action was caused by the employment of a train crew of five non-union men. At Elizabeth Port, N. J., 121 men were discharged because they refused to load a barge with coal belonging to a firm involved in the Lehigh trouble. In consequence of this action all the employes of the Reading Railroad on all the lines of the road operated by the company, as well as the coal miners, were ordered out on strike by the Convention of Reading Railroad employes. The only exceptions made were the passenger, mail service, and the employes, whose strike would jeopardise life or property. The strike effected about 65,000 men, and resulted in a complete tie up of the freight system of the road. During the holidays matters were kept pending. The Knights of Labour received instructions from headquarters not to strike. It seems the cunning hand of Powderly has again been at work. On the morning of the 27th inst., the Executive Committee of the Reading Railroad employes' assembly met, and after a secret session, which lasted several hours, decided to lift the strike on the Reading system pending arbitration with the Company. The five crews over whom the trouble originated will be supported in the meantime by financial aid from the employes. The latest news from the scene of the threatened strike proves that something crooked has been done somewhere by somebody. The company now maintains that the committee of the men conceded to all points, and that it was untrue that it was arranged that the men should return to work pending arbitration. One paper says this morning: "This move on the part of the committee ends what has probably been one of the biggest games of 'bluff' that has ever been attempted by any body of organised workmen."

I hope to be able to report further details in my next letter. H. C.

## HISTORY REPEATS ITSELF.

*Vanity Fair* of August 21, 1869, has an excellent description of the Home Secretary of the time, the Rt. Hon. H. A. Bruce ("Statesman No. 29"), which, changing names, will do right well for another statesman we wot of:

"With a ministry so successful as [Lord Salisbury's] has been, it is perhaps not much to say that Mr. [Matthews] has been the least successful minister who holds a position in it. It may, perhaps, be no reproach to [Mr. Matthews] that the best use he has made of his position is to show that he is not best qualified to fill it; but it is none the less a misfortune for the country to be endowed with a Home Secretary whose sole idea of his duties appears to be to imbibe and to carry out the views of chief clerks, policemen, and any other kind of person who happens to be surrounded with the divinity that doth edge a permanent official. Appointed by the Crown Secretary of State for the Home Department, he has appointed himself Secretary of Tradition for the Home Office, and Chief Commissioner of the Chief Commissioner of Police, making himself simply the mouthpiece of those whose ruler he should be. Had this happened, as it does every day, in other departments, we might not have discovered it; but we happen to know too much about our home affairs to be deceived by the sophistry, or contented by the pompous affectation of superior wisdom which does such good service to ministers in other departments. This it is, no doubt, which makes the position of Home Secretary so difficult a one to fill, but this also is the reason why a peculiarly able man should alone be allowed to fill it, and why a feeble official-minded politician should never be permitted to undertake functions requiring the continual exercise of free and capable judgment. At this time, especially when there is beginning to be seen a dangerous reaction towards centralisation and regulation, when the police are taking military organisation and reaching a tyrannical power, it would have been wise to give us a Home Secretary who would have put matters back to their proper place. But [Mr. Matthews] has availed himself of an obsolete law to put a stop to free speech when menaced by lawless criticism of the physical kind; and, worse still, he has lately refused so much as to enquire whether the police could do wrong, and supported his refusal by reasons which, in the mouth of a minister, are as discreditable as they are feeble."

## TRAFALGAR SQUARE—ANOTHER VICTIM.

LAST Saturday afternoon William B. Curner, who died from injuries received from the conflict with the police on Sunday 13th November, was buried in Brockley Cemetery. The deceased was a Secularist and Radical, and as such occupied a somewhat prominent position in the borough of Deptford, where he resided. The occasion of his burial was marked by a public funeral, and the whole line of route from his residence in Henry Street, Deptford, to the cemetery was lined with sympathetic spectators. Blinds were drawn and mourning borders were displayed from houses, one of the chief tradesmen displaying over his shop black flags, two with mottoes, "Honour the Dead," and "Let all assist the Widow." The funeral hearse bore Radical, Irish, and Socialist flags, and also a shield with the inscription "Killed for Trafalgar Square." A band playing the "Dead March" preceded the hearse, the whole procession to the cemetery being most imposing.

At the grave R. Forder, surrounded by a dense throng of people, among them being representatives of Secular, Radical, and Socialist bodies, read the secular burial service. After which Mrs. Besant made a most impressive speech, in which she urged her hearers not to shrink back from the struggle for freedom in which their brother in the grave had fallen, for in their efforts to make life worth the living some must fall. Let them go from the grave the more determined than ever to carry on the fight for which he had given his life. Mr. Stead followed with a most fervid speech, and speaking as a Christian at the grave of an Atheist, dwelt on the necessity for the sinking of mere minor differences of opinion; the cause of the people was the cause of humanity, and all its lovers would unite for the overthrow of its enemies. Mr. Larkin then made a brief speech, and the choir of the Socialist League brought the proceedings to a close by singing William Morris's "Death Song," written to commemorate the death and burial of Linnell.

This is the second public funeral that has taken place within a month, the dead in each case being martyrs to the cause of freedom of speech. How many more are to be sacrificed ere "liberty the parent of truth" shall triumph? H. A. B.

Our coroners are becoming quite adepts in the art of libelling dead men—an economical process, no doubt. Dead men tell no tales, neither can they retaliate. Our coroners know that, and hence their action. At an inquest held last week on the body of an old employe of the S. E. R., aged 74 years, who was employed for the purpose of keeping a foot-bridge clear at Charing Cross, and who was knocked down and killed while crossing the line to go to a cabin to get himself warmed, the coroner in summing up said: "It seemed extraordinary, after forty years' experience, that the deceased should disregard rules which he must have been well acquainted with, and it only showed what dangers railway men exposed themselves to." There was nothing adduced at the inquest to show that deceased was breaking any rule in going to get himself warmed, nor could such a rule, if it did exist, be considered a very humane one. Would the coroner deprive a poor old man of 74 years the privilege of warming himself on a bleak cold December day? If so, we pity his humane tendencies, which at the best must be cruel.—*Railway Review*.

EXTRAORDINARY RAID OF HIGHLANDERS.—On Monday at daybreak one thousand Highlanders marched from Portnaguran and other places for Aignish sheep farm, for the purpose of driving off the sheep. The entire body concentrated at a spot three miles from Aignish, and then marched in formation of fours, preceded by musicians and flag-bearers, for the scene of action. A force of the Royal Scots Regiment, Marines and police came up with the Highlanders, who refused to disperse. Sheriff Fraser thereupon read the Riot Act, but the Highlanders proceeded with their work, and succeeded, it is said, in clearing the entire stock off the farm. The raiders several times came into conflict with the police and military, and a number of them were wounded, but none fatally. Mr. John Ross, Procurator Fiscal, was struck with a heavy stick and badly wounded, and the officer in command of the Royal Scots and several policemen were wounded severely. Eleven of the raiders were arrested and brought into Stornoway at four o'clock under heavy escort. But the bulk of the Highlanders are reported to be still on Aignish Farm, and threaten to leave not a single sheep in the whole district. The island is in a state of wild excitement, and a terrible conflict is feared.

It is a melancholy thing to think that there is not, perhaps, a single so-called labour-representative in Parliament who could pass an examination in elementary economics if a paper were set to him. Not one of them, we are certain, could indicate the true cause of commercial crises or the law which regulates the rise and fall of wages. Not one of them could intelligently compare Socialism with Anarchism, or co operation with either.—*Reynolds's*





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

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

As all articles are signed, no special significance attaches to them because of their position in these pages. None to be taken as more than in a general manner expressing the views of the League as a body, except it be so explicitly declared by the Editors. Rejected MSS. only returned if a stamped directed envelope is forwarded with them. Subscriptions.—For Europe and United States, including postage, per year, 6s. six months, 3s.; three months, 1s. 6d.

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

Periodicals received during the week ending Wednesday January 11.

ENGLAND		ITALY		
Jus	Paterson (N J) Labor Standard	Guzetta Operaia		
Justice	St. Louis (Mo.)—Die Parole	Marsala—La Nuova Eta		
London—Freie Presse	Providence (R. I.)—The People	Bani—Municipal		
Labour Tribune	Coast Sea men's Journal			
Norwich—Daylight				
Review	FRANCE		SPAIN	
	Paris—Cri du Peuple (daily)	El Productor		
	Le Socialiste	Madrid—El Socialista		
	La Revolte			
	Lille—Le Travailleur	GERMANY		
	Guise—Le Devoir	Berlin—Volks Tribune		
	HOLLAND		AUSTRIA	
	Hague—Recht voor Allen	Arbeiterstimme		
	Amsterdam—Voorwaarts			
	BELGIUM		HUNGARY	
	Seraing (Ougree)—Le Reveil	Arbeiter-Wochen-Chronik		
	Ghent—Vooruit			
	Liege—L'Avenir	DENMARK		
	SWITZERLAND		Social-Demokraten	
	Zurich—Sozial Demokrat			
		EGYPT		
		Bosphore Egyptian		

## RADICALS LOOK ROUND YOU!

THE Winchester election is, it must be admitted, a shabby text to preach from: given, a cathedral establishment, a military depot, a middle-class public school, a large class of the villa-dwellers, and a noble lord as owner of a greater part of the town, and the result of an election in such a place would seem to be certain—the return of the Tory candidate—even if he were not a local magnate, and his opponent a mere name: only an electioneering agent on the look-out for a job one would think could venture to encourage opposition to the winning colour under such circumstances. However, the Liberals have chosen to make a kind of test-case of this most trumpety faction-fight as to whether the tide is still continuing to flow back to them, as other bye-elections seemed to show it was doing, and, since it has gone against them so completely they are bound to admit, and really do admit the inference, that the tide has turned again, and the Tory ship has weathered the dangerous headland for the present. All this, which is but an affair of "ins and outs," would be a matter of complete indifference to us if it were not that there is still a Radical tail hanging on to the official Liberal party, and that the Radicals have been making towards Socialism under the educational influence of the Irish rebellion, and the general force of circumstances which is driving them out of their barren negative position, and forcing them to consider whether there is any forward road for them except Socialism. To the Radicals one may preach a little from even such a contemptible text as the Winchester election, and ask them once more whether they are going to be dragged about through the mud by their Liberal allies, or are going to give free play to their aspirations towards the popular cause, and assert themselves as men who are sincerely trying to learn what is to be done to carry the country out of this shabby period of the rule of the dregs of the bourgeoisie, helped by the distinguished cowards, knaves, and fools, for whom no worse name can be found at present than that of "superior persons" or "men of culture."

I would ask them to note, then, that it did seem true towards the middle of last year that the Tory or Irish coercionist party seems to be losing ground, and that there did seem a chance of the Gladstonites shortly coming into power again, and victoriously "settling" the Irish question; in which case the Radicals would have felt a glow of triumph, as feeling that after all it was a Radical victory rather than a Liberal one, and that they had led the whole of that constitutional party to the wished-for goal. This was the outlook then; but it is very different now; whatever the chapter of accidents may do in the future, the Tory Government is steady enough at present; that is really felt by everyone, and in the constitutional contest of "ins and outs" the Liberals are not showing any signs of solicitude for their Radical allies, but are quite prepared to shake them off if need be; and, in short, we would seem to be further than ever from a Radical triumph. How has it all come about?

Let us remember that whatever it may be elsewhere, in this country the Government is always a genuine Government of the middle classes; whatever is done is done for them, even though it may sometimes take

the guise of helping the working classes; all that only means helping such and such groups to manage the human machinery necessary to their welfare; most middle-class men, "thoughtful" or unthoughtful, never realise the fact that there is a working-class; the artisans or labourers that they may come across are to them but aspirants towards the middle-class, or failures from it, mere accidents of society in short. As long as this mood of the middle-class is undisturbed, as long as they are blankly ignorant of the composition of modern society, they can quite calmly divide themselves into two parties, Conservative and Liberal, or whatever else you may call them, it being, of course, understood that the greater part take no interest, or only a very languid one, in politics. But the events of the last five or six years, the change that has been coming over the commercial outlook, has made some inroads into this ignorance, and the Irish question, founded as it is on the further question "How are the Irish peasants to live?" has also at last sorely shaken them, though at first it was looked upon as a mere political matter on which there might be difference of opinion between "respectable" persons. As the English, Scotch, and Welsh working-men became educated into friendliness and sympathy with the Irish peasant, so the middle-class became educated into hatred of him. To them he is no longer now a romantic survival of past times of a rebellion made beautiful by distance, carrying about a preposterous sentiment of nationality never to be realised save as a flavour to a few old ballads sung to melancholy ancient tunes; he is a working-man asking for some of the property of the proprietary classes, and not too nice as to the means by which to establish his claim. And as on the one hand, new development of the Irish question made it clear to the middle-classes that it was time not to play with progress any longer, so on the other the putting forward of it by Mr. Gladstone gave them an opportunity for backing out with that ease and dignity which the British hypocrite manages to impart to the action of sneaking out through a back door. The upshot is the "Tory Reaction," as real a reaction as any political reaction ever is. What has happened is this: amongst political middle-class folk, the clearer-sighted once-Liberals, who could see whitherward things are tending, have, as aforesaid, taken the opportunity of Gladstone's new departure to rat formally, leaving behind a group of Gladstonites whom habit and clinging to a vague shadowy habitual idea of principle keep in the ranks at present. That means breaking up the Liberal party; but there is more at the back of that. There is the great body of middle-class non-politicals, who include a great many "superior persons;" these who usually have nothing to do with the political game are, nevertheless, an enormously powerful body; they form, in fact, what the newspapers mean when they speak of "the public;" and this "public," which is fully equipped with votes, goes solid for the Tory reaction, and is, in fact, the central and really noteworthy part of it. This public has a blind and instinctive, but quite genuine hatred of the "other public," the "lower classes," whose misery it has made and lives upon: it usually only acts as a dead weight to keep them down, but from time to time takes vigorous action enough. It is the public which applauded Napoleon the Little and the Butchers of the Commune, smiled safe approval on the slaying of the Chicago martyrs, egged on the evictions of Irish tenants for the behoof of the shabby tyrants who rob their poverty, shut up Trafalgar Square, beat helpless prisoners in their cells, and makes the disgraceful pedant Stephen feel safe and comfortable on his seat of iniquity; it is the public which will make civil war inevitable as the claims of the workers rise, and are more distinctly formulated; it is, in short, the real danger to what of genuine society yet exists amongst us; the mass of blind wrong-doing led by "superior persons" who know what is right and hate it, who have made wrong their right. Now it may be said, "surely the Tories could always rely on the support of this criminal class, how is it that it was thought last summer that the present Government was tending towards its defeat on the Irish matter?" The answer is, the Tories were then only *threatening* coercion, and soft as the Gladstonites were fighting they seemed strong enough to deal with their political foes, considering the conversion of the working-men, which at least on the Irish question, was going on. We did not believe that the threat of coercion would be seriously carried out; but it seems that the Tories had estimated the relative voting power of the working-class, and the above-mentioned criminal class, better than we had, and knew that they were safe, and accordingly started fair on their new career of Resolute Government, which will carry them who can say where, but in the meantime has gained them the enthusiastic support of the whole non-political middle-classes. Let our Radical friends note that for the present, and until the times get "quiet," these ordinarily non-political people are turned into ardent politicians with one aim in view, the keeping down of the popular element amongst us, by whatever name it may be called, and that this support will keep the Tories in power for many a day, while all the political opposition they (the Tories) will meet with will come from a party pledged, it is true, to grant Home Rule in Ireland (a pledge which may be as easily evaded as other pledges have been), but so far from being pledged to help the whole people out of their misery, that they also, when events press hardly on them, will have to take obvious measures to keep the people down, and avail themselves of the support of that party of blind wrong-doing.

The Radical party is effaced from the Parliamentary record, because its education towards progress had been advancing. Let all true Radicals take advantage of that effacement by educating themselves yet further; let them set to work seriously to learn what those popular claims are which the Liberal leaders steadily refuse to consider, but which form the only politics worth attending to. It is true that if they do this they will soon find themselves Socialists and outcasts;

but they will be recompensed for that when the time comes, as it soon will, when all distinctions of party will merge into the two camps, of the people and their haters, for they will then know clearly why they are on the right side, as they will have joined it consciously and not by mere compulsion. I believe that many Radicals are now taking this course, and I would encourage them to think that all these apparent Tory victories are only so many signs of the enlightenment of the workers of their own interests, and the consequent development of the middle-class hatred against them.

WILLIAM MORRIS.

### PRISON LIFE IN ENGLAND.

It is not my intention to put before you a record of the routine of prison life in England; that has been done already by my fellow-prisoner, Mowbray. I wish rather to deal with the principles involved in the method of dealing with criminals to-day. There is not a magistrate or judge in the land but prates at times, in stock phrases, about the law dealing with those who violate it in strict justice, and with a keen eye to the well-being and reformation of the prisoner himself.

Firstly, then, is prison discipline reformatory? Nowadays we look with horror at the old methods of burning at the stake, mangling with thumbscrew and boot, of torture, and stretching on the rack. Why? Because we see that these things mean nothing but torture, and have naught to do with justice. We see they have no reformatory elements about them. But, as far as the principle goes, where is the difference between these things and our present treadmill, plank-bed, starvation diet, and solitary dark confinement? The torture is not so intense, but still it is the principle of torture, and not of reformation, that is shown in these things. Is it reasonable, for example, to expect that a felon will be taught morals by treadmill exercise? You may torture him, but that torture does not teach him the wrongfulness of theft. Prison discipline confounds justice with revenge. The only element that even professes to be reformatory is the chaplain's ministration. But if the chaplain of Norwich prison is a type of them all, there will be but little good done. Briefly, his ministration consists of the following routine: Every morning at 8.30 the prisoners march in single file into the chapel; the litany is gabbled over by the parson as quickly as decency will allow; prisoners are marched back to their cells. This is slightly varied on Sundays by the introduction of a second service in the afternoon, where the weekly luxury of a sermon is indulged in; the said sermon generally being a glorification twenty minutes long of the justice of the prison system, with occasional insertions of flattery towards the Church of England. Once a fortnight I was visited by the chaplain in my cell for the first six weeks, after that he never came near until the day before my release. So much for the only professedly reformatory element in prison life. The fact of the matter is, a huge mistaken notion of what justice is has grown up in the minds of those who profess to dispense it. Stern, unbending and unmerciful, do they picture divine justice; as if an unmerciful thing was not unjust!

Another lesson that my prison life impressed on me more strongly than ever was the fact that the majority of the prisoners are men who have been made criminals by our infamous system of society. If it should ever be your lot to visit a prison (in any capacity) just observe, as you walk along the gloomy corridor the tickets on each cell door, on which is written the crime of the occupant of the cell. Nine out of every ten are poachers, vagrants, or thieves. Society makes criminals, and then punishes them for being what it made them.

It may, perhaps, be thought that prison life has at least this virtue, that once inside its walls all are treated alike; that there is no distinction of persons. But this is not so. The wealthy swell who gets into trouble is treated with every consideration possible by the officials. It is so easy for the doctor to certify that so-and-so is unfit for heavy work, provided so-and-so happens not to be a working man. Here are two cases in point. It is one of the prison regulations that all prisoners convicted with hard labour must work the treadmill for the first month, unless the doctor certifies them to be unfit for it. While I was in prison, a lieutenant in the army was sentenced to a month's hard labour for deserting his wife and family. He was a strong, able-bodied man, but, being somewhat of a swell, the doctor ordered him off the wheel, and put him at oakum-picking. Passing down the corridor a few days after, I saw his card marked, "half-task oakum." Here is another case. At the assizes held just before the sitting at which I was sentenced, two cases came on for trial. In one of them a boy of 16 was charged with stealing a few shillings from a shop. Sentence, six months' hard labour. In the other case the City Treasurer of Norwich, a "respectable" man, was charged with "embezzling" several thousands. Sentence, six months. The boy was put on hard labour, and kept at it till his time was up. The "gentleman" was put on the lightest work in the prison, in a comfortable office, with a good fire. He not only was on the best diet in the prison, but had extra hospital diet as well, and was, in consequence, the fattest man I saw while I was inside (except a burly inspector who came round on one occasion.) It was interesting to notice at exercise time how the hungry, lean men would watch the well-fed scoundrel round the yard, as if envious of his "prime" condition.

What would be a rational treatment for criminals it is not my object to write here. Were I writing a scheme, my first suggestion would be to remedy the unjust system that fills our prisons to-day. The only effect my imprisonment had upon me was to give me a deeper insight into the brutality of our civilization, and to spur me up to greater effort in the Socialist work.

FRED HENDERSON.

### A Fable: To the Men in Possession.

It is a painful sight, no doubt,  
To see you pottering about,  
Fumbling with those conditions new  
Of life which we commend to you,  
Conditions which your heated brain  
Tries to conceive, and tries in vain;  
But when you, floundering in the mire,  
Impute to us the low desire  
To fling away (and see no harm)  
Knowledge and beauty, change and  
charm,  
Just for a larger slice of cake,—  
My friend, you make a slight mistake;  
Lost in your purblind lust of pelf,  
You think us even as yourself.  
Come, rub your eyes, look round, and  
see,  
Who rules the world? 'tis you, not we;  
Yet everywhere see beauty slain,  
Trampled and fouled by greed of gain;  
Man against man in bitter strife  
Contending for the barest life,  
And in that ruinous employ  
Forgetting hope and light and joy.

O wisdom of the worldly-wise!  
Is *this* what you so dearly prize?  
But we are bound to better ends,  
We seek a world of happy friends,  
A world of mirth, wherein we know  
Beauty shall blossom forth and blow,  
Transcending far and making poor  
The best your guineas can procure;  
Where Wisdom, born of work and rest,  
To every soul shall give a zest  
Such as afore she never gave  
To vacant lord or broken slave;  
Where fellowship of man with man,  
Unchecked by caste's unholy ban,  
Nor by that fleecer's cunning foiled

Which sets the spoiled against the  
spoiled,  
Shall flood earth with so large a joy  
No power of hell can e'er destroy.

#### THE FABLE.

A swarm of flies, one summer day,  
Were feasting in a lordly way;  
Perfect the blue sky overhead,  
But they, intent upon the "spread",  
(Whose odour but too well betrayed  
The spot where the repast was laid,  
Strove, each of sweets to get his fill,  
And got on famously, until  
A heedless traveller sets his heel  
A thought too near the festive meal.  
How briskly then each little beast  
Springs to defend the savoury feast.  
"Base plunderer, hence! Low tramp,  
away!  
We know quite well what you would  
say;  
Make us all equal; yes, indeed,  
We know your wild Utopian creed.  
How dare you, Sir, how dare you thus  
Lay hands on what belongs to us?"  
"Wax not so hot, O little flies,"  
The smiling traveller replies,  
"I grieve my presence should afford  
Naught save disquiet to your board,  
Still more that my unwary tread  
Brings such a buzz about my head.  
Wherefore, be reassured, I pray;  
Groundless, I swear, is your dismay;  
Our tastes, our ends, are not the same;  
I hunt for very different game.  
On this wide common free and fair  
I do but seek for orchids rare;  
Wag not so virulent a tongue;  
I covet not your hoard of dung."

C. W. BECKETT.

### INTERNATIONAL NOTES.

#### BELGIUM.

The miners of Sars-Longchamps and Bouvy, at La Louviere, have struck, owing to the enforcement of the following regulations: 1. If a worker fails to go to work without giving notice he shall pay a fine of two francs; if he fails to work on two following days he shall cease to belong to the pit and five days' salary shall be withheld. 2. All offence, insubordination, or refusal to obey shall be punished by a fine of ten francs. 3. He who commits any damage whatever during his worktime or causes an accident to occur shall pay a fine equivalent to the damage done.

I mentioned a fortnight ago that the almanack of our Ghent comrades, "Vooruit," had been speedily exhausted. After the first ten thousand had been sold out a second edition of the same number was printed, and now they have to announce a third issue.

*L'Avenir* (the Future) of Liege, the weekly organ of the Walloon Socialists of Belgium, will in future appear twice a-week. Comrade Blanvallet will continue to be the editor of it.

#### GERMANY.

Four Bohemian tailors have been expelled from Dresden. Their lodgings were searched, with the result that a great number of copies of *Freiheit* were found. Comrade Morgenstern, a Socialist journalist, was also expelled from Bavaria.

Last week a new trial for secret conspiracy was begun at Posen. Some thirty Socialists are implicated in it, and the justice-farce is performed *within closed doors*. We know that this means in Germany—conviction against all evidence. It is said that the farce will last a fortnight.

In Freiburg (Brisgau) comrades Haugh and Fuchs have been sentenced to eight and five months imprisonment respectively for distribution of prohibited literature and for being members of a secret society—this meaning the Social Democratic party! Comrades Böhle and Stuck were sentenced to two months each, Boll and Yörger to four and three months for the same "crimes."

At Dresden the Socialist Municipal Councillors Stelzer, Horn, and Müller got four and three months respectively, and the editor of the 'Sächsisches Wochenblatt' five weeks imprisonment for libeling policeman Rosbaum. We have always been of opinion that it is impossible to calumniate a German policeman.

It is suggested among the German Socialists that if the Anti-Socialist laws are enforced by the addition of a paragraph whereby our comrades may be *exiled* from their country, the ways and means of their propaganda will change altogether. So, for instance, it is said that they are likely to give up at once all parliamentarism—i.e., that they will no longer take part in the electioneering business. If that is so, we are certain that the new "law" will have exactly the contrary effect to that which its "makers" intend to give it, then assuredly a fresh revolutionary impetus will be given to the whole movement, and that is what we want everywhere.

#### SPAIN.

Our Spanish friends continue to issue a considerable number of pamphlets relating to the Chicago trial. I mentioned some weeks ago the 'Proceso de los Anarquistas' published as the second volume of the Anarchist-Communist Library of Barcelona: I am glad to announce that a new relation of the same trial has been issued at Madrid, entitled 'Proceso de los Anarquistas en Chicago.' It contains a very ably and concisely written resumé of the facts, extracts of the speeches of our dead comrades, some of their letters, and general considerations on the whole justice-farce, by our friend Ernesto Alvarez. I am also informed that comrade Alvarez soon will start a new revolutionary organ, to be entitled *La Bandera Roja* (the Red Flag). We wish in advance good luck to our new colleague.

V. D.

## THE LABOUR STRUGGLE.

BRITAIN.

The miners of South Wales are about to form a miners' union.

An explosion occurred at the Bulhurst workings of the Diglake Colliery, N. Staffordshire, last week, throwing 600 men out of employment.

**THE UNEMPLOYED AT SOUTHAMPTON.**—Last Saturday afternoon a deputation of unemployed men waited upon the Mayor of Southampton, and asked that steps might be taken to relieve the condition of men unemployed in the town. The mayor opened a public subscription, and promised to do what he could to alleviate their wants.

**A WORN-OUT SLAVE AT NELSON.**—At a firm here last week, a weaver received notice to leave because she was below the average, although she had worked for the firm over 20 years. It is stated that the employer himself would not give the poor woman her notice, but his son instructed a "screw-key carrier" to do the work for him.

**THE SHEETING TRADE AT RISHTON.**—The sheeting trade here is in a very depressed condition. At Victoria Mill, scarcely half the sheeting looms are running owing to want of orders, while at J. Whitaker and Co.'s Britannia Mill the sheeting looms have been very slack for some time through the same cause, though some improvement has taken place lately.

At a conference of delegates from the miners at all the principal collieries in Notts, held at Basford on Saturday, it was decided to call upon the colliers throughout the country to give in a notice to their employers, terminable at the end of the present month, for a 10 per cent. advance in wages, the adoption of the eight hours' working-day system, and a general Saturday holiday.

**DISTRESS IN CHESHIRE.**—A discussion took place on Thursday evening at a meeting of the Lymm (Cheshire) Local Board as to the best means of relieving the distress in the neighbourhood. It was stated that fustian cutting, the staple trade of the district, was worse than ever; the wages paid were very low. £200 given by Mr. Dewhurst, Oughttrington Hall, had already been expended in finding work for the unemployed in road-making. It was resolved to make a further appeal for funds to carry on similar works.

**EXPECTED LOCK-OUT OF SHIPBUILDERS.**—An old grievance in the shipbuilding trade has cropped up again, times being a trifle better, and it is feared that the reopening of the vexed question will cause many shipbuilders to carry out their threat of locking-out the workmen. It has hitherto been the practice in arranging the contracts of the workmen who are members of the Boiler-Makers and Iron Shipbuilders Association, for masters and men to make individual contracts, the men bargaining with their employers as to the rates of pay. These kind of matters are now to be adjusted for them by the association, who on the present occasion have decreed that the wages shall be advanced by 25 per cent.

**BOLTON.—THE HEATON STRIKE.**—The dispute between the Bolton and District Operative Cotton Spinners' Association and Messrs. Heaton, of the Lostock Spinning Mills, upon the employment of female minders, still remains unsettled, and the places are boycotted by all unionists, with the result that a considerable portion of the machinery is at a standstill. The firm, however, appear to be making another effort to get additional hands, advertisements appearing in several papers for frame tenters, etc. The dispute occurred in the latter part of 1886, and the greater portion of the hands who struck work have obtained work elsewhere.

**EDINBURGH JOINERS.**—At a meeting of joiners held in the Trades' Hall on the 4th inst., to consider the position of affairs in connection with the proposed reduction of wages, it was reported that five of the 16 shops previously stated to have given notice of a reduction had withdrawn the notice, that there remained notices by 11 shops, while several others had to be added to those which had given no notice. The resolutions come to at previous meetings to resist the reductions, were unanimously re-affirmed, and the men in the eleven shops specified as continuing the notice would not, it was understood, return to work unless the notice was withdrawn.

The London Executive of the Amalgamated Society of Engineers have expelled from their Society four leading officials of the Bolton branches for having settled the recent dispute in the iron trade of that town without the London Executive's sanction. The expelled officials are: Councillor Hough, Chairman of the Bolton Joint Committee; Mr. Richard Barlow, the Secretary; and Messrs. Bain and Thornton, Committeemen. These gentlemen agreed, without the sanction of the Central Executive, to accept the employers' offer to submit to arbitration the dispute, which had then lasted over six months. An appeal will be lodged against the decision.

**DENABY MAIN ACCIDENT.**—A local paper says: "The condition of the colliers generally at Denaby is by no means encouraging, owing to their having to pay so much back rent incurred during the last dispute, and having to replace furniture previously disposed of in order to obtain food." The vicar of Mexbro' writing for subscriptions, says: "It is sad to know the straits to which labouring men with their families are at times involuntarily put by their inability to obtain work, and in winter time there must always be in every parish a certain number so circumstanced. To have, however, a body of not less than 2000 over and above the number that may ordinarily be expected deprived of support is shocking." Some weeks must elapse before work can be resumed.

**WAGES OF GUN-LOCK FILERS.**—At Darlaston, at a meeting of gun-lock filers, a workman stated that he and an assistant had been working all that day, and had made eight gun-locks between them. After paying for files, pins, oil, shop-rent, etc., the two of them had only earned the miserable sum of 1s. 4d. He referred to the case of a fellow-workman, who had actually been desired to make gun-locks, known as fence, for 2½d. each. Another operative said he had been in the gun-lock trade since he was 9 years of age, and now he was 73 years of age. He had never known wages so bad as at present, for he could not earn more than 1s. a-day, work as hard as he could. After several of the workmen had spoken, it was decided to form a trade society, Mr. W. Juggins being asked to act as secretary pending the appointment of officers. The whole of the workmen present handed in their names as members.

**BURNLEY WEAVERS.—THE STRIKE AT COLNE.**—The report of the Strike Committee says:—"Now that Christmas is past, we again appeal to you to commence your support for those on strike at Garden Vale Mill, Colne. From reports to hand, we find that some 670 looms are being paid for, and that about 200 persons are being supported in this struggle for the Burnley

list. Mr. Catlow, it seems, is determined, with the consent of those who administer the law in Colne, to evict from or turn out of their homes those who have recently worked for him. Fellow operatives, can we stand by and see this done without straining every nerve to support those who are being crushed by it? We say No, and rely upon you to demonstrate that you will support your committee and the Colne weavers in their struggle against this high-handed policy. From our last report you will notice we had a balance of over £12. Since then this sum has been augmented, and your committee have made a grant of £10 to Colne out of it."

**MANCHESTER—SHIP-CANAL WORKS.**—The contractor has commenced operations on the Salford side of the river "Stink," commonly called the Irwell, on a piece of land bounded by the river and Trafford Road, known as the Mile Field, on the opposite side of the road where those workers who have not the fear of our local Sir Charles Warren in their hearts meet every Sunday morning to spread the light amongst the workers who vacate the slums to walk into the suburbs to obtain a little of that purer atmosphere which the "landlords" claim as property bestowed upon them by a divine providence. Nearly 200 workers, including carpenters, navvies and other labourers, are engaged at work. The rates of wages are, for navvies, 4d. per hour; piecework, 4d. and 5d. per square yard. Hours of work from 7 a.m. to 4.30 p.m. Some of the men can earn 21s. per week. It is a question for the spectator visiting the scene of operations as to which body of the workers turn out the most work, the daywork-men or those on piecework. It is expected there will be about 2,000 workers engaged in about a month hence. As yet there does not appear to be much accommodation for a large staff. It is reported that a number of the workers engaged at the Mersey end of the canal are dissatisfied at the "free"-trade prices paid for labour.—"CITIZEN SPECIAL."

From the report of the fatal accident that occurred to a shunter on the London, Chatham, and Dover Railway at Loughborough Junction, it would appear that the old primitive method of having to pass over and under the buffers of wagons for the purpose of coupling and uncoupling is still in vogue on that line. A gleam of hope, however, must appear to the shunters and guards of that slow-paced railway in the statement made at the inquest, to the effect that the company are about to adopt a new system of uncoupling. Not before time, we should say, and it might with reason be asked why they have so long delayed doing so. It is reported that the unfortunate shunter above referred to had been on duty for upwards of thirty hours when the accident occurred. If this is inaccurate it will be as well for the London, Chatham, and Dover Company to correct the report. If it be accurate, it is scandalous.—*Railway Review.*

The old question of how shall workmen who are not members of trades' unions be treated during a strike keeps coming to the front. With some people it is an open question whether an operative ought to be allowed to work who is not a unionist, but we will not take that extreme view, but will concede that a man or woman has a perfect right to refuse to join an association. Having exercised this right, and in local phraseology refused to pay to the trade, they take upon their own individual shoulders the duty of looking after their own interests. They are quite as fond of good wages as a unionist, and they have quite as strong an objection to a reduction, and if an employer talks about one they have generally as much to say as anybody. When the time for action comes, they, however, begin to display some anxiety as to where their pay is to come from. They fully understand their rights when it is a case of sticking to their coppers at the week end, but from some unexplained cause their intelligence appears to fail them when it becomes a question of understanding that the exercise of that right entails upon them the duty of providing for themselves when the pinch comes. These pitiful sponges will cry like whipped hounds, and will threaten they will go knobsticking if they are not supported with other people's money. We have said that a man or a woman has the right to refuse to pay to an association, but if they exercise it let them at least show their honesty by refraining from asking for the money others have subscribed. By asking for and accepting union assistance, they simply show themselves in their true colours, as belonging to that dishonest class who wish to reap where they have not sown.—*Cotton Factory Times.*

Mr. Crawford, M.P., the secretary of the Durham Miners' Association, appears to have thrown a bombshell which has caused no inconsiderable commotion amongst the capitalist press. What he has said has practically been said scores of times before, but Mr. Crawford is now an M.P., and he can therefore be taken notice of. He has been denouncing the colliers who don't pay to the union, and has urged upon his members the duty of ostracising them in every possible way. Not only should members refuse to go down the pit shaft with non-payers, but he is even so naughty as to hint that they (the members) ought not to associate with them at their homes, or the public-house, or even at their chapels. He says that if not quite, non-payers are nearly always bad men, and as such they ought not to be considered good enough to associate with in any way. Some of the big thunderers of the daily press are up in arms, and want to know where these doctrines will land us. Where they will land us we will not attempt to prognosticate, but hitherto the occupations which have adopted them appear to be in clover. The principal of these is the profession of the law. If any class earns a good fat living for knowing little except how to make out a bill it is the lawyers. Yet for generations they have most comprehensively carried out the course which Mr. Crawford recommends the colliers to adopt. Let any one infringe the rules—unwritten they may be, but none the less understood—and not only is he ostracised, but is driven out of the profession. He may have no other means of earning a livelihood, but that matters not. They not only refuse to have dealings with him, but, neck and crop, drive him out to possible starvation. In the medical profession they cannot quite do as much as the lawyers, but they do exactly what Mr. Crawford suggests. If a doctor fails to comply with the understood etiquette (in their case etiquette means trades unionism) of the profession he is promptly boycotted. His brethren will not meet him in consultation. They will not have him in their houses or meetings, and in every way they do all they can to ruin his prospects. Why don't the thunderers pour out the vials of their wrath on these delinquents. The reason is on the surface. Colliers do not take in the daily thunderers, whilst doctors and lawyers do. We are not finding fault with the lawyers and doctors for their action. What we complain of is the hypocrisy of their organs, who can easily see a needle's point when used by a workman against his enemies, but cannot see a spear when wielded by the upper ten. Actions of the kind recommended by Mr. Crawford can only be justified by success, and when workmen can make it a success, they will find their present accusers amongst the first to bow the knee.—*Cotton Factory Times.*



AMERICA.

A news item in Pittsburgh paper says that a new coke syndicate is being formed.

The Havemeyer Sugar Refinery (Jersey City) will shut down on January 1st. Reason is, concentration of production by sugar trust.

A new mechanical type-setting machine has been perfected by Alexander Lagermann, the originator of Swedish matches.

The strike of cabmen in New York ended December 20th. The men were successful.

The miners at Riley and Co.'s Logan Colliery, Ashland, Pa., struck, involving 500 men and boys. The men struck because they were compelled to top their wagons.

The railroad coal operators in the Pittsburgh district who granted their men an advance of 5 per cent. in wages have declared that the miners employed at the old rates in other mines must receive the same wages paid by them, otherwise the operators now paying the advanced wages will return to the former arrangements.

There is trouble ahead in the cigar trade in New York city, and a lockout or strike may follow. A large number of cigar-manufacturers are about to return to the tenement-house system of cigar-making which has been fought against for years by the Cigar-makers International Union. This union succeeded after a bitter struggle in having a bill passed by the legislature abolishing the system, but the courts later on declared that bill to be unconstitutional. The manufacturers say this is the only way to hold the trade in this city. Nearly 7,000 men and children will be affected by the change. The men say the system is exceedingly injurious to health, as the manufacturers are to a certain extent obliged to keep the factories clean, while cleanliness is impossible in dwelling-houses where cigar-making is carried on in rooms.

In the House of Representatives on the 20th December Mr. Brumm, of Pennsylvania, offered a preamble and resolution reciting that it is currently reported that the coal operators in the Lehigh region are now importing, or are about to import, 2,000 Belgian miners under contract to take the place of the miners now on strike in that section; that the striking miners have used every endeavour to have a settlement of the differences by arbitration, and requesting the President to notify the officials of the Treasury Department of these facts, and urge them to use special efforts to prevent the landing of the Belgian miners and to see that the law against the importation of labour under contract is strictly enforced. In consequence Secretary Fairchild has sent telegrams to the collectors of customs at New York, Philadelphia, Boston, and Baltimore, calling attention to the report that 2,000 Belgian miners are to be imported to take the places of striking Lehigh miners. He instructs them to prevent any violation of the Alien Contract Labour Law.

LIST OF STRIKES FOR DECEMBER.

Number of strikers known to December 12	2,672
Newark, N. J.—Cracker-bakers, against reduction; December 20	14
Philadelphia, Pa.—Stone-masons, for advance, December 20	8
Columbus, Ohio—Railroad-employés, for advance, December 19	200
New York city—Cab-drivers and stablemen, for higher wages, Dec. 17	75
Grove City, Pa.—Coal-miners, for arbitration on Columbus scale Dec. 14	1,100
New York city—Cab-drivers and stablemen, for advance and signing of a contract for one year, December 19	100
Chicago, Ill.—Granite-cutters, for new scale of wages, Dec. 19	133
Findlay, Ohio—Teamsters, for payment of wages, December 17	75
Everson, Pa.—Coke-workers, to anticipate shut-down, December 20	—
Warren, R. I.—Weavers, against working overtime, December 14	75
Paterson, N. J.—Embroidery-hands, for reinstatement of discharged employés, December 21	—
<b>Total number of strikers known to December 21</b>	<b>4,652</b>

The following have notified their employés that wages will be reduced: Bethlehem, Pa.—Bethlem Iron Company. Reduction 10 per cent., takes effect Jan. 1. Reason alleged, state of trade and low price of rails. Number of men affected 2,000  
Scranton, Pa.—Lackawanna Iron and Coal Company and Scranton Steel Mill. Alleged reason, low price of steel rails and decreased orders 2,000

REVOLUTIONARY CALENDAR.

WEEK ENDING JANUARY 21, 1888.

15	Sun.	1759. British Museum opened. 1622. Molière born at Paris.
16	Mon.	1838. 204 men and boys suffocated in Hartley Colliery.
17	Tues.	1706. Benjamin Franklin born.
18	Wed.	1871. German Empire proclaimed.
19	Thur.	1764. Wilkes expelled the House of Commons. 1736. James Watt born. 1846. Repeal of Corn Laws voted.
20	Fri.	1649. Trial of Charles I. for treason begun.
21	Sat.	1793. Execution of Louis XVI. 1870. Alex. Herzen, Russian Socialist publicist, died in exile.

Hurtley Colliery.—One of the iron beams, about 20 tons weight, at the mouth of the ventilating shaft, broke and fell, destroying the brattice which divided the shaft, and carrying down enough timber to kill five men who were coming up, and bury alive all in the mine. The bodies were not recovered for several days. About £70,000 was raised by the public for the widows and orphans. The coroner's jury condemned the method of working, and asserted the necessity of two shafts to coal mines, and that the beams of colliery engines should be of malleable instead of cast iron.—S.

German Empire proclaimed.—The 18th of January, 1871, in the "Salon des Glaces" of the old Royal Palace at Versailles, King William of Prussia was proclaimed by his army (bourgeois historians say by his people) Emperor of Germany. The same day he addressed to the German people a proclamation, telling them among other lies: "We accept the imperial dignity, conscious of the duty we have to protect loyally the rights of the German Empire and of all its members, to maintain peace and freedom, to strengthen the independence of Germany and the faith of our people. We accept it with the hope that the German people may enjoy themselves with the result of their long and hard struggling, of their willingly supported sacrifices, in an everlasting peace, and in the limits which assure to the Fatherland that security which has been missing for centuries owing to the ever renewed aggressions of France." All this imperial rubbish, written of course by Bismark, means nothing more or less than this: "Brutal force supersedes right." Old William has shown himself the

most despotic sovereign of modern Europe, trampling under his foot all liberty, destroying all felicity of independent thought, enslaving millions of men, and spreading all over Europe the dreadful nightmare of a continental war, in order to submerge in streams of blood the rising Revolution. This old cynical despot deserves to be everlastingly execrated.—V. D.

John Wilkes.—Born Oct. 17th, 1729; died Dec. 27th, 1799. In 1757, entered Parliament as member for Aylesbury; started the *North Briton* with Churchill's help in 1762, in which he followed and led the agitation against Bute and the Court parasites. On April 23rd, 1763, appeared "No. 45," attacking the Royal Speech at the close of the late Session. Wilkes was arrested under a general warrant, and committed to the Tower after examination by the Secretaries of State; he was, however, soon released in virtue of his prerogative as an M.P., when he retired to Paris. On the meeting of Parliament a resolution was passed declaring No. 45 to be "a false, scandalous, and malicious libel," and resolving that privilege of Parliament did not extend to seditious libels. He was expelled in his absence. The peers went further; on the information of Lord Sandwich, a partaker with Wilkes in the fashionable debauchery of the time, and in the publishing of a very stupid "poem" parodying Pope's 'Essay on Man,' they started a prosecution against him on account of 'An Essay on Woman,' of which 13 copies had been printed for private circulation. Knowing the result Wilkes stayed away, and was condemned to outlawry. In February, 1768, however, he reappeared as the candidate for the City; defeated, he stood for Middlesex, and was carried by a tremendous majority. The outlawry was reversed, but he was ordered to pay a fine of £1,000 and sentenced to 22 calendar months' imprisonment. November, 1768, he vainly petitioned the House against further imprisonment on grounds of privilege. The February following he was again expelled the House and a new writ ordered for Middlesex, but was again elected. Election declared null and void, but the voters again returned him with a majority of 800 over Col. Luttrell, the Court candidate, whom, however, the House decided should have been elected, and Wilkes was still excluded. In 1774, Parliament was dissolved and Wilkes again returned for Middlesex, while he was also Lord Mayor of London; he was this time allowed to take his seat. For years he tried again and again to have the motions against him struck out of the journals of the House. At length, in May, 1782, all the declarations, orders, and resolutions on the Middlesex election were expunged from the journals, and Wilkes had won "the recognition of the right of every constituency to send any representative it chose." Meanwhile he, backed by the City, had been also fighting the House as to the liberty of reporting its debates; this struggle, in which for awhile the City and the House were pretty evenly matched opponents, resulted in the publicity of debate. Although still the choice of Middlesex as long as he chose to ask its votes, he sunk into comparative obscurity when the great fight he had fought was won—a career not without parallel.—S.

Charles I.—Born at Dunfermline, Nov. 19th, 1600; executed Jan. 30th, 1649. Second and favourite son of James I.; became heir apparent on death of his brother Henry, 1612; came to throne March, 1625. He came to the throne when the awakening bourgeoisie were beginning to seek the removal of restrictions and impositions they held unjust, and were looking to have more share in the Government of the country than hitherto. To have governed successfully at such a time needed a prompt but wary, strong, and courageous man; Charles was weak but self-willed, rash but irresolute; altogether the most unsuitable character that could be king at such a time. In political wisdom he was wholly wanting, and so far did he identify political skill with double-dealing that he could never be trusted; an agreement with him was never kept, and compromise was impossible. On his side he sought to maintain the "Divine Right" of kings; on the side of the Commons the demand was for constitutional government. When he was brought to trial for treason against the people, he refused to acknowledge the court, saying that obedience to the king is ordered by Scripture, that by the law the king could do no wrong, that the Commons had no power in themselves to form a court, that they had no authority from the people, who again were unable to confer it. After a careful trial, he was sentenced on the 27th, as a tyrant, a murderer, and a traitor to his country, to the death penalty, and on the 30th beheaded at Whitehall. Despite the reaction under his sons the kingly power was for ever broken, and the revolution went on which realised itself in the "Revolution" that placed William of Orange on the throne and completed bourgeois supremacy.—S.

Louis XVI.—Louis XVI. or Louis Capet, being put on his trial at the bar of the National Convention, sitting as Supreme Tribunal of the French nation, on the charge of conspiring against the liberty of the people and attempting against the general safety of the State, was found guilty and sentenced to death (Sittings of Jan. 14th, 16th, and 17th, 1793). After long and stormy debates, three questions were laid before the Convention, and on the proposal of Boyer-Fonfrède they were resolved by nominal vote. The result of the polling was as follows:—

1. Is Louis guilty?—Total number of members, 749; absentees for illness sake, 1; absent by commission of the Assembly, 20; members who did not vote, 18; members who answered Yes, 683; total, 749.
  2. Will the decision of the Assembly be put before the whole people for ratification?—Total number of members, 749; absent for illness, 9; members who refused to vote, 5; absent by commission of the Assembly, 20; members who answered Yes, 281; members who answered No, 434; total, 749.
  3. Which sentence is to be inflicted?—Total number of members, 749; absentees by illness, 8; absent by commission of the Assembly, 15; members who did not vote, 5; members who voted, 721; absolute majority, 361.
- Members voting for fetters, 2; members voting for detention, banishment, or reclusion, 286; members voting for death with delay in the execution, 46; members voting for death pure and simple, 387; total, 721.
- Summing-up.—For death, 433; for detention, banishment, etc., 228; absentees or non-voters, 28; total, 749.
- Accordingly, to the vote of the National Convention, Louis XVI. was beheaded at Paris on January 21st, 1793.—V. D.

THE SOCIALIST LEAGUE.

OFFICES: 13 FARRINGTON ROAD, E.C.

SPECIAL NOTICE.—On Monday next at 9 o'clock a special meeting of London Members will be held, when an important matter in connection with the right of public meeting will be laid before them.

BRANCH SUBSCRIPTIONS PAID.

Mitcham, Walsall to July 31. Bloomsbury, Leicester, Hoxton (Labour Emancipation League), Hull, Wednesbury, to September 30. Clerkenwell, Hammer-smith, Mile End, Oxford, to December 31.

"COMMONWEAL" PRINTING FUND.

F. F. (8 weeks), 16s. C. J. F. (2 weeks), 5s. K. F. (2 weeks), 2s. P. W. (8 weeks), 4s. W. B. (weekly), 6d. Raymond Unwin, 2s. 6d. J. Cub, 1s.

Strike Committee.—Collected in Regent's Park—December 25th, 5s. 9d.; Jan. 8th, 5s. 1d.—J. LANE.

Children's Party.—The receipts for same amount to £3, 13s. 6d, and the expenditure to £3, 13s. 1½d.; balance, 4½d. Not previously acknowledged, but included in the above, J. E. Cobden, 5s. The committee have much pleasure in presenting so satisfactory a report.

REPORTS.

**BLOOMSBURY.**—Thursday the 5th, business meeting, and Cantwell elected member, and branch took over N.L. outdoor stations, agreed to do so. Meeting adjourned till Tuesday, Jan. 10th, at 8.30. Meeting at St. Pancras Arches last Sunday addressed by Bartlett, Turner, and Dalziel.—D.

**CLERKENWELL.**—On Wednesday, Jan. 4th, C. J. Faulkner lectured on "The Farce of Representation;" lively discussion. Sunday, Jan. 8th, business meeting held at 7, after which at 8.30, Wm. Morris lectured to large audience on "The Political Outlook;" the debate which followed was all the more interesting when two Radicals gave some sort of opposition; the lecturer's reply was satisfactorily received.—B.

**FULHAM.**—Meeting held by Mañony, Smith, and Fry; closed by singing Morris's "No Master." Evening, at Fulham Cross, when Tochetti, Smith, and Day spoke.—S. B. G.

**HACKNEY.**—Special notice, a meeting of members will be held on Sunday, January 15th, at 8 p.m., at 28, Percy Terrace, Victoria Road, Hackney Wick, to reorganise the branch and other important business. All comrades who are interested and intend to cooperate in this branch are requested to attend.

**MITCHAM.**—On Sunday evening, W. B. Parker lectured here on "What the Workers want—how to get it;" Gregory in the chair. A good discussion followed.

**GLASGOW.**—On Sunday, Jan. 8th, Glasier and Pollock addressed good meetings in Jail Square and Watson Street. In our hall at 7 p.m., E. R. Pease lectured on "How best to reach Socialism." Good discussion.—J. A.

**LEEDS.**—Since last report our annual social gathering took place, when friends from Scotland, Hull, and Bradford met together with us. On Sunday, Jan. 1, Mahon spoke in Vicar's Croft, and in the evening he lectured on "Socialism and Trades' Unionism" to the Tailors' and Pressers' Society. Last Sunday morning we held a meeting in Vicar's Croft; in the evening Braithwaite lectured on "The National Loaf; who earns and who eats it." At Parker's Temperance Hotel, Paylor spoke on "The Future of Radicalism."

**NORWICH.**—Sunday, meeting in Market Place addressed by Mowbray. In evening, Mowbray began a series of lectures on "Is Socialism Sound?" He will continue same subject next three Sundays. Good collections and fair sale of *Commonweal*.—S.

**WALSALL.**—Our first annual tea and entertainment held Monday evening last. Addresses were delivered by Richards, Russell, and Sanders; songs, recitations, and readings given by members and friends, one of the latter rendering the "Marseillaise" in French and English. Altogether the gathering was most successful and gave general satisfaction. On Saturday, large audience addressed by H. Sanders at open-air station, The Bridge.—J. T. D.

**DUBLIN.**—At Saturday Club, Jan. 7th, Mr. James Walker, a capitalist, resumed the debate on "Socialism," advocating it from what he called an evolutionary standpoint. His address was a clear, forcible statement of the Socialist position, the only point on which he differed from revolutionary Socialism being as to the method of realisation. Karpel, Hayes, Burke, and O'Connor also spoke. The opposition was again feeble. Fitzpatrick closed the debate, ably replying to the various points raised.

**EDINBURGH.**—On 8th, Howie read paper dealing with common objections to Socialism. Audience small. Members and friends ought to turn out to these meetings in force.—J. S.

LECTURE DIARY.

LONDON.

**Bloomsbury.**—Thursday January 12, at the Athenæum Hall, 73 Tottenham Court Road, W., at 8 p.m., H. M. Hyndman will lecture on "Why the Social Revolution is inevitable." Thursday 19th, at Communist Club, 49 Tottenham St., Tottenham Court Road, at 8.30, W. W. Bartlett will lecture on "Before the Dawn."

**Clerkenwell.**—Hall of the Socialist League, 13 Farringdon Rd., E.C. Business meeting every Sunday at 7. Sunday Jan. 15, at 8.30, Ben. Ellis (Radical delegate to Ireland), "Ireland, and what I saw there." Wednesday 18, at 8.30, T. Bolas, "A Real People's Parliament."

**Fulham.**—8 Effie Road, Walham Green. W. Morris on Sunday evening at 8 o'clock.

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

**Hammersmith.**—Kelmescott House, Upper Mall, W. Jan. 15, at 8 p.m. C. J. Faulkner, "Property, the New Bigotry." Wed., Jan. 18, at 8 p.m., Annie Besant, "The Evolutionary Aspect of Socialism," Saturday 21st, at 8 p.m., Dramatic Interlude, "The Tables Turned." (Tickets, 6d.)

**Hoxton (L.E.L.).**—C. J. Young, 8 Dunloe Street, Hackney Road, Secretary. Concert and Draw on January 14. Tickets 6d. (See below.)

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

**Mile-end and Bethnal Green.**—95 Boston St., Hackney Road. Business Meeting every Thursday at 9 p.m. Debating Class for members after Business Meeting.

PROVINCES.

**Aberdeen (Scottish Section).**—James Leatham, secy., 15 St. Nicholas Street.

**Birmingham.**—Meetings at Summer Row Coffee House every Saturday evening at 8.

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

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

**Cowdenbeath (Scot. Sec.)**—J. Duncan, 30 Arthur Pl., sec **Dublin.**—Saturday Club, Central Lecture Hall, 12 Westinorland Street.

**Dundee (Scot. Sect.).**—Meetings every Sunday in the Trades Hall, opposite Tay Bridge Station. Political Economy class, 2 p.m. Lecture at 6.30.

**Edinburgh (Scottish Section).**—4 Park Street. 'Das Kapital' class every Thursday at 7.30. Members requested to pay weekly subscriptions on that night. Sunday evening lectures, Trades Hall, High Street.

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

**Glasgow.**—84 John St. Reading-room open 10 a.m. till 10 p.m. daily. Propaganda Committee, Mondays at 8. Shorthand Class, Tuesdays at 8. Music Class, Tuesdays at 9. Discussion Class, Thursdays at 8. Sunday Jan. 15, 2 p.m., Meeting of members in Rooms—important business, large attendance urgently requested. Members are also requested to pay weekly subscription regularly.—As we are now making a vigorous effort to form a library in connection with the branch, contributions of books, magazines, etc., are requested, and will be gladly acknowledged by comrade Gilbert, librarian.

**Leeds.**—17 Chesham St., Sweet St. Club open every evening. Business meeting Wednesdays at 8 p.m.

**Leicester.**—Hosiery Union, Horsefair St. Fridays at 8.

**Lochgelly (Scottish Section: Fife).**—Secs. (pro tem.), John Greig and Hugh Conway, The Square.

**Norwich.**—Gordon Hall, 5 Duke Street. Free lectures every Sunday at 8. Business meeting every Tuesday at 8.30. Discussion class every Thursday at 8. Band practice every Friday at 8.—Entertainment will be given on Monday Jan. 16 by the Norwich Socialist Minstrel Troupe, on behalf of the *Commonweal* debt due by this branch. Admission 2d.

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

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

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

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

OPEN-AIR PROPAGANDA.

LONDON—Sunday 15.

- 11 ... Acton Green ..... Hammersmith Branch
- 11.30...Garrett—"Plough Inn" .....The Branch
- 11.30...Hackney—Salmon and Ball .....The Branch
- 11.30...Hoxton Church, Pitfield St. ....Wade & Pope
- 11.30...Merton—Haydons Road.....The Branch
- 11.30...Mitcham Fair Green .....The Branch
- 11.30...Regent's Park .....Wardle & Mrs. Schack
- 11.30...St. Pancras Arches .....W. W. Bartlett
- 11.30...Stamford Hill .....Parker
- 11.30...Walham Green.....F. Verinder
- 3 ...Hyde Park .....Bartlett
- 8 ...Fulham Cross.....Hammersmith Branch

Tuesday.

- 8 ...Fulham Cross.....Hammersmith Branch

Wednesday.

- 8 ...Broadway, London Fields .....Graham

Thursday.

- 8 ...Hoxton Church, Pitfield St. ....Parker

PROVINCES.

**Glasgow.**—Govan Cross—Friday, 7.30. **Cambuslang.**—Saturday, 5.30.

**Paisley Road Toll.**—Sunday, 5 p.m. **Leeds.**—Sunday: Vicar's Croft, 11 a.m. **Norwich.**—Market Place, at 3 every Sunday.

**JUNIOR SOCIALISTIC EDUCATIONAL SOCIETY.**—Next meeting will take place at 12 Fitzroy Street, Fitzroy Square, on Saturday Jan. 21, at 7.30.—W. H. Spencer-Howell, hon. sec.

**SHEFFIELD SOCIALISTS, Commonwealth Café, Scotland Street, Sheffield.**—Discussions or Lectures every Sunday evening at 7 o'clock. Free.

**SCOTTISH LAND AND LABOUR LEAGUE.** (Scottish Section of the Socialist League)

In Assembly Rooms, Leith, Annie Besant, on Saturday 14th, at 7.30. 1s., 6d., and 3d.

In Trades Hall, 142 High Street, Edinburgh, James Mavor on 15th, at 6.30 Bruce Glasier on 22nd. Collection; reserved seats, 6d.

**SOCIALIST CO-OPERATIVE FEDERATION.**—Meeting at *Commonweal* Office, 13 Farringdon Road, on Sunday January 15, at 3.30 p.m.

TO-NIGHT (SATURDAY).

GRAND CONCERT AND DRAW

(To raise a fund for the forming of an East-end Socialist Club.) AT 13 FARRINGDON ROAD, E.C.

ON SATURDAY JANUARY 14, AT 8 P.M.

There will be about Thirty Prizes, and besides Music

THE LAMP: An Extravaganza

by H. A. Barker, will be performed.

Tickets must be secured beforehand.

THE TABLES TURNED.

ENGAGEMENTS.

January 21 . . . HAMMERSMITH BRANCH S.L.

Applications for engagements to be made to the Manager. H. A. Barker

The Chicago Martyrs.

A COMMITTEE has been appointed by several of the Socialist and revolutionary bodies of London to arrange for the speedy publication of the speeches of the eight prisoners and a full record (from the official copy) of their trial. This work is in progress, but want of funds seriously delays its completion. In order to meet this difficulty the Committee are issuing coupons entitling bearer on payment of 6d. to a copy of the first issue made, and it is hoped that all members and friends of the cause will do their utmost to aid in the commemoration of our brave comrades and at same time in the pushing forward of the cause they served.

J. BARBER, Treas.

H. REUTER, Sec.,

101 Albert St., Camden Town, N.W.

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"There is a sad lack of Anarchist pamphlets in England, and we gladly welcome our comrade Joseph Lane's contribution of 'An Anti-Statist Communist Manifesto,' which is an energetic and earnest exposition of Anarchist Socialism from a worker's standpoint. The second portion, which deals with practical politics is especially interesting. We hope the tract will have a wide circulation."—FRENCH.

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SOCIALIST LEAGUE LITERATURE.

**Chants for Socialists.** By William Morris. . . 1d

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

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# THE COMMONWEALTH

The Official Journal of the Socialist League.

VOL. 4.—No. 106.

SATURDAY, JANUARY 21, 1888.

WEEKLY; ONE PENNY.

## NOTES ON NEWS.

THERE is plenty of talk at present on the revival of trade which will bring back "prosperity" to the country; it is well to watch the trade accounts in the press, so as to get some idea as to what this revival and "prosperity" means, and also the strange confusion of ideas that are usual, and which naturally come from the conflict between the view of the real needs and desires of consumers of goods, and the view taken by those whose real business is *investment* and not *production*, and to whom said consumers are just so many milch-cows.

"Concerning food products, it is satisfactory to find in Beerbohm's corn-trade list the remark that a return of firmness is expected in the trade, accompanied by some improvement in the prices." (Note: "improvement" means rise in price; good luck to the seller, ill-luck to the buyer.) "In the sugar-market there has been since the autumn a rise in prices, based in part on a reduced estimate of the beet-root crop, partly on the formation of syndicates for the rise in the market in Europe as well as in America" (otherwise, "rigging"). In coffee it appears that short crops in Brazil, Java, and elsewhere have so raised the price as to check consumption, and a further rise is doubtful. In tea the competition of Indian growths has prevented the more distinct rise in prices which might have ensued upon the poor quality of the China leaf during the season. . . . In tobacco the crop in the United States promises to be but a fraction of the average, and prices have distinctly risen."

"Short crops and high prices" therefore are still what we must pray for, as in the old days of the Corn Laws, to bring back prosperity to the world—the world of forestallers and regraters, at least. Yet such is the amazing power of cant that these very same thieves profess to be afraid of the political outlook and to dread a European war; though it is absolutely certain (as indeed our forestaller points out in the case of canned meats) that a war would raise prices and increase "consumption," and so help us forward to the longed-for "prosperity."

How often the blessings of the cheapness of wares are dinned into our ears as a reason for the workers accepting their slavery quietly! But now it seems that we are to rejoice in the rise in prices. May a plain man ask *which* of the two is the blessing, since both can scarcely be?

If Mr. Froude had not lately been taking up the cudgels against Socialism we might have looked upon him as a possible convert, judging from the account of his diatribes against the commercial sham democracy which at present rules the British Empire. But it is to be feared that he sees Socialism to be a step by the way to the overthrow of the authority, the complete despotic development of which is Mr. Froude's god.

Yet it is somewhat doubtful to my mind whether the paternal government, the deace of which Mr. Froude laments, is the hierarchical authority founded on *status* which was the full development of feudal society. I rather suspect his hobby to be a thorough good rattling bureaucracy of the "superior persons," not yet realised in history, and now for ever impossible of realisation. Much as we suffer under the present shabby tyranny of the Society of Contract, we must admit that it is something that it has destroyed the holiness of the superior person, and forces him, if he is to be something, simply to exhibit himself as a leader of shabbiness. Mr. Matthew Arnold must go arm in arm with Mr. Podsnap if he is to succeed now. The great preacher of refinement must back up the sordid wretches who steal two-thirds of the Irish peasant's porridge with a long spoon indeed—viz., the whole power of the British Empire. The scornee of philistinism and the vulgar middle-classes has to throw in his lot with the thing he loathes and be a defender of sweating, or his *refinement* will find no great market for it.

We can bear the tyranny of contract the better because, unlike Mr. Froude, we know that it is not going to lead to a mere exaggeration of all its stupidities and miseries, but to a contradiction of the system that produces them. It will lead us rather to a condition of life the very struggle for which will be fertile of the heroisms which Mr. Froude regrets, and which when realised will give every opportunity to the "superior person" for exercising the talents he may really possess, while it denies him opportunity for the practice of the tendency to

imbecile domineering which not uncommonly goes with his better qualities.

Lord Salisbury on the stump again! He has been playing the return match to Mr. Gladstone, but in part his speech at Liverpool has a look of definite anti-Socialism worth noting. He begins by pointing with joy to the present signs of "prosperity," and makes this remarkable admission: "In this country and in Ireland what we really need to solve the difficulties—to undo and end the many insurmountable (?) troubles—is one touch of the magic wand of prosperity." In other words, that statesmanship has nothing to do but wait upon some fortuitous turn of the world-market which can neither be foreseen nor understood. A curious confession of imbecility, certainly; what a fall from the old high Tory theory of the government of the Gods and heroes! What a helpless condition for thirty odd millions of the deftest and most resourceful people in the world! However, we need not dispute with Lord Salisbury that statesmen are useless.

Another point on which we can agree with his lordship is that "Our principles with respect to property are not the same as when this depression commenced." That is, of course, true enough; nor can it be denied that if the new wave of "prosperity" should reach far enough; if the dogs do get any of the crumbs that fall from the children's table, we may expect to find the attack on property slack off somewhat; but apropos of this let our readers note our New York letter of last week, and the fact therein mentioned that the effects of the good trade of the past year had by no means reached the working-classes.

But what are we to say to this? "In these days, whatever may have been the result in the past, property can only be acquired as the result of the accumulations and exertions of industry." True, not of these days only, but of all days; and yet a very dubious sentence capable of more than one interpretation. It reminds one of the old Joe Miller of the doctor advising his patient to take exercise on an empty stomach, and the prompt answer, "Yes, doctor, but upon whose?" Whose industry gave Lord Salisbury the "accumulations" which form his present property? I am told that large, as the salary of a Prime Minister may look to us others, there is little to be saved out of the job.

"In proportion," says the most noble, "as your laws assure to property its security, they assure to industry its reward?" Oh, most noble! you speak queer English and you have got on ticklish ground! What is the reward of the Irish peasant whose unassisted industry has made fertile land out of a patch of mountain bog? That his landlord shall force rent out of him when there is no rent, shall make him pay for being industrious. What is the reward of the English mechanic, who has made the capital and machinery which enables him to work, and has then to pay for leave to use it to a man who cannot use it, but who—has got it? His lordship's boldness can only be explained by his thinking he was speaking to fools—as he was.

Nothing can excuse, however, his dastardliness and snobbishness in leading cheers and laughter, from the despicable snobs who formed his audience, directed against the persons he has put in prison. There are degrees in baseness, but surely the superlative degree is jeering at prisoners, at men whom you have made helpless by your brute force.

Lord Salisbury finished by hints at the necessity of compromise in order to sustain the alliance with the Coercionist Whigs; and by promising not to go out of office for a small defeat—in fact, not till he was forced to. In brief, the meaning of his speech was a chuckle at the Tory good-luck of a revival in trade coming to help their big job; Lord Salisbury well knowing that the Government that finds itself in when a wave of prosperity comes on, is firmly seated on the content of the great mass of the middle-class, and can afford to scoff at all the misery that lies below it. Well, the game is good while it lasts, but in the nature of things it cannot last long; suppose the most sanguine expectations of the traders realised, what does that mean? Simply the preparation for a deeper depression on a wider scale than the last.—and what then? Why, we may well hope to repeat that "our principles with regard to property are not the same as they were when this inflation commenced." The card-castle that Lord Salisbury is so busily engaged in building will go down then; and meantime our duty is to see, whether it be in times of depression or inflation, that our principles with respect to property are not the same as they were before.

WILLIAM MORRIS.



## LAW AND WAR.

(Continued from p 10.)

The unnatural atmosphere, in which we all grow up, stunts the mind even of the generous, to the level of a belief that their convenience is the same thing as the good of society. The kind-hearted but most inconsecutive Sir Leicester Deadlocks of the time sees clearly enough that another class has established itself on the line of communication between the producer and the consumer of milk and corn, and is levying an impost on the food as it passes by. They see with resentment in a dim kind of way that they themselves, the old-fashioned landlords, living on a *fair rent*, are giving place to the modern commercial middleman, who get the *profits of a business*. One of the Deadlock family in Norfolk a short time since told a meeting of agriculturists that "one means by which English agriculturists might improve their position was the elimination of the middlemen." Then, again, the excellent farmers of Alsace, drawn to the life for us in the novels of MM. Erkmann and Chatrian, have "taken an emphatic step towards the abolition of the middlemen, who have been getting too big a share of the profits of their cheese, butter, and milk, by establishing a milk-market, by means of which the farmer gets his milk sold directly to the consumer." Does he indeed? If so, the consumer is better off there than here.

But I do not see either here or there any mention of the poor labourer, unless he is "the consumer," whom the English and Alsatian farmers want to get at, with the view of making a profit out of him. He indeed may well wish for the elimination of the middlemen, who stand in a long row—kings, dukes, farmers, manufacturers, merchants, shopkeepers, costermongers—between him and the produce of his work.

The privilege of a class or nation is any condition of things which enables them to take other people at a disadvantage and to get profit out of them. The defence of privilege is carried on in the law-courts and in law-making assemblies, and rests ultimately in force, thinly hidden under a pretence that it is "the will of the people" that upholds the system. Party government is the expression of the fact that society is made up of classes, which act as though they had antagonistic interests, though they proclaim and partly think that the interests of all are the same. Thus there goes on a continual alteration of separate laws, as different sections come into power, each class being shocked in turn at the cruel results of the exactions of the others. The result in long centuries is a collection of laws related to each other in an infinitely confused way, but having one feature in common, namely that somehow or other the law-making class shall keep its privileges intact. New laws are not intended to do any positive good, nor to make any convenient arrangements, independently of the already existing laws, but merely to patch up evils in these existing laws. In other words, legislation now makes no attempt to remove the cause of evil, but only to prevent some natural result when it becomes too shocking. Chattel-slavery for hundreds of years was dealt with in this way, and we now have similarly Acts for abridging the hours in factories, or forbidding certain kinds of work to women and children, or arranging that husbands, wives, and children, when imprisoned in workhouses, may be allowed to see each other for a few moments each day. Again, we have all sorts of adulteration Acts, by which it is intended to check the evil result, adulteration, though all the time the cause which urges men to adulterate their goods is left untouched. This other and far worse evil result remains, the temptation to be dishonest. How strong this is may be judged from some passages in the *Daily News* of September 1, 1887, where, in discussing the lately passed Margarine Act, the writer says: "It is a severe reflection on commercial honesty" that in general one out of every six samples of butter is adulterated, and in Lancashire one out of every three. In St Luke's Parish, London, one third of the milk is diluted, and in Durham the wretched children for whom the Charity Organisation Society provides free breakfasts, have to satisfy themselves with milk diluted with thirteen per cent. of water. But, continues the *Daily News*, "science is on the look-out." It is indeed; it discovers butterine or oleomargarine one day, and invents the means of "detecting" them another. And that public opinion which finds vent in the newspapers gives equal praise to both of the ingenious efforts, and sums them up among the other resources of civilisation. The small newspaper-reading class, which arrogates to itself the title of *the public* does not seem to see that this is war, of a worse kind perhaps than a war of bayonets and guns. The way in which the latter is now carried on has been slightly modified from ancient times. We do not bring quite all the resources of our civilisation to bear on the Burmese or Afghans, one or two such as the poisoning of water and the starvation of the wounded being omitted. The other kind of war is somewhat more severe, these omissions not being made in its proceedings. For myself, I prefer the fighting kind; dramatic and striking as is the eviction-war now going on in Ireland, the people there are not having an utterly bad time of it. In the midst of the rough and tumble scramble between the army of constables and the people, the latter must smile as they pour hot gruel on to the heads of the crowbar-brigade, they must be gratified by the feeling that they are doing something to work out their freedom.

But no such feeling exists among the millions crowded into our commercial centres: they carry on always a blind struggle against they know not what. When they have been brought low by semi-starvation, and when their stomachs have been put thoroughly out of order by alumized bread, margarine butter, and fusel-oil gin, they

wander out aimlessly and break their heads patiently against the other resources of civilisation, handled by one who has too often used them on the more active barbarians of Africa or Asia to have any difficulty with these shadows of men here at home. Blind and dumb, however, as the crowded millions are, they may submit to, but they cannot possibly have any affection for, a civilisation which expresses itself towards them in forms like this. They have no reason for affection towards a system which has no regard for them; which has come to the natural end of all institutions fixed and established, whether empires or churches, oligarchies or constitutional monarchies, and now aims mainly at preserving itself by the making of more and more laws. For, as Charles Dickens says of it, "The one great principle of English law is to make business for itself. There is no other principle distinctly, certainly, and consistently maintained through all its narrow turnings. Viewed by this light it becomes a coherent scheme, and not the monstrous maze the laity are apt to think it. Let them but once perceive that its grand principle is to make business for itself at their expense, and surely they will cease to grumble." And again, he speaks of the legal tribe as "doing duty, like a piece of timber, to shore up some decayed foundation that has become a pitfall and a nuisance. And with a great many people, and in a great many instances, the question is never one of a change from Wrong to Right (which is quite an extraneous consideration) but is always one of injury or advantage to the eminently respectable forensic legion."<sup>1</sup>

It is these forensic persons who grind the greatest advantage out of the legal machine. This has become so complicated that no one can understand how its various bits are related to each other; and moreover, many of these parts have been left in for no better reason than the fear lest the works should tumble to pieces on their removal. A lawyer writing to the *Pall Mall Gazette*, November 16, in reference to the meetings of the unemployed, which the police were preventing from being held in Trafalgar Square about that time, says: "It does not seem to be generally remembered that the English statute-book swarms with enactments which if enforced would soon stop all liberty. The difference between England and the despotically ruled countries of Europe is not in the laws, but in the fact that there they always enforce the laws, here we *keep them in reserve*." No weapon is better suited than an uncertain law to the hand of a tyrant who knows when to use it and when to keep it in reserve. If, then, we may credit the lawyer's account of his own business, England is already despotically ruled, only the tyrant is a class, consisting of lawyers and official people in general, who go through a special training in the use of their instrument. They must feel surprised, even amused sometimes—for despotism has its comic side—at the results of putting their machine in motion; as when two justices of the Queen's Bench a few days since, in the case of a plot of ground at Lancaster which had been bought for a *cemetery*, decided that the purchase did not entitle the buyer to put a wreath of flowers on a grave made in the cemetery!

With all this absurd complication it is quite out of the question that the ignorant persons who form the immense majority of Parliament can foresee the effect of the Acts which they vote on. These are, it is true, passed by Parliament, but the law is made by the judges, attorneys, and barristers who, as the phrase goes, "interpret the law." Statutes have no meaning until "a case has been taken." No one knows, for example, whether bread, butter, meat, etc., are "within the meaning of an Act," apparently referring to them, until an enormous amount of perverted ingenuity of attorneys and judges has been given to the wording of the Act; and the same ingenuity will take "out of the Act" articles evidently intended to be included in it.

This expenditure of ingenuity is charged for very highly, the forensic tribe having the fixing of their own fees. Quite recently, for example, it cost over £3,000 to get settled a small question of commoners' rights over Beddington Corner, a bit of common at Mitcham. Thus, as in many other cases, the system has ceased to perform the service for which it was intended, namely the preservation of the privileged classes. It now serves the interest of one class only, that of the lawyers. Other classes feeling what they consider an injustice, find an appeal to law very doubtful and very costly; so much so that the cooler heads among them prefer to endure the wrong rather than to try a remedy so uncertain in its action. "Legal administration is comparatively cheap and swift in Scotland; but an eminent Scotch judge once told me that if he were riding along Leith Walk and somebody preferred a claim to his horse and took it away, he should think it on the whole better to put up with the loss of the horse than to go to law with the spoliator."<sup>2</sup> C. J. FAULKNER.

(To be concluded).

"MOSTLY FOOLS."—A few people have been robbed by highwaymen, pickpockets, and burglars; rather more people have been robbed by lawyers; a still greater number have been plundered by rings and monopolies; and all who work have been exploited by landlordism. But while only a few want to stop the plundering operations of the landlords, and a few more want to arrest the monopolistic and legal thieves, everybody wants to capture the comparatively unimportant burglar, pickpocket, and highwayman. This, among other things, is what gives point and sting to Carlyle's cynical statement that England is populated by thirty-five millions—mostly fools. And this is why we Canadians, and the people of other countries as well, have to confess that though Carlyle said England he needn't have given his remarks such a local and limited application.—*Toronto Labour Reformer*.

<sup>1</sup> Dickens: 'Bleak House,' Chap. xxxix.<sup>2</sup> Prof. T. H. Huxley: "An Olive-Branch from America," in the *Nineteenth Century* for Nov. 1887.

## INTERNATIONAL NOTES.

## SPAIN.

BARCELONA.—The important strike of the masons and carpenters at work on the exhibition buildings, and later on throughout the town, has terminated with a long explanatory manifesto which is published in most of the journals of the town, in which the committee of the strike give their reasons—no doubt excellent ones—for giving in.

"Our bourgeoisie," says *El Socialista*, "superficial and frivolous as it is, dominated by the fever of commerce, and living from day to day, believes that this is a definite solution of the late agitation, while the workers, strong in their right and having before them the ideal of their emancipation, uniting the present with the future, look upon the movement of to-day as but a page in their history."

LINARES.—The labour-movement is making considerable progress in this place, several labour federations having lately been formed in the different trades.

The eight hours movement occupies much of the attention of the Labour Party in Spain, the initiative being taken by the Barcelona section. A list of 136 labour-groups and societies who have federated in their demand for legislation upon the question is published in *El Socialista*.

## AUSTRIA-HUNGARY.

The *Gleichheit* (Equality) of Vienna has again been confiscated by the police. The first number of the *Bücher-Zeitung* (Journal of the Bakers) has met with the same fate.

A new Socialist paper has been issued at Pradl, near Innsbruck (Tyrol), entitled *Volkstimme* (Voice of the People). It is a monthly organ, edited by comrade Michael Zelger.

The Socialist press is at the present moment represented in Austria-Hungary by the following papers: 1. *Gleichheit* (Equality), weekly (10 and often 12 pages), edited by Bretschneider and V. Adler; 2. *Volkshfreund* (the People's Friend), fortnightly, edited by Dundela; 3. *Arbeiterstimme* (the Voice of the Worker), fortnightly, edited by Zacharias; 4. *Volkstimme* (see above); 5. *Rovnost* (Equality), fortnightly, edited by Wlach; 6. *Hlas Lidu* (The People's Voice), fortnightly, edited by Richard Zahálka; 7. *Vek Svobody* (the Century of Freedom), fortnightly, edited by W. Körbler. Furthermore, the Austrians published four trade organs, equally based on Socialist principles: 1. *Bücher-Zeitung* (Bakers' paper), fortnightly, edited by Gargula; 2. *Hutmacher-Fachblatt* (Hatmakers trade organ), fortnightly, edited by Humitch; 3. *Zeitschrift für Plastik* (Review of the plastic arts), monthly, edited by A. Goehre; 4. *Vorwaerts* (Forward!), organ of the compositors' trade, weekly, edited by H. Faber.

## ITALY.

Comrade Carlo Monticelli, from Sanremo (Liguria), is about to publish a volume of revolutionary songs, entitled 'Canzoniere Socialista' (the Socialist Singer).

## SWITZERLAND.

A new Socialist organ has been started at Berne, entitled *Der Schweizerische Socialdemokrat* (the Swiss Socialdemocrat), and intends to deal chiefly with the interests of the workers of the canton of Berne.

Another Socialist paper, entitled *Il Lavoratore* (the Worker), also appears since the beginning of this month at Lugano, and is devoted to the interests of the Italian-speaking Swiss workers.

## BELGIUM.

A new Socialist paper, entitled *La Liberté* (Freedom), the organ of the working-men of the Hainault province (miners district), has been started at Charleroi, and Elisée Fauvian, member of the committee of the dissentient Socialists, is the responsible editor of it. It is hoped that Fauvian is going to set to work actively in order to bring about the reunion of all the Belgian workers, who split themselves in two camps some ten or twelve months ago, under the nefarious influence of a bourgeois politician named Defuisseaux.

The situation of the industrial workers of the Centre (miners and glass-blowers district) is getting worse every day. A great number of them are reduced to starvation point. During the last two months one fourth of the total number of the workers have been dismissed. At Croyère, at Haine-St-Pierre, Hiart, at La Louvière, many of the men are entirely dismissed, and those who remain have to undergo large reductions of wages. In most of the works people only work three and four days a-week, at seven hours per day. Numerous meetings of out-of-work men are held, and the prospect for the coming months is very dark indeed.

V. D.

## LITERARY NOTES.

We have received a sociological work from Dr. N. Colajanni entitled 'Corruzione Politica' (Political Corruption) which we hope to review later on.

*Il Fascio Operaio* has entered into its seventh year of existence, in despite of many vicissitudes and mishaps. We offer it our congratulations, with best wishes for a useful and active life in the future. M. M.

"A Modern Fish Story" (*Christian Commonwealth Office*, 73 Ludgate Hill, E.C. 4.) is a clearly-put allegorical indictment of modern society under the figure of a pond in which a class of lazy fish live upon the labour of a class of working fish, until the latter arouse themselves and put an end to it all, with the to-be-expected sequel that

"The latest news from the Pond is that the water rates or taxes required for public purposes are so small as to cease to be a burden, for with the results of five minutes' work per day every fish can pay his water rent or tax. The homes for poor old fish are empty, as their grateful children are both able and happy to sustain their declining years. The lazy fish, losing all expectation of getting everything for nothing again, have gone to work and are becoming most useful citizens. They say they are very much happier and better off than in the former lazy times, which they wouldn't have back again on any account. The goals are empty, because it is so easy to get a living by honest industry that no one is forced to steal. The schools are about the only item of public expense, and the young fish have been so well taught that if any lazy fish should ever travel to that pond to look up subjects he will not be likely to 'cod' any in that school, for fear of the hazing they would give him. The fire-water has been fenced off completely, and the dream-plant pulled up, so intoxication, crime, and imbecility are banished from the pond, as well as poverty, for the old and natural law is again gladly and happily obeyed by all, every fish doing by other as he would have them do by him."

## THE BLACK SHEEP.

"To thine own self be true."

The black sheep baa'd as the shepherd went by,  
Thinking: "My master will know it was I;  
Docile and tractable ever I keep—

Oh, if I were a collie instead of a sheep,  
I would e'en to myself be true, sheep,  
And true to thee, shepherd mine,  
Though the word were to be "taboo," sheep,  
By every true canine!

"If I were a man," the black sheep said,  
And he sheepishly wagged his silly old head,  
"I would serve my good master and pray to be  
One day, such another, please god, as he—  
I would stick to the master like glue, sheep,  
Nor hearken to Union men,  
For I could not well be true, sheep,  
To the rest of my fellows then.

"And yet I excel in my humble walks,  
I never indulge in rebellious talks.  
Doth the shepherd not keep the fold secure  
Lest the hunger wolf should be in at the door?  
And so to myself I'm true, sheep,  
When shorn of my cosy fleece,  
And I never murmur, like you, sheep,  
But faithfully hold my peace.

"Would you now know the wherefore—then, look you, white sheep,  
Take pattern by me—your black brother is deep;  
Doth he diet on dirt? is he passive and low?  
Oh, to save his own mutton behaveth he so!  
And thus to himself he is true, sheep,  
Though false to all else beside,  
He is shorn of his wool! very true, sheep,  
'Tis therefore he keeps his hide!"

The shepherd hath counted the head of his flock,  
Quoth he: "I must rid me of all the old stock,  
Their fleece cometh slowly and selleth too cheap,  
They're fitter for mutton than wool-bearing sheep."

—And as I passed the Smithfield shambles,  
Behold, a black sheep made moan:  
"Before you are true to yourself O dear!  
Make sure that yourself's your own!"

T. MAGUIRE.

## MICHEL SCHWAB.

MICHEL SCHWAB was born in Kitzingen, Central Germany, August 9th, 1853. His mother died when he was eight years old. His father was a small tradesman and died four years later (1865), when the home was broken up, and after all debts were paid there only remained a small sum for each of the only two children, Michel and his sister. One year later he became a communicant, but inside of a month he says his faith was so rudely shaken by the worldly actions of his priest that it never recovered. He says: "I was then about thirteen years of age, and a few months' later Schiller's works fell into my hands. That was forbidden literature! Nevertheless, we pupils read and enjoyed them very much. Schiller, like all really great German classics, was a disbeliever in Christianity. Till then I had only known of him by 'selected' poems that I saw in the school books. All our teachers told us about him and the other classics was, that they were great men, but their works no proper reading matter for boys. After Schiller I took to Goethe, the 'Great Heathen' as he was called by the priest who undertook to enlighten us in the doctrines of the Catholic faith. Then came the study of German, Greek, and Roman classics. My faith dwindled and dwindled, and when I was sixteen, instead of being a Roman Catholic I was a Deist, that is, my faith was simply the belief in a personal God, and some years later I did not even believe that." Circumstances and lack of means now compelled him to leave school and learn a trade. He selected book-binding, and was apprenticed in Wuerrburg. Here he lived a solitary life—books, books, and nothing but books. He bound them and read them. In speaking of this period of his life Schwab says: "How often did I sit till 10 o'clock in the morning with my beloved classics! They were everything to me, and a great deal of my time I thus mentally spent in Italy and Greece. Religious books and pamphlets I studied, too, but they only tended to strengthen my disbelief in religious teachings." Time passed rapidly, and in 1872, his apprenticeship having expired, he first became acquainted with trade-unions and the labour question by direct contact with agitators. He joined the Socialistic Labour Party, and in 1874 travelled over Central Europe, distributing Socialistic pamphlets, and agitating wherever he went, working at his trade at all times for support. In 1879, he conceived the idea of emigrating to Australia, but afterwards decided upon the United States. He landed at New York, but after three days' delay he went to Chicago. Here he kept aloof from all organisations and led a very solitary life, studying the English language with great energy and perseverance, which he soon mastered sufficiently to read Bancroft's 'History' and other great works. He remained in Chicago for one year, and later on he visited and worked in Milwaukee, Kansas City, Denver, Leadville, Cheyenne, and Durango. While in Milwaukee he joined the Socialistic Labour Party, and became an active advocate. He says the principles differ in no essential point from those of the German Social Democrats. He returned to Chicago, became engaged as reporter and afterwards as assistant editor of *Arbeiter Zeitung*, which position he occupied when arrested.

A regiment of Herr Mosts, even if every word were a loaded and primed dynamite bomb, instead of the harmless wind they are, would be a thousand times less dangerous to the community than the least harmful of the class to which Jay Gould belongs. Yet our wise Yankee neighbours, while they go into the silliest kind of silly fright over one Most, encourage, by every means in their power, the growth of Goulds.—*Labour Reformer*.



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

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

As all articles are signed, no special significance attaches to them because of their position in these pages. None to be taken as more than in a general manner expressing the views of the League as a body, except it be so explicitly declared by the Editors. Rejected MSS. only returned if a stamped directed envelope is forwarded with them. Subscriptions.—For Europe and United States, including postage, per year, 6s. six months, 3s.; three months, 1s. 6d.

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

Periodicals received during the week ending Wednesday January 18.

ENGLAND	Chicago—Alarm	ITALY
Christian Socialist	Vorbote	Milan—Il Fascio Operaio
Die Autonomie	Denver (Col.) Labor Enquirer	Rome—L'Emancipazione
Jus	Fort Worth (Tex.)—South West	Marsala—La Nuova Eta
Justice	Hammonton (N.J.) Credit Foncier	SPAIN
London—Freie Presse	Milwaukee (Wis.)—Volksblatt	El Productor
Labour Tribune	N. Haven—Workmen's Advocate	Madrid—El Socialista
Norwich—Daylight	San Francisco (Cal) The People	Cadiz—El Socialismo
Railway Review	San Francisco Arbeiter-Zeitung	GERMANY
Worker's Friend	FRANCE	Berlin—Volks Tribune
NEW SOUTH WALES	Paris—Cri du Peuple (daily)	AUSTRIA
Hamilton—Radical	Le Socialiste	Brunn—Volksfreund
INDIA	La Revolte	Vienna—Gleichheit
Madras—People's Friend	Guise—Le Devoir	HUNGARY
Bankipore—Behar Herald	HOLLAND	Arbeiter-Wochen-Chronik
UNITED STATES	Hague—Recht voor Allen	DENMARK
New York—Der Sozialist	Amsterdam—Voorwaarts	Social-Demokraten
Freiheit	BELGIUM	SWEDEN
Truthseeker	Seraing (Ougree)—Le Reveil	Stockholm—Social-Demokraten
Volkszeitung	Ghent—Vooruit	WEST INDIES
Boston—Woman's Journal	Liege—L'Avenir	Habana—El Obreiro
Liberty	SWITZERLAND	
	Zurich—Sozial Demokrat	

“SOLVITUR AMBULANDO.”

WILL anyone say why some little right to use the above motto should not be allowed to the advocate of a new social state?

In one of the earliest numbers of the *Commonweal* Dr. Aveling used the term, but brought down upon his head such a storm in another paper that one felt quite sorry for the unfortunate appellant to the sanction of a latin quotation. Why is this?

Individualist writers from time to time use this same phrase. G. W. Foote, in a review of Frith's "Life of Bruno," *Progress*, May, 1887, quotes somewhat approvingly from George Meredith as a fine epigram, "Barriers are for those who cannot fly," which I take to be somewhat in favour of speculation and imagination as against experiment.

Another writer, "D," *National Reformer*, Nov. 27th, 1887, says, *re Vaccination*: "We may make mistakes; we may stumble and hurt ourselves; but *solvitur ambulando*. Even professionals occasionally go wrong."

I claim, that evolution should be allowed to solve, at least some of, the difficulties caused by evolution.

Society is as much a matter of evolution as any other organism, and why should anti-Socialists insist on Socialists fixing exactly how every detail shall be arranged in the future; it is neither possible nor advisable. There is no finality. Pope says "Hope builds as fast as knowledge can destroy."

"There is one way, I think the demand to state all details may be at any rate met; not answered or satisfied perhaps, but simply met; but in such a fashion that the mere "political actionist," or the "individualist," will be just a little perplexed.

Challenge him to find any intelligent being who can sit down and draft a code of morals, laws, or a scheme of society, which can possibly contain the thousands of anomalies, injustices, and iniquities of our present society.

The bourgeois economics; the parliamentary ameliorations secured grudgingly from time to time; the variations in public sentiment, are each of them proofs that *solvitur ambulando* is above many things the main spring of immediate action.

How many hundreds of Acts of Parliament have been passed on the positive understanding expressed in our motto; a particular clause, fought for and fought against, step by step, simply because the above was really the motto.

One man will get up and protest against voting on an "abstract proposition," while another member will pledge his support simply "because the Bill at present before the House only embodies a principle, and does not go into detail."

What is the latest device of the rabid total abstainer, to get county by county, or even town by town, under an iron prohibition, or Closing Act, but *solvitur ambulando* in one of its worst forms, i.e., new restric-

tions instead of new freedoms; monopoly v. free trade; coercion v. reason and education. Bah! Out on such!

Ninety per cent. of our legislation is purely on the lines of the proverb; it is this fact which leads two such opposite men as Auberon Herbert and William Morris to urge the uselessness, or at least waste of power, in parliamentary action.

There is such a want of the bed-rock of true principle, and such an excess of expediency, that hardly an Act of Parliament is passed but what some vested right having to be guarded, some saving clause is inserted, which considerably vitiates the Act itself, or comes into violent conflict with some other Act; and the Act itself is only passed with the hope that one part may be used at a time when the other part is not needed, and so avoid collision for the time. Some of the instances which could be given of this are laughable and some of really tragic importance.

Several large works are known to lawyers on the 'Conflict of Laws,' and a reviewer of a certain 'Book of Penalties,' published some fifty years ago said, "There is hardly a pursuit of civil life that can be entered upon without being liable to penal visitation."

In 1836-37 a Select Committee of the House of Commons reported (*Athenaeum*, April 2, 1837) "That laws are made for matters already fully provided for; that provisions necessarily required to carry into effect other matters provided for, are altogether overlooked; in brief that laws are verbose, unmethodical, inconsistent, excessive, defective, arbitrary, one-sided, partial, meddling, unintelligible, absurd."

The greater part of which is due to just a little too much of our proverb, and may seem to be a reason against Socialists urging any claim to it. The Socialist might retort he is so much opposed to monopolies that monopoly in a bad thing should be protested against.

Hurrying the other day along the busiest part of the Strand, in just the busiest time, our proverb seemed to receive a considerable amount of support.

Pause for just a moment in the centre of the pavement, looking towards your destination, and you see what seems to be a practically solid mass of people opposing you; if you are rather short in stature you can only see a few of the opposing mass, but even then enough to form a barrier across the whole of the pavement; if you are above medium height you see further ahead, but the difficulty only seems the more solid and impassable; stand, say, on the lions in Trafalgar Square, well above a mass meeting, and the crowd seems solid. Only seems, for go down into the crowd and except on very rare occasions, you will find quite ample spaces between most of the atoms of the mass; you can not only edge from part to part, but easily and comfortably pass along.

May I not fairly also use a figure just suggested by the words "atom" and "mass." Take any mass, say of sand, apply enormous pressure, make what seems a positively solid mass, you will still find water or oil will pass through; not in bulk, but *solving as it goes*, making its way between the particles, and more, really *dissolving*, that is, so adapting things to surroundings, that what was first an obstacle is now *part* of the new conditions.

No two instances or analogies can be, I think, absolutely above cavil as to parallelism, but I do think this last is in several points fairly applicable to my argument. Lavater said, "Call him wise whose thoughts and words are a clear *because* to a clear *why*," which condition, I think, is more nearly fulfilled by the Socialist who pleads *solvitur ambulando*, than by the opponent.

The Socialist stands, I submit, on a bedrock of principle, and *solvitur ambulando* is a fair counter for some of the blows aimed at him.

There are some writers, for instance, S. Butler, in that exceedingly suggestive book 'Erewhon,' who have urged that there is some amount of plausibility in the claim for the power of prophecy in the future. His argument is the evolution theory in another form. To know the future we must know all the past and all the present, both of which we fail in yet.

I submit that the Socialist can not more fairly be called on to state all the possibilities of the future than any other man. The fatal mistake made by the other man almost always is, that he will not allow evolution to have fair play; he will persist in spoiling any suggested new moral world by projecting into it the whole of the present *immoral* world. He will insist that jails will be just as ugly then as now, and that criminals will be just as hard to deal with; he will *not* remember that the Socialist claims, and evidence is all on his side, that most men, given a chance to earn a loaf, will rather do that than break a window to steal it.

The upholder of the present system protests against the possibility of the "utopian" dreams of to-day ever being reached; I am so much an evolutionist that there seems evidence not only will they be reached, but the process of reaching them will naturally and of necessity, call into life new emotions, new faculties, new powers, and then again set up new demands.

So far from codifying all the future, I should feel inclined to answer, Who are we to limit and tie down the generations of the unborn? We are cursed by too much of that from the past; let us do our best for so far as we can see; doing nothing which we can conceive will in any way injure the future; remembering always that *this is*, for all we know to the contrary, our only chance to live at all, and so *living now*; believing all the time with Lowell that

"After us some purer scheme  
Will be shaped out by wiser men than we,  
Made wiser by the steady growth of truth."

*Solvitur ambulando* is a proverb acted upon daily, hourly, by every



one. Go boating on a rocky coast such as Guernsey, you are confronted every moment by rocks which would dash the fragile boat to atoms; you know or your boatman knows the channels, and fixing his eye on the distant landmark, passes one after the other the dangers around. *Solvitur ambulando!* certainly; he don't try to skip over the rock. The one point is steadily kept in view no matter how much the narrow channel doubles back.

Seek the contractor of great works and learn how often our proverb comes into play. After every provision made, much of difficulty has to be dealt with, just exactly when reached, not before; and it is sometimes, not seldom too, found that what was expected to be a grave difficulty has been dissipated; this last word, not quite correctly used here, suggests a figure where it can be used in its quite correct sense.

May one suggest to some objectors to Socialism, that many of the objections now raised are somewhat of the nature of fogs or mists; foul vapours arising from unhealthiness, partly of the observer and partly otherwise. That these vapours, like the cloud man of the mountain, are as truly dissipated when fearlessly approached. That we may, with Truth for our guide, go on

"Rearing  
The goodly framework of a fairer state,"

without standing too long over details which may never be of moment,

"For men in earnest have no time to waste,  
In patching fig-leaves for the naked truth."—Lowell.

THOMAS SHORE, jun.

## MRS. BROWN IN SEARCH OF THE TRUTH.

DEAR MR. EDITOR,—I have taken your paper in ever since the young woman what keeps the newspaper and cigar shop round the corner sold it to me instead of the *Christian Commonwealth*, which I allers used to read. At first I was terribly bothered to make out what those  $x$  and  $z$  = meant, but gave it up, and I left that alone and read the other parts; and I finds that it means a better life for poor people here, and the other paper was filled with talk about angels and cherry-bums, and seraphims and eternal harps; so I sez to the young woman as kep the shop, "You may get me one every week." Sez she, "Mrs. Brown, you will get locked up; for the man who orders one here is only out on bail, and is going to be tried for creating seduction." "Never mind," sez I; "I'll find out what its all about. The other paper tells us that we are all to meet up above and be clothed with glory, which isn't clothes at all, and I think that even if it's true it won't be decent. So get me my *Weal* every week." Well, the hussy goes and tells our first floor as I was a Socialist and rioter. Me a rioter! and at my age! and that bad with rheumatiz that I can scarcely walk! So as I'm going down-stairs I meets our first floor. "Oh," sez she, "how do, Mrs. Brown? So you belong to the Socialism I hear?" "Not me," sez I, firing up a bit, "but I likes to hear both sides." "H'm," sez she, "a parcel of blarsted furriners, what lives on muck that a dog wouldn't eat—leastways not an English dog. They want other people's goods, and would swim in blood to get 'em." Sez I, "It's odd for you to talk like that, and you have two boys home on holiday, one a soldier and the other a sailor; and I heard the soldier bragging as how they sold and auctioneer'd off the things they stole in Burmah, and how many people they flogged and shot; and the sailor told us as how his ship fired upon some poor black people's houses, killing men, wimmin, and children because someone else, not they, had eaten a missionary who went a-poking his nose where he'd no bizness. If he was like the missionarres as comes sneaking about our doors they must have felt awful bad, poor things, after their meal. Murder's murder," sez I, "and I shouldn't like to mother 'em or hide 'em as does it." "Do you call my boys murderers," yelled she, "as went out to fight for their country?" "Fight for their country!" sez I. "Bosh! Went because they'd been out of work for nigh a twelvemonth, and had nothing but the workus in front on 'em. A pretty country to fight for!" "Yes," sez she, "the likes of you would let all the blarsted furriners come here and take our things." "Oh no, Mrs. Perkins," sez I, "we've got some good English brokers as can manage that job: that you know!" (she owed a lot of rent). "And when they've done with you, all you get of 'your' splendid country will be at the bottom of a parish grave," sez I, "in a black box with the chalk mark rubbed out, like them people over the way, whose old man was buried in the parish, and they cried over the wrong coffin, because the mark was out." "Anyway," sez she, in a rage, "we don't eat the filth that them wretches as are born abroad do." Just then her little Annie came in from the street: she's a saucy little slut. "Mother," she sez, "I can't get no cold faggots; they're sold out. But the man sez he can let you have some pieces cheap, as the weather is 'ot and he's afraid they'll turn." "You little wretch!" screams her mother, giving her a fearful smack, and rushing after her, left me. "Well!" thinks I, "it's a splendid country to go let your children commit murder abroad for, when it comes to cold faggots on a Tuesday at home!"

We don't speak now, me and Mrs. Perkins.

I went to a meeting the other evening. It was this way. I seed a bill in a shop window to say as how a public meeting was going to be held that same evening to tell people as how if they would give up eating meat and take to nuts and fruits instead they would all be well off, and have no more drunkards, fools, or paupers. I was flabbergasted. I stepped back a little to make sure of the address, and a man sez, "Hold up, mother, are you drunk?" "No," sez I, "only upset." And I was upset to think as how my *Weal* comes out every

week saying as there must be a Social Revolution before things would mend, and here it was after all in a "nutsell" and all settled; only got to eat nuts and fruit, and it would all come right. "I'll go to that meeting," sez I to myself when I got upstairs, so I takes my old gamp and starts. As I gets on the first landing, Mrs. Perkins opens her door a little, and sez out loud, "Oh, there's going to be another row in the Square, and they're going armed," sez she, looking at my umbrella. I was going to say something about those faggots, but I let it go, and bore it all for the Cause. Well, I gets to the meeting, and there was a lot of very thin pale people on the platform, all lookin' as though they had only just got over a bad bout of illness—trained to run up gaspipes, as my Jack used to say.

The Chairman opened with a long speech, and said as how the working-people—he wasn't one hisself—eat and drank too much and wasted too much wages, and as we couldn't keep up with the furriners, we must eat nuts and fruit and some prison bread he showed us. After some more of the invalids had said something, some one gets up in the hall and said he was a member of a subbabban branch of the Socialist League. Didn't he let them have it, I could have kissed him on the spot! He said as how they wanted to get us down as low as Chinymen and Hindoos, what lives on rice and rats, and as how people like Brassey and others ought to try the skilly and prison bread. I shouted "Ear, Ear!" and banged the old gamp on the floor. "Order, order!" sez they to me, and then another one gets up and was rude to them. He sez, "I keep a lot of cocks and hens, and they're vegetarians, and I give them the oats and beans, and they live on that and I live on them." One got up on their side and said as how we used to have grandnivorous teeth and now had got cardnivorous ones through eating meat. Then they handed round some prison bread and nuts and raisins to try, and some boys in the gallery seized the lot and began singing, "I've tasted once or twice, and found them very nice." Then there was a rumpus, so I came out. I seed some police outside, and I thought as how I should like to see their teeth before they joined. I know they must have grandnivorous ones, for they never taste meat until they get quartered upon us cockneys to illtreat us and take away our rights. Fine body of men, they say, but you should see the one as is on our beat, only just up from the shires. He walks like a retriever pup after a bone. I see in the *Telegraph*, which I hears is got up by a Jew, that the police is a brave lot. I don't know what bravery is, but if running after poor people's kids as has only the streets to play in, and knocking them about and stealing their toys to take home to their own brats, or taking money from poor gals on the streets, and persecuting costermongers and cabmen and coffee stall men and perjuring themselves is bravery, they are brave. Just because they catch a burglar once in three times they're a brave lot; so they ought to, they're the servants of the hupper classes, and its only them as burglars go for—Who'd burgle me and my gamp, I should like to know? We're more afraid of brokers than burglars down my street. If the Jew, who I hear got the paper up what says that we poor people are failures because we are poor, had his deserts given him he would be more civil. If the working-men don't take it out of him and the police he is so fond of, then they deserve to be insulted and knocked about, and this is the honest opinion of

SAIREY BROWN.

THE WORST?—"Over the dispatch that told of the grief and agony of Albert Parson's widow, as she looked for the last time on the white, dead face of her husband, this hyena of the *Republican* placed the headline: 'Mrs. Parsons Raises a Howl.' I believe the man who is capable of expressing such a beastly, brutal, and inhuman expression, would traffic in the honour of his sister and riot in the proceeds of his mother's shame."—*Denver Labour Enquirer*. True, comrade, every word of it! But while you imagine the reptile you belabour to be the meanest thing that crawls, you are wrong. There's the editor of the *London Daily Chronicle* yet to hear from.

"Give anything a bad name, and the majority of mankind will abominate it without examination, merely in consequence of the first impression, which they hastily received from a misapplied appellation." So with Socialism: to-day the unthinking masses scoff at its exponents, not because Socialism is bad, but because they have been told that it is so. Socialism, they say, means violence, disorder, crime, pillage, bloodshed, etc.; whereas in reality it means order, brotherhood, the commonweal. Thus the name Socialism comes to mean to the take-on-trust portion of society the very antithesis of what it is. Verily, "what's in a name?"—H. A. B.

THE TITHE WAR IN WALES.—On Friday Messrs. Peterson and Todd accompanied by the Hussars, police, and emergency men, proceeded to Rhysyal, a mining and agricultural district near Holywell, to levy distraint on behalf of the rector of Rhydymwyn. The new tactics of the Anti-Tithe League were adopted, and as the emergency men approached the farms they found the yard gates locked, and the farmers and their servants enjoying the result of their movement. As no violence was offered, the soldiers withdrew, and soon afterwards a charge of dynamite was exploded as a signal to the miners to assemble. Matters now assumed a serious aspect, and a mounted messenger was despatched to recall the soldiers. Their presence and a speech from an influential mining captain of the district preserved quietness during the day.

THE COTTARS' AGITATION IN LEWIS.—In the Carloway and Shabast districts the cottars have demolished the fences of the sheep-farm of Upper Dalbeg which was formerly occupied by crofters. The cottars in the townships of Callernish and Braesclate have invaded the great sheep run of Lindshadder, in the parish of Uig, and have threatened to demolish the dykes and fences which divide it from the crofting townships. The run includes a large area of good arable land formerly in the possession of thirty-eight crofting townships, and from which the people were evicted some years ago. News from the Ness district confirms the reports respecting the demolition of the fences and dykes of Mr. Murdo Macfarquhar's sheep-farm, while the fences and dykes of Gilson sheep-farm have been partly demolished. Similar work has been going on in the districts of Ness, Barvas, and Shader.

## THE LABOUR STRUGGLE

BRITAIN.

Notices have been issued to the miners in Fife and Clackmannan, of a reduction in wages equal to 6d. per day.

The Edinburgh joiners on strike against the reduction from 7d. to 6½d. per hour number about a hundred.

The colliers of the Cambuslang District, Lanarkshire, are on strike for the sixpence per day deducted from their wages last year.

The arbitrator in the engineers' dispute at Bolton, has of course decided against the demand of the men for a return of the 2s. weekly taken from them in 1886.

The prospects of the iron trade having improved, the miners in the Forest of Dean are considering the advisability of demanding an increase of at least five per cent.

The threatened wages difficulty in the lace trades at Nottingham has been averted by a resolution of the Conciliation Board, that the present prices in the levers branch shall continue throughout the year.

The rivet boys employed in the shipyard of Messrs. J. and G. Thomson, Clydebank, have struck for an advance of wages from 15s. to 18s. per week. A large number of men are thrown out of work through the strike.

**SHEERNESS DOCKYARD.**—In order to reduce the number of hands employed in Sheerness Dockyard, it has been decided to suspend the entry of apprentices this year.

**STRIKE OF WHARF MEN.**—A strike has occurred among the Dowlais Steel Company's wharfmen at Cardiff, and there is some talk of removing operations to Newport. A great deal of ill-feeling has been occasioned by the importation of Dowlais men, and bodies of dock police are protecting the neighbourhood.

**DURHAM MINERS.**—The Durham miners have passed the following resolution: "That seeing that at the present time there are 305,663 miners employed, and only 96,625 in the various associations, we consider it highly necessary, before any united action can be taken, that the men ought to join their local associations and then form a general one."

The hoe makers at the Brades Steel Works, Oldbury, are on strike against certain conditions as to the payment of waste which the masters want to enforce. It is stated that the proportion of waste has been lately largely increased in consequence of the bad quality of the iron supplied, which will not stand the test of forging.

Nearly one thousand colliers employed by Messrs. Ackers, Whitely and Co., Leigh, Lancashire, threaten to strike. For some weeks past a number of miners at the pits have been locked out, owing to their refusal to submit to a reduction of twopence per ton, and in consequence of masters having taken on strangers the rest of the employes have resolved to strike.

**THE IMPORTATION OF RUSSIAN POLES.**—At a meeting of Liverpool Trades Council a letter was read from Glasgow Trades Council calling attention to the importation of Russian Poles into Scotland, and stating that these poor labourers were working for 2s. per day. It was resolved to join Glasgow Trades Council in protesting against making this country a receptacle for Continental paupers.

**MINERS' STRIKE AT WIGAN.**—The miners employed at Messrs. Cross Tetley, and Co.'s Main Colliery, near Wigan, lately struck against the introduction of what is known as the tin can lamp in lieu of the Davy. The men state that the new lamp is not so well adapted for lighting the seven feet mine, and would render their earnings smaller. The firm have now agreed that the Davy lamp shall be used as formerly until other arrangements can be mutually agreed upon.

**REDUCTION OF IRONWORKERS' WAGES.**—The accountant's report of the price of pig-iron in the Cleveland district for the last three months of 1887 has been declared at Middlesbrough. The price given is 32s. 7½d., as compared with 34s. 1½d. for the previous quarter, showing a falling-off of 1s. 5½d. per ton. The wages at the blast-furnaces and ironstone mines will consequently be reduced 1½ per cent. The district tonnage price paid to the Cleveland miners was 9½, and it will become for the current quarter 9½.

**A LONG STRIKE.**—It is now five months since the strike commenced at the Prospect, Taylor, and John Pits, Standish, near Wigan. The miners have offered to accept half of the proposed reduction, but this was refused; they have offered to work one month on the masters' terms, on condition that after the expiration of the period they were paid as before the strike. This was likewise declined, and the miners remain in the position they did when they left work in August. The men believe that if they had accepted the reduction other colliers would have had to suffer similarly.

**HEAVY FINES UNDER THE FACTORY ACT.**—Mr. Alfred Cook, colour-printer, and a member of the Leeds Town Council, has been summoned for an infringement of the Factory Act, by employing nineteen young children before eight o'clock in the morning. The Stipendiary remarked upon the defendant's position in the town, and said that twice he had infringed the law with his eyes open. The example set by the defendant was so bad that he must inflict the full penalty in each case, exclusive of costs. He fined the defendant £3 in each case, or £57 in all.

**THREATENED STRIKE OF LARKHALL MINERS.**—There is considerable friction over the introduction of the new Mines Act with reference to offtakes for pick-sharpening and the collection of school and doctor's fees at the colliery offices. At Dykehead Colliery, the property of Summerlee Iron Company, work has been suspended pending the settlement of a wages dispute. Formerly the men were paid per fathom, but under the new Act the rate of wages must be by the ton. The men allege that the rate here offered is less than the average price paid in the district, and arbitration being refused by the masters a strike is likely to take place.

**THE "SWEATING SYSTEM" IN NEWCASTLE.**—At the monthly meeting of the delegates of the Newcastle, Gateshead, and District Trades Council, held last week, what is known as the "sweating system" in the tailoring trade was discussed at some length, during which some revelations were made as to the extent and evil effects of the system in Newcastle. The delegates condemned the system, and held that public attention should be called to it, because the prices paid for such labour made it impossible to earn the barest subsistence, except by working long and unreasonable hours; because the system tends to the spread of infectious disease; and because it tends to destroy all honourable and legitimate trade.

**WELSH MINERS STRIKE.**—The miners employed at the New British Iron Company's Wynnstey Collieries, the most extensive in North Wales, having struck work in consequence of the discharge of some of their colleagues, went before daybreak to the house of the manager, Mr. Isaac Jones, and raised loud cries for him. As he did not appear stones were thrown through the drawing-room windows, and other damage done. The police were soon on the spot, and the men were persuaded to go away. They refused to resume work unless their companions were reinstated, but the managers declined to treat with them while they maintained their aggressive attitude. In the evening the manager informed the men that if they decided to continue the struggle the mines would be finally closed against them. A mass meeting of the men was subsequently held, when they determined to return to work. Labour has, therefore, been resumed at the collieries.

**THE UNEMPLOYED.**—Throughout the country the unemployed in various trades are making themselves heard. In Deptford the destitution is very great among the vast working population, and the usual charity organisations are very pressed. In Chelsea, the parish are employing some hundreds on parochial works, and the Mansion House fund has given £3,000 to be spent in the open space movement. At Bristol, Gloucester, Southampton, and Worcester, meetings of the unemployed have been held and committees formed to cope with the distress by providing employment, and in Gloucester, where 5,000 men are out of work, the guardians have decided to give single men one loaf of bread, and married men two loaves, with additional loaves for children. In Sheffield, the distress is very great owing to the ranks of unemployed being recruited by the men thrown out by the accident at the Denaby mine.

**MANCHESTER SHIP CANAL.**—In the neighbourhood of Warrington, where the works are being rapidly pushed forward, there is a constant stream of men in search of work, and so far the supply of labour has been far in excess of the demand. In the direction of Hollins Green the work is being carried on with equal energy, and in this locality the great influx of work-people has turned almost every available dwelling into a lodging-house, in addition to which many wooden huts have been provided. On the Runcorn section there are now upwards of 200 men employed, and it is probable that this number will be greatly increased within the next month or two. The work of erecting huts has commenced at Weston Point, and it is believed that 700 men will soon be labouring at Weston Marsh. At Astmoor, near Runcorn, there has arrived a steam navy, but it is not fixed for operations. This wonderful machine is capable of removing 1,500 tons per day, equal to the labour of several hundred men.

**MANNINGHAM MILLS.**—Another strike has occurred at Manningham Mills, Bradford. This time it is the batters, whose work is one of the processes in the finishing of silk plush. The men work in pairs, and have to strike the piece which is suspended on rollers or hooks, as the case may be, the blows being dealt alternately. It is very heavy work, and although in the ordinary cant term it is not skilled labour, it is certain that more men fail than succeed in the attempt to do the work. Some years ago these men could earn good wages, £2 a-week being nothing uncommon; reductions have, however, continually been taking place, and now 30s. a-week is considered a very good week's wage, this being subject to many deductions. It appears that when a piece has been finished and rolled up ready for sending the pile becomes flat, usually either from bad packing or from having been too long rolled up; to remedy this the piece has to be re-batted for nothing, no matter whose fault it is, and it is seldom or never the fault of the batter; it is no uncommon thing to hear of men working two or three days a week for nothing on what are termed "menders." Mr. Reixach, the head manager, who has taken it into his head that the labour market is in such a state that he can do as he likes with the men, has ordered that pieces with the faults known as "specky pile," "bad cut," etc. (which are faults of the weaver, dyer, and shearer, and for which faults they are fined as they occur), must be rectified by the batter for nothing. The men turned out on the 9th inst. to resist this, which they allege will be equivalent to a reduction of 6s. or 8s. a-week. The firm are advertising for men to take their places, also giving notice that relatives of the men who were working in other departments would be discharged. However, the men who are out have remained firm, and (although Mr. Reixach has written to the local papers saying that the strike is as far as they are concerned at an end, as they have had far more applicants than they can employ) are confident that they will win. That, however, is not quite certain, as there are a large number of men in this town who are willing to work to the injury of themselves and fellow-men, who are unemployed, and if the firm is determined and willing to bear the loss consequent on training new men, then the poor fellows are thrown out of work and a permanent reduction will have taken place. These are the mills of S. C. Lister, the President of the Fair Trade League, who employs about 4,000 "hands." It is worthy of note that when Mr. Lister was contesting the Skipton division in 1885, he declared that no strike had taken place at his works but once; since that time, however, there have been many, perhaps one a month on the average in one or other of the departments that form his gigantic concern.

**Notice.**—An unknown correspondent has sent me a copy of the Rules and Regulations in force at the Norfolk Iron Works, which will be printed in next number.

T. BINNING.

In some parts of the far west and south-west the roads are infested with highwaymen. In the eastern and more civilised part of the continent the highwaymen, though they have not retired from business, are too high-toned to go on the road and cry, Stand! They build them stately mansions and furnish luxurious board rooms, and then rob all who travel and all who send freight over the railroads. These fellows find the wholesale business they are engaged in at once more genteel and respectable, safer, and vastly more profitable than the uncouth and primitive retail business of the bandits of the "wild and woolly west."—*Labour Reformer.*

It is amusing to notice that the big thieves regard themselves and their parasites as the "respectable classes," and are prone to speak of the workers struggling for their rights as the "dangerous classes." We wonder whether they ever recognise that it is simply due to their legalised robbery that poverty, with its attendant train of misery, vice, and crime, continues to exist in spite of all our increased knowledge of science and machinery—a knowledge which has so wonderfully increased our productive powers as to enable us at a minimum of labour to produce everything requisite for a happy healthy life for all mankind. The rich are the dangerous classes, opposing as they do the progress of humanity onwards and upwards towards a better condition of things for the whole community.—*Our Commonwealth.*

LETTER FROM AMERICA.

It is a matter of impossibility to write a clear and reasonable report about the strike or non-strike of the Reading railroad employes. One day the papers declare that all the railroad men have gone out on strike, that the miners have joined them, etc.; the next day all that is contradicted, and we are now told that about 1,000 of the men have gone out on strike, that 3,000 or 4,000 Knights of Labour will not join them, that the Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers is taking stand with the capitalists against the men. The third day all this again is asserted to be fiction, and that the only true version is that President Corbin has any amount of scabs to take the places of the strikers, and that the men dare not go out. The latest news from the battlefield say that a meeting of Knights of Labour and railroaders was held at Shamokin, Pa., to-day, and as a result a general strike of miners and railroaders will be made to-morrow throughout the anthracite region except in the Wyoming Valley. The miners strongly condemned the course of the railroad company and the Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers, and made an appeal to men who contemplate coming into the region to seek work to remain away until the strike is settled. They also advised hotel and boarding-house keepers not to entertain scabs, and declared their intention to fight to the finish. The entire coal region was represented at the meeting, and its sentiment was unanimously in favour of the strike. From Philadelphia a report says there is no material change apparent in the Reading railroad strike. The Knights of Labour who left the company's employ are still in a state of masterly inactivity, while the company's officials say they experience no difficulty in securing all the men needed for the proper handling of the business.

The workers in leather completed in Buffalo the formation of their International Assembly of the Knights of Labour on Dec. 29th, 1887, and by the time they hold their Convention on the first Monday of next March in Chicago, they expect to have from eighty thousand to one hundred thousand members. Resolutions were adopted strongly condemning a morocco manufacturer for hiring girls under twelve years of age to sponge the filthy hides with blood and to scrape them with pieces of glass. This work they consider degrading to women, and particularly vile when done by little girls. Six large glass manufactories in Brooklyn shut down at noon on the 51st Dec., and more than a thousand men and girls are thrown out of employment. The manufacturers want to introduce a uniform set of rules.

District Assembly 49 held its regular meeting on the 1st inst., and re-elected Master Workman James E. Quinn. Quinn was a friend to our dead Chicago comrades, and is an opponent of Powderly.

A shut down by the leading steel rail mills of the country is said to be probable. The new scale presented by the Amalgamated Iron and Steel Workers calls for a general advance in wages, which the manufacturers claim it is impossible to grant.

The recent cab-drivers strike at New York is stated to have cost the men about 3,500 dols. The number of men obtaining the advance of 2 dols. per week was 2,000.

An order reducing the working force on the Fay Gould South-western railway system to the extent of fourteen hundred men is causing much ill-feeling on the roads.

The Knights of Labour having been unsuccessful in getting the railroad coal miners at Scott Haven to strike for the Columbus scale, a number of operators have reduced the wages of their men five cents per ton. A strike will now most probably take place.

LIST OF STRIKES FOR DECEMBER.

Number of strikers known to December 21 ... ..	4,652
Cincinnati, Ohio.—Furniture hands, against rule prohibiting beer drinking during work, December 20 ... ..	25
Fall River, Mass.—Cotton-spinning hands, for advance, December 24. Ended Wednesday ... ..	30
Pittsburg, Pa.—Coal-miners, for higher wages, December 24 ... ..	500
Reading Railroad employes, unionism, Dec. 23 to 27 ... ..	6,000
Reading Railroad employes and coal miners, renewal of strike, Dec. 28. Failed December 29 ... ..	1,000
<b>Total number of strikers in December ... ..</b>	<b>12,207</b>

New York, January 4, 1888.

HENRY F. CHARLES.

REVOLUTIONARY CALENDAR.

WEEK ENDING JANUARY 28, 1888.

22	Sun.	1688. Throne declared vacant 1788. Lord Byron born. 1887. C. W. Mowbray (9 months) and Fred Henderson (4 months) sentenced at Norwich.
23	Mon.	1806. Wm. Pitt died. 1866. T. L. Peacock died. 1871. Demonstration in Trafalgar Square against bombardment of Paris. 1875. Chas. Kingsley died.
24	Tues.	1732. Beaumarchais born. 1834. Socialism advocated in London by Robert Owen.
25	Wed.	1819. Ernest Jones born. 1885. <i>Commonweal</i> first published.
26	Thur.	1869. Ernest Jones died.
27	Fri.	1775. Schelling born. 1808. D. Strauss born. 1814. Fichte died. 1871. Capitulation of Paris.
28	Sat.	1876. Fras. Deak died. 1885. Industrial Remuneration Conference begins.

*Mowbray and Henderson.*—See *Commonweal* of that and following weeks.  
*Thomas Love Peacock.*—Born at Weymouth, Oct. 18, 1785; died Jan. 23, 1866. Self-educated, was one of the best classical scholars of his time. His poems introduced him to Shelley, whose friend and executor he became. He is best known now for his novels, which are unique, having few of the qualities of common novels, being rather witty and thoughtful dialogues than ought else, dealing with all things under the sun, and taking an advanced and individual view of life. An amateur in ship-building, he designed the first iron steamers that doubled the Cape.—S.  
*Ernest Charles Jones.*—Barrister, poet, and Chartist. Born in Berlin, Jan. 25, 1819; died Jan. 26, 1869. Educated in Germany; came to England in 1838. He published the *Wood Spirit* in 1841, and contributed to the *Metropolitan* and other magazines. Called to the bar by the Middle Temple in Easter Term, 1844,

he began his career with great success, but soon turned his chief attention to politics; in 1845 joined the Chartist movement which had begun the year he came to England, and soon became its most trusted leader, keeping that position till the apparent collapse of the movement in 1858. During this time he issued the *Labourer*, *Notes of the People*, and other periodicals, established the *People's Paper*, which ran eight years, and issued many leaflets, etc. He never took any payment for anything he did in the Cause, spent large sums on its propaganda, and freely gave up a fortune of £2,000 a-year left him on condition of his retiring from the party. He stood without success for Halifax in 1847, and Nottingham in 1853 and 1857. In 1848 he was tried for a "seditious" speech, and sentenced to two years' solitary confinement, refusing firmly to petition for a commutation of the sentence. The treatment he received in prison was so bad that it was debated in Parliament. In prison he wrote an epic poem, *The Revolt of Hindustan*, with his own blood upon the fly-leaves of prison prayer-books, as the use of paper, ink, etc., had been denied him. Only three days before his death he had been elected for Manchester. A small and by no means exhaustive life published last year is the only record yet issued of a stirring and useful career. His works are as follows (I am by no means sure the list is complete):—*'The Wood Spirit,'* a novel, Bayne, London, 1841, 2 vols., post 8vo; *'The Maid of Warsaw,'* a tale, London, 1854, 8vo; *'Woman's Wrongs,'* tales, London, 1855, 8vo; *'Poems and Ballads,'* Routledge, 1855, 12mo; *'The Lass and the Lady,'* a tale, McGowan, London, 1855, 8vo; *'The Battle-day,'* and other poems, Routledge, 1855, 12mo; *'The Emperor's Vigil, and the Waves and the War,'* Routledge, 1856, 8vo; *'Evenings with the People,'* London, 1856-7, 8vo; *'The Revolt of Hindustan,'* a poem, London, 1857, 8vo; *'Corayda,'* and other poems, Kent, London, 1860, 8vo; *'Democracy,'* a lecture in reply to Prof. Blackie, Edinburgh, 1867, 8vo (debate republished, Simpkin, 1885, 8vo, 6d.); *'Labour and Capital,'* Simpkin, 1867, 8vo.—S.

*Rev. Charles Kingsley*, Chaplain-in-Ordinary to the Queen and Prince of Wales, Canon of Chester and Rector of Eversley, Hants; late *curate* of Eversley and Christian Socialist, "Parson Lot," whose only quarrel with the Charter was that it did not go far enough in reform, "that legislative reform was by no means the same as social reform." When the "Chartist Parson," his "Alton Locke" was a very different work to that of the edition of 1862. The Alton Locke of 1849, and the Society for Promoting Working-men's Associations, which was the start of the Christian Socialism of 1848-52, was very much the result of the French Revolution of 1848 working on the emotions of a few good earnest men and the scares of many not earnest and not good. Associated with F. D. Maurice; Thomas Hughes, now Q.C. and County Court Judge; J. M. Ludlow, a highly-placed government official to-day; Kingsley for some few years carried on the *Christian Socialist*, and if they did but little towards Socialism they materially helped distributive co-operation. Kingsley was a voluminous writer, and will possibly be longer remembered by one or two works of fiction than by his parson-power or his Socialism.—T. S.

*Fichte (Johann Theophil)* was born at Rammenan in 1762. One of the most illustrious of German philosophers. Disciple of Kant, although he gave to Kantism a new direction, he was an admirer of the principles involved in the French Revolution of 1789, and wrote a book entitled 'Materials to correct the views of the public as to the doctrines of the Revolution,' which had a tremendous success and began his fame as a professor. His best philosophical work is 'Foundation of the theory of Science.' He has not formed a distinct philosophical "school," but Schelling and Hegel, his two best pupils, proceed upon his teachings in many respects.

*Capitulation of Paris* was brought about by the treason of Trochu, Jules Favre, and other bourgeois politicians who did not want their country, but themselves, to be saved. This capitulation does not in way do honour to Germany, whose army wouldn't have entered Paris but for the complicity of these Trochus, Vinots, Ducrots, and others.

*Francis Deak*, Hungarian statesman, was born at Kehida the 17th October, 1803. After having studied law at the Academy of Raal, the electors of his county, where he was a wealthy landowner, sent him as a Deputy to the Diet of 1832, and he was re-elected in 1839. There he soon became chief of the Liberal Opposition, which claimed the abolition of the feudal system, equality of all citizens before the law, and an equitable distribution of all taxes. Under his influence the Austrian Penal Code was entirely modified, and criminalists are unanimous in declaring that the scheme of Deak is the best existing one on the subject. But as reaction set in, and as it became impossible to work for the triumph of his principles of progress and liberty, Deak retired to his country seat. He was elected to the Diet in 1843 and again in 1847, but refused to take his seat. After the events of March, 1848, he became Minister of Justice in the Hungarian Ministry presided over by Count Batthyani. There he worked very hard to bring about a new legislation according complete freedom of the press, and instituting trial by jury for press offences. Afterwards his ideas, although being always Liberal and progressive, became very moderate indeed, and in 1861, as Deputy for Pesth, he was the Chief of the Moderate Liberal Party. At any rate this much can be said of F. Deak, the Hungarian patriot has always been inflexible on points of principle. He was of a practical turn of mind, straightforward in his ways and means, and full of well-meant humanity.—V. D.

*Industrial Remuneration Conference* at Prince's Hall, Piccadilly, began. This was the result of some curious person giving £1,000 to find out, "Is the present system or manner whereby the products of industry are distributed as between various classes and persons of the community satisfactory?—or, if not, are there any means by which that system could be improved?" In other words, "Does nine-tenths for exploiter leave only one-tenth for the worker, and does the worker like it?" Three days of political economist's talk-talk resulted in almost the only worker who spoke getting the sack almost directly afterwards—wherein was a most perfect commentary on the whole. Thomas Illingworth's "Distribution Reform" was one of the best incidentals arising from the conference.—T. S.

THE SOCIALIST LEAGUE.

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

BRANCH SUBSCRIPTIONS PAID.

Mitcham, Walsall to July 31. Bloomsbury, Leicester, Hoxton (Labour Emancipation League), Hull, Wednesbury, to September 30. Clerkenwell, Hammer-smith, Mile End, Oxford, to December 31.

"COMMONWEAL" PRINTING FUND.

*Weekly Subscriptions*—C. J. F., 2s. 6d. K. F., 1s. Langley, 2s. P. W., 6d. W. B., 6d.

**Propaganda Fund.**—H. Samuels, 1s.

**Children's Party.**—Correction—Read, "Mrs. Jones, 3s. 6d.," instead of 2s.



REPORTS.

**BLOOMSBURY.**—At special business meeting resolved that the Socialist bodies of the United Kingdom should unite on common lines. Two delegates and secretary sent to Council to lay same before them. H. H. Hyndman lectured at Athenæum Hall Jan. 12, subject "Why the Social Revolution is inevitable." Crowded; good discussion and collection.

**CLERKENWELL.**—On Sunday, Jan. 15th, Ben. Ellis (Radical delegate to Ireland), addressed good audience on "Ireland, and what I saw there." The questioning and debate which followed was very interesting. Will branch members make it convenient to attend business meetings more regularly?—B.

**FULHAM.**—Sunday morning meeting addressed by Hill (Guild of St. Matthew) and Turner. In our new rooms in evening Morris lectured on "Useful Work v. Useless Toil." Good audience; two members made. Tuesday evening at Fulham Cross Tochetti, Day, and Knowles addressed meeting.—S. B. G.

**MITCHAM.**—On Sunday evening, T. Turner lectured in our club-room to a good audience on "The Control of Capital," after which a lively discussion followed on Co-operation.—R. C.

**NORWICH.**—Usual meeting in Market Place Sunday afternoon, well attended, Mowbray spoke; in evening at Gordon Hall, Mowbray lectured on "Is Socialism Sound?" Three new members. Branch is now getting fairly organised with a large membership, and we feel confident of a successful year.—S.

**OXFORD.**—This branch held its annual social gathering at the Temperance Hall, on Wednesday, Jan. 11, when between seventy and eighty persons were present. We had a variety of amusements, such as dancing, singing, recitations, and short addresses on Socialism. C. J. Faulkner presided. Everyone enjoyed themselves very much, and expressed a hope that we should have another meeting on the anniversary of the Commune of Paris.—M. P. H.

**WALSALL.**—Last Monday, J. Sketchley (Birmingham) lectured for the branch on "Our Annual Income, who produces it and who gets it." The subject was dealt with in a masterly manner, and the lecturer was frequently applauded. On Saturday, a good meeting was held on The Bridge by Sanders.—J. T. D.

**EDINBURGH.**—On 9th, Ed. R. Pease lectured on "The Means of Attaining Socialism." On 14th, Annie Besant lectured for us in Leith, on "Socialism, Old and New," and on 15th for Secular Society, on "Political Socialism." Owing to unavoidable rearrangement of lecture list, Mavor was not with us on 15th, and Davidson took his place.—J. H. S.

**GLASGOW.**—Sunday 15 Glasier spoke in Jail's Square at 3 p.m. He also took part in discussion in Home Government Branch of the Land League, advocating Socialism, saying that the Irish people could hope for no good unless they adopted Socialism, which was very sympathetically received. At 6.30 Downie and Glasier held another meeting.—J. G.

"THE LAMP."

On Saturday evening last, at 13, Farringdon Road, an entertainment and prize draw took place for the purpose of raising funds for the establishment of an East-end Socialist Club. The feature of the evening was the successful performance of "The Lamp," an extravaganza by Henry A. Barker, which was received with applause from start to finish. The performers were W. B. Parker, J. Flockton, C. Barker, Mrs. Parker, H. A. Barker, H. and E. McKenzie, J. Lane, W. Layton, W. Blundell (prompter). The scenery was by C. Barker, and the music by W. Barker. It has been suggested that the performance should be repeated at an early date. Announcement of the same will be duly given.

LECTURE DIARY.

LONDON.

**Bloomsbury.**—Communist Club, 49 Tottenham Street, Tottenham Court Road. Thursday January 19, at 8.30, W. W. Bartlett will lecture on "Before the Dawn." Thursday 26th, at 8.30, Social Evening—members and friends. Athenæum Hall, 73 Tottenham Court Road, on Thursday February 2, at 8 p.m. Annie Besant (Fabian Society), "Socialism, Old and New."

**Osterkenwell.**—Hall of the Socialist League, 13 Farringdon Rd.; E.C. Business meeting every Sunday at 7. Sunday Jan. 22, at 8.30, W. H. Utley, "Modern Society." Wednesday 25, at 8.30, J. Lane, "Different Schools of Socialistic Thought." Sun. 29. G. Brocher, "Pugatchov and the Communistic Rising in Russia, 1773." Wed. Feb. 1. D. Nicoll, "Law and Order." Sun. 5. W. B. Parker, "What the Workers want, and how to get it." Wed. 8. Annie Besant, "Communalisation of Industry."

**Fulham.**—8 Effie Road, Walham Green. Sunday Jan. 22, at 8, Catterson Smith.

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

**Hammersmith.**—Kelmescott House, Upper Mall, W. Sunday January 22, at 8 p.m. T. Bolas, "A Real People's Parliament." Saturday 21st, at 8 p.m., Dramatic Interlude, "The Tables Turned." (6d.)

**Hoxton (L.E.L.).**—C. J. Young, 8 Dunloe Street, Hackney Road, Secretary.

**Mitcham.**—Corner of Merton Lane and Fountain Place. Club Room open every evening from 7.30 till 11. **Mile-end and Bethnal Green.**—95 Boston St., Hackney Road. Business Meeting every Thursday at 9 p.m. Debating Class for members after Business Meeting.

PROVINCES.

**Aberdeen (Scottish Section).**—James Leatham, secy., 15 St. Nicholas Street.

**Birmingham.**—Meetings at Summer Row Coffee House every Saturday evening at 8.

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

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

**Cowdenbeath (Scot. Sec.).**—J. Duncan, 30 Arthur Pl., sec **Dublin.**—Saturday Club, Central Lecture Hall, 12 Westmorland Street.

**Dumlee (Scot. Sect.).**—Meetings every Sunday in the Trades Hall, opposite Tay Bridge Station. Political Economy class, 2 p.m. Lecture at 6.30.

**Edinburgh (Scottish Section).**—4 Park Street. 'Das Kapital' class every Thursday at 7.30. Members requested to pay weekly subscriptions on that night. Sunday evening lectures, Trades Hall, High Street. On Sunday 22nd, at 6.30 p.m., J. Bruce Glasier, on "Socialism in Scottish Song." Collection. Reserved seats, 6d.

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

**Glasgow.**—84 John St. Reading-room open 10 a.m. till 10 p.m. daily. Propaganda Committee, Mondays at 8. Shorthand Class, Tuesdays at 8. Music Class, Tuesdays at 9. Discussion Class, Thursdays at 8.

**Leeds.**—17 Chesham St., Sweet St. Club open every evening. Business meeting Wednesdays at 8 p.m.

**Leicester.**—Hosiery Union, Horsefair St. Fridays at 8.

**Lochgelly (Scottish Section: Fife).**—Secs. (pro tem.), John Greig and Hugh Conway, The Square.

**Norwich.**—Gordon Hall, 5 Duke Street. Free lectures every Sunday at 8. Free Concerts every Monday night at 8.30. Business meeting every Tuesday at 8.30. Discussion class every Thursday at 8.30. Band practice every Friday at 8.

**Nottingham.**—Club and Reading Rooms, 1 Tokenhouse Yard, Bridlesmith Gate, open every evening. Lectures and Discussions every Sunday. J. Sketchley will deliver three lectures on Sunday next—at 11, 3, and 7. Subjects—"What is the Income of the Working Classes: a reply to Leone Levi." "Emigration as a Remedy for existing Social Evils." "Socialism: What it is, and what it is not."

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

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

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

OPEN-AIR PROPAGANDA.

LONDON—Sunday 22.

- 11 Acton Green ..... Hammersmith Branch
- 11.30 Garrett—"Plough Inn" ..... The Branch
- 11.30 Hoxton Church, Pitfield St. .... Turner
- 11.30 Merton—Haydons Road ..... The Branch
- 11.30 Mitcham Fair Green ..... The Branch
- 11.30 Regent's Park ..... Nicoll & Mainwaring
- 11.30 St. Pancras Arches ..... The Branch
- 11.30 Stamford Hill ..... Parker
- 11.30 Walham Green ..... The Branch
- 3 Hyde Park ..... Parker

PROVINCES.

**Glasgow.**—Jail's Square—Saturday, 5 p.m. Infirmity Square—Sunday, 6 p.m. Jail's Square—Sunday, 1 p.m.

**Leeds.**—Sunday: Vicar's Croft, 11 a.m. **Norwich.**—Market Place, at 3 every Sunday.

COMRADE DAUBENSPECK will open a debate at the Peacock Tavern, Islington, on the 24th January. Subject—"What is Socialism."

JUNIOR SOCIALISTIC EDUCATIONAL SOCIETY.—Next meeting will take place at 12 Fitzroy Street, Fitzroy Square, on Saturday Jan. 21, at 7.30.—W. H. Spencer-Howell, hon. sec.

SUNDAY LECTURE SOCIETY, St. George's Hall, Langham Place.—Sunday Jan. 22, at 4 p.m., Sidney Webb, LL.B., "The Progress of Socialism; its effect on Social Welfare."

SHEFFIELD SOCIALISTS, Commonwealth Café, Scotland Street, Sheffield.—Discussions or Lectures every Sunday evening at 7 o'clock. Free.

L. E. L. CONCERT AND DRAW

RESULT.

3	10	24	48	49	55	58	72	83
105	116	123	141	187	189	201	225	226
289	318	319	321	368	378	383	389	410

SOCIALIST CO-OPERATIVE FEDERATION.—Meeting at *Commonweal* Office, 13 Farringdon Road, on Sunday January 22, at 3.30 p.m.

THE TABLES TURNED.

ENGAGEMENTS.

January 21. HAMMERSMITH BRANCH S.L. Applications for engagements to be made to the Manager. H. A. Barker

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# THE COMMONWEALTH

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SATURDAY, JANUARY 28, 1888.

WEEKLY; ONE PENNY.

## NOTES ON NEWS.

AFTER a three days' trial, a jury have found our friends Graham and Burns guilty of "unlawful assembly," and a judge has sentenced them to six weeks' imprisonment. As both of our friends are emphatically *men*, they will not expect a long Jeremiad from us over their fate specially, since so many people are sharing it; and they will no doubt take it as part of the day's work, and a natural reward for courage and conduct exercised on behalf of the people. The real interest in the event to them as to us is as to what is to come of all this, what was intended by the closing of Trafalgar Square and the police onslaught of the 13th of November. No one can doubt who looks on the matter fairly, whatever his political views may be, that the intention is the suppression of all meetings in the open-air that may seem inconvenient to the Government; and the Government, I may add, has now got an instrument in its hands which it can use whenever it pleases. The right of public meeting which our Radical friends fondly thought we possessed, turns out to have no existence; a practically irresponsible police officer can take upon himself to forbid any meeting, and can order the maiming or slaying of as many people as he pleases in the exercise of his *discretion*, if he chooses to disperse such a meeting.

This is Mr. Justice Charles's law, and certainly he is nobly earning his new promotion by laying it down so clearly, and by acting so frankly as the senior counsel for the prosecution, though this latter proceeding we are well used to by now. Let us have a sentence or two from his remarkable charge to the jury.

"He reminded them also, and he could not repeat it too strongly, that it matters not whether the purpose was lawful or unlawful . . . it did not matter a pin's head what the purpose was." "He had carefully considered Mr. Asquith's contention as to the right of public meeting in the Square, but he could find no evidence of the right on the part of the public to hold meetings in any thoroughfare . . . he could find no right to hold meetings in them [thoroughfares] for the discussion of any question at all, whether social, political or religious."

To us Socialists this is no news: we all remember the trial of our comrades Williams and Mainwaring at Clerkenwell in 1886, where similar doctrine was held, though nominally our comrades were tried for obstruction and not for "unlawful assembly"; we were then told that it was no use our bringing evidence to prove that there was no real obstruction, that the meeting itself was the offence although it gave no inconvenience to any single person. We knew well enough why our meetings were interfered with, but the press and our middle-class acquaintance rebuked us or jeered us for saying that it was because we were Socialists, and they kept saying that we could not be allowed to hold meetings which "inconvenienced the public," and that that was the only reason why the police interfered with us. The recent events prove beyond a doubt that we were right: if the Radical meeting called on Bloody Sunday had been merely a political one, even though it was connected with the Irish revolt, it would not have been interfered with: our Radical friends became on that occasion Socialists; and it must be said that the authorities are doing their best to keep them so.

In truth all discontented members of the lower orders are now looked on by the classes as Socialists, and there is reason in that too; since where else can they look save to Socialism for a remedy?

Mr. Justice Charles repeated the well-worn lie that the crowd in Trafalgar Square was largely composed of roughs; and said that there was no doubt that it was true: he must be a credulous person indeed if that is really his opinion. The fact was so notoriously the reverse of that, that we may be excused for pointing out to those who may still suppose that they will have any defence from law on such occasions, that if the police will stick to such an obvious lie as this and a judge will profess to credit it, it is clear that no meeting big or little can be safe from the charge of its being "largely composed of roughs."

Meetings in the open-air, therefore, are unlawful, and may be dispersed at the discretion of the police, whether they are social, political or religious. That is the law. The practice will certainly be that some unlawful assemblies will be winked at by the police. Tory or respectable Liberal meetings will not be meddled with, nor, as a rule,

will religious meetings; but Socialists will be put down whenever convenient as a matter of course, and Radical meetings also will often be harried when they are not consecrated to the cause of law and order by being called under the auspices of the Liberal leaders.

Thus at one stroke vanishes the dream of bringing about peaceably and constitutionally the freedom which we long for; (and we may hope not we only but many of our Radical friends also, although they have but a vague idea of what it means;) for if they do these things in the green tree what will they do in the dry? "Society" was a little alarmed, and much disgusted by the now regular unemployed agitation, and by that slight fear has been impelled to act in a way worthy of an ordinary absolutist government. Let the slight fear become a big one, the hand-writing on the wall grow clearer, and then we shall see suppression of indoor meetings also; suppression of associations, press prosecutions, and the like; and there is plenty of law for all that. What lies ahead of us is rougher work than languid "constitutional agitation"; passive resistance first, with the usual incidents of jail and fine and ruin, until our educational agitation has had its effect; then increase of reaction, increase of resistance; the occasion given by some special stupidity of reaction, not for one crisis but for several; apparent defeat maybe at first, but always as the seed of victory; till at last the reactionary brute force of the executive finds itself helpless even in the hour of its triumph. This is the vision which our enemies are forcing us to see by their present contemptible tyrannies, which seem so safe to them.

Meanwhile, Graham and Burn's sentence has turned all but the strongest stomachs for Coercion; the *Daily News*, the special Mr. Facing-both-ways of the party, calls for their immediate release. So we all do, but also for the immediate release of the victims of the drum-head court martial and of Edlin and Co., condemned on the evidence of the police who manufactured the riot and the tales against the "rioters," at once.

One word about the "gentlemen" who have been sent to prison. Their friends have been very busy trying to get them special indulgences in jail, naturally enough; but the result of this will be to make many middle-class people think that they are being treated worse than ordinary prisoners, since I now discover that it is only those who have a chance of being sent to prison who have any idea of what imprisonment means. Well, the fact is, as one of our comrades was saying to me the other day, that no "gentleman" would be treated as badly as any working-man. I add to this that when a "gentleman" comes out, unless his health has suffered, he is no worse than before; whereas a working-man is stamped by his imprisonment as a jail-bird whatever he has done. The subject of the prison system, however, is too wide a one to be treated in a mere note. Mr. Graham's spirited letter to the *Pall Mall* gives a hint of what lies at the bottom of it. Meantime, we say with our new contemporary, the *Star*, *Remember the unremembered!*

No doubt many Socialists were surprised that the jury did not find our friends guilty on all counts of the indictment; all that can be said about them was that they were commonplace. But the Edinburgh jury that acquitted our crofter friends were a very different set of men, and have recalled the best traditions of the days before '48, when the reactionists and democrats were at grips. All honour to them!

WILLIAM MORRIS.

## THE ODD TRICK.

WE not unfrequently hear a certain school of sentimentalists sneer at Socialism as holding before men a merely low sensuous ideal of existence—of good living, etc., etc. We are accused by such of neglecting the higher ideals of Humanity for the affairs of the stomach and other still more despised organs. The usual and obvious retort to this sort of thing is the *ad hominem* one, that the persons who make the charge are themselves sufficiently well cared for in these lower matters to be able to afford to ignore them and turn their attention to things above. But though the gist of the matter is often contained in the above retort, it is as it stands, crude, unformulated, and impolite, even if it were always applicable, which it is not. Let us therefore for the nonce treat these people seriously and develop the answer to their objection in formulated fashion. For in truth this objection springs not merely

from deliberate hypocrisy or from thoughtlessness, but has its root in the ethical code in which they have been brought up. This ethical code teaches them that all the highest ideals of man's existence are attainable by a voluntary effort on the part of the individual, irrespective of his material surroundings, which are matters of small concern. The body is in fact a thing rather to be ashamed of than anything else.

Now I do not say that all our sentimental friends carry their sentiment to this extent, but that this principle—the principle of Christian Dualism as opposed to Pagan Monism—underlies their moral consciousness there can be no doubt. It is of course true that this view is facilitated by comfortable bodily conditions. It is easier to think meanly of the "body" when the "body" is all right than when it is not. And this very fact gives us, as we shall show directly, the key to the Socialist position on the subject. There are, however, not a few persons who in all sincerity hold the view that in the overcoming of the body—in the minimisation of all bodily satisfactions—is to be found the portal to the higher life of man, and who act up to their professions. Now it should be observed that to all who earnestly and sincerely accept the current ethical basis, the body still remains an *end*, although they profess to ignore it. It is an *end* to them just as much as to the epicure and the libertine, although in another way.

Now the difference between this orthodox and the Socialist way of viewing human life is, that the Socialist, while not pretending to ignore the body, yet wishes that it should cease to be the main *end* of human life. At present the satisfaction of personal bodily wants fills the mental horizon of the immense majority of human beings, the only alternative being with those would-be virtuous individuals whose mental horizon is filled, to a large extent at least, with the idea of the suppression of these same bodily wants. That the first of these conditions is unfavourable to the development of a higher life, be it moral, intellectual, or artistic, few would dispute. That the second is scarcely less so is equally obvious on a little reflection. For in the first place the continued struggle against natural wants, to live on next to nothing, to bear the greatest privations, in itself draws off vast stores of moral energy which is wasted on mere suppression. But if the victory is gained, if the man does not succumb in the process, if his devotion to his higher aim, of whatever nature it may be, is so exceptionally great as to carry him through, what has he gained and what has he not lost? He is purified through suffering, says the Christian. But in how many cases he metaphorically leaves his skin behind in the process; in how many cases he has lost an essential part of himself, those know who have had much intercourse with or who have studied the lives of those exceptional men who have successfully struggled with adversity, and who have observed the souredness, the oneness, the twistedness, so to say, of character thence resulting. No one can fail to admire and to honour the strength of purpose which enables a man to pursue a high aim in the midst of privations; but no one who looks at the matter without prejudice and in the light of broad human interests, can honestly say that the man is *better* as man for the privations through which he has come, even though he has accomplished his life-work in spite of them. Instances of this may be found in Chatterton, Beethoven, etc. Of course we leave out of account here the fact that under modern economic conditions it is not a case of being contented with a little which is at least there, but of a desperate and exhausting life-struggle to obtain sufficient to sustain life at all. We do so, as we are addressing not so much the avowed opponents of Socialism as those who, while professing to sympathise in a manner with its aims, have lingering prejudices in favour of the ascetic or shall I say the "austere republican" theory of life, and who therefore view with disfavour the stress modern Socialism lays on the satisfaction of mere material wants.

Now even the sentimental moralist in question must admit that at the present time the end-purpose of life is for the majority of men the satisfaction of natural personal wants. There are not a few, it is true, who pursue gain for the sake of gain, but this is generally *after* they have satisfied their animal wants. Now the apparent ideal of certain sentimental moralists I have heard talk, is an insurance against absolute destitution, and the rigid repression of all further desires over and above this minimum. The Positivists to a great extent hold this view. Such a state of things they think might be attainable (by a kind of state-socialism we suppose) within the framework of present society. The theory, therefore, is not distasteful to those who see that capitalism is unstable and indeed impossible to last as at present constituted, but who would willingly stave off the complete overthrow of the system. The latter are anxious merely to retain their monopoly of the good things of life, but they find a useful ally in the introspective moralist who winces at the idea of removing the causes of moral evil for fear of depriving the individual of the opportunity of resisting temptation, and who wants to keep him deprived of the necessities and conveniences of life that he may show his strength of mind in being able to do without them, shutting their eyes to the fact that they thereby perpetuate moral evil.

It is the scientific Socialist, who alone seriously wishes to lead men to higher aims than merely sensual ones, while caring not one jot for the empty moral gymnastics which are the end of the introspective moralist. He sees that his ideal human happiness, and that in the highest sense, is realisable rather in the enjoyment of all than in the restraint of each, even in the matter of mere material wants, and that the corrupting influence of luxury hitherto has mainly resided in the fact that it was not enjoyed by all. And his theory is based on knowledge of the "nature of things."

To the sick man what is the highest ideal? Health. His whole horizon of aspiration is filled in with the notion of health. To him,

health is synonymous with happiness. He recovers his health, and he finds now that there is something beyond that horizon—that over the mountains there are also oxen. Health now becomes a matter of course, which he accepts as such and does not think about; his mental horizon is now occupied with other objects. Had he remained sick he might have been resigned, but health would still have irresistibly presented itself to him as the ideal goal of life. So it is with the completion of health, which consists in the full, the adequate satisfaction of bodily wants. So long as they remain a desideratum for the majority of mankind, the majority of mankind will continue to regard them as the one end of life—notwithstanding the precept and example of the heroic ascetic who despises such low concerns. Let the mass of men once have free access to the means of satisfaction, and they will then for the first time feel the need of higher objects in life.

As a matter of fact, it is a trite observation that all the "higher life" of the world has been carried on by those classes who have been free from the presence of material wants, not by those who have been deprived of them or who have renounced them. What did the really consistent Christian ascetics—the St. Antonies of the fourth century for example—accomplish beyond seeing visions, performing astounding feats of self-privation, etc.? Were they more than moral mountebanks? Do we not find, on the contrary, that the monks who really led the intellectual life of the middle ages, who were historians, philosophers, etc., spring from the wealthy Benedictines and other orders whose discipline was "lax," who kept a well-filled refectory, and whose morality was said to be questionable? So long as monasticism remained ascetic, intellectual life within the monasteries was impossible. Bodily cravings and the struggle to repress those cravings occupied men's whole attention. Another and still more striking instance of how the fact of every possible sensual enjoyment being within reach, forces the mind to seek satisfaction in something, which if it is not intellectual is at least non-sensual, is that of the *tyrannos* of the ancient city, or the wealthy noble, the provincial governor, the pro-consul, or prefect of the Roman Empire. No one can adequately conceive nowadays of the luxury and sensuous pleasure in which such characters as these literally weltered, of the gorgeous marble palaces, of the Persian coverings, of the Babylonian couches, the wines, dishes, and spices from every quarter of the known world, of the most well-favoured concubines that could be procured for money from Europe, from Asia, and from Africa—yet, strange to say, the possessor and enjoyer of all these things was never happy unless risking them all and his life included on the barren chance (in the first instance mentioned) of conquering another city, or (in the second) of intriguing for the purple, the attainment of which experience had taught, in nine cases out of ten, meant death within a few months. It was not that the conquest of the city or the ascent of the throne added to his luxury—which would have probably been impossible—this was not his object, but that having already his fill of all sensuous pleasures he looked for something more, and this something more he found in accordance with the manners of his age, in the notion of glory, the glory of founding a dynasty, or of being saluted absolute master of the world. We see a similar thing nowadays in the tradesman in possession of all that wealth can purchase, and in absence of all intellectual resources, who also in accordance with the manners of his age, finds *his* "something more" in commercial "success," which he continues to pursue for its own sake.

The introspective moralists, Christian, Positivist, or what not, are, therefore, right when they insist on the satisfaction of material wants not being regarded as the final end of human life. They are only wrong in not seeing that until obtained they must *necessarily* seem such to the vast majority of men. The signal failure in history of the doctrine of repression, whether it take the form of the "holiness" of the Christian, or the more plausible "ascetic discipline" of the Positivist, after a reign of two thousand years ought, one would think, to give these good people pause as to whether repression is, after all, so conducive to the higher life of man as satisfaction.

The true *telos* of human life, the "rational activity" of Aristotle, "the beautiful, the good, the true" of the young man who is taking to literary composition, may be compared, not to speak it profanely, to the odd trick in whist, which, though it is the object of the hand to win, yet presupposes the winning of six other tricks. Now the amateur of the "goody-goody" morality—the perfectionist of individual character—thinks to make the odd trick without having completed his regulation half-dozen. The Socialist is rather concerned that the human race as a whole, should each and all, "make" the first six tricks, called respectively, good and sufficient food and drink, good housing, good clothing, fuel, untaxed locomotion, adequate sexual satisfaction, knowing that before these are scored the "odd," which is the final purpose of the "play," will be impossible. With bad and insufficient food, with small and squalid dwellings, with scanty and shoddy clothing, with insufficient firing in cold weather, with the lack of change, and with inadequate satisfaction of a sexual kind, man may exist; but he (*i.e.*, the average man) will see nothing but these things in front of him, his ideal will still be them, and nothing else but them. When once he possesses them they become a part of his ordinary life, and he ceases to think about them. His horizon is then extended. He sees the final purpose of his life in things of which before he had never dreamed.

Once more, I repeat, let us make no mistake, all asceticism, all privation, is in itself an unmitigated evil. It is doubtless true that there are occasions when it is our duty, living in a period of struggle, to deprive ourselves, to sacrifice ourselves, for a better society. But even this deprivation, this sacrifice, is in itself an evil. It only becomes a good if it is undergone with the purpose of putting an end to the



sempiternal privation and sacrifice which civilisation imposes on the majority of our fellow-creatures. One can well appreciate the sacrifice of ourselves, the men of this generation, when necessary for the future, in all the respects named, but I confess that did I, like the Christians, the Positivists, and the sentimental Socialists, such as I understand Count Tolstoi to represent, believe privation and sacrifice (even "ascetic discipline"), be it in the most grovelling of material matters, to be the permanent lot of Humanity, my ardour in the cause of progress would be considerably damped.

One can scarcely conceive the nobler life which will result from generations of satisfied (rather than repressed) animal desires, once they are the lot not of this or that class, but of all. With food, drink, and other creature comforts to be had for the asking, they will cease to occupy the attention of human beings to an extent previously unknown in the world's history. Then for the first time will the higher aspirations and faculties of man have free play, the "something more," the "odd" trick, which is the real goal of human life, will assume a new character, and be pursued with an energy rivalling that hitherto devoted to personal gain, ambition or glory.

E. BELFORD BAX.

ADOLPH FISCHER.

THE city of Bremen, on the banks of the Weser, in Germany, is Adolph Fischer's birthplace. The son of a wage-worker, he received there such education as the provision of the law affords to the mass of the people in the common schools. At the age of fifteen he sailed for the United States, and in the printing-office of his brother, William B. Fischer, at Little Rock, Arkansas, he learned the trade of a printer, at which he worked up to the time of his arrest. He married in 1881, and had three little children, one girl and two boys, who are at present with his widow in Chicago. In June 1883 he went with his family to Chicago, where he found employment as a compositor in the office of the *Arbeiter Zeitung*, working there till after the Haymarket affair. At the same time he was earnestly engaged in the agitations of the labouring classes, holding political and economical views commonly styled as Anarchistic ideas. He was one of the most active and energetic among the Chicago apostles of the new doctrines, untiring in his efforts toward educating his fellow-workers, and consequently looked upon by the opposite side as a very dangerous man.

In a sketch of his life he relates how, in his early youth, his mind began to grapple with the social problem. His father belonged to the Socialist party in Bremen, and the boy one day hearing his teacher in the class uttering derogatory remarks about the Socialists, went home to question his father whether his political friends were really such an awful bad, lazy, and idling lot as the teacher described them to be. "Much to my surprise, my dear father laughed aloud and embraced me very affectionately. 'Dear Adolph,' he said, 'if Socialism is what your teacher explained it to be, why then the very same institutions which prevail now would be Socialistic!' And my father went on to show me how, in fact, there were so many idlers and indolent people under the now existing form of society, who were residing in palatial houses and living luxuriously at the expense of the sober and industrious working people, and that Socialism had the mission to abolish such unjust division. After this day I accompanied my father to Socialistic gatherings, and soon became convinced of the truth of what he said." The bright boy began to study Socialistic pamphlets and literature, and also to look about him with a keen observing eye. He saw the hardships of the toiling masses, their miserable hovels, and how the earnings of the most industrious of wage-workers were not sufficient to afford them and their families the pleasures and comforts of life. "I perceived that the diligent, never-resting human working-bees, who create all wealth and fill the magazines with provisions, fuel and clothing, enjoy only a minor part of their products, and lead a comparatively miserable life, whilst the drones, the idlers, keep the warehouses locked up and revel in luxury and voluptuousness. I saw men who manufactured shoes and boots and had helped fill the store-houses with these products ever since their boyhood, and yet they lingered to leave their shanties after rainy weather for fear of getting wet feet, and in many cases the toes of their children's feet peeped speakingly out of the top of the shabby shoes. Bricklayers were busy building houses from sunrise until sunset for several decades, yet as I looked about me I discovered but very few who called a house their own; they were bound to pay rent for the very same houses which they built. The clothing stores I knew to be crammed with goods, yet it was not a rare spectacle in my native city to see tailors walk about in the streets with pants patched to such an extent that they resembled chess-boards. My father's neighbour worked in a butcher's shop, but his wages were so low that his family could afford the luxury of one pound of meat only once a week—on Sunday. It did not require a profound thinker to discover that the prevailing institutions were based upon extortion from one class by another."

HOW SHOPKEEPERS WORK. — "Mr. Pumblechook appeared to conduct his business by looking across the street at the saddler, who appeared to transact his business by keeping his eye on the coachmaker, who appeared to get on in life by putting his hands in his pockets and contemplating the baker, who in his turn folded his arms and stared at the grocer, who stood at his door and yawned at the chemist. The watchmaker, always poring over a little desk with a magnifying glass at his eye, and always inspected by a group in smock frocks poring over him through the glass of his shop window, seemed to be about the only person in the High Street whose trade engaged his attention." — *C. Dickens' 'Great Expectations,' chap. viii.*

My writings have alternately been accused of a reactionary Conservatism and a dangerous Socialism, so that I may without presumption claim to be impartial. I love Conservatism when it means the preservation of beautiful things. I love Revolution when it means the destruction of vile ones. What I despise in the pseudo-Liberalism of the age is that it has become only the tyranny of narrow minds vested under high-sounding phrases and the deification of a policeman. I would give alike to a Capucin as to a Communist, to a Mormon as to a monk, the free choice of his opinions and mode of life. But this true liberty is nowhere to be found in Europe, and still less to be found in America, and this pseudo-liberty meddles with every phase of private life, and would dictate the rule of every single act. — *From 'A Village Commune,' by Guida.*

REVOLUTIONARY CALENDAR.

WEEK ENDING FEBRUARY 4, 1888.

29	Sun.	1737. Thomas Paine born. 1833. First "Reformed" Parliament met.
30	Mon.	1649. Charles I. beheaded. 1871. House of Representatives welcome Fenians to United States.
31	Tues.	1804. Lighting of the Beacons.
1	Wed.	1851. Mary Shelley died. 1875. Lock-out of 50,000 South Wales Miners.
2	Thur.	1808. Ledru-Rollin born. 1884. Wendell Phillips died.
3	Fri.	1757. Volney born. 1769. Wilkes expelled from Parliament for publishing "No. 45." 1813. Spanish Inquisition abolished. 1813. Leigh Hunt sentenced for "seditious libel."
4	Sat.	1553. Rogers burnt in Smithfield.

Welcoming the Fenians. — On Jan. 30, 1871, on motion of General Butler, the House of Representatives of the United States voted by 172 to 21 votes, a welcome to O'Donovan Rossa and the other Fenian refugees, who had just landed in America after their release from prison. — S.

Lighting of the Beacons. — During Napoleon's threats of invasion, the "patriotic" spirit of the people was wound up to a fearful pitch, when on the evening of Jan. 31, 1804, a beacon at Hulme Castle in Berwick was lighted by mistake, the signal flew from hill-top to hill-top throughout the whole northern half of Great Britain, bringing thousands of volunteers to their rallying-points at their highest speed. Those who read the account of that stirring time can but hope that when the signal is lit up in a more noble cause, the answer to it may be as prompt and the soldiers who respond be as brave and self-sacrificing. — S.

Mary Wollstonecraft Shelley, born Aug. 30, 1797; died Feb. 21, 1851. She was the daughter of William Godwin (author of *Political Justice*) and the famous Mary Wollstonecraft, who died at her birth. In 1814, she became the partner of the eventual life of the poet Shelley, after whose death in Italy, in 1822, she returned to England with her son. In character she resembled her father, Godwin, being somewhat cold and dispassionate in nature, and not fully sharing her husband's revolutionary enthusiasm, though an advocate of political and religious freedom. Her best known novel, 'Frankenstein,' was written in 1816. — H. S. S.

Wendell Phillips, born Nov. 29, 1811; died Feb. 2, 1884. Educated at Harvard; called to the bar in 1834; joined anti-slavery movement in 1837, enduring social ostracism, and risking not only poverty but perils innumerable; two years later retired from his profession because he could no longer keep the oath of fidelity to the United States constitution while it recognised slavery. An inspired speaker, master of all the resources of an orator, he wielded enormous influence; the speech delivered in 1859 over John Brown's grave has never been surpassed in America. He also spoke with great eloquence for temperance and the emancipation of woman. After the Civil War, Garrison gave up the leadership of the Anti-Slavery Society, saying the fight was won; but Phillips carried on the struggle until the negroes were made full citizens. In 1870, he resigned his office; he had previously taken up the labour question. Until within a short while of his death he continued to work for social, economic, and moral reform with as much vehemence as he had for his earlier cause—for the freedom of labour as for the emancipation of the slave. — S.

Spanish Inquisition. — Although it was decided at the Council of Verona, in 1184, to institute an inquisitorial tribunal, it was not before the Council of Latran, 1215, and that of Toulouse, 1229, that this tribunal became a permanent institution, in the shape of an ecclesiastical jurisdiction, empowered to prosecute opinions held contrary to Catholic orthodoxy. The real founder of the Inquisition was the monk Dominic, and Pope Gregorius IX., in 1233, gave the supreme direction of it to the monks of the Dominican order. The King of France, Louis IX., at the Conference of Melun, sanctioned the barbarous institution officially. The Inquisition was really born in France, on the occasion of the war of the Albigeois, at Toulouse, but it could not take root in that country, neither in England nor in Germany. The only important trials conducted by the Inquisitors in France were those of the Templars at Sens and at Paris, and that of Jeanne d'Arc at Rouen. But the very soil for the flourishing of that dreadful tribunal was Spain. Ferdinand V., the Catholic, gave to the Inquisition his official public sanction and endowed it magnificently. Under his reign and on the advice of Torquemada, the most iniquitous of all Inquisitors, more than 100,000 people were sentenced to death. From that very date of 1478 down to 1808, the annual average number of men sentenced to death and to ignominious punishments in Spain for the crime of heresy, was over 1100, and the Inquisition was only abolished at the time of the French invasion, by a decree of Napoleon in the year 1808 and again in 1813. The Inquisition has been established by the Spaniards everywhere in the world where they succeeded in settling their domination; in Mexico, Peru, all over South America, the Netherlands, the Philippine Isles, and Goa, where 80,000 people were burnt to death by the monstrous Catholic tribunal. Ferdinand VII., in the year 1814, re-established it, but without success, and it by-and-by disappeared completely. The Inquisition will everlastingly remain in the memories of men as the cruellest institution, born out of the intolerance of the Catholic Church. The best history of the Spanish Inquisition has been written by Juan Antonio Lhorente, under the title of 'Historia Critica de la Inquisicion en Espana' (1818, 4 vols., 8vo.). It has been translated in nearly every European language. — V. D.

Leigh Hunt, the friend of Shelley, Byron, and Keats, was editor of the *Excaminer*, of which his brother, John Hunt, was the proprietor. In the issue of March 22, 1812, he had commented in strong, though not by any means too strong terms, on some adulatory verses on the Prince Regent (afterwards George IV.), published by the *Morning Post*, in which the Prince was addressed as "The Glory of the People," "The Mæcenas of the Age," "An Adonis in Loveliness," etc. Leigh Hunt wrote: "Who would have thought in reading these astounding eulogies that this *Glory of the People* was the subject of millions of shrugs and reproaches? . . . That this *Exciter of Desire*, this *Adonis in Loveliness*, was a corpulent gentleman of fifty! In short that this *delightful, blissful, wise, pleasurable, honourable, virtuous, true, and immortal* Prince was a violator of his word, a libertine over head and ears in debt and disgrace, a despiser of domestic ties, the companion of gamblers and demireps, a man who has just closed half a century, without one single claim on the gratitude of his country or the respect of posterity!" For this he and his brother John were prosecuted for libel, and although the profligate character of the Prince was well known—in 1795 Parliament had discharged debts of his amounting in the aggregate to nearly £700,000—they were convicted, and sentenced by Lord Ellenborough to two years' imprisonment and to pay a fine of £500 each. The special jury which found them guilty was a very special one, for six out of the twelve were persons holding situations under the Government. — W. H. U.



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

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

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

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#### Periodicals received during the week ending Wednesday January 25.

<b>ENGLAND</b>	<b>FRANCE</b>	<b>SWITZERLAND</b>
Justice	Paris—Cri du Peuple (daily)	Zurich—Sozial Demokrat
London—Freie Presse	Le Socialiste	Geneva—Bulletin Continental
Labour Tribune	La Revolte	<b>ITALY</b>
Norwich—Daylight	Lille—Le Travailleur	Milan—Il Fascio Operaio
Railway Review	Nimes—L'Emancipation	<b>SPAIN</b>
Worker's Friend	<b>HOLLAND</b>	El Productor
<b>INDIA</b>	Hague—Recht voor Allen	Madrid—El Socialista
Bankipore—Behar Herald	Amsterdam—Voorwaarts	<b>GERMANY</b>
<b>UNITED STATES</b>	<b>BELGIUM</b>	Berlin—Volks Tribune
Boston—Woman's Journal	Seraing (Ougree)—Le Reveil	Arbeiterstimme
Chicago—Labor Enquirer	Ghent—Vooruit	<b>NORWAY</b>
Milwaukee (Wis.)—Volksblatt	Liege—L'Avenir	Kristiania—Social-Democraten
N. Haven—Workmen's Advocate	Antwerp—De Werker	<b>ROMANIA</b>
St. Louis (Mo.)—Die Parole	Brussels—L'Avant-Garde	Muncitoriul
Providence (R. I.)—The People		

## THE TRIAL OF BURNS AND GRAHAM.

THE termination of this case has rudely dispelled the illusion that a court of law would, on the matter being put before it, completely vindicate the right of meeting in Trafalgar Square. So sure, indeed, were certain advanced politicians of this that they used all their eloquence so dissuade the public from forcibly insisting on what it had hitherto regarded as its inalienable right. Free speech and the right of public meeting, it was asserted, were in no way endangered, for on the matter being put before the "Courts" it would then and there be established that the forcible exclusion of the public from Trafalgar Square was legally untenable. The out-of-office legal luminaries were so certain of it that they prognosticated the downfall of Warren and his confused retreat with his myrmidons before the scorn and indignation of an outraged public.

But the trial of Burns and Graham has left matters just where they were before, if indeed it has not made them worse; for it has proclaimed the autocracy of Sir Charles Warren and asserted his right through his subordinates to bludgeon the people. As to the right of public meeting, Justice Charles made it perfectly clear that no such right existed, "for so far as he could find, in the law of England, these places were for people to pass along—the purpose for which they were dedicated to the public use—and they were not to be used for any other purpose. And if the Square was held to be a place of public resort, then it would be analogous to public thoroughfares, and the public would have no right to hold meetings for discussions on social, political, or religious subjects in the place." He further laid it down that "if any persons assemble to carry out any common purpose, lawful or unlawful, in such a manner as to cause alarm to persons of courageous character," such assemblage is unlawful.

From this we clearly see that there is no right of meeting by the people at all, that all their meetings are held upon sufferance. This is a rude shock, if anything can shock them, to those Radicals who have asserted that the arrest of out-door speakers has been through their own faults, and not that of the authorities. This plea cannot be made now that it has been demonstrated that even in free England the most elemental principle of liberty does not exist.

The so-called advanced politician will begin now to consider the necessity of hawking about another picture besides that of outraged and libertyless Ireland—that of London and its imprisoned martyrs, Burns, Graham, and many others whose humble obscurity hides them from the public, will have to occupy a small place in his repertoire. Like the Seer of Hawarden, the mental vision of the people's leaders has become so concentrated on the Green Isle as to make them believe "that that alone was the land where liberty was not."

But this distracted attention from England to Ireland, and the supercilious indifference with which the appeals of the people to their leaders have been met since the beginning of the Trafalgar Square business, has all the appearance of an attempt to shuffle out of the matter by the leading Liberals and Radicals. They hoped the matter

would blow over, and had no desire to meddle, as it would be dangerous to interfere, lest lawlessness and disorder should be encouraged.

But the conviction and imprisonment of a democratic M.P. and a Social Democrat for "unlawfully assembling" at a place where many among them had harangued the people has caused a flutter of excitement and compelled them to bestir themselves to do something. And so they have met in solemn conclave and decided to wait until Parliament meets, and then— We shall see.

All this political shuffling is bad enough, but the "trial," "that mockery of Justice" just gone through at the Old Bailey, is even more disgusting. Here, for attempting to assert in a peaceful manner what had been esteemed for over thirty years a public right, two men, one of whom had been half murdered by the subordinates of Sir C. Warren, stood in the dock, charged with "taking part in a riot, with unlawfully assembling, and assaulting the police in the execution of their duty." The charges of riot and assaulting the police completely broke down and the judge felt himself compelled to make a sort of half apology to Graham for the injuries he had received at the hands of the police; he also maintained an air of impartiality during the "trial," until his "summing up," when he "shot his bolt," and made an excellent speech for the prosecution.

The conduct of the "prisoners" throughout the trial was in every respect most excellent. Mr. Asquith put forward the legal aspect of the case and Burns what may be called the moral. Burns was particularly smart in his cross-examination of Sir C. Warren, and that individual cut a most sorry figure while under it. If hard words broke bones the dressing down he received in the witness-box would be some satisfaction for the broken heads of Graham and others.

Of course the end of the "trial" conclusively demonstrates that whatsoever the authorities do is law. In fact that they are the law. Let those who doubt the truth of this assertion attempt to assert their "rights" against the wish of Sir Charles and his men, and their truncheons will speedily disillusionise them, and like Burns and Graham they will find themselves relegated to prison to reflect upon "the rashness of their conduct."

The law says that no one has the right to resist the police in the execution of their duty—that is, the orders of their superiors—for in so doing an unlawful act is committed. Which, translated into other words, means that a police-constable may strike anyone on the head with his staff, and that the person whose head is struck at dare not raise his arm to ward off the blow without being guilty of an unlawful act. It is the duty of a law-abiding citizen to allow himself to be bludgeoned, and then, if he thinks that he has been unjustly treated, to take his case into "Court."

But thank heaven, "we still have liberties left us," as a "soldier of Freedom" said the other day. We must not talk "sedition" à la Warren; but we may sing psalms at street corners and we may even talk politics, provided they be favourable to the ruling classes. "Ah, but you forget that we still have a free press." Yes, quite true, we have a free press for the most part owned by the ruling classes themselves, and used by them for furtherance of their own interests. A few papers there are, it is true, which to some extent do champion the cause of the workers and which will be permitted to do so, so long as the governing classes do not think it inimical to their interests. For all these blessings let us be truly thankful.

H. A. BARKER.

## LAW AND WAR.

(Concluded from p. 18.)

LOOKING at all this, the learned German, Leopold von Ranke, says that the great mass of the people in civilised life have no real interest in politics, the economical and social questions being those which are of importance to them. They recognise that the political law-making process does not concern itself with these all-important social questions, but that it is a mere fight between the different sections of the privileged classes, each one attempting to grasp as much as possible to itself. From ages immemorial the weaker party in such struggles has called to its assistance those who at other times it holds as "peuple taillable et corvéable à merci et miséricorde," deluding them with fair words and promises, which stand on the pages of history, but do not show in the statute-book.

The established law has thus long since become a mere confused catalogue of jarring privileges, in which the great majority of mankind find themselves only mentioned as "the common people," subject to contribute taxes and to labour "at discretion"—not at their own discretion, but at that of the privileged persons. These last are over busy, as Ranke says, in attending to their own interests to have much disposition to look after the rights of the people. Yet if the rights of the people are of no weight, the fact that privilege is worthless without folk to exercise it on will move the dullest. Thus there is one set of laws showing the kind of attention, which might be expected from such a motive, to the pressing economical and social questions. It is the *Poor Law*. This is the upshot of the struggles of the privileged classes, so far as regards the great mass of the people. It consists of as brutal a set of enactments as in any time or nation have expressed the relations of the governors to the governed. The older parts are blood-thirsty, the more modern ones favour the slow torture of the work-houses. In 1833 and in the first Reformed Parliament, says William Cobbett, the commercial and landlord classes joined hands. They had no shame in proclaiming that the motive of their action was "the saving of their estates," and that this was to be done by compelling

the poor "to live on a coarser kind of food," and by making the condition of relief so horrible that but few would avail themselves of the offer. And they did this. That set of laws, the *Poor Law*, is the result of law-making so far as regards the good of the great majority all over the civilised world; they are merely the common soldiers, who do the fighting for their masters, and are pensioned off on the coarsest kind of food when they are invalided. And the wars that they waste themselves in are of the meanest description, the weapons being lies, adulteration, cheating, misrepresentation, and suppression of the truth.

All this goes on, it must be recollected, with the pretence of doing justice to all. There could not be an atmosphere more likely to promote the growth of humbugs. Nothing debases the mind so much as the deliberate defilement of an ideal. Men who have ever in their mouths the names of justice and right, while their business is to make or administer laws, which are nothing but weapons in the base struggle between different privileges,—men under such conditions must lose all sense of truth and reality. They are worse than the straightforward pirate. He at least makes no pretence when he takes all he can get, but he does not do a hundredth, not a thousandth, part of the mischief of one bad law. To destroy the pirate and to obey the law are, however, equally our "duty to God," as is continually dinned into our ears by our case-hardened legislators, lawyers, and political persons in general. If we venture to doubt, we are saluted as sacrilegious, as blasphemers, as robbers. These are the phrases of that unwritten law which is the necessary accompaniment of a statute law. It is in this way that the statute law does indirect harm as great as its direct evil. For the fixing of any set of ideas or opinions as if they were final is the very poison of education, and is most hostile to the free development of the mind.

The common phrases of praise or disparagement, such as "he comes of a good family," "he is a free-thinker," or "he has a well-regulated mind," and similar ones, are more suited to the breeding of pigs or of horses to go in harness, than to the free development of a thinking being. There are multitudes of other misleading phrases and catch-words which are the axioms on which are based the propositions of the unwritten law—*e.g.*, "loyalty and religion," "queen and country," "party allegiance," "free contract," "free and independent elector," "civilization," "political honesty," "dispensation of providence." The general tendency of most of these is simply abominable. The phrase "free-thinker" is uttered by law-abiding people in a tone of detestation, which seems to imply that in their opinion whatever is for the time being the orthodox belief should be slavishly adhered to. In the early part of last year a respectable person named Lord Norton wrote to the papers explaining that party allegiance properly required men to uphold in Parliament measures which they may have opposed in the Cabinet. When young we are directed to read "good" books, which tell us to speak the truth. To profess belief in what one does not understand, and to uphold as advantageous to the country what you think is quite the contrary, is not speaking the truth.

The ideas expressed in such phrases are fixed on the mind when it is young and impressionable, and by the time the youth becomes a man he is full furnished with a set of compelling or prohibitory laws which hamper him on every side—"You *must* do this," or "you *ought* not to read that," "people *ought* to go to church on Sundays, and men *ought* to wear tail-coats at balls," "you *ought* to be content with your position in life," "there *must* be rich and poor," "the law *must* be enforced." The same actions in people of different positions in life are not estimable equally. A bishop may say that he finds in the writings of St. Anselm, let us suppose, something going much deeper than "la propriété c'est le vol," and his congregation will praise him for his nice sermon. But a working man who maintains before his fellows that privilege is based on robbery, is despised, if not punished, as a "wild mob-orator." In the mouth of the dignitary the words mean as little as his professions of Christianity; but the little prefix "mob" insinuates the unwisdom of our allowing the poor to begin to think for themselves.

If any one casts doubt on the truth or worth of these enactments, the strong arm of the unwritten law is stretched forth, and he is hurled out of good society, or the milder punishment of boycotting is inflicted on him by the respectable classes. These may seem trivial matters; but it is I think a most serious thing that the human mind should be cramped so as to find guidance in these petty and inquisitive provisions, which pretend to deal with mental questions by means of fixed enactments, just as the statute law does with our material surroundings. The established law in its two branches forms an oppressive and searching tyranny. The free exercise of our physical powers is altogether prevented, the outlines of justice are confused, and the mind, enervated by the use of leading strings from its very birth, falls feebly under the guidance of any man in authority, even a newspaper editor or a policeman. Independent thought is prevented from developing itself, and thus the answers given to those questions which will thrust themselves forward, consist too often of empty phrases and arguments not carried out.

This review of the effects of an established law leads to a twofold conclusion. The first refers to the present condition of society, whose laws do little else than regulate the internecine war always going on between the different sections of the privileged classes, and the transference backwards and forwards of the people from master to master.

The very fact that, after so many centuries of struggles for reform, often distinguished by the wisdom and self-sacrifice of able and earnest men, the condition should be what it now is, involves to a great extent the second conclusion. This is that reform is impossible, and that the

system itself is in its very nature bad. It indicates the impossibility that any fixed legal system should continue, even for a limited period to be in accord with reason and justice. There is the accompanying and greater evil of the mental effect, that to those who are born into an unjust system, injustice should from custom come to seem just.

I am far from blaming our forefathers. They were quite as witty and as wise as this generation. They framed various systems of law, which were not obviously unjust, but sometimes contained such partial justice as can in any case be secured by the organisation of a society in classes. But while the law remained constant, circumstances changed, and succeeding generations were born into a society of ever increasing injustice. This, however, seemed natural and right, since they were born into it. We cannot blame them, we must pity them for that. All animals are in this respect the same, and defend that which to them seems natural. Slight as may be the privilege into which a man is born, he defends eagerly what to him seems so naturally just, and others allow the privilege because it is but trivial. Once granted it is never willingly abandoned, and the action of the ambitious members, and the accidents of time and place, will always tend to add new privileges to a family or tribe. Privileged tribes and families have no doubt decayed and disappeared, but only that a stronger rival may enter into the inheritance. It would seem that privilege once started has a fatal tendency to grow, and that there can be but one result to a growth, by which from age to age, a class changeable in form yet always a class, is continually receiving and never losing some advantage. The result of the ever increasing riches of the few, and the ever increasing misery of all, is before us to-day. We are concerned with the double business of destroying the monstrous growth, and of taking care that the evil seed is not again planted.

That evil seed is privilege, and history has given us abundant warnings as to its dangers, and of how it spreads insidiously through every legal system. What I mean by a privileged man is one who, with the declared or tacit consent of other people, takes certain things for his own benefit and enjoyment, or prevents others from using them, although he has done nothing to entitle him to this consideration. Even the claim, "to every one the results of his own labour," involves a privilege or the contrary; the strong and able man has already the advantage of more enjoyment in life, and cannot therefore justly claim that he should be still further privileged in being allowed for little toil to receive the same from the common stock, that the feeble man can only secure by severe labour. To settle such difficult questions is beyond the present time, corrupted as even the freest mind is by its surroundings. But what we can see is the necessity of destroying root and branch every existing system of law and government, as the very embodiment of class-rule and privilege; and what we should urge is that any society, once freed from these shackles, which should allow the arrangements which it may make for its convenience to crystallize into a fixed legal system, will be started along a blood-stained path towards a bog of misery, just as, in the past and in the present, every civilised country of the world has fared.

C. J. FAULKNER.

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NEWSPAPER "PLOTS."—Some day we shall have to hang an editor or two, and a few correspondents, to cure them of wanton sensationalism.—*Weekly Dispatch*.

The *Evening Star* has risen and shines (at 3d. per copy) on the darkness of London. It has not appeared before it was wanted, and all who are on the side of freedom must fervently wish that the closing words of its first article may be fulfilled, "We come to stay." We urge upon every one of our readers who takes an evening paper, the necessity of supporting the *Star* rather than any of its rivals. It and the *Pall Mall Gazette* are the only dailies which have a word for the workers, and if it keeps on as it has begun, the *Star* will go far to achieve one great thing towards the higher development of society—giving a voice to the dumb driven millions.

Lord Henry Bruce, M.P., speaking at Malmesbury the other day chiefly in favour of protection, finished his speech by saying that "the Government should place some restraint on the immigration of Socialists and paupers into England." It is recorded that Balaam's ass once spoke, and to some purpose, as it warned him of a danger. Lord Henry Bruce has followed his example, and shown us the meaning of Mr. Arnold White's anxiety for defending the poor people in the East-end against the competition of cheap foreign labour. It is not the welfare of the poor slaves in the East-end but the welfare of their masters which is aimed at: it is the fear of Socialism which they are to be guarded against. That may become necessary if Bismarck's new coercion bill is passed intact.—W. M.

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You have given the name of a science to what is yet an imperfect inquiry, and the upshot of your so-called science is this, that you increase the wealth of a nation by increasing the quantity of things which are produced by labour, no matter what they are, no matter how produced, no matter how distributed. The greater the quantity of labour that has gone to the production of the quantity of things in a community the richer is the community. That is your doctrine. Now, I say, if this be so, riches are not the object for a community to aim at. I say the nation is best off in relation to other nations which has the greatest quantity of the common necessities of life distributed among the greatest number of persons; which has the greatest number of honest hearts and stout arms united in a common interest, willing to offend no one, but ready to fight in defence of their own community against all the rest of the world because they have something in it worth fighting for. The moment you admit that one class of things without any reference to what they respectively cost is better worth having than another, that a smaller commercial value with one mode of distribution is better than a greater commercial value with another mode of distribution, the whole of that curious fabric of postulates and dogmas which you call the science of political economy, which I call *politicae oeconomia in-scientia*, tumbles to pieces.—*Crotchet Castle*, by T. L. Peacock.



## THE LABOUR STRUGGLE.

BRITAIN.

About two thousand Dundee millworkers struck work on Tuesday, their demand for an increase of wages having been refused.

The strike of joiners at Edinburgh still continues. The men who are out are receiving strike allowance, non-society men being paid the same sum as those who are members of the union.

The Glasgow Tinplate Workers Society has successfully resisted an attempt by one of the Clyde firms to increase the working hours from 51 to 54 per week.

After long agitation the Dublin Hairdresser's Association has succeeded in getting all the hairdressing establishments closed on Sundays. Notices are posted up in all the trades society rooms calling upon the members to boycott any establishment open on Sunday.

**MIDDLESBROUGH STEEL-WORKS.**—At a mass meeting of steel-workers at Middlesbrough on the 19th inst., it was stated that the masters had threatened to close the North-Eastern Steel-works for six weeks in order to starve into submission the seven hundred men who are locked out. A resolution was passed condemning the masters' attempt to break up the Steel-workers' Union.

**SCOTTISH MINERS.**—Matters in Fife and Clackmannan have assumed a serious aspect, consequent on the enforcement announced by the masters two weeks ago of a reduction in wages by 10 per cent. Mass meetings have been held at Cowdenbeath and Dysart at which it was resolved to strike at once. At Dunfermline it was agreed to finish the contract and take a fortnight's holiday, with a view to reducing stocks and maintaining the present wages.

**REDUCTION.**—In consequence of the continued depression in the stove-grate trade, one of the staple trades of Rotherham, the Wheathall Foundry Co. gave their moulders and other workmen a fortnight's notice of a 10 per cent. reduction, and the notice expired on Monday evening. A notice to the effect that work would be resumed at the reduction had been posted in the yard, but on Tuesday a number of the men did not put in an appearance.

**THE FACTORY ACT AT THE EAST-END.**—At the Thames Police Court on the 19th inst., Morris Miller, of 11 Greenfield Street, Whitechapel, was summoned by Mr. Lakeman, an inspector of factories, for unlawfully employing a young person after the hour of ten o'clock at night—namely, until a quarter to eleven. He pleaded guilty, and was fined 30s. and 4s. costs. Jacob Rosenberg, of 37 Yalford Street, Whitechapel, was summoned for a like offence, and was fined 20s. and 4s. costs. Aaron Koski, of 30 Myrtle Street, Whitechapel, appeared to answer three summonses for unlawfully employing one woman and two young persons until the hour of half-past eleven p.m. He also pleaded guilty, and was fined on the first case £3 and 4s. costs, and on each of the two others £1 and 4s. costs.

**THE ARBITRATION DODGE.**—At a special meeting of union men engaged in the boot and shoe trade in London held last week, a resolution emanating from the Employers' Association, asking the workmen's Union to agree to refer all disputes to arbitration, came on for discussion. The dodge was to get the men to agree to arbitration, then to apply for a revision of their Statement (for "revision," read "reduction"), then to call in the arbitrator and trot out the new Northampton Statement; and then Mr. Arbitrator, honest man though he might be, would almost certainly at once decide in favour of the Employers' Association. The voting was by ballot, and the reply was almost unanimously in the negative. It is very probable that in the autumn we shall witness a lock-out in London on similar lines to the recent lock-out in Northampton.—H. McK.

The foregoing report is very interesting, following on the heels of the arbitration in the case of the Bolton engineers. See the excellent observations by the *Cotton Factory Times*, reprinted below.—T. B.

**ORGANISING THE IRON-WORKERS.**—A mass meeting of iron-workers, convened by the District Committee of the Ironworkers' Association, was held last Saturday night at Wolverhampton. Mr. W. Aucott (Wednesbury), president of the association, alluded to the condition into which the iron trade had fallen. They were now in a condition as bad or worse than that of twenty years ago. That was a disgrace to their manhood. Nothing was needed but that they should be prepared to pledge themselves to each other, and the immediate future would be brightened. Mr. E. Trow (Darlington), secretary of the Iron and Steel Workers' Association of Great Britain, said the misery that had been entailed upon them was owing to the utter disorganisation that had prevailed during the past ten or twelve years. He did not know any other trade where the position of the men was so deplorable owing to the want of confidence in the leaders. If they worked together they must shake off the trammels of Liberalism and Conservatism, and disbelieve in both. At present they were working with their noses to the grindstone from morning to night, and then when they were old they had to seek an asylum in the workhouse. Pensions must be given to officers who lived on the taxes for years; the privates were paupers, and the labourers who paid the taxes became poor. This was done because there were thirty millions of fools working for six millions of rogues. The matter was in their own hands. Mr. Cox moved, "That this meeting pledges itself to use every legitimate means to induce all men connected with the iron and steel trades of this district to become members of the Associated Iron and Steel Workers, and by this means support and strengthen the Wages Board." The motion was carried unanimously.

**MANCHESTER.**—In spite of the statements in the capitalist press of a recent improvement in trade, there are no signs of a decrease in the large numbers of "unemployed" in the Manchester district; on the contrary, the already large number of "out-of-works" is being added to daily. Large batches of men in the various branches of the building trades, especially joiners, have been "suspended" or discharged during the last few weeks. In Manchester and Salford there are nine free libraries, and in the public reading rooms attached to these are daily to be found large assemblies of the unemployed. An observant spectator will easily perceive that the majority of the visitors at the libraries do not attend solely for the purpose of study. As a rule, those who are unemployed visit the reading-room to get a glance at the "Wanted" columns of the newspapers to see if there is a "chance of a job"; then after a weary tramp round the district seeking work at the various factories, workshops, etc., they return, tired and footsore, to the libraries to obtain a little rest on the benches. As a rule, men who have exhausted their energy in the fruitless search for work have little desire for intellectual study. Who is he who can be surprised at a broken-hearted worker seeking consolation in a "drop of drink"? Large numbers of workers of all grades, but mostly navvies, are migrating to Manchester

seeking a "permit" to work at the Ship-canal dock, only to meet with the reply "full up" at present. As a result of the stringent tests applied by the local Guardians of the Poor to applicants for temporary out-door relief, and the extraordinary influx of "surplus labour," "vagrancy" has increased to an extent hitherto unknown. Batches of men, women, and children are to be found daily and hourly making appeals for alms by singing "Moody and Sankey" hymns in the streets up till midnight, and the number of tramps who knock at our cottage doors at night begging a crust of bread is beyond computation. It is heartrending to see the hundreds of applicants for situations advertised in the local papers. No sooner is it known that a "hand" is wanted at an office or a workshop than hundreds of unemployed workers are crowded round the door or gate pushing and struggling to get in the front. Yet in spite of all this anxiety to obtain employment, we workers are told by our masters we are lazy, drunken, and unthrifty. Verily we the "sweated" are slow to learn the lesson our masters so ably teach us.—CITIZEN SPECIAL.

### NORFOLK IRON WORKS—RULES AND REGULATIONS.

1. For the future the weavers and winders will be supplied with slates, which they must take from the Time Office, and fill with a record of the various sizes and widths of netting, or quantities of wire wound, together with the time occupied upon such work, and the total time made in the day. The slate to be delivered in the Time Office on leaving.

2. *Loss of Time.*—Any workman losing two quarters in one week will be stopped for two days.

3. *Place of Workman.*—A weaver's post is beside his machine; if away from the same without permission or for necessary purposes he will subject himself to a fine.

4. *Netting bundles* taken from the rails must be stood up *on end* and not thrown down and trampled upon.

5. *Bobbins.*—Weavers must not take the bobbins from the machines until they are completely emptied. Anyone doing so, or any winder discovered filling on a bobbin partially filled with wire, will be fined one shilling. The bobbins, when empty, must not be thrown about; anyone doing so, and causing the bobbins to be broken, must pay their value.

6. *Wilful Damages to Boxes and Plant generally.*—All the boxes used for springs, waste wire, or any other purposes must be carefully used. Any wilful damage to the same, or to the plant or fittings, must be paid for by the offending person. If the offender cannot be discovered, the amount will be divided equally amongst all those employed in the mill.

7. *Waste Wire.*—Great care must be taken by weavers and winders, when mending or joining work (whether from springs, reels, or selvages) not to use or cut off pieces unnecessarily long. All such waste pieces *must* be placed in the boxes supplied for the purpose, and any excess of waste will be charged to each workman. Pieces found on the floor, or under the platforms by the machines, will be weighed, and at the end of the week the value of the same will be equally divided amongst all the weavers, and deducted from their wages. The same rule will apply to the winders. Should any workman be found cutting up pieces of wire and putting them into boxes as waste he will be fined one shilling in addition to the value of the wire so wasted.

8. *Cleanliness of Machines.*—Each weaver or winder must spend at least half-an-hour weekly on cleaning down his engine. Care must be taken to clean off all the accumulation of rust, grit, and pieces of wire from the back of the netting on the top slides. All the shafting and wheels on the machine must also be wiped down with clean oily rags. Such rags must *not* be thrown upon the floors and trampled upon.

9. *Gas.*—Each weaver will be held responsible for turning off the gas-burners belonging to his machine. Should any taps be found *on* at any time when not required for the machines, whether the gas is on at the meter or not, will be fined one shilling.

[The fact that such rules should be deemed necessary proves clearly the existence of the class war which we Socialists are striving to end. Intelligence just to hand as we go to press, reports a revolt of the workers and the withdrawal of the rules at present.—T. B.]

### ARBITRATION A FRAUD.

Few trades unionists who know anything about the way in which labour disputes have been settled by arbitration will be surprised at the umpire's decision in the case of the late strike in Bolton. We have never entertained the slightest idea that the result would be different to what it turns out to be; and after this taste of bitter experience the iron-workers will understand the true value of arbitration as it is applied in trade disputes, and, like the cotton operatives, know better than to rely upon the principle as a means of securing justice whenever a difference arises between the employers and themselves. The men have no one to blame but themselves for allowing the strike to take the course it did, and they must accept the situation with as much grace as the circumstances call for, taking care that the lesson they have just learned is not lost in any future difference which may arise. The Spinners' and Weavers' Associations have long since learned to know that they must rely upon their own strength and support to secure what they deem requisite in regard to both prices and wages, and if justice cannot be obtained by conciliatory means or strikes, they are willing to forego their claims rather than allow the unsatisfactory means of arbitration to be used against them. What has been found wanting in this line of procedure by the mill-hands in Lancashire may be found by workers in all other trades, and we don't hesitate to recommend the rejection of arbitration in all kinds of labour disputes, as the workers invariably come off second best in all cases where disputes are settled in that way. Strikes may be denounced by the press, and those of the public who don't understand the nature and details which lead up to the disputes, but we find that the only sure way to obtain anything like justice between employer and employed is for the latter, through their trade organisations, to be prepared to follow a spirited policy in defence of what is near and dear to them, and, if need be, never be afraid of striking when other means have failed them. Mr. Pope is not to be blamed. He has acted not only in accordance with custom and precedent, but also, we are willing to believe, fairly according to his lights. It is the system which is to blame. So long as working men are willing to be gulled into allowing members of the upper ranks to settle their affairs for them, so long will the result be nothing but "vanity and vexation of spirit." Under proper conditions, arbitration might possibly be adopted as a more satisfactory method of settling a proportion of disputes than strikes, but the proportion would be small. Under the system and rules hitherto adopted it is nothing but a fraud, and it is to be hoped that the last lesson will not be lost upon those interested.—*Cotton Factory Times*.

AMERICA.

In Brooklyn the flint-glass factories operated by members of the Eastern Association of Flint Glass Manufacturers were all practically closed last week, and are likely to remain closed for some time, as neither the manufacturers nor the men show any signs of giving in. The fight is not on wages but on rules adopted by the bosses which the men object to and say they will not return to work until they are abolished.

The Secretary of State Committee of the United Labour Party (Georgeites) stated that it was likely that a conference of members of the party from various parts of the State would be held the latter part of this month, to consider preliminaries for a national convention.

The employes at Hubbard and Co.'s works at Pittsburgh struck against a 10 per cent. reduction in wages. The works closed down, and 300 men are idle.

T. P. Barry of the Executive Board K. of L. has been in Chicago settling the quarrel between the painters and hard-wood finishers. The latter tends to decrease the painters' work wherever used. It is understood that the two trades will be united, the latter coming under the head of interior decoration.

The employes at the seven furnaces owned by Carnegie, Phipps, and Co., at Braddock, Pa., made a demand to-day for 10 per cent. advance in wages. The firm allege that the condition of the steel-market will not justify an advance and instead the men will have to accept a slight reduction.

The cigar-makers' strike so long expected in New York is quietly extending, and is expected to grow from day to day. The war on the tenement-houses has opened in earnest, and a committee from the Cigarmakers' International Union will make an investigation of the tenement-house factories and report on their sanitary condition.

The steam-pipe and boiler felters of New York went on strike yesterday. The men demand 3 dol. 50 c. per day for nine hours work, and object to being compelled to have a recommendation from one employer before they can secure work from another.

The weavers in the Fern Brook Carpet Works at Yonkers are returning to work.

The railroad coal miners of Pittsburgh district held a convention at Pittsburgh, and after requesting the miners in the employ of congressman W. L. Scott to come out for the Columbus scale, promised to donate 5 cents per ton for their support during the strike.

The Cambria Iron Company, employing 5000 men at Johnstown, Pa., have decided to make a reduction in wages of 10 per cent. in February unless business improves.

The thirteenth annual convention of the Bricklayers and Masons' International Union, in session at Boston, are arranging for a closer affiliation of the different branches of the building trades.

LIST OF STRIKES FOR JANUARY.

Reading Company railway employes	...	...	8,500
Schuylkill Valley—Coal employes (Reading Co.)	...	...	20,000
Philadelphia, Pa.—Street-sweepers (Italian), for higher wages, Jan. 4...	...	...	252
Carlisle, Pa.—Shoe-factory hands, against reduction, January 4	...	...	100
Sandwich, Mass.—Glass-workers, against new rules by manufacturers...	...	...	300
Brooklyn—Glass-factory hands, January 2	...	...	1,000
Philadelphia—Shut-down by glass-manufacturers; non-acceptance by employes of new scale, January 2	...	...	400
Cincinnati, Ohio—Carriage-painters, discharge of four men who refused to work overtime, January 1	...	...	121
New York city—Livery-stable hands, January 4	...	...	21
East Weymouth, Mass.—Shoe-hands, for advance, January 2	...	...	115
Philadelphia—Weavers, against extra work, January 5	...	...	26
Toledo, Ohio—Wheel-makers, against reduction, January 3	...	...	50
New Bedford, Mass.—Glass-makers, against new rules, January 3	...	...	—
Corning, N. Y.—Glass-makers, against new rules, January 3	...	...	—
Pittsburgh, Pa.—Coal-drivers, question of business management, Jan. 2	...	...	—
Pittsburgh, Pa.—Boys in nail-factory, against reduction, January 2	...	...	50

Total number of strikers known to January 5 ... 31,118

New York, January 11, 1888.

HENRY F. CHARLES.

SIX YEARS STRIKES AND LOCK-OUTS IN AMERICA.

COMMISSIONER Carroll D. Wright, in his third annual report of the Bureau of Labour Statistics, reports strikes and lock-outs in the United States for six years ending December 31, 1886, as follows:

Years.	Strikes.	No. of establishments involved.	Average ditto in each strike.
1881.....	471	2,928	6.2
1882.....	454	2,105	4.6
1883.....	478	2,759	5.8
1884.....	443	2,367	5.3
1885.....	645	2,284	3.5
1886.....	1,412	9,893	7.0
Totals	3,903	22,336	5.7

The strikes and number of establishments affected in New York during that period were almost one-half of the above totals.

The total number of employes involved in the whole number of strikes for the entire period is shown to have been 1,318,624. The number of employes originating the strikes was 1,020,832. The number of employes in all establishments before the strikes occurred was 1,662,045, while the whole number employed in the establishments involved after the strikes occurred was 1,636,247, a loss of 25,798. There were 103,038 new employes engaged after the strikes, and 37,483 were brought from other places than those in which the lock-outs occurred.

Of the strikes reported, 82 per cent. were ordered by labour organisations, and of the lock-outs 81 per cent. were ordered by combinations of manufacturers. Of the total strikes 46½ per cent. were successful, 13½ per cent. were partially successful, and in round numbers 40 per cent. failed. Of the lock-outs ordered nearly 26 per cent. were successful, 9 per cent. succeeded partially, and 60 per cent. failed. The demand for increase of wages was the reason of 42 per cent. of the strikes, 19 per cent. were for shorter hours, and 8 per cent. against reduction of wages. For shorter hours and higher wages 7½ per cent. struck. The cost of the strikes to employes in the shape of loss of wages during the six years was 51,816,165 dollars, and of lock-outs 8,132,717, or a total of wages of 59,948,882. The total loss to employers was 34,164,914 dollars, of which 30,732,658 was caused by strikes and the balance by lock-outs.

INTERNATIONAL NOTES.

GERMANY.

Our readers are aware that Bismark intends to strengthen the existing laws against Socialists. The following modifications are to be introduced. The duration of the new law is to be until September 30, 1893. Paragraph 19 will run as follows: He who distributes or reprints a copy of a forbidden or even a temporarily confiscated print (newspaper, leaflet, pamphlet, book, design, cartoon, etc.), shall incur a fine of one thousand marks (£50) or a term of imprisonment of one year. The exposure of such a paper in public is equal to its distribution. Paragraph 22: Persons who are classed in the category of "habitual" propagandists of Socialism, are to be punished with imprisonment not under two years. Besides, such persons may be compelled to take up their residence in given localities, fixed by judgment. A new paragraph 22 a. is to be added; it says: Persons who belong to a body that aims at rendering impossible, by unlawful means, the execution of the anti-Socialist laws, may also be compelled to reside in a locality designated to them by judgment. Under paragraph 22, or in the case of paragraph 19, sec. 2 (membership of prohibited associations) such persons may be declared void of their right of State citizenship. These persons are to be banished from Germany altogether. Paragraph 25 a. (new) says: A German who takes part, in a foreign country, in a meeting intending to promote the doctrines of Socialism, is to be punished with imprisonment, and he may be deprived of his right of State citizenship (banishment). If Bismark succeeds in passing this bill, he will at once have reached the summit of political scoundrelism.

The discussion on the prorogation and enforcement of the anti-Socialist laws will commence this week in the Reichstag. The Socialist deputy, August Bebel, aided by C. Singer and others, will make an interpellation on the subject of the police-agents of Bismark, and the whole subject of their "ways and manners." It is rumoured that startling revelations will be made, and every Socialist will do well for his own instruction to follow the discussions as closely as he possibly can.

William Liebnicht, formerly deputy of the Reichstag, will stand as a candidate in the VIth. district of Berlin, where an election is becoming necessary, the Socialist deputy Hasenclever, the former member for that district, being helplessly unable to resume his seat.

The German police have added a new paper to the list of the prohibited Socialist organs, the *Londoner Freie Presse*. Just the very means of pushing it!

The Socialists at Dresden have spread throughout their town a considerable number of pamphlets containing the names and addresses of all the shopkeepers, eating-house keepers, bakers, butchers, grocers, etc., who have taken an active part in the last electioneering campaign against the Socialist candidates to the Reichstag and to the Saxonian Chamber of Deputies, inviting all Socialists not to provide themselves of anything whatever at the shops of these reactionaries.

AUSTRIA-HUNGARY.

In mentioning last week the Socialist papers which our Austrian friends publish under great difficulties and trouble of all kinds, I forgot to notice four of them, which I give below: 1. *Arbeiter Wochen-Chronik* (Weekly People's Chronicle), edited by Trlingen and comrades, at Budapest; 2. *Nepravu* (the Voice of the People), weekly, edited by the same; 3. *Praca* (Labour), a weekly Polish paper, at Lemberg; 4. *Radnicki Glasnik* (the Workers' Journal), published at Agram in the Croatian language. With the eleven papers quoted last week this gives a set of fifteen Socialist papers which, each in their own line, make a good deal of propaganda in one of the most reactionary lands of Europe.

Our Austrian comrades have published a very interesting pamphlet, entitled 'Die Debatte Uber die Auslagen der Staatspolizei' (the Discussion on the Expenses of the Political Police), containing the speeches made in the Austrian House of Parliament by Messrs. Terner-Horfer and Kronawetter, and wherein it can be seen how the secret police organise plots and conspiracies in order to "detect" them afterwards, and to send to prison dozens of Socialists who were honest and candid enough to believe in the genuineness of the "plot-makers."

BELGIUM.

The conditions of work become worse every week. There is not the slightest appearance of any revival of trade. There are 4,000 shoemakers at Brussels, of whom two-thirds are completely out of work, and not more than 200 earn a "tolerable" living. Among those who work, a good many are making *eighteen hours* a-day (not a nice symptom of solidarity!), and receive daily wages of 2 fr. 75 c. (2s. 3d.). The shoemakers attribute this sad situation to the enormous increase in the sale of cheap shoes. *Nailed* shoes are no longer made by men of the trade. The sweaters employ, for filing and nailing purposes, out-of-work men of other branches, house-painters, cabinet-makers, etc. Shoemaking is disappearing altogether in Belgium, and ere long the houses where shoes are made by "skilled workers" will be compelled to stop their business for lack of experienced "hands." Herve, Lierre, and Sotteghem are the three provincial places where most of the "cheap" goods are made, and from there the hawkers spread their bad stuff all over the country. The competition of prison-work is also very compromising for the trade. At Brussels, there are no more than five or six houses where "good" shoes are made, and each of these employ three or four "skilled" workers earning from 15s. to 18s. a-week!

The carpenter's trade also is very slack, since metallic frame-work supersedes nearly all timber-work. Out of the 600 federated carpenters of Brussels, over 300 are unemployed. From 1876 down to the present moment their wages have steadily been diminishing. The cabinet-makers are no better off; they earn from 3½d. to 4d. per hour at Brussels, and in the provinces from 2½d. to 3d.! Up to 1881, the upholsterers had 5½d. per hour; now-a-days they earn 3½d., and there are a great number of unemployed. Important houses of Brussels have their factories in the provinces, where the wages are lower, and so the Brussels upholsterer has to suffer in that way also from competition.

One-half of the marble-cutters are out of work, and the others only do six hours a-day. The stove-makers are very badly off; the ironmongers and locksmith workers have considerable numbers of unemployed.

As for the larger industries, specially situated in the provinces, our readers already know that the glass-blowers, the miners, the moulders, the weavers, the engineers, etc., suffer very keenly from the results of the dreadful economical crisis (which has now lasted more than three years) upon the workers generally. In short, the outlook in Belgium is very dark indeed, and our friends there should organise themselves strongly for events which are perhaps near at hand!

V. D.



OFFICES: 13 FARRINGDON ROAD, E.C.

**"COMMONWEAL" PRINTING FUND.**

A. Sch., 4s. Oxford Branch, 5s. *Weekly Subscriptions*—C. J. F., 2s. 6d. K. F., 1s. Langley, 2s. P. W., 6d. W. B., 6d.

**Strike Committee.**—Collected in Regent's Park, Jan. 21, 3s. 4½d.—J. LANE.

**REPORTS.**

**BLOOMSBURY.**—On Thursday, Jan. 19, W. W. Bartlett lectured on "Before the Dawn," treating his subject in rather an interesting and unusual manner.

**CLERKENWELL.**—On Wednesday, Jan. 18, T. Bolas lectured on "A Real People's Parliament." Sunday, Jan. 22, W. Utley on "Modern Society." Good and instructive discussions.—B.

**FULHAM.**—Tuesday at Fulham Cross, Tochatti, Smith, and Day spoke. Some opposition easily disposed of by Tochatti and Day. Sunday morning meeting at Walham Green, addressed by Knowles, Mahony, Tochatti, and Fry. 38 *Commonweal* sold, and 4s. 4d. collected for branch. In evening at 6.30, Fulham Cross, Tochatti and Day spoke, coming afterwards to Walham Green, where, with the assistance of the Hammersmith choir, they succeeded in obtaining a good audience for Catterson Smith in our rooms, who lectured on "The Possibilities of Life under Socialism." Several questions were asked, and satisfactorily answered. Two members made.—G.

**HAMMERSMITH.**—At Starch Green Sunday morning, Maughan and Smith spoke; both speakers well received, and a quire of *Commonweal* sold. At Acton Green, Day and Groser spoke. Fair sale of *Commonweal*. All Socialists in this neighbourhood turn up next week, as we are going to form branch. At Kelmscott House in evening, T. Bolas lectured on "A Real People's Parliament."—J. T.

**MARYLEBONE.**—We held a very good meeting Sunday morning in Regent's Park, in spite of the drizzle. Cantwell, Nicoll, and Mainwaring spoke; 3s. 4½d. collected for propaganda.—S. M.

**NORWICH.**—Sunday, meeting in Market Place addressed by Mowbray. At Gordon Hall in evening, Vickers continued series of lectures, "Is Socialism Sound?" in absence of Mowbray, unwell; very attentive audience; chair taken by Brown. Fair sale of *Commonweal*.—S.

**WALSALL.**—Monday last, Deakin read paper on "Capital;" discussion followed. Saturday meeting on The Bridge addressed by Sanders; some questions asked and answered at close.—J. T. D.

**DUBLIN.**—At Saturday Club, Jan. 21, B. McGuinness lectured on "Local Option." Fitzpatrick, who followed, gave the audience some practical hints about liberty, going dead against the nostrums of the Temperance fanatics. O'Toole, Stephens, and Kavanagh also spoke.

**NOTTINGHAM.**—J. Sketchley, of Birmingham, lectured twice in club on Sunday; slight discussion followed. He also lectured in Great Market-place, on "The Unemployed Question," to good audience. He will stay here this week, and will probably discuss Socialism at the Cobden Club on Saturday. He will lecture next Sunday in a hall not yet decided upon.—W. D., sec.

**Scottish Land and Labour League.**

**EDINBURGH.**—On 22nd, J. Bruce Glasier lectured on "Socialism in Scottish Song." Larger audience than usual.

**ABERDEEN.**—Propaganda during past two months been carried on vigorously. Membership steadily increasing.—J. L.

**WOODSIDE.**—Seems almost hopeless; but Aberdeen branch means to give it another trial. Lectures are being arranged.—J. L.

**LECTURE DIARY.**

**LONDON.**

**Bloomsbury.**—Communist Club, 49 Tottenham Street, Tottenham Court Road. Thursday January 26, at 8.30, Social Evening for members and friends. Athenæum Hall, 73 Tottenham Court Road, on Thursday February 2, at 8 p.m. Annie Besant (Fabian Society), "Socialism, Old and New."

**Clerkenwell.**—Hall of the Socialist League, 13 Farringdon Rd., E.C. Business meeting every Sunday at 7. Sunday Jan. 29, at 8.30, W. B. Parker, "What the Workers want, and How to get it." Wednesday, Feb. 1, at 8.30, D. Nicoll, "Law and Order." Sun. 5, at 8.30, Free Concert by Wm. Blundell and Friends. Wed. 8, Annie Besant, "Communalisation of Industry." Sun. 11, H. A. Barker, "The Labour Struggle."

**Fulham.**—8 Effie Road, Walham Green. Sunday Jan. 29, at 8, Kitz, "The Irish Question from a Socialist Standpoint."

**Hackney.**—28 Percy Terrace, Victoria Road, Hackney Wick. A meeting of members will be held on Sunday January 29, at 8 p.m. Members are requested to attend meeting at "Salmon and Ball" Sunday February 5.

**Hammersmith.**—Kelmscott House, Upper Mall, W. Sunday January 29, at 8 p.m. William Morris, "The Revolt of Ghent."

**Hoxton (L.E.L.).**—C. J. Young, 8 Dunloe Street, Hackney Road, Secretary. Members business meeting will be held in the *Commonweal* Office on Tuesday January 31, at 8.30 prompt.

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

**Mile-end and Bethnal Green.**—95 Boston St., Hackney Road. Business Meeting every Thursday at 9 p.m. Debating Class for members after Business Meeting.

**PROVINCES.**

**Aberdeen (Scottish Section).**—Sunday night meetings begin on 29th January in Baker Street Hall, at 6. Lecture by Leatham on "The Aims and Methods of the Socialist Party." Secretary, James Leatham, 15 St. Nicholas Street.

**Birmingham.**—Meetings at Summer Row Coffee House every Saturday evening at 8.

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

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

**Cowdenbeath (Scot. Sec).**—J. Duncan, 30 Arthur Pl., sec **Dublin.**—Saturday Club, Central Lecture Hall, 12 Westmorland Street.

**Dundee (Scot. Sect.).**—Meetings every Sunday in the Trades Hall, opposite Tay Bridge Station. Political Economy class, 2 p.m. Lecture at 6.30.

**Edinburgh (Scottish Section).**—4 Park Street. "Das Kapital" class every Thursday at 7.30. Members requested to pay weekly subscriptions on that night. Sunday evening lectures, Trades Hall, High Street. On Sunday Jan. 29, at 6.30 p.m., James Mavor on "Schemes of Industrial Progress." Collection.

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

**Glasgow.**—84 John St. Reading-room open 10 a.m. till 10 p.m. daily. Propaganda Committee, Mondays at 8. Shorthand Class, Tuesdays at 8. Music Class, Tuesdays at 9. Discussion Class, Thursdays at 8.

**Leeds.**—17 Chesham St., Sweet St. Club open every evening. Business meeting Wednesdays at 8 p.m.

**Liverpool.**—Hosiery Union, Horsefair St. Fridays at 8.

**Lochelly (Scottish Section: Fife).**—Secs. (*pro tem.*), John Greig and Hugh Conway, The Square.

**Norwich.**—Gordon Hall, 5 Duke St., open every night. Business meeting every Tuesday at 8.30. Band practice Wednesday at 8. Discussion class Thursday—Gronlund's 'Co-operative Commonwealth.'—On Monday January 30 an Entertainment will be given by the Norwich Socialist Minstrels (Admission 2d.). Proceeds for cleaning and decorating Gordon Hall.

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

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

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

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

**OPEN-AIR PROPAGANDA.**

**LONDON—Sunday 29.**

11	Acton Green	Turner & Day
11.15	Starch Green	Tochatti
11.30	Garrett—"Plough Inn"	The Branch
11.30	Hoxton Church, Pitfield St.	Pope
11.30	Merton—Haydons Road	The Branch
11.30	Mitcham Fair Green	Kitz
11.30	Regent's Park	Nicoll & Mainwaring
11.30	St. Pancras Arches	Wardle
11.30	Stamford Hill	Parker
11.30	Walham Green	Bartlett & Smith
3	Hyde Park	Parker

**PROVINCES.**

**Glasgow.**—Jail's Square—Saturday, 5 p.m.

**Infirmity Square**—Sunday, 6 p.m.

**Jail's Square**—Sunday, 1 p.m.

**Leeds.**—Sunday: Vicar's Croft, 11 a.m.

**Norwich.**—Market Place, at 3 every Sunday.

**EAST LONDON SOCIALIST CLUB.**—Special notice to the members and delegates of the Hoxton, Hackney, Mile-end, and Stoke Newington branches.—A meeting will be held at the *Commonweal* Office on Friday evening February 3rd, to consider very important business—time, 8.30 prompt.

**SHEFFIELD SOCIALISTS,** Commonwealth Café, Scotland Street, Sheffield.—Discussions or Lectures every Sunday evening at 7 o'clock. Free.

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# THE COMMONWEALTH

The Official Journal of the Socialist League.

VOL. 4.—No. 108.

SATURDAY, FEBRUARY 4, 1888.

WEEKLY; ONE PENNY.

## NOTES ON NEWS.

THE question of the right of public meeting in Trafalgar Square has again been raised, this time by comrades Hicks (S. D. F.) and Gough (S. L.) Hicks did at least speak, and is therefore "guilty" to begin with, of something, but Gough only sat on a seat and when attacked by the police threw away a stick he held, in the vain hope that this would prevent his being charged with having used it. He stands committed for trial for "assault," and Hicks has appealed against the order to find sureties for his "good behaviour."

So the farce goes on! Vaughan the venomous, in sentencing Hicks, observed that although he was not charged with assaulting the police, "under some circumstances passive resistance was equivalent to an active resistance"! This is the kind of logic that our governors go by, and it is fortunate that one at least is foolish or frank enough to speak it out.

But mere folly or wrong-headedness either on the press or on the bench, is not so dangerous as dishonesty such as the *Times* or *Daily Chronicle* invariably display. Mean-man Mumford, the editor of the "Radical-Unionist" paper, again and again asserted that Louise Michel was shot at by another Anarchist, even after every other paper had contradicted this lie.

The anonymity of the press enables these crawling assassins to stab where they will with small danger of discovery. It is a pity that Mr. O'Connor had not the courage from the very beginning of the *Star*, to discard this effete and exploded superstition, and not follow in the ruck of conventionalism. A beginning he has made of a sort, and it is to be hoped he will carry it further.

By the way, we should like to know the name of the genius who adorned one of his notes in the *Star* itself with a reference to the "petroleuses of the Paris Commune" who "s shrieked for massacre between a giggle and a scream"! This myth has been so often exposed that its repetition anywhere is a surprise—how much more in the *Star*!

The 26th of January has come and gone, and paper after paper, led by the *Pall Mall*, has raved over the anniversary of Gordon's death, but not one save ourselves has had a word to say of the immeasurably greater man who died on the same day only nineteen years ago. Ernest Jones laboured and fought for the people, suffered and was imprisoned and died in their service, without the glamour that besets the soldier of fortune or the romance of the lonely death in the Soudan; theatricality moves the crowd, and thus they make choice of heroes!

The "Cass of Canning Town," Miss Coverdale, has not been quite so badly treated as her prototype. Warren apparently was not so struck with Bloy's lie-power as he was with that of Endacott, and did not at once interpose for the protection of a "useful officer," and has now only "exonerated" him without a public whitewashing. However with a little care a naturally ardent imagination may be made so useful that in a little while we shall see *Sergeant* Bloy in the witness-box to swear to a Socialist "assault" upon the police.

Burns and Graham, when they come out, are to have a reception. This is as it should be, but I heartily agree with a member of the S. D. F. who has publicly urged that the humbler martyrs should have their share of the "honours of war," and hope the rumour will prove true that this is to be carried out. Burns and Graham are brave and good fellows, far too brave and good to be put on a pedestal away from their comrades in captivity. "Remember the unremembered!"

"What has become," asked the *Standard* on the 23rd, "of all the outcry about the 'unemployed'?" They are not in Trafalgar Square." Whereupon the *Pall Mall* comments, "How beautifully characteristic this is of the Tory method of logic and of policy! When the unemployed did go to Trafalgar Square, the *Standard* was all for punching their heads and filling the Square with police to keep them out. Having succeeded in thus banishing them, it now turns round and asserts triumphantly that there are no unemployed at all. The *Standard* is clearly of Lord Cowper's belief, that if you drive a grievance—or a crime—beneath the surface, you have done with it."

The salt-tax has been raised in India, and the miserable ryot and his town-dwelling brother have their lot made harder thereby in order that

"public works" of the Frontier Railroad kind may go on. The reason publicly given is that the expenses of the Burmese War have been heavy. "Our mission in India," as elsewhere, seems to be to make ourselves rich as soon as possible, with as little risk as may be.

Another victim of our "beneficent" rule, King Ja Ja of Obopo, has sent messengers to London in the hope of getting justice. He is to all appearance not sufficiently "within the pale of civilisation" to know how futile it is for one in his position to make such an appeal. Let him remember Cetewayo, Arabi, Ayoub, and a hundred others, and be careful!

The Vienna *Politische Correspondenz* hears from Rome that the Pope has just completed and will shortly issue the Encyclical Letter on the social condition of the working classes, upon which he has been engaged for the past twelve months, and about which he has consulted several prominent economists. This Letter declares, in principle, for State intervention in favour of the working classes, and exhorts Catholics to support the Governments of their respective countries in any efforts for the accomplishment of social reforms, and to promote any measures having for their object the amelioration of the lot of the labouring classes.

Now before the ultra-Protestants arise and howl, they should do as much for the People, and not confine all their love to the Purse. S.

Cunninghame Graham's manly and outspoken letter upon his sentence is refreshing, after hearing the wailings and gnashing of teeth about wearing prison dress and association with criminals that has emanated from certain politicians sentenced under the Crimes Act. Graham clearly recognises that the criminal is a product of society as at present constituted; yet upon the ground that the press has elected to grant him the prefix Mr. and not to Furns, a writer in the *Referer* bitterly attacks him, accusing him and all well-to-do Socialists with insincerity and desire for self-advertisement. They give nothing away, says the sapient "Pendragon" (alias H. Sampson), as if alms-giving is the duty of a Socialist, who objects to the system which begets misery. I don't know the magnitude of "Pendragon's" charity, if any, but however great, it would not alter conditions productive of poverty.

The working-men's clubs have amongst their membership some ardent lovers of sport, apart from the thievish brutal "barneys" lately got up to rob the gullible admirers of the "noble art," but the *Referer* is black-listed on account of its virulent attacks upon the Socialists and Radicals.

Another writer in the same paper, by the way—"Dagonet" (alias G. R. Sims)—once got a magnificent ovation in the East-end on account of his writings on behalf of the poor; but time alters things, and as a critic said recently, he runs on all fours now. The wealthy patrons of "sport," as understood by slaughtering pigeons and mangling faces, extort their incomes from the misery of the poor. Hence the wearing of the plush. F. K.

## 'RUSSIA, POLITICAL AND SOCIAL.'

By L. Tikhomirov. Translated from the French by E. Aveling, D.Sc.  
(Swan Sonnenschein, 1888.)

THIS is one of the most remarkable and erudite works on Russia that have been published in foreign tongues. I will not say that from the point of view of a Russian political observer the book is altogether without blemishes. Through all the first book, dealing with the border provinces which were annexed in comparatively recent times, and examining the claims of various nationalities to independence, L. Tikhomirov shows himself a decided partisan of "Russia one and indivisible" of the French Jacobins of 1793. True, in another part of the work (vol. ii., p. 145) he gives the programme of the *Narodnaia Volia*, including among other things a demand for "large local autonomy and elective nomination to all offices." But this vague paragraph admits of several interpretations. If "all offices" includes those of a local legislative body, it means something sensible: a provincial Home Rule—federalism as it is understood in England and practised in America. But if we exclude the local legislative body from the above-mentioned term we have nonsense at the best: provincial executives, supported by the provincial militia (the only military force admitted by the

*Narodnaia Volia* programme) and a supreme legislative body sitting in the capital, with no real authority over any separate part of the State. Or we have an illusory local self-government like that we see in the German Empire, and the concentration of an unlimited power in the hands of a chance majority of a heterogenous central parliament. As Tikhomirov promptly rejects (vol. i. page 62,) the claims of the Ukrainian (South Russians) Nationalists, who are not separatists but simply federalists and home rulers, I cannot help concluding that he is decidedly in favour of a centralised unitarian polity in general. This we, Russian federalists, consider as quite incompatible with Russian geography and ethnography, as well as with the experience of the nations politically most advanced.

That is my only objection to Tikhomirov's book—very important from a Russian point of view, as the disputes between the Home Rulers and Unionists are for England. These are, however, our domestic dissensions. They are irrelevant for the English readers, who will estimate the book by the amount of information it is likely to give them upon its special subject.

Thus far no exception can be made to the book. As an editor of a paper which devoted a large place to Russian interior questions, the author has had the best opportunities of studying for many years and from direct sources the many questions of which his book treats. His is a painstaking work, a real mine of information of the most varied kind, condensed in as small a volume as the literary interest of the book would allow.

There is only one work upon Russia in the English language which in this respect can be compared with Tikhomirov's: it is the 'Russia' of Mr. Mackenzie Wallace. The two books are much alike as to their general descriptive character, the method of treatment of their subject, and the field of observation they cover. They stand, therefore, necessarily as competitors. Some parts of Mr. Mackenzie Wallace's 'Russia' will always preserve their freshness as personal reminiscences of a foreign traveller, who spared no pains to understand well the country he undertook to describe. His account of the various sides of our rural life, village communes, agrarian arrangements, which change very slowly, as well as his chapters upon popular religion, can be consulted with great advantage nowadays. But as to the political, intellectual, and economical conditions of Russia, and to the various elements at work within the leading classes of the country, Mr. Mackenzie's book, written more than ten years ago, is decidedly out of date. Tikhomirov's comes, therefore, very opportunely and will undoubtedly enjoy a lasting popularity among the growing class of people who take a lively interest in Russian affairs. Its great advantage is that there is no gap in it. It offers a picture of Russia upon all sides as a political, social, economical organism. Whatever the detail may be which is likely to interest any general reader, he is certain to find some account of it in this discursive work. Sometimes the answer will be full and exhaustive, sometimes necessarily brief, but always clear, precise, documentary. The author's opinions and explanations can be sometimes traversed by a Russian who looks upon the facts in a different light, but they are absolutely free from any positive errors and from those glaring blunders in judging the inner working of the various elements of Russian life, which no foreign writer, not even Mr. Anatole Leroy Beaulieu, has avoided, and which spoil so much Mr. Mackenzie Wallace's work.

The opening of the book is somewhat dry, as it gives to the reader the chilling idea that he is about to be indoctrinated in Russian geography. But the impression soon vanishes. The first book is in fact (with the above-mentioned exception) one of the most interesting as it gives in a nutshell a lot of information upon the social and political condition of all our border land—Finland, Baltic provinces, Poland, Caucasus, Central Asia. The second describes the races inhabiting Russia Proper, the three branches of Russian people—Great Russians, Little Russians, or Ukrainians, and White Russians—with a brief characteristic of each. In this latter task the author does not appear at his best. The same must be said as to his characteristic of the Great Russian peasantry in general in the fourth chapter of third book. Individualisation is not Tikhomirov's forte; broad generalisation, summing up of many facts of social or intellectual life, are the elements upon which his literary talent are exhibited to their greatest advantage. Both these qualities make the chapters devoted to the description of our village life the most picturesque and interesting part of the first volume.

"A Russian village is not very beautiful. One of average dimensions is generally bisected by a long street. . . Here and there along the street are wooden houses, covered with thatch. . . A great Russian village has no colours. The beams of the *izbas* (cottages) are sombre, the straw of the roofs black; no trees, no flowers. The village is dirty; it is all smoky. . . The great Russian village, if it is not very beautiful is full of life. Men there are not tied together mechanically, because they happen to be living in the same place on a map. They are bound by a thousand pledges, a thousand common interests. They are linked together by community of property. Besides land, the communes have property of another kind: fish lakes, communal mills, a communal herd for the improvement of oxen and horses; finally, store-houses, intended for the distribution to the peasants of seeds for their fields or food for their families. The enjoyment of all these various things must be distributed among the members of the commune, must be distributed regularly, equally, equitably. Thus a fair distribution to-day will not be fair five or six years hence, because in some families the number of members will have increased, in others diminished. A new distribution, therefore, will be necessary to make the shares equal."

Then follows an elaborate and graphic description of the manner in which this scope is attained; the organisation of the *Mir*, the method of distribution of public burdens, the system of working in common, and general administration. These pages will be read with particular interest by Socialists and social reformers interested in agrarian ques-

tions. For those who wish to go to the root of the subject, the following chapter (Chap. II., book iii.) will give a brief summary of the history of our original agrarian arrangements.

Want of space prevents me from speaking of the succeeding book, which describes the origin and the present state of our privileged classes, old and new; the chapter upon the Russian clergy being the freshest and fullest. For the like reason I will skip over the book upon "Economic and Industrial Russia," embracing the agriculture, commerce, protective system, and its monstrous abuses which favour a small group of men at the expense of all others, and kindred matters.

But if my notice had not been already too long I should have willingly dwelt upon the sixth book (vol. ii.), "The Intellectual Movement," which is not only the best part of the whole work, but the most talented and comprehensive thing extant upon this most difficult and interesting subject. Tikhomirov is entirely in his sphere here. Taking the totality of the manifold intellectual influences under which modern Russian society has grown—literature, university teaching, exceptional position of woman, relentless despotism crushing the whole, whilst fostering the unrestrained individual freedom of the spirit—he makes a very subtle and searching analysis of the psychology of the Russian "intellectual class," and throws a flood of light upon that strangest phenomenon of modern history, that in the most backward of European countries the bulk of the educated people, taken as a class, are by far the most advanced in Europe as to their social, ethical, and religious views, and by their true and straightforward democratism. As the offshoot of it we have that in Russia, besides the Conservatives or reactionary—which are the less numerous, and who owe their pre-eminence only to the fact that they are naturally the most agreeable to the Czar—besides this party we have only two others, the Liberals and the Revolutionists, who both can be counted as Socialists of more or less pronounced type.

Tikhomirov is quite right in saying that:

"The Liberals in the true [I would rather say in the current European] sense of the word, with the exception of wholly isolated personalities, are very few in Russia. Taken as a whole, the Liberals are near akin to French Radicals, and their opinions are on some points distinctly Socialistic. The most characteristic organ of the Liberals, *The Messenger of Europe*, has recently published, e.g., an article of M. Slonimsky, in which the author shows the necessity of nationalisation of the land, and the absurdity of the mere idea of landed property. That the article should be published in this review is sufficiently astonishing. *The Messenger of Europe* is very distinctly Liberal. But if we turn to the bulk of the Liberals, we find there many who are quite Socialists by conviction. Among them especially, are a large number of followers of Karl Marx and the Socialism of the German school. . . Generally the Liberals, who have originated from the same intellectual movement of which I spoke above, are imbued with all the ideas that it has thrown into circulation. Their ideal is a society based on liberty and self government, made up of advanced free individuals, with equal rights, and a material position guaranteed by a regular economic organisation. If after this we look at the programmes of the Socialists (i.e., Nihilists-Revolutionists) party, we shall find it very difficult to draw a distinctive line between the ideas of this party and of the Liberals." (I would rather say advanced section of the Liberals).

This unity of the democratic aspirations of the bulk of our educated classes is certainly one of the best guarantees for the brilliant future of Russian Socialism, when once Russia gets rid of the incubus of her present Government.

I will not go farther. From these cursory remarks the reader may well see for himself that the book before me is a very valuable contribution indeed to English knowledge upon Russia, and is equally interesting to students and general readers. The peculiar touch of impartiality and fairness pervading Tikhomirov's book will, I am sure, not be one of its smaller attractions for the English reader.

STEPNIAK.

## A Proposed Anti-Credit League.

A PAMPHLET entitled 'How to raise Wages,' by Edward S. Cooper, of 143 Queen Victoria Street, was put into my hands by the author the other day. It is marked by an unusual insight into economic truth, but is made to point a single one-sided moral. One point which is well grasped is that the main cause of depression of trade arises from the fact of the workers receiving in wages only a fraction of what they produce, thus lessening their purchasing-power to a proportionate extent. After speaking of the lowering of wages, which the author regards as more due to "the natural instinct of all men to acquire material good" than as the result of a law of competition among the proletariat, he says: "To prevent wages being driven down to the minimum that life can be supported on, a resisting power needs to be placed in the hands of every worker, and such can alone be found in the power of self-employment. . . . Power to each one to trade or manufacture on his own account must be given, and miserably paid labour will then be of the past." While it is undoubtedly true that such a resisting power is necessary to fight the capitalist, our author does not state, so far as I can see, what form it should take. The key of the capitalist's position being, of course, the monopoly of land and capital, this monopoly must inevitably be broken up before he can be dislodged; and how this is to be done without collective effort of some sort is not at all clear. But the point which absorbs most of the author's attention, so much indeed as to blind him to more obvious issues, is what he calls the "artificial element" of credit:

"The operation is as follows: A trader commencing business with say, £1,000 capital will, by a judicious use of the credit such a sum will command, make up the sum to be traded with £10,000 and upon the larger amount he will, of course, get more profit than the naked capital could possibly bring. A wage-earner starting at the same time upon small savings and unable from their smallness to

obtain credit, has no chance of success as against the trader with the large amount; for the latter can give as well as get credit and so absorbs the trade. The wage-earner, as a result, succumbs; capital gets everything into its hands and labour has to a large extent to submit to its dictation. Enormous firms, both manufacturing and distributive, absorb the trade of the country through their power to give credit and to get it, while small traders and manufacturers are being pushed out of business to increase the number of dependent wage-earners. One trader will have over 60 retail shops and absorb to himself the profits of the whole. His capital would probably stock ten of them, credit doing the rest, and, but for rapid accumulation under the credit system, he would probably have at most but 3 or 4 shops and those serving under him would most likely be in the others as masters and not servants. Another trader, having a large concern started and supported on the same system, will have as many as 1500 persons under him, all depending for subsistence, probably, upon the health, success, or caprice of one employer, and obliged to accept the remuneration that a liberal or penurious nature may offer, instead of being self-employed. Thus the bearing of credit on industry is altogether adverse to a healthy distribution of wealth, which should follow skill, rather than capital, and would do so if left to natural laws and not artificial arrangements."

Now, while it is undoubtedly true that, as things go, credit enormously helps the big capitalist, and is consequently an agent in crushing out the small trader and independent artisan, it is by no means sure that its abolition, and the consequent reversion to a ready-money system, would do more than palliate the evils of commercialism, as the primary monopoly of the means of life would be left untouched. It is therefore extravagant to say that credit "is the source of all that is mischievous in our industrial system." Further, though it really seems harsh to say so, the swallowing of the small capitalist by the big is a necessary part of the evolution towards the destruction of capitalism altogether, and if credit helps this process it is working towards Socialism from one side. And again, one day there will be thought to be something gross and barbarous in a ready-money system, when every man's position as a free citizen of a working community shall be assured, and when the tender of a certain quantity of precious metal in exchange for service rendered will be a childish superstition.

I conclude this hasty notice with a remark which seems particularly acute when coming from one at present outside the pale of Socialist economics:

"Laws of political economy appear to be nothing more than ascertained results of industrial operations. They do not profess to explain, or deal with, the causes producing and controlling such operations. There may be a recurrence of effects noted as unvarying as can be desired to establish any one of these laws, but, influence the causes, and a set of wholly different results will follow."

REGINALD A. BECKETT.

## REVOLUTIONARY CALENDAR.

WEEK ENDING FEBRUARY 11, 1888.

5	Sun.	1881. Thomas Carlyle died.
6	Mon.	1649. House of Lords abolished.
7	Tues.	1649. Monarchy abolished. 1812. Charles Dickens born.
8	Wed.	1576. Robert Burton born. 1886. Unemployed riots in West End. 1887. Anniversary Meeting on Clerkenwell Green proclaimed but held.
9	Thur.	1848. Great Protection Demonstration in London. 1849. Proclamation of Roman Republic.
10	Fri.	1843. Richard Carlile died. 1880. Attempted Execution of the Czar.
11	Sat.	1650. René Descartes died. 1867. Great Reform Meeting in the Agricultural Hall.

*Thomas Carlyle.*—Feb. 5th, 1881, died Thomas Carlyle, the Grand Old Irreconcilable, who was born at Ecclefechan, in Dumfriesshire, Dec. 14th, 1795. The son of a farmer, he had some slight education at Annan, and being intended for the Church entered Edinburgh University at the age of 14 and remained there seven years. Was two years a teacher of mathematics in Fifeshire, and there decided to forego the Church in favour of literature. In 1823, he began by contributing to Brewster's 'Edinburgh Encyclopædia' articles on Montesquieu, Montaigne, and others; translated a work on 'Geometry,' to which he added an 'Essay on Proportion.' Goethe's 'Wilhelm Meister' and 'Life of Schiller' followed next. In 1827 married, and in 1834 moved to London, and there died in Cheyne Walk, Chelsea. In 1837, published 'French Revolution' and 'Chartism'; in 1839, 'Five Vols. of Collected Essays'; in 1840, he delivered as lectures 'Hero-Worship'; 'Past and Present' 1843, 'Latter-Day Pamphlets' 1850, 'Life of John Stirling' 1851. In 1860-64, 'Life of Frederick the Great' appeared; was elected Rector of Edinburgh University in 1865. In December, 1873, accepted the Prussian Royal Order 'For Merit,' but in 1875 declined the English Grand Cross of the Order of the Bath. Not a Freethinker himself but a maker of such; not a reformer but an inspirer of such; not a Socialist, but possessed with such a deadly hatred of our shoddy civilisation, that some of his words, such for instance as those about the Poor House, seem to hiss or burn. His terrific attacks on bad law-makers and worse administrators, and his constant contempt and belittling of every effort at reform; his persistent iconoclasm and quite as persistent idolatry, his egotism and his pity, make up a wonderful study in the Gospel of Grumble without a suggestion for hope; magnificent strings of musical words leading to everlasting Nowhere, unless it really be in his idea that the genuine use of gunpowder is to make all men alike tall.—T. S.

*Charles Dickens.*—Feb. 7th, 1812, at Landport, son of a navy pay-clerk engaged in Portsmouth dockyard, born Charles Dickens, who later scalded in 'Little Dorrit,' Government officials and Circumlocutionists generally. Early removal of the family to London made Dickens a Londoner, and he died Thursday, June 9, 1870, very much a victim to the cockney life which great success in life forces on such men who live in cities. The rudiments of his education he received from his mother, followed by some from a Baptist minister while living in Chatham. On a second removal to London, after a short period of blacking packing, he went to Wellington House Academy in the Hampstead Road, and then began life as an office-boy, studying meanwhile shorthand, and was soon fairly floated on his literary life. After the first flight, he was in the usual sense of the term a constantly growing success, and too early death was the result. In him

was lost a good democrat, both as writer and worker. In Betty Higden he gives expression to the popular opinion on our Poor Law. It is usual to decry novels written with a purpose, but most of his writings are so and to a large extent the purpose was fulfilled. In 'Dombey and Son' we have a picture of bourgeois society, where woman is hawked from place to place for a good market, and recognised simply to breed sons to "Houses"; in 'David Copperfield' also the Woman Question in various forms bulks largely. Attacking in 'Pickwick' the Fleet, and in 'Little Dorrit' the Marshalsea, he did good work, and so in all; but the 'Lesson for Our Day' is in the 'Tale of Two Cities.' Some suggest that early in the 21st century will be written a similar work for this country, with a Winans or Lady Matheson taking the place of Monsieur the Marquis; a Cunningham Graham acts nephew; a Murdoch or Macrea plays Jacques, and a stock-jobbing Chancellor of Exchequer plays up to a lamp-iron. In book or speech or letter he was always for the poor and the weak, and almost warmly he writes of some people who having a petition treated with disrespect took their rides, whereupon the gentlemanly party walked out without a blow.—T. S.

*Protectionist Demonstration.*—The fact that it was an attempted demonstration in favour of Protection which led to the affair of "Black Monday," lends interest to the fact that almost on the same day forty years ago there was a great demonstration to Trafalgar Square with the same object. A laughable contrast too does that of '86 show to that of '48! A procession of boats gathered in three divisions at North Fleet Hope, Long Reach, and Limehouse, and proceeded by water to Westminster Bridge with flags flying; the shipping on the river also flew their colours and fired guns. There were 192 boats, manned by about 1,150 men, drawn by three steamers carrying from 1,000 to 1,200 masters, mates, and petty officers. They marched from the water to Trafalgar Square, turned there and marched back again and re-embarked, sending a deputation to the Home Office by the way. It was noticed that every aid was given both by the Government and the police to this meeting, while those of the reformers held the same year were continually being "warrened."—S.

*Richard Carlile.*—Born at Ashburton, Devonshire, Dec. 8, 1790; died at —, Bouverie Street, Feb. 10, 1843. Having learnt in the village free school to read, write, cypher, and know enough Latin to read a prescription, he went into a chemist's shop at Exeter, but left through being set a task he resented. For awhile he coloured pictures for his mother's shop, and then was apprenticed to a tinman, a hard master, who made the iron bite deep into his soul. In 1813 he got a job in the Blackfriars Road, and in 1816 in Holborn. Here he saw a work of Tom Paine's for the first time, and was roused by it into action. He wrote letters to newspapers, and tried to interest Hunt and Cobbett, but without success. In 1817, Wooler's *Black Dwarf* appeared, and was more to Carlile's taste than Cobbett's *Register*. Borrowing £1 from his employer and braving all dangers (the Habeas Corpus Act was suspended), he started out on the 9th of March, 1817, with 100 *Dwarfs* in a handkerchief; for several weeks he continued to carry it round, walking 30 miles a-day for about 1s. 3d. When Steill, the publisher of the *Dwarf*, was taken, Carlile volunteered for the place but was not accepted. He printed and sold 25,000 copies of Southey's *Wat Tyler*, despite the protest of the renegade writer. Hone's *Parodies* being suppressed, Carlile reprinted them, and also a number of his own, *The Political Litany*, *The Sinecurist's Creed*, etc. These cost him 18 weeks in prison, from whence he was released without trial when Hone was acquitted. In 1818, he issued Paine's works with a memoir, and being attacked followed them up with similar publications. By the end of October, there were six indictments against him; next month he was condemned to £1,500 fine, and three years in prison. His trial lasted three days, and attracted world-wide notice; it was forbidden to introduce any news of it into Russia. In jail he began the *Republican*, which ran to 14 vols. (7 years), 12 being dated from Dorchester jail. Mrs. Carlile joined her husband for two years in 1821 for publishing *Republican* and other works; but he still managed to publish, and at once issued a report of her trial. £6,000 was raised by a "Constitutional Association," at the head of which was the Duke of Wellington, to put down the "centre of infection" and prosecute Carlile's assistants; the sheriff seized his house, 55, Fleet Street, with all its contents; and still his publications issued from the prison. Next year (1822) the house was again seized under the pretence of satisfying the fines; but from neither seizure was one farthing paid off the fines; what was taken was clear plunder, and he had to work out his fines in prison at the rate of 12 months per £500. July, 1821, his sister Mary Ann was fined £500, and imprisoned for a year for publishing his *New Year's Address to the Reformers of Great Britain*. In 1825, the Cabinet resolved to discontinue the prosecutions, but the last nine of his shopmen who had been arrested were made to complete their time, Peel refusing to knock off a day. None of his publications had been suppressed. After his release Carlile published *The Gorgon*, and *The Lion*, a 6d. weekly. In 1830, to encourage free speech, he hired the Rotunda in Blackfriars Road; most prominent men in London attended the discussions, and, stimulated by the French Revolution of that year, the liberty of speaking was such as had never been attained before in England. Carlile's house was assessed for church rates and his goods seized; he retorted by taking out the front windows and showing a bishop arm in arm with a devil and a distraining officer. He was fined and called upon to give sureties; refusing, he was imprisoned for three years. In 1834-5, he was again imprisoned for ten weeks—making a total imprisonment of 9 years and 4 months. At one time when his shopmen were so often arrested, he had an arrangement with the names of his books, etc., on a dial; the purchaser turned the hand to the one he wanted, and on depositing the price it dropped before him. He left his body when dying to St. Thomas's Hospital for dissection. He did more than other Englishman for the freedom of the press, of which, by the way, he said truly that "the greatest despotism ruling the press is popular ignorance." His life (by G. J. Holyoake) and works of all kinds are well worth attention from students of the popular movement in England.—S.

*Reform League Demonstration.*—Meeting in Trafalgar Square, a procession of about 60,000, headed by the mounted farriers and a band, and well sprinkled with banners of the League and different trade societies, marched to the Agricultural Hall, where a meeting was held. On the route the procession was watched by princes, lords, and so on in large numbers; in one club window was Charles Dickens in the midst of a bevy of bishops. The hall was reached at two o'clock and was quickly filled, thousands not being able to get in. The chair was taken by Mr. Beales, and the speakers were Ernest Jones (who received an ovation), Professors Rogers and Beasley, T. B. Potter, P. A. Taylor and The O'Donoghue, M.P.'s, Councillor Bird (of Glasgow), the Rev. Arthur O'Neill, and Mr. Bradlaugh. A letter was read from J. S. Mill, and during the evening the "Reform Minstrels" sang the "Reform Chorus."—S.

*OUTRAGE AT THE BRITISH MUSEUM.*—A painful incident occurred during the forenoon of the 24th in the Reading Room of the British Museum. One of the readers—a clergyman—was observed deliberately cutting one of the volumes and secreting the cuttings. On being challenged by one of the detectives he denied the charge, although when taken before the authorities he admitted the offence and produced the cuttings. He was "ignominiously expelled and his ticket cancelled." Private property he would be imprisoned for stealing, but for destroying the common property of the people he goes unpunished, his name not even being published. For such criminal laxity the library authorities deserve a sharp rebuke.—S.





## THE GENTEEL IRISH BANK CLERK.

THERE are nine banking corporations in Ireland. Of these the wealthiest is the Bank of Ireland. It keeps all Government accounts, and changes its rates of discount with the Bank of England. Clerkships are obtained by competitive examination. But education is a secondary consideration to the directorate, which, before the examination, carefully investigates the social position of the candidate, and when he has passed requires from him "respectable" security for one thousand pounds. The successful candidate is almost immediately sent as junior clerk to one of the branches, on the salary of sixty pounds per annum, which rises to one hundred, but rarely increases much further.

The attempt to be genteel on a salary inferior to the wage of many a skilled artisan forms the main difficulty of the Irish bank clerk's mind. No matter how provincial the life around, he is the best dressed man in the town, insisting on the latest cut after the Dublin fashions, which, though not always similar, are as expensive as those of London. In the dullest and smallest country town he is seen every day with kid gloves, high collar, and spotless clothes. His lodgings cost, on an average, ten shillings per week; that is, a third of his salary. Citizens usually associate dreams of the country with cheapness of board and lodging; the genteel Irish bank clerk soon realises the bitterness of this delusion. Rich men often dress shabbily and feed on simple diet; the genteel Irish bank clerk dresses richly, lives luxuriously, and yet is an extremely poor man. He can make this fine show on his miserable pittance because he is offered almost unlimited credit. Country shopkeepers never refuse credit to a bank clerk, because they themselves are dependent for credit on the banks, and believe it is good policy to be accommodating to the officials.

An Irish country town is divided socially into six or seven grades. The genteel bank clerk forms one of these grades by himself. He is above the shopkeepers and below the proprietary class, that is, those who draw incomes from stocks or land and do no work. This latter class are chiefly those who belong to what are called "good families," good not from a moral point of view, but rather in the sense, good-for-nothing. The shopkeepers speak reverently of the clerk as "one of the gentlemen in the bank," the good families mention him as "only a bank clerk," and contemptuously ignore him.

In most towns with banks there are reading-rooms, debating societies, and political clubs—democratic institutions with which the genteel bank clerk will not contaminate himself. He may attain to membership of a lawn-tennis club, and if so he is happy; but he is still happier if he is admitted to the ordinary social club, for here he meets the gentry, and they may speak with him in the coffee-room though they never seem to see him in the streets. As a general rule he is acquainted with a few merchants, one or two professional men, and the district inspector of constabulary; but the solicitors, though professional men, he will not know; and, in a town where there are several different banks, the clerks of the Bank of Ireland usually hold aloof from the clerks of the other banks.

Of course, the attitude of the genteel Irish bank clerk towards social questions is one of absolute ignorance. Cut off from all the intellectual resources of a city, he becomes an easy prey to the miserable sensual seductions of the country town. When he leaves his office in the evening, he goes for a drink; then to dinner, after which he spends his time in the bar or billiard-room of an hotel, and goes home to bed frequently with unsteady steps. Next morning, however, he speeds sprucely to his office, kid gloves and all.

In politics he is a Conservative. He hates the national movement, not only because he does not comprehend it but chiefly because it is democratic, and all the yearnings of his soul are towards gentility. He speaks of the Irish members as a "pack of cads." He would not be content with imprisoning the leaders of the people, but would hang them.

The public who see him in daily and familiar proximity to heaps of notes and specie, are apt to confound his resources with those of the bank. Yet when he wants an increase of salary, he cringingly begs for it as a rare favour. When obtained it seldom exceeds £10.

Of his own profession, that of banking, he is profoundly ignorant. He is not interested in the art of banking or the science of political economy. He is a mere totting machine.

The merchants, the shopkeepers, even the farmers who enter to deposit their savings—the working stock of the bank—know more of banking and the current condition of the financial world than the genteel bank clerk himself.

If he lives long enough, thirty or forty years more, he will gradually assimilate some few official facts which will render him eligible for the position of manager. Such is the summit of his ambition.

He will then possess one of the best houses in the town; the good families may still ostracise him, but his social circle will widen with the permanent addition of the doctor, the clergy, and the richest of the merchants, who, though they despise the clerk, fear the manager.

OLDER STRANGE.

"Live within your means" is the advice given by the *Journal of United Labour*, and very good old-fashioned advice it is. But the means of every honest producer of wealth should be sufficient to provide the best of wholesome food, good clothing, and a happy and comfortable home for himself and his family, together with all that is needful and wholesome in the way of books, amusements, and virtuous pleasure. Any system of society which denies this is an iniquitous system.—*Labour Reformer*.

## THE LAW AND LIBERTY LEAGUE.

THE first general meeting of the Law and Liberty League was held on the 25th ult. at the National League Hall, 26, Gt. Smith Street, Westminster; J. Tims, Metropolitan Radical Federation, in chair. Forty-seven associations sent delegates. Annie Besant read report of provisional committee, setting forth the objects of the League and nature of the organisation by which it proposed to carry out its work. The treasurer's report showed £680 subscribed and £525 expended, as follows—Legal expenses, £320; fines, £33; relief, £80; hire of halls and offices, £25; printing, postage, etc., £20; salary and miscellaneous, £20; funeral expenses, £27. Liabilities incurred amount to £600 more, for which further subscriptions are earnestly requested. The general council was ordered to meet on the second Saturday in each month at seven o'clock. The chief discussion took place upon the organisation of the Vigilance and Ironside circles, which are being formed in London, and which it was proposed to place under the direction of the executive of the League; ultimately all that had been done was endorsed. The following members were elected as members of the executive committee:—W. Morris, S.L.; J. Tims, M.R.F.; Annie Besant, Fabian; Brady, I.N.L.; Herbert Burrows, S.D.F.; Pike, Hackney district; W. T. Stead; F. Smith, S. Army; Stewart Headlam, L.R.L.; Ben. Ellis, Peckham; Stern, Marylebone and West London; and G. Bateman, S.D.F. The following resolution was carried unanimously with great enthusiasm:—

"That this meeting expresses (1) its abhorrence of the sham administration of justice that disgraces our police-courts, and the courts of quarter sessions, whenever men accused of offences in defence of liberty are tried by magistrates without juries; (2) its indignation at the scandalous outrage on humanity and civilisation involved in treating political prisoners in London and in Ireland as criminal convicts; (3) its surprise and disgust that no Liberal leader has deigned to express his sympathy with the sufferings so heroically borne by so many working-men in their attempt to vindicate the right of free speech in the time-honoured meeting-place of the London democracy. And this meeting further resolves that copies of this resolution be sent to all the occupants of the front Opposition bench, to all metropolitan members, and to all metropolitan magistrates."

## GEORGE ENGEL.

HE was born on April 15, 1836, in the city of Cassel, Germany. His father died when George was eighteen months old, and left a poor widow with four small children. When George was twelve years old his mother died, and he was thus thrown upon the mercy of the world. He knew already what hunger meant, and he now learned what starvation was. A hard struggle was ahead for the poor, friendless boy. But finally the clouds began to lighten. He crossed the path of a kind and good man, a painter by trade, in Frankfort-on-the-Main, and stayed with him until he had learned his trade. Then he began, like many other workers, his "travellings." In January, 1873, he went to Philadelphia, and secured work in a sugar factory. The summer came, and he began work again in his calling as a painter. In Philadelphia, for the first time in his life, he heard something about serious labour troubles. The militia marched along the streets. They came from the coal mines, where they had "subjugated some troublesome, starving miners." "I watched them," he says, "when a bystander said to me: 'These scoundrels ought to be hung on the spot.' That remark surprised me, for, at that time, being an 'ignorant foreigner,' I sang the praises of this 'free and glorious' country. I told him anybody could earn good wages if he wanted to, and save money besides; in short, I reiterated the well-known trash of the capitalistic newspapers. I earned what was called good wages, and laid by a little for a rainy day. The rainy days came soon enough; I became sick, my savings were soon gone." He removed to Chicago, where, for the first time in his life, he heard something of Socialism. A fellow-worker induced him to read Socialistic literature, and won Engel over to Socialism. Later on, when many Socialists despairing of the ballot as a remedy, formed the International Working People's Association, Engel became one of the most active workers among them. About the labour problem he says: "The development of machinery renders working-men more and more superfluous, puts them on the road, and degrades others from skilled labourers to mere machine hands. The solution of the labour question is in co-operation. There can be no question that the present owners of land and machinery never will give them up to the people without resistance. The strikers and boycotters are met with the policemen's clubs, the rifle of the militia, and the deadly bullets of the Pinkertons. The history of all times teaches us that the oppressing classes always maintain their tyrannies by force and violence. The right to vote is, in my opinion, a double-edged sword, a most dangerous weapon. It makes the wage-slave believe that he is a freeman, while his enemies use that illusion most effectively to his deception and enslavement. . . . Some day, not twenty-five years from now, the war will break out. There is no doubt about that in my mind. Therefore, all working-men should unite, and prepare for the last war, whose outcome will be the end, forever, of all war, and will bring peace and happiness to all mankind."

They who seek nothing but their own just liberty have always a right to win it and to keep it whenever they have the power, be the voices ever so numerous that oppose it.—*John Milton*.

The most obvious division of society is into rich and poor; and it is no less obvious that the number of the former bear a great disproportion to those of the latter. The whole business of the poor is to administer to the idleness, folly, and luxury of the rich; and that the rich in return is to find the best methods of confirming the slavery and increasing the burthens of the poor. In a state of nature, it is an invariable law that a man's acquisitions are in proportion to his labours. In a state of artificial society, it is a law as constant and invariable that those who labour most enjoy the fewest things, and that those that labour not at all have the greatest number of enjoyments. A constitution of things this strange and ridiculous beyond expression. We scarce believe a thing when we are told it, which we actually see before our eyes every day without being in the least surprised. . . . Indeed the blindness of one part of mankind, co-operating with the frenzy and villainy of the other, has been the real builder of this respectable fabric of political society. And as their blindness has caused their slavery, in return their state of slavery is made a pretence for continuing them in a state of blindness.—*Edmund Burke*.

## THE LABOUR STRUGGLE.

BRITAIN.

Two hundred men have been thrown idle by a fire in Kely Colliery, Fifeshire. The owner is insured, and the workers can undergo privation until the machinery restarts.

The Fife and Clackmannan miners have decided to stop work for a fortnight, owing to the refusal of the employers to withdraw the notice of a 10 per cent. reduction in wages.

MIDDLESBOROUGH STEEL-WORKERS.—The strike has resulted in the manager withdrawing his obnoxious pressure on the men by which he would have separated them from their union, and the men will therefore return to work so soon as the extensions and repairs are completed.

It is reported that the North Eastern Railway Company keep two men employed on a pilot engine at Leeds passenger station fourteen hours every day. As this engine is continuously working in and out of the station among passenger trains and other engines, the dangers of such a system are too apparent to need any words from us to explain them.—*Railway Review*.

SCOTTISH MINERS' FEDERATION.—After a protracted sitting on Tuesday, the Scottish Miners' Federation passed the following resolution: "That this conference approves of the policy agreed upon by the men of Fife and Clackmannan, namely, 14 days' holiday, and strongly urges upon the miners throughout the country to adopt five days per week and eight hours per day."

END OF A STRIKE.—The strike of the iron-ore labourers employed by the Port-Glasgow Harbour Trust terminated on Thursday. The men struck work about a fortnight ago, to have their wages increased from 6d. to 7d. an hour. The advance was temporarily granted, but was again taken off. At a meeting of a deputation of the men and the Trust, it was agreed to begin work at 6½d. per hour, and the men have resumed.

THE CHAINMAKERS.—The result of the 18 months' strike amongst the chainmakers has been that the men have tried co-operation, and find it is the best remedy they have yet used against the oppression of the small petty-fogging masters who have reduced the whole trade to so pitiable a state. They have now good hopes that their long struggle which has entered on a new phase is near its ending.

NORTHUMBERLAND MINERS.—The outcome of the miners' conference has resulted in the following resolutions being addressed to the owners: "(1) That the working day shall be eight hours from bank to bank in case of single shifts, and seven hours in case of double shifts; (2) That one day's holiday be taken in every week; (3) that there be a week's seoppage throughout the country in order to exhaust the surplus stocks and secure 10 per cent. advance in wages." The masters of the district decline to comply with the resolutions.

SCOTTISH SHALE MINERS.—At a conference at Broxburn, a series of resolutions was adopted recommending united action at once to obtain the wages taken off in July last, advising miners not to sign contract and rules which demand more than five days per week from individual workmen; and that there should be a general idle day. In regard to the tenancy of houses, the resolution was to the effect that, in event of strikes or lock-outs, companies be not entitled to evict till matters in dispute have been referred to arbitration.

THE COTTON TRADE.—Depression is reported in the Lancashire cotton trade. There are several difficulties between masters and workpeople at Blackburn. Over 500 weavers have struck work on the ground of bad material. An agitation is on at Brierfield in the plain printing trade, and a strike is expected. The weavers complain they cannot get to know the length of the pieces they weave. The quarterly reports of the Weavers' Associations state that the number of members has increased, and the union all round is in a better position.

It is stated that, in the hope of doing something "to bridge over the gulf which separates class from class in London," a sum of two hundred pounds per annum has been guaranteed for five years to support a mission for the benefit of the men employed at the Great Eastern Railway at Stratford. Without saying a word against this or any other philanthropic mission, we must confess that we cannot see how such efforts, however well intentioned they may be, can bridge over the gulf that separates the classes. So long as railway-magnates, rolling in wealth, grind down their workmen to the lowest pittance, the gulf will not be so easily bridged as some seem to imagine.—*Railway Review*.

DUNDEE COTTON SPINNERS.—Many of the spinners who struck work in three Dundee mills on Monday, causing fully 2,000 persons to be thrown idle, have returned to work. At North Dudhope Works so few spinners returned that the works were closed for the day. There are still about 800 persons idle, but the strike may be said to have collapsed, the operatives having returned on the old terms. At an adjourned meeting of Dundee millowners and manufacturers it was reported that about three-fourths of the trade had been waited upon with reference to the proposal to put the works on short time by closing them on Saturdays, and that they were unanimous in favour of the movement. It was agreed to hold another meeting next week, by which time the remaining members of the trade will have been called upon.

The colliers at Northwood Colliery, Hanley, have come out on strike against an order of the manager to discontinue the use of gunpowder in firing shots. The proprietors insist upon the use of gelatine or lime cartridges for blasting purposes, which are said to be proof against explosions; but the men object on the ground that their earnings will be diminished. Why should not the owners be compelled to adopt "all the resources of civilisation" to protect the lives of the miners? Why should the workers be called upon to jeopardise their lives and limbs and the wellbeing of their families, or be taxed out of their starvation wage to provide proper appliances for safe working? These are questions which all those who read this column should seriously consider.

### PROGRESS AND POVERTY.

At the annual meeting of the Ashton and district Miners' Association, held in Bolton last week, Mr. S. Woods, miners' agent, presented a report of the year's operations. It stated that 94 lives were lost in connection with the West Lancashire coalfield during 1886. During 1887 wages had been lower than ever, the average wage of thousands of colliers being 14s. to 16s. per week. There had been 54 local strikes, 18 of them being stated to be the result of either political or petty spite by underground managers.

There is still a vast amount of destitution and distress at Greenwich and Deptford notwithstanding the reported revival of trade. In Greenwich alone there are more than 2000 out of employment, and more than 6000 are in a state of absolute destitution, and the resources of the Guardians are taxed to the utmost. In spite of the most strenuous efforts the distress apparently increases. It is to be hoped that the efforts of the relief committee may be able to cope with the situation, which is very serious.

From Ireland the same dismal tale of trade depression and distress is heard. In Drogheda the building trades are at a standstill, the cotton mills have begun working half-time, the iron works of Messrs. Grendon & Co. have been working half-time for months past. In the Arran Islands the distress is so great that there is talk of the Irish Executive starting relief-works and providing seed potatoes for the islanders.

METROPOLITAN PAUPERISM.—The weekly return of metropolitan pauperism shows that the total number of paupers relieved in the third week of last month was 106,969, of whom 60,549 were indoor and 46,420 outdoor paupers. The total number relieved shows an increase of 2,998 over the corresponding week of last year, 8,939 over 1885, and 10,366 over 1884. The total number of vagrants relieved on the last day of the week was 1,136, of whom 1,044 were men, 144 women, and 48 children under sixteen.

HOW PAUPERS ARE FED.—At a meeting of a Welsh Board of Guardians Mr. Murray Browne, Government inspector, said some of the inmates complained of the fish dinners. Mr. Cornelius Morgan, guardian, said the dietary of the paupers had not been revised for 32 years, and hasty pudding, which was given for dinner, he considered no better than paperhangers' paste. He had heard the poor people curse the house, and it was no wonder they would rather starve in the ditch than enter its portals. A committee was appointed to revise the diet.

LABOUR STATISTICS.—In 1884 a statistician, Mr. Giffen, wrote a pamphlet, 'The Progress of the Working Classes in the Last Half Century,' in which occurs the following: "While the money wages have increased, the hours of labour have diminished. . . . The workman gets from 50 to 100 per cent. more money for 20 per cent. less work; in round figures he has gained from 70 to 120 per cent. in fifty years in money return." The work was written in the nature of a brief, and the writer proved that the working classes ought to be very happy and contented, and study how best to spend their earnings. The consciences of the capitalists were eased, and Mr. Gladstone sent congratulations to the learned economist who so clearly showed that "the war of the land nationaliser and socialist [with a little s] is not so much with the capitalist as with the workman." We have now a Labour Bureau. A blue-book has been issued from that establishment which shows further light on the "great progress of the working classes." Opinion greatly differs as to this progress. The editor of the *Birmingham Gazette*, dealing with the subject, says: "Taken collectively, the labour statistics hardly support the theory that wages are higher to-day than they were forty or fifty years ago. The markets have grown more crowded, trade has in some cases declined or become temporarily stagnant, foreign competition has become keener, and the machine has taken the place of the man." Some of the unemployed who have the misfortune to walk the streets day after day seeking work can give the best answer to the statistician.

### THE EVILS OF OVERTIME.

The leading principle of unionism as applied to the hours of labour is, and always has been, that all work obtained in the market should, as far as possible, be shared amongst its members. From our point of view it is therefore in the highest degree impolitic and unfair for one body of men to work beyond the normal day whilst others have no employment at all. The above view of the matter may be open to the charge of sentimentality, but we think if the trades give the question a thorough investigation they will discover that it is to the highest interest of all that there should be as few men as possible totally without work. The pressing wants of a family cannot be ignored; they are painful to witness and to share, and frequently drive men to accept conditions of labour and wages which their manly nature would under other circumstances repudiate and resist. The unemployed in a trade consequently constitute a standing danger to the upkeep of wages and other labour interests. We have always insisted, and we have never had reason to doubt the truth of our contention, that the lessening of the hours of labour, so far as is consistent with the general prosperity of the trades, is the most substantial gain that the working classes have acquired through the force of their organisations. If, however, the normal number of hours for a day's work is only taken advantage of to increase the opportunities for overtime, those who are parties to such an evasion are guilty of the betrayal of the best interests in their order. We have been informed of the painful truth that many workmen who should know better are them in favour of overtime, and miss no opportunity of adding to their regular income by this unfair and unpatriotic practice. We earnestly appeal to all the trades concerned to make a systematic effort to do away with the overtime system as quickly and as effectually as it is in their power to do. This should be done with care and prudence, in order, if possible, to avoid strikes or serious disputes in carrying out the terms of the resolution. The Congress which passed this resolution also expressed a desire for the further reduction of the working hours to a total of 48 per week. There are trades that have in some districts already brought this about by their own energy and self-sacrifice in the past. While overtime is so general, it is, however, mere hypocrisy to talk of establishing an eight hour scheme. We have the power, if we like to use it, to kill this vicious system of overtime. Let us, therefore, set about it, as an earnest of our genuine desire to really shorten the working week. Until we do so it is futile to plead that we are sincere in asking for an eight hours day.—*Monthly Report, Iron Moulders, Scotland*.

R. L. (West Calder).—The labour notes unfortunately arrived too late for publication. Your offer gladly accepted. Please send in time to reach here on Tuesday.—T. BINNING.

It is wonderful that all people cannot see that if certain members of the community wax rich upon monopolies and privileges not enjoyed by the rest of the community, it is the rest of the community that has to pay for same. So long as we have rich idlers, so long there must be poor workers. It is not to be wondered at that the rich object to any and all reforms which might interfere with their privileges; but it is wonderful that the downtrodden workers do not rise in their might and demand the immediate abolition of all those monopolies which rob them to enrich a privileged few.—*Our Commonwealth*.



## INTERNATIONAL NOTES.

## FRANCE.

A fortnight ago, Jean Baptiste André Godin, the founder of the world-known Familistere, died at Guise (Aisne Department). He was born at Esquéhéries, in the same department, on January 26, 1817, as the son of a poor agricultural labourer, who also had a small locksmith's workshop. At the early age of ten, he was obliged to leave the primary school of his village and became a locksmith's apprentice. At seventeen he made the usual *tour de France*, travelling from town to town to become a skilled artisan. This happened at the time when the ideas of Fourier and Saint Simon began to spread amongst the proletariat, then suffering very heavily from the effects of the industrial revolution brought about by the introduction of machinery, and young Godin soon became a Socialist of the Fourier school. He then started in his native village a small locksmith's shop, and his business succeeded rapidly owing to an invention of his, consisting in the use of cast-iron instead of sheet-iron or plate for heating apparatus. Six years afterwards, 1846, he worked with forty companions, who shared in the profits of his trade, at the same time transferring his works to Guise, which have gone on extending till now over 8,000,000 kilogrammes of cast-iron are produced yearly. After the *coup d'état* of Napoleon III., the Phalansterians made an appeal in order to raise a fund for the creation of a Communist colony in America (Texas), and Godin at once subscribed one-third of his fortune. The experiment, under the leadership of Victor Considérant, one of the most brilliant disciples of Fourier, proved a failure, and Godin resolved to try by himself the realisation of his favourite ideas. In the month of April, 1859, he laid the foundations of his Familistere, which he then extended year after year up to its present achievement. In 1878, he definitely associated his fellow-workers, numbering 1,800, in the whole concern, leaving them co-proprietors of the social palace, of the factories, the invested and rolling capital, etc. Besides, by his last will, he *restitutes* to them the six million francs they have helped him to win. He was not only a practical business man, but also a Socialist theoriser who propagated his ideas in numerous writings, of which the following may be quoted here:—'Social Questions,' 'The Nature of Government,' 'Wealth in use for the People,' 'The Socialists and the Right of Labour,' 'National Mutuality,' 'Social Mutuality,' 'The Familistere of Guise,' 'The Revision of the Constitution,' 'International Arbitration and European Disarmament,' 'Inquiry on the Working-men's Associations,' 'Work and Consumption,' 'National Heredity opposed to State Heredity,' 'Extinction of Pauperism by means of National Mutuality,' 'Transformation of Universal Suffrage,' etc.

On Sunday, the 22nd inst., a brute whose brains have been deteriorated by the stupid clerical education which he received, and also by the large quantities of alcohol which he has been in the habit of absorbing, fired two shots from a revolver at our friend Louise Michel, while she was lecturing at Le Havre in support of the Socialist paper *L'Idée Ouvrière* (The Worker's Ideas), which is published in that town. One of the bullets tore her ear, and the other entered her head and has not as yet been extracted. The hole in the temporal bone is a large and ugly one, and should there be internal inflammation recovery would in all probability become impossible. As she is courageously battling against her wounds, and shows not the slightest sign of depression but remains bright and lively as usual, we earnestly hope that she will recover. In her magnanimity, Louise Michel wrote to the wife of her would-be assassin that she would try to get him out of trouble, and she is doing her best for him. The whole press (I mean the bourgeois press) has been obliged to acknowledge the courage and the disinterestedness of Louise Michel, and it is quite true, as was stated, that in point of sentiment, in pluck, in generosity, in fortitude, and tenderness of heart, she is the greatest human being of her age. Again we express the most hearty wishes for her complete recovery.

## GERMANY.

At Hamburg, the police have lately burnt about twenty thousand kilogrammes of Socialistic literature, newspapers, leaflets, and pamphlets, seized in the course of last year. Happily it is only the paper which has been spoiled, the spirit remains among the comrades, and that's all we want.

At Freiberg, in Brigau, five Socialists have been sentenced to eight, five, four, three, and two months' jail respectively, for having received from Switzerland and spread in various parts of Germany large quantities of *Der Sozialdemokrat*, of Zurich.

A trade paper, *Der Schneider* (The Tailor) has been suppressed at Altona, one of the blessed nooks of German soil held under state of siege by Bismarck, the best promoter of Socialism in the country and even in Europe. At Berlin, a pamphlet entitled *Anti-Sklaverei* (Anti-Slavery) and a leaflet entitled *Zum 18 Januar* (the 18th January), met with the same fate. Also a paper called *Pfälzischen Freie Presse* (The Palatinate Free Press).

Next week I shall have something to say upon the speeches made in the German Reichstag by the Socialist deputies, Singers, Bebel, and others, on the ugly business of the international blood-hounds, entertained and fed all over Europe by the Iron Chancellor and Puttkammer, his faithful servant.

## HOLLAND.

A new paper, entitled *De Anarchist*, has been started at the Hague without special editorship. Every one who cares to do so can write in it. I fail to understand this method of journalism, and although I have the best wishes for the paper's welfare, I fear it won't last long; at any rate, in that shape.

V. D.

## "We are all Socialists now."

The word Socialism is in the last degree ambiguous, or if my reader pleases, elastic. In one sense it includes not only all critical investigations into the progress, the arrest, and the retrogression of civilisation, but any effort which individuals, governments, or communities make in the direction of detecting social mischief, and in providing remedies against that which they discover. It is also possible to include under the Socialist hypothesis any religious movement which has intended to benefit humanity generally, any theory of the philosopher from Plato to Herbert Spencer, which disputes the excellence of present arrangements, and propounds more or less drastic remedies for discovered and reputed evils, and any effort which governments and legislators have attempted and carried out with a view to controlling and modifying individual action. In short, all that people call *Altruism* may be called Socialist action.—Thorold Rogers.

## LETTER FROM AMERICA.

A few more details about the Philadelphia and Reading Railroad Company. This benevolent public carrier, for whose benefit Mayor Hewitt of New York found it necessary to say a few words by declaring the Knights of Labour to be a combination of highwaymen and robbers, belongs to the Coal Trust. The Coal Trust is a combination of the Philadelphia and Reading Railroad Company, the Lehigh Valley Railroad Company, the Delaware Lackawanna and Western Railroad Company, the Pennsylvania Railroad Company, the Delaware and Hudson Canal Company, the Pennsylvania Coal Company, and the New York, Lake Erie, and Western Railroad Company. The anthracite coal regions of the State of Pennsylvania are completely under the control of this combination. From time to time the presidents of the different companies meet, and over a champagne lunch or a dinner determine how much coal shall be mined during the year, who shall be permitted to mine it, and who shall carry it, and how high a price they might dare to charge the public. During the past year they decided to mine only 35 million tons of coal to keep up the price. This decision involved the shutting down of the mines for several months, thereby throwing thousands of men out of work. But what does a miners' happiness signify to a railroad president? Plenty of men to be had at any price. Coal is sold in New York at 7 dols. a ton; the miners get about 60 cents for producing it. Now a word or two about the Labour organisation. In 1875 the working-men's Benevolent Association, which at one time embraced nearly all the miners in the Pennsylvania coal region, was broken up, after a five months' struggle with the Philadelphia and Reading Railroad Company. The men surrendered unconditionally, and resumed work upon terms which they had scornfully rejected months before. During the succeeding ten years there was no miners' organisation in the coal region. In the summer of 1883 George Harris, now State president of the Amalgamated Association of Miners, came into the coal region and made a fruitless effort to organise the men. He returned early in the spring of 1885, and met with better success. Inside of a month the miners of the whole county were organised. Then the reorganisation of the Knights of Labour was begun, and in the course of a year fully two-thirds of the miners became enrolled under its banners. A new schedule of wages was adopted in April 1887. A strike was contemplated for May 1st, but postponed to more opportune time. Finally it was agreed that a demand for a general advance of fifteen per cent. should be made on the 1st of September 1887. The Reading Company compromised by granting an advance of 8 per cent. The Lehigh operators refused to enter the agreement. The Lehigh miners went out on strike in September. The Reading Company agreed to pay the advance during 1887, but would do so no longer after new year. These are the two bodies now fighting each other; there is still the revolt of the employés of Reading Railroad, the details of which I reported to you in previous letters. The strikers are as buoyant as ever, and continue firm in the belief that the strike will terminate in their favour.

The condition of the Lehigh strike is also unchanged. The Lehigh Valley Coal and Navigation Company operates the ten collieries in the southern coal-fields of Pennsylvania. With one small exception, every one of the collieries, employing about 30,000 men, is at present idle, and has been since the 10th September last. For years the Lehigh miners as a rule have worked and been treated like slaves, and even where constantly employed have been allowed to earn only enough to keep body and soul together.

The sentence of one year's hard labour against Paul Grottkau, editor of the Milwaukee *Arbeiter-Zeitung*, has been confirmed by the Supreme Court of Wisconsin. Grottkau agitated for the eight hours movement and spoke on the 3rd May 1886 in Milwaukee, counselling moderation. Riots occurred a few hours afterwards, in consequence of which Grottkau was indicted. The first jury disagreed; the second about a year ago sentenced him to the above term. Such is ever the fate of the moderates.

The strike in Louisville of printers, including the *Journal* office, will necessitate another assessment from the printers of the country.

The International Bricklayers Convention, in session at Boston, decided that hereafter bricklayers will refuse to lay bricks for any man who employs non-union men during a strike.

Work has been suspended indefinitely on the rail department of the Allentown, Pa., Rolling Mill, and 150 employés are idle in consequence.

Thousands of employés were thrown out of work in the shoe-shops of North Adams, Mass., through the strike of the lasters.

Typographical Union 2 have ordered out all the job-printers in mixed offices in Philadelphia.

The demands of the locomotive-engineers made upon the Santa Fé road have with slight modifications been acceded to, putting an end to any possibility of a strike.

There will be no general strike of the cigar-makers in New York. Most of the firms are making arrangements with the workers.

The striking steam-pipe and boiler-felters met and reported that six more of the men had formed a co-operative firm, and had plenty of work to attend to. This makes four of these firms organised since the strike, and all doing well.

New York, January 18, 1888.

HENRY F. CHARLES.

## THE SOCIALIST LEAGUE.

OFFICES: 13 FARRINGTON ROAD, E.C.

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

**London Members.**—On Monday next, Feb. 6, the usual meeting of the London Members will be held, on which occasion special business will be laid before them.

**Annual Conference.**—The Fourth Annual Conference of the Socialist League will be held at 13 Farringdon Road, on Whitsunday, May 20. The attention of Branches is particularly referred to (1) Rule V. on the subject of the annual conference, pp. 3 and 4 of Constitution and Rules; and (2) that all branches wishing to be represented at the Conference must pay their subscription up to the 31st of March by May 1st.

## "COMMONWEAL" PRINTING FUND.

Weekly Subscriptions—C. J. F., 2s. 6d. K. F., 1s. Langley, 2s. P. W., 6d. W. B., 6d.

REPORTS.

BLOOMSBURY.—On Thursday, Jan. 26, a successful social evening, when five new members were elected. CLERKENWELL.—On Wednesday, Jan. 25, J. Lane on "Different Schools of Socialistic Thought;" and on Sunday, Jan. 29, W. B. Parker, on "What the Workers want, and how to get it." Good audiences and useful discussions.—B. FULHAM.—Tuesday at 8, meeting at Fulham Cross, Tochatti and Smith spoke. Sunday morning, Walham Green meeting addressed by Catterson Smith. In evening another meeting held by the Hammersmith choir, Tochatti, and Day; Kitz afterwards lectured in our rooms on "The Irish Question from a Socialist Standpoint." Good audience. We intend during the winter to give up our station at Fulham Cross, and to speak every Tuesday evening at 8 o'clock opposite the Liberal Club, Walham Green.—S. B. G. HOXTON.—Pope and Parker held a good meeting here last Sunday morning. Commonweal sold well. GLASGOW.—Sunday at 2 o'clock, Gilbert and Glasier held meeting at St. George's Cross. At 4 o'clock, Glasier lectured to the Young Ireland Society; lively discussion followed. Objectors were answered to entire satisfaction of audience. At 7 o'clock a large audience listened to the exposition of Socialism for two hours by Pollock, Glasier, and Downie in the Infirmary Square; slight opposition. Good sale of Commonweal.—S. D. NORWICH.—We held one outdoor meeting on Sunday in Market Place, audience listening attentively for over an hour, notwithstanding weather; at Gordon Hall in evening, Mowbray concluded series of lectures on "Is Socialism Sound?" Houghton in chair. Fair sale of Commonweal.—S. WALSALL.—On Monday, E. Guillemard lectured on "A Workman's Life in France," dealing with the subject in a most able manner.—J. T. D.

DUBLIN.—At Saturday Club, Jan. 28, J. McConnell lectured on "Technical Education," from the employers' standpoint. The Socialist view of the subject was ably put by Fitzpatrick; Schumann also spoke. EDINBURGH.—On 20th, James Mavor lectured on "Schemes of Industrial Progress." NOTTINGHAM.—We were nearly boycotted Sunday last. When we went in the afternoon to the hall we could not get in. It was only after a deal of talk that they let us have the place at night, as we had advertised the lectures. However, J. Sketchley spoke to a good audience upon "Socialism the only efficient remedy for existing social wrongs."—W. D.

LECTURE DIARY.

LONDON.

Bloomsbury.—Athenaeum Hall, 73 Tottenham Court Road. Annie Besant (Fabian Society) will lecture on "Socialism, Old and New," on Thursday Feb. 2, at 8 p.m. Communist Club, 49 Tottenham Street, Tottenham Court Road. Thursday Feb. 9, at 8.30, Quarterly Business Meeting. Clerkenwell.—Hall of the Socialist League, 13 Farringdon Rd., E.C. Business meeting every Sunday at 7. Sun. Feb. 5, at 8.30, Free Concert by Wm. Blundell and Friends. Wednesday 8, at 8.30, Annie Besant "Communalisation of Industry." Sun. 12, H. A. Barker, "The Labour Struggle." Wed. 15, H. H. Sparling, a lecture. Fulham.—8 Edlie Road, Walham Green. Hackney.—28 Percy Terrace, Victoria Road, Hackney Wick. Hammersmith.—Kelmescott House, Upper Mall, W. Sunday February 5, at 8 p.m. Wm. Clarke (Fabian Society), "Quack Solutions of the Land Problem." Hoxton (L.E.L.).—C. J. Young, 8 Dunloe Street, Hackney Road, Secretary. Mitcham.—Corner of Merton Lane and Fountain Place. Club Room open every evening from 7.30 till 11. Sunday February 5, J. Lane, "Different Schools of Socialist Thought." Feb. 12, W. B. Parker, "Some Objections to Socialism." Feb. 19, T. J. Dalziel, "Why the People Starve." Feb. 26, J. Turner, "Co-operation." Mile-end and Bethnal Green.—95 Boston St., Hackney Road. Business Meeting every Thursday at 9 p.m. Debating Class for members after Business Meeting.

PROVINCES.

Aberdeen (Scottish Section).—Sunday night meetings in Baker Street Hall, at 6. Secretary, J. Leatham, 15 St. Nicholas Street. Birmingham.—Meetings at Summer Row Coffee House every Saturday evening at 8. Bradford.—Morris's Dining Rooms, 114 City Road. Wednesdays, at 8. Carnoustie (Scottish Section: Fowfarshire).—Meeting every Wednesday, at 8 p.m., in the Carnoustie Restaurant. H. M'Cluskey, Millar Street, Secy. Cowdenbeath (Scot. Sec).—J. Duncan, 30 Arthur Pl., sec. Dublin.—Saturday Club, Central Lecture Hall, 12 Westmorland Street. Dunlee (Scot. Sect.).—Meetings every Sunday in the Trades Hall, opposite Tay Bridge Station. Political Economy class, 2 p.m. Lecture at 6.30.

Edinburgh (Scottish Section).—4 Park Street. Sunday evening lectures, Trades Hall, High Street. On Sunday February 5, at 6.30, Andrew Dewar on "Trade Depressions: their Cause and their Cure." On February 12, J. H. Smith on "The Payment of Labour under Socialism." Galashiels (Scot Sect.).—J. Walker, 6 Victoria St., sec. Gallatown and Dysart (Scottish Section: Fife).—Meet every Tuesday at 7 p.m. In Gallatown Public School. Secretary, A. Paterson, 172 Albany St. Glasgow.—81 St. Radoy. Room open 10 a.m. till 10 p.m. Propaganda Committee, Mondays at 8. Discussion Class, Thursdays at 8. Leeds.—17 Cheapside St., Sweet St. Club open every evening. Business meeting Wednesdays at 8 p.m. Leicester.—Hosiery Union, Horsefair St. Fridays at 8. Lochgelly (Scottish Section: Fife).—Secs. (pro tem.), John Greig and Hugh Conway, The Square. Norwich.—Gordon Hall, 5 Duke Street. Monday, Concert at 8. Tuesday, Business meeting at 8.30. Wednesday, Band practice at 8. Thursday, Discussion class, Gronlund's 'Co-operative Commonwealth.' Friday, Rehearsal at 8. Saturday, Premises open from 8 until 10.30. Nottingham.—Club and Reading Rooms, 1 Tokenhouse Yard, Bridesmith Gate, open every evening. Lectures and Discussions every Sunday. Oxford.—Temperance Hall, 25 1/2 Pembroke Street. Wednesdays, at 8.30 p.m. Walsall.—Lecture Room, back of Temperance Hall. Mondays at 8 p.m. West Calder (Scottish Section).—Sec., Robert Lindsay, West Calder.

OPEN-AIR PROPAGANDA.

LONDON—Sunday 5.

11 Acton Green .....Hammersmith Branch 11.15 Starch Green .....The Branch 11.30 Garrett—"Plough Inn" .....The Branch 11.30 Hoxton Church, Pitfield St. ....Wade & Pope 11.30 Merton—Haydons Road .....The Branch 11.30 Mitcham Fair Green .....The Branch 11.30 Regent's Park .....Nicoll 11.30 St. Pancras Arches .....The Branch 11.30 Stamford Hill .....Parker 11.30 Walham Green .....Fulham Branch 3 Hyde Park .....Parker

PROVINCES.

Leeds.—Sunday: Vicar's Croft, 11 a.m. Norwich.—Market Place, at 3 every Sunday. EAST LONDON SOCIALIST CLUB.—Special notice to the members and delegates of the Hoxton, Hackney, Mile-end, and Stoke Newington branches.—A meeting will be held at the Commonweal Office on Friday evening February 3rd, to consider very important business—time, 8.30 prompt. JUNIOR SOCIALISTIC EDUCATIONAL SOCIETY.—Meeting held at 20 Newman Street, Saturday Jan. 28; Coras read a paper on "Socialism and Individuality." Discussion followed, and several new members made. On Saturday Feb. 11, 8 o'clock, Fry reads a paper at 64 Charlotte Street.—H. W. F., Sec. pro tem. SHEFFIELD SOCIALISTS, Commonwealth Café, Scotland Street, Sheffield.—Discussions or Lectures every Sunday evening at 7 o'clock. Free.

SOCIALIST CO-OPERATIVE FEDERATION.—Meeting at Commonweal Office, 13 Farringdon Road, on Sunday February 5, at 3.30 p.m.

THE TABLES TURNED.

ENGAGEMENTS.

February 4 . . . . .BERNER ST., COMMERCIAL RD. Applications for engagements to be made to the Manager, H. A. Barker

The Lamp

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# THE COMMONWEALTH

The Official Journal of the Socialist League.

VOL. 4.—No. 109.

SATURDAY, FEBRUARY 11, 1888.

WEEKLY; ONE PENNY.

## NOTES ON NEWS.

WITHIN two or three days of each other, Lord Salisbury has received two deputations, one asking him to consider the state of the London poor, and one to consider that of the Irish landlords. At first sight this would seem like a practical joke played upon the Most Noble by people with a sense of grim humour. However, that does not seem to have been the case, and both deputations put forward their cases with great gravity—even that sent by the Irish landlords.

The contrast between the reception of the two was, however, remarkable. The parliamentary sovereign of Britain let the first deputation see that, to his mind, the condition of the poor had nothing to do with him, whereas there was an air of cordial and affectionate sympathy in his address to the delegates of the landlords which must have warmed their hearts and made them think it the next best thing to a Bill passed by both houses to make the whole public compensate them to the full for their falling off in rents. In fact, his enthusiasm for the useless class quite carried him away, and made him optimistic as to the future of these poor sufferers; whereas he was pessimistic to the last degree as to the possibility of the "Society" which he represented finding work for those willing to work, whom competition has thrust out of the labour market.

It must be said that he was right in his pessimism, and wrong in his optimism. It would be preposterous for the head of a bourgeois government to pretend to be able even to consider any scheme for benefitting the classes on whom his class—the class whose servant he is—lives; and scarcely less preposterous for any set of persons to ask him to consider it; unless, indeed, they were Socialists wanting to show him up for what he is. Yet on the other hand he cannot do much for his dear landlords, seeking rent where there is no rent. Even they in the long-run must come on the Socialists for "compensation"; only the "compensation" will not mean giving them back again the ownership of the natural resources of the country which has been so ruinous to us all, and which is beginning to slip through their fingers, but assuring to them a position in which they will be able to exercise their capacities and earn themselves a non-precarious livelihood.

Meantime it is instructive to note the irresistible instinct which forces Lord Salisbury to exhibit himself in his real position, the head of a committee governing the country for the welfare of the proprietary classes. To Lord Salisbury, as to all who are not either consciously or unconsciously Socialists, it is only the members of these latter classes who are men and women with feelings to be considered and real lives to live: all others are only parts of the great machine, to be thought of only as a general thinks about his army: food for profit instead of food for powder: beings without property, of whom no account need be taken but as occasion calls on you to manipulate their votes.

The debate in the German Reichstag on the new anti-Socialist Bill, produced a remarkable exposure, from our friends Singer and Bebel, of the secret police system of Bismark. It is good that not only the German public but the public of England also should know what the cost of suppression is and must be; and that a part of it must necessarily be the keeping up a system of espionage and provocation to deeds of violence which is absolutely sickening to think of, is a disgrace to human nature—even absolutist human nature.

One thing is clear, that in spite of Herr Puttkammer's rage and indignant denials, the statements of the Socialist deputies are believed by everybody. It is a common middle class trick in this country to pooh-poo all statements of this kind, and to assume that everything is managed in "respectable" modern Governments if in a stiff and business-like, yet in an open and above-board manner. The reception even by the English public of these revelations of the "frankness" of Herr Bismark, show how conventional this way of taking the subject is. The road of repression is a foul one, Bismark has doubtless long been callous to its worst quagmires; but our own rulers seem to have a taste for dirt, and if they go on as they have begun they will doubtless before long rival the "Great Chancellor" in his disgraces.

He has been speaking once more to listening Europe, and people can make pretty much what they please of his speech as to the hopes

of peace and war; but whatever he wanted various sets of people to think he meant by it, one thing is certain and may console those who are afraid of a coming war, and that is that war is the last thing he wants, and that he will go any lengths to avoid it. The German army is too useful an instrument for the repression of the German people to be wasted in foreign wars if they can be avoided.

I can imagine some of our friends grinning rather bitterly at the title of an article in the current number of the *Nineteenth Century*, "How to live on £700 a-year," and thinking that they would like to try the experiment. It should be explained that the title ought to run, "How to live in the upper ranks of the shabby-genteel on £700 a-year." This is a different problem, and a sufficiently tough one to those who are compelled to live in this group of curs. The receipt for it is much as follows: give away nothing; let your hospitality be merely conventional; take no pleasure except for the sake of gentility; never buy a book; look very sharp after your servants; in short, repress every instinct towards kindness and generosity, and you may cut quite a good figure in the ranks of gentility, and be in fact a fine specimen of the genus "snob." W. M.

Mr. J. R. Cox, M.P., was furnished on Thursday, February 2nd, by the governor of Limerick prison with a new suit of jail clothes, and he offered no objection to attiring himself in them. Mr. Cox had expressed disapproval of the resistance offered by Mr. O'Brien and others to the jail authorities, and so it was expected that he would not indulge in the "heroic" resistance that has, one is compelled to say, just a taste of the snob about it. He was engaged in chopping wood with the ordinary prisoners in the jail-yard the same day, and in all ways conforming to the treatment accorded the "ordinary criminals" made by law.

Very cheering also was the blunt, bold way in which the sailor Mayor of Waterford spoke out before Lord Ripon and Mr. Morley at Dublin. "Rebels we are born," said he, "rebels we remain, and rebels we shall die, if we must, against the infernal despotism of Dublin Castle!" Here, at least, is one man who can say what he means without hiding it in the frippery of affected reverence for the tender ears of Mrs. Grundy.

Was the verdict of the Edinburgh jury in the trial of crofters last week different from the one before rendered by reason of less challenging of the jury by the defence? Or was it the natural "pawkiness" of Scotchmen, intensified by their being tradesmen, that made this jury see so clearly that sheep were property while deer were not? Or the craven legality of the bourgeois mind that blindly followed the mere law?

They may also have been influenced by the natural class-feeling that would regard sheep as worthy of protection as matter for trading and appertaining to their own class, while deer are objects of "sport" and appendages of aristocratic privilege.

Of course, they forgot that it was for the sake of sheep that the Highlands have been cleared and so much land laid waste. But then one hardly expects a bourgeois jury to give weight to such a consideration.

How proud the law-abiding Englishman must be this week! After careful and long deliberation, the great financial council at the Vatican has decided that the Bank of England is the one secure place in the world for the deposit of Peter's pence, and so the gigantic monopoly which controls the whole machinery of exchange in this country is to have another large sum to make interest on.

Ever since the *Star* began to throw light upon the hidden places of the London vestries, there has been a mighty squealing in the dark recesses where corruption reigned supreme. A great deal of good is done by such exposures—for the time—but after a while, even if the glare of publicity is not allowed to die out, new ways of evading discovery will be found. Full reform will never be achieved but by Socialism.

Everybody just now seems to be in danger of allowing the great services rendered by the *Pall Mall Gazette* to be eclipsed by the newer light of the *Star*. This latter is doing good work, although it is hardly as advanced as it gave promise of being; but even in view of all it is



doing, it is hardly fair to talk, as some are doing, as though there were "great men before Agamemnon."

When speaking of papers, one might also put in a word for our own. It is to be hoped that none of our members and friends will neglect their efforts on behalf of the *Commonweal* for sake of the *Link*. I am anxious that the *Link* should have all done for it that is possible, but to me at least, if to none other, the *Commonweal* paper, and must be considered and worked for first over all.

S.

## THE NEW ETHIC.

(Continued from p 36.)

LET US now take the theologico-metaphysical hypothesis that the *telos*, end, or purpose of the self, the individual, or the personality, is realisable not *per se*, but in the Divinity between whom and his personality there is a mystical connection. It is recognised here that the form of the personality is inadequate to its content. Morality, duty, religion, are the expression of this inadequacy of form to content. But the theologian or the dogmatic metaphysician seeks to attain the adequacy *per saltum*. The *saltum* proves a *saltum mortale*, since it removes him altogether from the sphere of the real world. He creates an ideal sphere in which the soul shall find its satisfaction, in which that element within him which proclaims himself inadequate to himself, and therewith his entire personality, shall reach its completion and perfection. But in this theory the principle of Individualism, while *formally* surrendered is *really* maintained. It is felt that there is a permanent contradiction involved in the individual when viewed abstractly, or as a thing existing by itself. So far, so good. But how is the contradiction dealt with? By the attempted suppression of one of its terms. Speculatively, the natural personality is absorbed as its end and object in a supernatural being. Practically, the natural personality as such is repressed. But, meanwhile, it has passed unnoticed that the contradiction is not only not resolved, but that the term which was thought to be suppressed is not suppressed, but stands more firmly than ever. The personality is on these grounds, as "the air invulnerable, and our vain blows malicious mocking." The attention of the individual is now more firmly than ever rivetted on self. The attempt of Mysticism to transcend Individualism at a stroke has recoiled upon itself. The individual and his God, though *formally* and *professedly* distinct, are really one and the same. That this is so as regards the actual world is obvious, since it is admitted by the theologian that all that goes on is in the "heart" of the individual, and relates to a spiritual world *revealed* to his own soul. The renunciation of the theologian or mystic is therefore a double-dyed egoism. His personality continued, under higher conditions, and on a higher plane. The moral basis or principle of Supernaturalism is an Individualism screwed up, so to speak, a degree higher than that of the ordinary worldly theory. To the worldly selfishness of the one it opposes an other-worldly selfishness. From the point of view of the natural or real world, the divine nature in which the imperfect natural individual fancied he was realising his higher perfection has shown itself but as the reflex of his own nature with its natural tendencies, in some cases inverted, in others exaggerated.

We have as yet dealt with the two current fundamental ethical theories, so to speak, statically. It now remains to show their origin, meaning, and connection in the Dynamic side of Human Evolution. The particular view of the moral relation obtaining is, as we said before, conditioned by the social forms of which it is the outcome. The empirical Utilitarian theory of the English school, it is quite clear, is but the speculative formulation of the principle obtaining under the competitive capitalistic system, which reached its earliest development in the Anglo-Saxon race, but the basis of which (*viz.*, property), and consequently the tendency towards which, has been more or less present since the dawn of civilisation. The theologico-metaphysical theory, though not so obviously the outcome of social conditions having this same basis, is none the less really so. But to understand this clearly we must consider the original nature, object, and meaning of the ethical consciousness; its meaning, that is, in those earliest forms of society wherein its manifestations were so different to what they are in the world of to-day. We have first of all to remember, then, that morality affirmed itself in the ancient world or society as the solidarity of the individual with his kin, his gens, his tribe, his "people." Illustration is needless, since this is a fact universally admitted in the present day. There was then no opposing interest between individual and community, the interest of the individual was absolutely identified with that of the race; he had not as yet drawn the distinction between himself and the society to which he belonged; his personal *telos* was identified with that of the social whole into which he entered.

But at the same time that he had no interests independent of his race, yet neither had he any duties outside that race. Society and therefore ethics existed on the basis of *kinship*, and of kinship alone. Within the charmed circle all was sacred, without it all was profane. The primitive society of kinship was a self-contained organism, apart from which the constituent units, the individuals composing it, had no significance. The individual, the personality, therefore, unconsciously recognised his *telos* in the society. The incompatibility of the form of the individual to the content of individuality had not as yet become explicit, since the individual had not as yet been thrown back upon himself. His life was an objective one; objectivised in the society. But now mark the gradual change which took place a change of the process, of which the typical illustrations are

to be found in the early annals of Greece and Rome. The *society* by the very fact of its own development merged into the *state*. With the growth of the state, *property* tended more and more to supplant *kinship* as the basis of things. For a long time the two principles continued to exist side by side; but it was long before the personal nature of property was fully realised. But no sooner was this the case, no sooner had personal property become the basis of social order, than the naive ethical sentiment of early society was at an end, and an individualistic ethic took its place. This individualistic ethic was of a two-fold kind. On the one side it was an attempt to realise happiness or the end of individuality within the limits of the natural individual, on the other it was an attempt to realise the *end* of individuality on a supernatural plane. In the one as in the other the individual becomes, so to speak, the centre of attention. Man awoke to a consciousness of himself as *formally* distinct from the society. It was not long before this formal distinction became converted into a real separation, consequent on which the society came to be regarded as a mere appendage to the individual life or soul. The problem of morality henceforth becomes how to reconcile individual interest with the exigencies of a social existence. In the later classical period we find the Stoics, Epicureans, and Sceptics, all attempting to solve this problem of the greatest possible happiness for the individual on an empirical basis, that is, within the limits of the life of the individual. Duty was by these sought to be explained by some abstract formula, or by the "enlightened self-interest" assumption of our modern Empiricists, *viz.*, by the somewhat daring assumption that morality in the long run coincided with self-interest as such. These schools assumed that the individual was self-sufficient, that he was an independent *entity*, having only casual relations with the community; in other words, that the meaning of personality and therewith of morality was exhausted within the bounds of the individual's epidermis.

The other school spoken of, on the other hand, of which the later Stoics, the Neo-Platonists, Gnostics, and other theosophic sects, are the classical types, recognised the fact that the empirical self implied something more than it expressed—that its content was not exhausted in its form. The old feeling of duty, of the *ought*, still survived, but without its old social object, and without its old basis. It wandered through dry places seeking rest and finding none. By-and-by, as man came to reflect, and distinguish his being from the universe, and his thinking self from his corporeal self, a solution of the enigma and an object for the moral consciousness seemed to offer itself. Was not the material universe, like his body, the outward manifestation of a soul or self? Assuredly, as he thought, nothing could be more obvious. Further, was not the personality of the universe the immeasurably higher counterpart of his own personality, his source and end? No less assuredly, as he thought. He, the feeble reflection of the Divinity had as his chief end the fulfilment of the Divine Will, preparatory to his ultimate union with the Divinity. Morality, duty towards his fellow men, was a part of the divine system of things, and conscience, the moral impulse, was a spark of the Divine flame. Still, mere morality, duty to man, was only a means to an end. The only sanction of morality was the will of God. His chief end was not to be found in any relation between his individual self and society, which was only incidental and by the way, but in a relation between this self and the divinity. It was by careful searching of his own heart, by careful self-introspection and solitary musing, that the divine will might be discovered. The great end of all morality was to purify his highest self from the gross taint of material desires. He must negate and subdue his inferior part, his body, which was only an unimportant part of himself, and of which he was really independent, just as the deity was independent of the created physical universe. The result was that the great aim of moral action became the negation of bodily desire—asceticism.<sup>1</sup>

It is to this moment or stage in the evolution of the moral consciousness that the conceptions of Sin and Holiness, with the derivative ones of chastity, purity, etc., belong. The highest and most complete expression of this phase is to be found in Christianity, though it is embodied also in its essential features in all the great ethical religions, as well as in the later philosophies of the Pagan world. The way of the ancient morality was broad and clear; duty had not to be sought for in the mysterious depths of the individual's conscience. But this broad highway to moral justification did not satisfy the new individualist Ethic. The broad way led to destruction. Now, it was the task of every man as Christian to search out by the narrow, tortuous labyrinthine paths of personal introspection his moral goal. In the same way Gautama, the Buddha, had proclaimed the eight-fold path of duty, and enjoined his followers to walk therein. The great negative characteristic of this movement was the definitive abolition of racial morality. The moral relation being a personal one between the individual soul and the Divinity revealing himself thereto, it is quite clear that the notions of "Greek, Barbarian, bond or free" had lost all meaning. The Barbarian and the slave must as a personality be equal before God with the man of nobler race or with the free citizen, provided he "walked humbly with his God." All men were equal in the sight of God so far as race or lineage was concerned, since every case rested on its individual merits alone. The test of a man was no longer one of kinship or of blood, but of personality. The Supreme Power of the universe could take no account of the tribal distinctions among men,

<sup>1</sup> It may perhaps be said that the Cynics evolved an ascetic Ethic out of an empirical basis. This is quite true. The mere egoism which delights to show power of course tends to asceticism. But this does not alter the fact that ascetic ethic is in the main the offspring of a mystical attitude of mind.

but only of the spiritual element in each individual, which was above all such distinctions.

At last, then, in the notion of a transcendent yet immanent God, Morality seemed to have the basis it so long lacked. The end of Man—that is, of the individual man, the only aspect of man which was considered—was God. In God the individual found the completeness he lacked, considered as an independent being. Duty, in the worldly sense, was in the last resort merely a condition prescribed by God for attaining personal holiness.

ERNEST BELFOET BAX.

(To be continued.)

## SUGGESTIONS ON DECENTRALISATION.

Now that popular interest is being aroused in the question of the reform of local government, we see the strange spectacle of Whigs, Tories, and Radicals alike for once unanimous that "something must be done" in this direction; and already a number of projects have been brought forward, some of them reactionary, and some really democratic, even from quarters where on ordinary politics the most high and dry Tory sentiments are entertained.

As a youthful amateur in these matters, I do not expect to satisfy the expectations of older and more experienced thinkers in dealing with a question of such importance. In excuse I may say that I am simply actuated by a desire to break the silence that has hitherto been observed by Socialists on this important question, and to ask for some expression of sentiment and opinion as to the Socialist ideal of a thorough reconstruction of local administration on a purely democratic and communal basis.

The original unit of government in all German countries was the land-owning village community, as described in the writings of Cæsar and Tacitus, and, in common with other Teutonic countries, this form of government at one time prevailed in England. Federation amongst these ancient communities seems to have existed only for the purpose of mutual defence in time of war. Sometime before the reign of Alfred the country became divided for purposes of local government into its three oldest divisions—the shire or county, the hundred, and the parish—and these, to my mind, were sufficiently consistent with method and simplicity of arrangement. The hundred is now obsolete, but in its place we have a net-work of Poor Law Unions, which have existed since the Poor Law Amendment Act of 1834. These Unions, 649 in number, consist on an average of 23 parishes or townships grouped round the chief market town, but there are 25 of these Unions which consist of single parishes under separate Boards. With regard to the parishes, the greatest anomalies exist. Their number is very excessive, there being in England and Wales no less than 14,926 civil parishes, as given by one authority, and 15,400 according to another. They are of all sizes and of all populations. There are 50 parishes with no population at all, and 919 with less than 50 inhabitants. Some parishes lie in more counties than one, and hundreds of parishes are broken up into isolated fragments. The ancient parish was probably the most convenient municipal unit, but circumstances have so changed through alterations in the conditions of life, and through the making of roads and railways, that the old parish boundaries have entirely lost their importance. In the north great subdivisions have taken place—64 ancient parishes in Northumberland having become no less than 510 new parishes. The ruthless hand of modern bourgeois development has removed the ancient landmarks and destroyed the value of the parish as the unit of local administration.

It is essential to a proper consideration of this question that we should briefly examine the existing institutions; and when we turn to these creations of modern times we find such a multitude of areas and authorities, the latter variously constituted and exhibiting such vast diversity in methods of election, that it is no wonder so many reformers turn away in disgust from such an apparently hopeless task. In 1834 the Poor Law Unions were established with their Boards of Guardians of the Poor, partly elected in the several parishes by means of open voting-papers (a system liable to great abuse) and partly of magistrates sitting *ex officio*.

In some localities, to meet the need of public light and vigilance, inspectors of lighting and watching are still appointed under an Act of William IV.

The modern demand for healthier conditions of life has led to the formation of urban sanitary authorities, and in rural districts the existing Boards of Guardians have been charged with the work of sanitary authorities. Burial Boards have been elected by the parish vestry in places where the existing churchyard has proved inadequate and the necessity of providing a new burial-ground has arisen. School Boards deal with education in districts which may be single parishes or groups of parishes, the ratepayers electing its members by ballot with a cumulative vote. The Boards of Guardians enforce compulsory attendance at school in some places where no School Board exists. In some parts of the country the highways are looked after by Highway Boards composed of *ex officio* magistrates and of waywardens elected by the parishes within the highway district.

In short, it appears that there are no less than thirty-five species of local authority in England and Wales, with an aggregate of more than 28,000 individual authorities. To my mind it is high time that this shapeless mass was for ever swept away and a more consistent and coherent system established, under which we might expect to see rural England develop some of that corporate life and energy of interest in local affairs which already distinguishes those municipalities enjoying a reformed local government.

In order to give uniform simplicity to the areas of local administration, I would establish throughout the whole country only two such areas—(1) the county, and (2) the commune. There would thus be two classes of major divisions—(1) parliamentary municipal cities and boroughs, which are counties in themselves; (2) counties, divided into two classes of communes: *urban communes*, to consist of boroughs which are not self-governing counties, and of the districts of existing local boards; *rural communes*, to be generally equivalent to those Poor Law Unions which are not included in the former divisions. As previously mentioned, there are at present 649 of these Unions in England and Wales, but, as 200 of these are situated partly in one county and partly in another, the boundaries would have to be rectified in order to bring them within the areas of single counties.

I now come to discuss the style of the authorities to which would be confided the administration of the communes and of the counties. In both urban and rural communes a body of councillors should be elected by adult suffrage, to whom should be entrusted the whole of the powers at present wielded by the multitudinous and conflicting authorities I have previously mentioned.

The care of the public health, the relief of the distressed poor, the working of the system of popular education—in short, the care of everything that most deeply affects the welfare of the community—would devolve upon the council of the commune. School Boards, Burial Boards, inspectors of lighting, surveyors of highways, and other parochial authorities, would lapse and merge in the communal council, as also the duties of Local Boards in urban sanitary districts. The provision of a public water supply, of public baths and wash-houses, the duty to pave and light towns and villages, the further extension of the Free Libraries Act (without any limit in respect to population), the licensing of public houses and theatres, and slaughter-houses, should vest in communal councils. To this council, also, should be relegated the functions now exercised by magistrates in Petty Sessions. Formerly the rural police were appointed by the parishes, under the style of parish constable. The abolition of this parochial right has led to gross abuses. The county police in most rural districts are entirely at the beck and call of the landed proprietors, who use them as game-keepers and night watchers on rivers. Some landlords in my neighbourhood have gone so far as to build a lodge for the accommodation of policemen: kindly lent them by the obliging chief of police! Yet the deluded farmer or labourer pays his police rates to keep up this sort of thing, and merely contents himself with grumbling. The control of the local police must in future be in the hands of the urban and rural communes.

The county had formerly its ancient court, in which the people had some direct voice. It has lost this privilege, and its government has been handed over to officials who are chosen by representatives of the central Government generally on political grounds, or on account of territorial importance. The Lord-Lieutenant and the High Sheriff recommend persons whom they consider as suitable for the office of county magistrate, and these are then nominated by the Lord Chancellor. These examples of non-representative authority will have to be abolished as a matter of course, and the powers exercised by the Courts of Quarter Sessions in the jurisdiction of criminal offences must be transferred to the general council of the county, such council to be composed of delegates sent by each commune within the boundary of the county. The control of the local volunteer forces, of the gaols, lunatic asylums, and county buildings, and the maintenance of main roads, and county bridges, would fall to the general council as also the appointment of coroners. The duties of the sheriff should be discharged by the principal executive officer of the general council. The valuation of rateable property, and the imposition of uniform poor, police, school, and other rates throughout the country would have to be undertaken by the county authority.

Provincial life is generally unbearable to most men of intelligence, because it affords no object of interest or scope for action. So mysterious in their workings are the various local bodies by whom we are ruled and taxed, that the most practised man of business is often unable to tell us their names, what they do, or where they reside. Such a clumsy and divided local administration is sure to dishearten many who are desirous of serving their countrymen. Let us then restore to rural communities the idea of common rights and common duties, and so help to diffuse amongst their various members a sense of local responsibility, now almost confined to a selfish landlord or trading class.

In the foregoing paragraphs I have endeavoured to state what ought to be the present action of such a new system of local administration, but as Socialists we feel confident that communal duties could not long remain stationary at this point. The ownership and control of the land, mines, and machinery, by the various communes would speedily follow such a clearance of feudal obstructions. The railways, or at any rate, the main lines, and the postal and telegraph service might have to remain in the hands of a central authority, but at any rate the State as a central governing body would have its functions gradually restricted—a federation of free autonomic communes taking its place. After the withdrawal of all purely local business from the jurisdiction of Parliament, its duties would also be greatly limited.

TOM MUSE.

[We print the foregoing communication as containing interesting information and suggestions; but Socialists will be apt to doubt whether it would be worth while elaborating a new machinery for dealing with the present conditions of Society. The demand for decentralisation must spring from the same source as, and be put forward simultaneously with, the demand for the freeing of labour from the monopolist rule. A system of "local self-government" might, it is clear, become a very dangerous instrument of oppression in the hands of our present rulers and the proprietary class which they represent.—Ed.]



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

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

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

B. S.—The quotation you speak of was popular during the Window-tax excitement, and runs:

"God made the light, and saw that it was good;  
Pitt put a tax on it—God damn his blood!"

Periodicals received during the week ending Wednesday February 8.

<b>ENGLAND</b>	<b>Boston</b> —Woman's Journal Liberty Denver (Col.) Labor Enquirer Fort Worth (Tex.)—South West Milwaukee (Wis.)—Volksblatt N Haven—Workmen's Advocate Providence (R.I.)—The People St. Louis (Mo.)—Die Parole San Francisco (Cal) The People Coast Seamen's Journal San Francisco Arbeiter-Zeitung	<b>BELGIUM</b> Ghent—Vooruit Antwerp—De Werker Brussels—L'Avant-Garde Liege—L'Avenir
Christian Socialist Church Reformer Jus Justice London—Freie Presse Labour Tribune Norwich—Daylight Personal Rights Journal Radical Railway Review Worker's Friend	<b>FRANCE</b> Paris—Cri du Peuple (daily) Le Socialiste Lille—Le Travailleur Guise—Le Devoir	<b>ITALY</b> Milan—Il Fascio Operato Marsala—La Nuova Eta
<b>INDIA</b> Bankipore—Behar Herald Madras—People's Friend	<b>HOLLAND</b> Hague—Recht voor Allen Amsterdam—Voorwaarts	<b>SPAIN</b> Madrid—El Socialista
<b>UNITED STATES</b> New York—Freiheit Truthseeker Volkszeitung		<b>GERMANY</b> Berlin—Volks Tribune <b>ROUMANIA</b> Muncitorul <b>SWEDEN</b> Stockholm, Social-Demokraten Malmo—Arbetet

## WASTED LABOUR.

In a society which is organised solely in the interest of the few who, having a monopoly of the means of life, are thereby able to live idly and force others to provide them with every imaginable luxury, it is inevitable that a great amount of the labour of the many should be compelled into utterly useless channels. This statement may sound like a platitude to most Socialists, but I doubt if many of us really realise the enormity of wasted labour to-day, or fully conceive of how great a labour force there is locked up in useless methods of working, which might be set free and utilised in real production, and, by thus spreading out the burden of needful work over a greater area, lessen the labour hours of each individual, and give to everyone more leisure and chance for enjoyment.

First there is the labour-power of the actual idlers. Their very existence, their education, their physical abilities they owe to the society round them. There is no such thing as a self-educated or self-made man. All that any man is or has is due to society. From his birth he is surrounded by conditions none of which could have existed but for the labour of society. He is the product of that labour which supplied him with food, shelter and clothing for his body, with books and teachers for his mental development. In order to produce the labour-power that is in him, what a vast amount of work had to be done! For him in past ages learned men gathered knowledge; for him workers of all kinds produce the necessities of life; it has taken the combined labour of a host of men to produce him; and he, the finished article, endowed by others' labour with every capability he possesses, is turned out fit to be useful and to take his share of the common burden of the society that has done everything for him. But society finds that, although it has cost so much to produce him, he is absolutely useless, inasmuch as he refuses to spend his labour-power in anything useful. In short, for all the good that comes of it, the labour spent in producing him might just as well have been devoted to the task of blowing soap-bubbles. His labour-power, indeed! No man belongs to himself; his powers belong to the community that produced them, and are wasted unless spent in the service of that community.

Not only is the labour force of the actual idler wasted, but all the work spent about making him what he is is wasted too. We should count that man very foolish indeed who, possessing valuable water-power, set it the task of turning a wheel simply to grind the air; the motion of the wheel, like the labour-power in the body of an idler, represents the ability to do some useful work; and if no useful work is done by it, then not only is its own motion wasted, but the water-power that produced the motion, like the labour-power that endowed

the idler with his capabilities, is wasted too; and he who thus allows the force of the stream to run away useless is no more foolish than the society that allows a great part of its energy to be spent in producing and maintaining an idler class—in turning a wheel that grinds nothing, excepting, of course, the lives of the poor who must spend their force in keeping it going.

The above would hold true if the idlers in society were supplied only with the necessities of life. Even then, a huge army of workers would be needed to keep them. But the necessities of life do not satisfy them; they must have its luxuries as well, not only real luxuries, but many things for which no one but an unreasonable and unmanly being would crave. Here, then, is another vast array of workers required to produce these things, and their labour is entirely wasted; flunkeys and domestics, too, must attend the pleasure of the idler, who thus imposes upon the worker not only the support of himself, but of a whole group of useless persons of which he is the centre.

Again, there is another very large class whose labour-power is completely wasted—those who are occupied simply in upholding the existing order of things, lawyers, policemen, soldiers, bailiffs, priests, and to a very large extent pressmen. Under a reasonable system, the labour spent in these pursuits might be turned into really useful channels. The lawyer's trade it is to cheat and lie, and he only exists so long as monopoly with all its complications lasts. The priest would not be needed by an enlightened community whose economic freedom had given to all its members large opportunities for mental cultivation. The policeman and soldier might make excellent butchers (unless our vegetarian friends convert us all in the meantime). Newspapers would, of course, be useful; but our capitalist press of to-day is purely a class affair. Its object is not to give us a daily knowledge of facts occurring, but to manipulate those facts, if possible, in the interest of the idle class; or, if it is not possible to distort them, to suppress them altogether. Far from educating the public, it devotes itself to fooling and misleading us; and the great number of men employed upon it really waste their labour, seeing that the product of that labour is not a useful nor pleasant thing.

A system of production and distribution worked in a competitive way naturally implies waste of labour in the mere effort of competition. In the field of production let any reader take his native town, and see the waste there is in any industry he may single out. In my own city the boot and shoe trade employs a very large number of men. A dozen different firms competing with each other must have a dozen different factory buildings and sets of machinery, when in all likelihood half the amount of machinery would suffice for the production of quite as many boots as are turned out of all these factories. In agriculture, again, if the land were farmed by the community instead of by a number of competing farmers, not one half of the machinery and implements at present in use would be needed, and the labour spent in producing them would be set free, not, of course, to find itself in the position of "unemployed," as we understand it to-day, but free in the sense that hours of labour would be reduced, and men would have more chance for pleasure and refinement.

But the waste of labour in society as at present constituted is shown most glaringly in our distributive industries. Everything is done blindly and without method. For every distributor that is really needed there are fifty to-day. In the same street there are five or six stores where the same articles are sold. The street wherein I reside contains only about fifty houses, and to supply them there come eight different milkmen, five bakers, and hawkers innumerable; and these have to travel all over the city to supply their scattered customers.

"If each letter-carrier, on going to the post-office in the morning, were to fill his bag out of a heap of unsorted letters, and start out to deliver them all over the city to their proper addresses, it would take him a whole day to deliver fifty or one hundred letters, which he can do now in an hour or less with greater promptness and certainty, to say nothing of the saving in time, labour, and material. By proper organisation and co-operation a similar saving might be made in every department of distribution."<sup>1</sup>

One distributive store might supply the needs of a neighbourhood equally as well as, or rather far better than, they are supplied, under our chaotic method of working; by fifty or sixty little establishments; and the number of warehousemen, shop assistants, clerks, and managers might be greatly diminished.

Another enormous waste in our competitive distribution is that of the labour of those engaged in advertising and the puffing of useless things. The object of the store proprietor is not to supply the public with useful things, but to induce them to buy from him; he does not aim at supplying a need because it is a public need, but solely for his individual profit; and in order to draw custom he, by means of the monopoly that he holds over the means of life, is able to force the labour of many people into the utterly unproductive (save of profit to himself) channel of advertising, commercial travelling, and the like. That all this labour power is wasted must be very evident when we consider that one half of it is exercised for the simple purpose of thwarting the other half. Two persons engaged in commercial travelling for rival firms are mainly occupied in neutralising each other's efforts. Society gets no benefit whatever from their labour; the profit of the individual capitalist is the only thing increased, and that by the diminution of another's profit, for clearly, since these two individuals produce nothing, they can only realise gain for their masters by shift-

<sup>1</sup> "Socialism." By A. G. Starkweather and R. Wilson. Page 47.



ing wealth from the possession of someone else. It is true that they work, very often hard enough, but the community gets nothing more from their labour than it would if they were engaged in pulling one another's hair—which, by-the-bye, is what their work practically comes to.

Truly it is most monstrous waste, all this effort to place commodities in the hands of those who want them. When the search for consumers is over, and the commercial traveller has found his customer, another huge waste comes in by reason of the labour spent in carrying goods from one end of the country to another, which might equally as well be produced at the place where they are wanted. After the finished article leaves the hands of the real producer, and before it reaches the consumer, what a number of men take their share out of it!—the capitalist, his clerks, the railway shareholders, the newspapers and other advertising mediums, the retail merchant, and very often smaller tradesmen who buy from the merchant—all of whose labour adds not a farthing to the wealth of the community. Have we not here so great a labour-force that, if it were spent in useful labour, no man's share of the productive burden need be excessive?

It is well-nigh impossible to conceive of the height to which human happiness might rise if this wasted labour-power were used to give to every individual leisure and comfortable surroundings. Science and art could then live again, being freed from the grip of commercialism; they would become the possession of all instead of the lazy amusement of the empty lives of a few; the pleasure of learning and the delight of beautiful things would be open to everyone; and the freedom from excessive toil would awaken a desire for them in the minds of a truly educated people, such as they might be who looked upon life not as a time to make bargains in, but as a period to be filled with happiness for all.

FRED HENDERSON.

### SOCIALISM IN NOTTINGHAM AND SHEFFIELD.

On Jan. 21, I reached Nottingham from Leicester, and was met by Messrs. Dolman, Proctor, etc. On the Sunday, Jan. 22, we had two very agreeable meetings, the subjects of my lectures being "The Income of the Working and other Classes," etc., etc.; and in the evening, "Socialism, what it is and what it is not." Unfortunately, there was little opposition.

On the Tuesday, some members of the Cobden Club expressed a wish that I would give a lecture at the club on the following Saturday evening. I agreed to do so. On the Wednesday night a special meeting of the committee was held, and on the Thursday I received from the secretary an invitation to give a lecture on Socialism, being assured by some of the members that I should meet with a good opposition. I may just say that the club has some 300 members, all belonging more or less to the professional and commercial classes. On the Saturday evening, I went with a number of friends of the S.L. and S.D.F. There was a large attendance of members present. The president occupied the chair, and in his opening remarks, while guaranteeing me a fair and impartial hearing, assured me there would be a good discussion at the close of my lecture. But the chairman was mistaken, for there was no opposition worth speaking of. On the contrary it was proposed and seconded, and virtually agreed to, that copies of all the Socialist works I had with me should be purchased (13s. worth) for the use of the club. This was done at once by the chairman. It was also agreed that I should lecture again for the club on the last Saturday in February, when opposition is to be specially provided.

On Sunday the 29th, I was to lecture in the large room, Swan's Buildings, near the centre of the town, but at 3 o'clock, the time for the afternoon lecture, admittance to the room was refused. Ultimately, the proprietor agreed that the evening lecture should take place. He stayed during the lecture, listened attentively, expressed his pleasure at the same, and declined to take the 10s. 6d. agreed to be paid for the use of the room. I have great pleasure in adding that the members of the S.D.F. joined with the members of S.L. to make the Sunday lectures a success. Mr. Peacock, of the S.D.F., occupied the chair.

On Monday, Jan. 30th, I reached Sheffield, and was asked to preside at a meeting the following evening, when the Rev. Charles Peach would give a lecture on "The Path to Socialism." The rev. gentleman is comparatively a young man, and was looked upon as one of the coming local men who would accomplish a great deal in the future. But his lecture might very appropriately have been termed "Suggestions how to get rid of Socialism." It forcibly called to my mind the struggles of the past, even in the Chartist movement, the moral and physical force Chartists, and the complete suffragists, who professed Chartism in everything but in name. To-day we have men professing to be Socialists, who repudiate the principles of Socialism as too revolutionary and dangerous. The Rev. Mr. Peach recommended an agitation for manhood suffrage with payment of members. He then recommended the nationalisation of the land on the scheme of Mr. Wallace, which would be accomplished in about two generations. That question settled, the time might then be ripe for the nationalisation of the railways, and I suppose the nationalisation of the instruments of production and the organisation of labour, etc., etc., would come a few generations later on. He condemned the use of the word revolution, and assured his audience that its use prevented many kind-hearted persons joining in the movement. In the Chartist movement the cry was give up the name and we accept the principle; but to-day we are asked to give up the principle, all that is essential and distinctive, and then they will be Socialists. These are phases not to be lost sight of.

In conclusion, allow me to say that Leicester, Nottingham, and Sheffield played a very important part in the Chartist movement. They ought to play an equally important part in the Socialist movement. I hope they will.

J. SKETCHLEY.

It will be pleasant news to readers of the *Commonweal* to know that another Socialist branch has been formed in Leeds, composed of our Jewish comrades. We are sadly in want of Socialist pamphlets in German and Russian. If anyone can send us something of the sort, or directions where such can be purchased, we shall be glad. With a little assistance of the above nature, we feel confident of a branch fifty strong in six months.—T. P., Sec.

### LAISSEZ FAIRE.

"All we ask is to be let alone."

"An interference with personal liberty."—Charles Bradlaugh, M.P., on the *Early Closing Bill*.

As vonce I walked by a dismal swamp,  
There sot an old cove in the dark and damp,  
And at everybody as passed that road  
A stick or a stone this old cove throwed,  
And venever he flung his stick or his stone,  
He'd set up a song of "Let me alone!"

"Let me alone, for I loves to shy  
These bits o' things at the passers-by;  
Let me alone, for I've got your tin,  
And lots of other traps snugly in;  
Let me alone—I am rigging a fake  
To grab votever you're able to make;  
In a veek or so I expects to come,  
And turn you out o' your 'ouse and 'ome;  
I'm a quiet old cove," says he, with a groan,  
"All I axes is, Let me alone!"

Just then came along, on the selfsame vay,  
Another old cove and began for to say:—  
"Let you alone! that's coming it strong!  
You've ben let alone—a darned sight sight too long!  
Of all the sarce that ever I heerd!  
Put down that stick (you may well look skeered!)  
Let go that stone—If you once show fight,  
I'll knock you higher than any kite!"

"You must have a lesson to cure your tricks,  
And cure you of shyin' them stones and sticks,  
And I'll have my hardware back and my cash,  
And knock your tricks into 'tarnal smash;  
And if ever I ketches you round my shop,  
You'll think the sky's a-beginnin' to drop.  
The best you can do is to go to bed,  
And keep a decent tongue in your head;  
For I reckon before you and I are done,  
You'll wish you'd let honest folks alone!"

The old cove stopped, and the other old cove  
He sot quite still in his dismal grove,  
And he looked at his stick, revolv'in' slow  
Vether 'twere safe to shy it or no;  
And he grumbled on, in an injured tone,  
"All that I axed vos, *Let me alone!*"

[The above idyll of individualism is adapted from an anti-secession song by H. H. Brownell, quoted p. 29 of Moore's 'Anecdotes, etc., of the War.'—S.]

### LOUIS LINGG.

LOUIS LINGG was born in Mannheim, Germany, on September 9, 1864. His father worked as a lumberman; his mother did laundry-work. Young Louis received his education in the common schools in Mannheim. How the first shadows of life began to darken the boy's horizon, and to have a decisive influence upon him, he relates thus: "My earliest youth was a happy one indeed, until a fatal accident which befel my father brought about such a change in our situation that not very seldom want and hunger were guests in our family. Only the utmost efforts of my mother prevented their visits becoming daily ones. My father, one day, endeavoured to replace a heavy log of oak which had slipped from the banks upon the frozen surface of the river. The icy coast gave way, father disappeared in the icy waters, and was rescued only with great difficulty. This event destroyed his health and reduced his working capacity. In consequence thereof the noble boss saw the necessity of reducing the wage-slave's salary, although my father had worked for him faithfully for twelve years, and finally to discharge him with the flimsy excuse that business had decreased. When thirteen I received the first impressions of the prevailing unjust social institutions—*i.e.*, the exploitation of man by man. The main circumstances which caused these reflections in my youthful mind were the experiences of our own family. It did not escape my observation that the former employer of my father, the lumber-dealer, grew continually richer, despite the extravagant life he and his family were leading, whilst on the other hand my father, who had performed his respective part in creating the wealth the boss possessed, and who had sacrificed his health, was cast aside like a worn-out tool. All this implanted into my mind the seed of bitter hatred of the existing society, which feeling grew still more intense with my entrance into the industrial arena."

Lingg learned the trade of a carpenter, and after serving according to the German custom a three years' apprenticeship, he travelled in Southern Germany and afterwards in Switzerland, working wherever there was a chance. Soon he learned the doctrines of Socialism, which he eagerly espoused.

In 1885 he went to America. He did not wish to enter the military service in Germany, and consequently could no longer safely stay in Switzerland. He went to Chicago, and secured work as a carpenter. Soon he joined the union of his trade. Here he became so active and prominent that he was appointed an organiser. Lingg pointed with pride to the fact that his union came out of the ill-fated eight-hour movement in May 1886 with undiminished strength.

The *Christian Socialist* this month is even above the average in its outspokenness and bright readability. One of the emissaries of the "London City Mission" has taken it as part of his work to oppose Socialism, and is taken to task by the *Christian Socialist* in a way that should make him quail, if he be not, as most of his kind, incapable of anything like thought.

J. L. Joynes has in the press a volume of translations of poems by German writers of the 1848 period, including Freiligrath, Heine, Herwegh, as well as many others not so well known to English readers. The volume will shortly be published by Messrs. Foulger and Co. of Paternoster Row, under the title of 'Songs of a Revolutionary Epoch.'

## THE LABOUR STRUGGLE.

BRITAIN.

The Walsall lock-makers have directed a levy upon the trade in support of forty workmen who are on strike against the new regulations which have been introduced by Messrs. Lowe and Frankes, disallowing draws on account of work in hand.

**AYRSHIRE MINERS.**—At a meeting of the executive of the Ayrshire Miners' Union, held at Kilmarnock last Friday, it was resolved to urge the men to perfect their organisation, so as to be able on an early date to make an effective demand for an advance of wages.

**SHARPEN YOUR OWN PICKS.**—The colliery-owners in Dregghorn district having refused to sharpen the men's picks at less than fourpence per week, the men, with the assistance of the Ayrshire Miners' Union, have leased a small piece of ground, and propose building a smithy, which is to be opened shortly.

**FIFESHIRE MINERS.**—At a conference on Tuesday of the Fife and Clackmannan coal masters and miners, the owners refused to withdraw the reduction of wages by 10 per cent. enforced last week, and expressed their indignation at the resolution of the men to stop work for two weeks, a policy which they state they were prepared to resist to the utmost. We understand that the coal masters intend to lock out the entire body of men.

**WELSH MINERS.**—A general meeting of colliery delegates has been held at Aberdare, for the consideration of a committee's draft of the proposed rules of the South Wales Federation of Miners. Over 35,000 colliers were represented. The name of the institution is to be the South Wales and Monmouthshire Colliery Workman's Federation, and its objects are to raise funds to protect the interests of the colliery workmen, to reduce the hours of daily labour in the mines, and to assist in federating the whole of the workmen of the civilised world.

**YORKSHIRE MINERS.**—Mr. B. Pickard, M.P., secretary of the Yorkshire Miners' Association, has announced that the result of the ballot of the miners of Yorkshire, taken last week, on the question of giving a notice to leave work in order to force an advance of wages, was in favour of giving such notice. Forty thousand ballot papers were issued, and most of these have been returned. The men have from the first had full control over what has been done, the duty of the officials in this matter having been purely ministerial; and to the men the last decision as to the course to be adopted is also committed. A large number of the men are still of opinion that trade has so far improved that they are entitled to a return of the 10 per cent. advance which they lost three years ago.

**MR. CRAWFORD'S BOYCOTT.**—For acting up to the recommendations contained in Mr. Crawford's last circular, thirty miners have been fined at Bishop Auckland. Rather than ride in the same cage with a non-unionist, they left off work. The *Newcastle Chronicle* says: "Their action is regulated by the treat-him-as-a-leper code—the code which commands the hate to be carried to and maintained before the footstool of the Almighty. There is nothing new in it, as we lately explained. It is one way of carrying on a social war. It is trades unionism; it is boycotting." It might also be added that it is the recognition of the fact that the present condition of labour and capital means social war, and nothing short of it. Every expedient has been tried to hide the robbery of the workers by greedy capitalists. The "declaration of war" on non-unionists is only one phase of the beginning of the struggle which shall free the worker.

**STRIKE OF SHIPBUILDERS.**—A strike occurred at the extensive iron shipbuilding yard of Messrs. Raylton, Dixon, and Co., Middlesbrough, on Monday morning. A dispute has been pending respecting piece prices, and as the masters refuse to concede the demands of the men, upwards of 1000 platers and riveters have turned out on strike.

**FRASERBURG FISHERMEN AND STATE EMIGRATION.**—A petition signed by 700 Fraserburg fisherman has been forwarded to Lord Lothian asking the assistance of the State to enable them to emigrate. The fisherman emphasise the losses they have recently sustained in their industry, and select British Columbia as the most likely field for their labour.

**SHORT TIME IN DUNDEE JUTE WORKS.**—Last Thursday a meeting of jute spinners and manufacturers was held in Dundee to consider the propriety of running their works on short time until trade improves. There was a large attendance, the greater number of the firms being represented. After consultation it was unanimously resolved to stop the spinning and weaving departments on Saturdays for a period of three months, commencing on the first Saturday of March. This will restrict the working hours from fifty-six to fifty per week.

**EDINBURGH JOINERS' STRIKE.**—The situation remains unchanged, and the stolid determination of the men to continue resistance is daily becoming more intense. The funds in hand are amply sufficient to meet all requirements, while the men conduct their weekly business meetings, held every Saturday, in the best of spirits. It is stated that two of the firms have given in to the men's demands, and granted 7d. per hour to their workers.

**SHALE-MINING INDUSTRY.**—The shale miners of Broxburn, West Calder, etc., have made application to their employers, through Mr. John Wilson, their able secretary, for the further concession of 2d. per ton on the output of shale. They suffered a reduction of 4d. per ton last July, but half of this was conceded them at the beginning of January. The current prices of the shale products warrant the full reduction returned, as the sum conceded would only be one-twentieth of the profits made by the oil companies over and above prices obtained in January, 1886, when the trade was considered in a good condition.

**VINDICTIVE SENTENCES ON SCOTCH CROFTERS.**—In the first batch, comprising Donald MacKenzie, Alexander Macleod, and John MacKay, the sentences imposed were much heavier than had been expected, the first two men receiving fifteen months' imprisonment and the third twelve months. The sentences caused considerable sensation in court. Subsequently five other Aighish prisoners were sentenced to twelve months' imprisonment, three to nine months, and one to six months. In the Clashmore case two of the accused were women. These were sentenced to nine months' imprisonment each, and their male companion to twelve months. There was hissing in court, and loud dissatisfaction expressed, especially in the case of the women.

The Local Government Board have suggested to the boards of guardians throughout the country that tramps, especially when apparently willing to work, instead of being detained in the workhouse until eleven o'clock in the morning after their admission, as is the rule now, should be allowed to leave directly they have completed their task and breakfast, so that they may

have a better chance of obtaining work outside. It would be quite satisfying to know how the casual taskmasters judge those who are apparently willing to work. The very suggestion shows what a farce all this poor-law arrangement is. Some stupid, pig-headed nigger-driver, who must necessarily be a stony-hearted, callous man, has the power to permit those to depart whom he thinks are "willing to work." Why not make him a magistrate at once?

**MEETING OF EDINBURGH BAKERS.**—At a crowded meeting of the operative bakers of Edinburgh, held in the Trades' Hall, High Street, Mr. William Henry presiding, with the object of having their hours of labour reduced and their wages increased, it was proposed by Mr. William Turnbull, seconded by Mr. John Gilmour, "That we, the operative bakers of Edinburgh, view with regret the silent but sure encroachments that are being made upon our recognised hours and rate of pay by many employers, and therefore resolve to do all in our power by united and individual effort, to regain the position which we have lost, and maintain that which we ought to enjoy." A second resolution, proposed by Mr. William Mitchell and seconded by Mr. James Nicol, was, "That we, the operative bakers of Edinburgh, are of the opinion that the only way whereby we can improve our position is by uniting ourselves together and becoming members of the Edinburgh branch of the Federal Union of Scotland." The resolutions, which were respectively spoken to by Mr. Mallinson and Mr. Blaikie of the Trades' Council, were unanimously carried.

**BLUNDELL MAPLE, M.P., v. W. PARNELL.**—An appeal is being made to trades unionists and others interested in putting a stop to the "sweating system" for funds to aid W. Parnell, secretary of the West-end Branch of the Alliance Cabinet Makers' Society, to defend an action for slander brought against him by Mr. J. Blundell Maple, M.P. for Dulwich, for certain statements alleged to have been made by him about Mr. Maple and the "sweating system" existing in the cabinet trade. W. Monk, hon. sec., 14 Caroline St., S.W.; H. Ham, gen. sec. Alliance Cabinet Makers, hon. treasurer, 64 Finsbury Pavement, E.C.; H. H. Champion, hon. sec. National Labour Party Metropolitan Section, 13 Paternoster Row, E.C., will receive subscriptions. This is a very worthy cause; but it says little for London workmen or that very peculiar body the London Trades Council that there should be such a difficulty in finding the necessary means. The Cabinet Makers say their funds are not available for the purpose. Why? It seems to me that to fight unfair employers is the object above all others for which trades unions are necessary. At any rate if the members of the various societies had any grit in them at all they would tax themselves to defend a comrade who has brought himself into trouble by fighting in their interests.

**THE SKYE CROFTERS.**—Amidst the turmoil of the Irish agitation, the great revolt of the Scottish crofters passes almost unnoticed, except for an occasional lying report in the London press. The *Glasgow Mail*, however, not only pleads the cause of the crofters, but gathers subscriptions. It gives an account of "the largest crofter meeting for the last four years, held recently at Valtos, Skye. The cottars and crofters of the whole district turned out almost to a man. The object of the meeting was to consider the best means of getting possession of the lands of which they were deprived. Mr. Murdo MacLean presided. After a good deal of strong speaking, the following resolution was ultimately agreed to: 'That the Legislature be called upon to immediately pass a measure restoring to the people their just rights, and that they no longer starve while the land of their fathers goes to fatten deer.' The resolution gave but partial satisfaction to the meeting, the feeling being that the time for asking had passed, and that the time for taking had come. Several speakers declared they would never get their rights while they kept within the law, while one asked, when the landlords had broken every law of the creator, why should they fear to break the landlords' law? This appeared to be the feeling of the vast majority of the meeting, and it required all the tact of the more moderate section to keep them within bounds. What the end will be it is difficult to say; but it is significant that a motion to meet to-morrow on the farm of Duntulm to further consider their position was carried with few dissentients."

**THE GOVERNMENT AND THE FACTORY ACTS.**—Last Saturday night, under the presidency of Mr. W. M. Thompson, a meeting was held in the Brick Lane School Rooms, Whitechapel, to protest against the sweating system carried on in the tailoring, bootmaking, and other trades. The chairman stated that Mr. Burnett's report to the Board of Trade was one of the most emphatic condemnations of the system of sweating ever made. Among the remedies for the evils of the system were a more efficient plan of inspecting factories, and better rules for the regulation of the hours and conditions of work. He urged the united action of the workers in the trades in which sweating was carried on, so as to compel the Government to adopt some measures to ameliorate the condition under which work was now carried on in factories. Mr. Lewis Lyons made a number of suggestions for the amendment and improvement of the existing Factory Acts, and the following motion, after considerable discussion and opposition, was agreed to: "That this meeting of working men and women emphatically endorses the report of Mr. John Burnett, labour correspondent of the Board of Trade, on the sweating system; that we are of opinion that the practice of this cruel and inhuman system is injurious to the morality and health of the workers, and is a fruitful cause of starvation, prostitution, and early death; that we demand immediate legislation for the reform of the evils set forth in Mr. Burnett's report; and that we further condemn the Government for its persistent neglect of home affairs, to the detriment of those who live by toil." The meeting resolved to send a copy of the resolution to the Queen, the Prime Minister, Mr. Gladstone, the Primate, Cardinal Manning, and the Chief Rabbi.

### LETTER FROM AMERICA.

The strike of the Reading miners and railroaders is still in full swing. It is now beyond doubt that the fight between master and men will be a long and bitter one, and only absolute starvation will induce the miners to give in. At one time it seemed possible that President Austin Corbin might induce the miners to compromise, and to leave the railroaders to fight single-handed against the company, but the high-handed action of this official during the latter days has destroyed this basis of settlement. On Sunday Corbin issued a mendacious manifesto containing the following demands: "We regret exceedingly that this action on the part of the employes of our road, as well as the action of miners, promises to bring disastrous results to those portions of the State dependent upon the output of the Reading collieries, but there is no alternative for this company that we can see except to insist upon (1) the right to manage its own property, and (2) the right to employ labour in the mining of its coal so that it will have at least an equal chance with

its neighbours in every competitive market to which anthracite coal goes. President Corbin thirty years ago could hardly boast of possessing a cent; to-day he is considered to be worth about thirty million dollars; it appears that his pocket is the "competitive market" alluded to in his ultimatum. This action of the company has had a three-fold effect—(1) to embitter all workers in general against capital; (2) to thoroughly unite the miners and railroaders engaged in the present contest; (3) a determination to "carry the war into Africa." This last effect is the most important phenomenon which has yet appeared in the American Labour struggle. Last Monday a sub-committee was appointed to issue an appeal to the next session of the Legislature, urging this body to *confiscate* in the name of the State and by "the right of eminent domain" all the coal lands. The State then should go into the coal-mining business on its own account or should lease the lands to be operated under certain conditions as to the payment of labour. Considering how violently American workers have fought against the idea of "confiscating" the means of production, it must be admitted that the action of the strikers is rather progressive.

Dr. A. Douay, one of the editors of the New York *Volks Zeitung*, died suddenly last week. The Social-Democratic party loses in him one of its most able, brilliant, and honest exponents.

The shoemakers' lock-out at Rochester has ended, the men going back to work at the employer's terms.

Several thousand men were thrown out of work by the strike of lasters at North Adams, Mass., on January 13th.

The Fall River spinners are threatening to strike unless an immediate advance in wages is granted. Conferences with representatives of the manufacturing corporations are in progress. A full restoration of the rates of 1884 is demanded by the operatives, in view of the recent advance in print cloth.

The girls employed at the Carlisle (Pa.) Shoe-factory struck on the 18th, and on the 19th the men went out to give them support. The girls say they did not strike for a question of wages or hours, but in defence of their honour, in consequence of the shameful behaviour of the foreman.

The cigarmakers' strike in New York about the tenement question commenced in earnest this week, and the fight is on the increase. About 1600 men are out on strike. Most of the factories are closely picketed. To-day two well-known union men amongst the sentries were arrested for refusing to "move on," but discharged after being severely reprimanded by the judge. If any more arrests are made the union will make them test cases.

LIST OF STRIKES FOR JANUARY.

Number of strikers reported, Jan. 1 to 10	32,958
10... Jersey City, N. J.—Metal-workers	60
12...Pittsfield, Mass.—Shoe-hands, wages dispute	40
13...North Adams, Mass.—Shoe-lastors, for advance	40
13...Jersey City—Rubber-works employes, against reduction and for discharge of superintendent	115
14...Philadelphia—Job-printers, for union wages and against employment of non-union men	300
14...Albany, N. Y.—Ice harvesters, for advance	—
14...Pittsburgh—Messenger boys, for advance	—
15...Philadelphia—Cigar-makers, against reduction	400
15...Philadelphia—Carpet-weavers, against reduction	20
16...Brockton, Mass.—Shoe-hands, for advance and more work	200
16...Pottsville, Pa.—Ice-harvesters, refusal to cut ice to be shipped by Reading road	101
16...New York City—Pocket-book makers, against reduction	65
17...Philadelphia—Carpet-weavers, for advance	26
17...New York City—Cigar-makers, against reduction	—
17...Carlisle, Pa.—Shoe-hands (girls), for discharge of foreman	400
18...Philadelphia—Carpet-weavers in thirteen concerns, against new wages schedule	54
18...New York City—Cigar-makers, against reduction	350
18...New York City—Cigar-makers, against reduction	380
18...Pittsburgh and Allegheny, Pa.—Stone-masons, for unionism	—

Total number of strikers known to January 18 ... 35,509

New York, January 25, 1888.

HENRY F. CHARLES.

REVOLUTIONARY CALENDAR.

WEEK ENDING FEBRUARY 18, 1888.

12	Sun.	1809. Charles Darwin born. 1844. O'Connell and others sentenced for conspiracy.
13	Mon.	1835. Henry Hunt died. 1867. Fenian risings in Ireland.
14	Tues.	1693. Massacre of Glencoe. 1696. "Assassination Plot." 1766. T. R. Malthus born.
15	Wed.	1401. W. Sautre, first English martyr, burned. 1564. Galileo born. 1747. Jeremy Bentham born.
16	Thur.	1834. Ernst Hæckel born. 1885. Unemployed Demonstrtn. in Londn.
17	Fri.	1600. Giordano Bruno burnt at Rome. 1856. Heine died. 1886. Preliminary Examination of Burns, Champion, Hyndman, and Williams.
18	Sat.	1546. Martin Luther died.

Henry Hunt ("Orator Hunt").—Born at Uphaven, Wilts, November 6, 1773; died at Alresford, Hants, February 13, 1835. For the first 30 years of his life was an ardent Loyalist. On the 16th of August, 1801, he first presided at a public meeting, and he there volunteered himself and his servants and placed £30,000 worth of goods and cattle at the disposal of the Government in case of invasion. But even before this the growing independence of his opinions and his violent temper led to his being offensively treated by Lord Bruce, the commander of the troop of yeomanry to which he belonged; and for challenging him to "render the satisfaction of a gentleman," Hunt was imprisoned for six weeks and fined £100. In prison he met Waddington, the well-known Radical, and his friend and advocate Clifford, from whom he received many new ideas that afterwards had their due effect. It is not too much to say that the whole term of imprisonment was spent in acquiring new truths that had not yet reached his country home, and that were a revelation to him. During his imprisonment also, which a liberal use of bribery made rather a town holiday than aught else, he contrived to visit Colonel Despard, at that time confined in the Tower, where he had been for six years, and for no offence but the demanding payment of a

debt from the Government. Altogether he went back to his home with a thousand new ideas implanted in his brain, to bear fruit ultimately. His first entry into the political arena was over the impeachment of Lord Melville for misappropriation of public money. Through this he was introduced to Cobbett, at that time in the height of his power. In 1807, he took part in the election battle at Bristol, and also gave a dinner there to celebrate the return of Sir Francis Burdett for Westminster; and in 1812 he unsuccessfully contested that city as a Reform candidate. On Nov. 5, 1816, he spoke at the first Spa Fields meeting, and was to have addressed the great meeting at same place on the 2nd of December, but the "riot" had begun before he arrived. From this time he was without intermission agitating in all parts of the country for "Radical Reform" (Universal Suffrage, Annual Parliaments, Vote by Ballot, and Repeal of the Corn Laws). On the 16th of August, 1819, he presided at Peterloo, when a peaceable, orderly, and legal meeting was "warrenred", as will be described in due course. He was tried and condemned to 2½ years imprisonment, and to find security for his good behaviour for five years, himself in £1,000 and two sureties in £500 each. By a singular coincidence this meeting occurred on the anniversary of that on which he made his "patriotic" offer, and as he says: "I am sure that I was actuated by the very same feeling, the same love of country, the same anxiety for the well-being of my fellow-countrymen, and the same self-devotion at both these meetings; my great leading object being to promote, as far as my humble means would permit, the welfare, the freedom, and happiness of my countrymen",—only at one he helped the Government, and at the other was helping the people, which makes all the difference. When he came out of prison he met with a tremendous reception. Between 1822 and 1830 he devoted himself mainly to his private affairs, which were nigh ruined from neglect. In August of the latter year he stood for Preston unsuccessfully, but in December of the same year he stood again and was elected. Soon after taking his seat, on the motion for a general fast-day throughout the kingdom, he asked the pertinent question "Whether or not the hon. members were aware that one-third of the population of this kingdom fasts almost every day in the year?", and on being attacked by Perceval for the "blasphemy" of his question, replied "that he was aware who was the giver of all goodness, but was also aware that the hon. member and others who took from the poor, deprived them of the benefit the Almighty intended." He was by far the most advanced man who up to that time had ever sat in Parliament; even Cobbett denouncing his "extreme and impracticable proposals." In 1833, aristocratic intrigues and the backwardness of his constituents led to the loss of his seat. He then applied himself again to his business concerns. On a journey to sell his blacking and annatto in the West of England, he stopped at Alresford, in Hants, and while getting out of his phaeton was seized with paralysis and died soon after being carried into the hotel. He was a thoroughly honest and unswerving Radical throughout his whole career. The unfortunate quarrels with Cobbett that their egotism and coarseness led them into did much harm to the cause they had at heart, and shows them in a bad light, but it must be said that it is not Hunt who shows to least advantage. In Parliament he was almost lost, only occasionally could he get a secondor for his motions, even Hume fighting shy of him, and Cobbett abusing him for helping the Tories by rating the Whigs for half-heartedness; but outside among the people there has been none before or since who so well deserved the title of "Orator" given him by universal consent. The pitiful pettroonery of latter-day Radicalism would have received scant mercy at his hands.—S.

Massacre of Glencoe.—The Duke of Argyll of to-day claims to be a literary man; among other things he has perpetrated 'The Reign of Law' and 'Primeval Man'; and for the Cobden Club he wrote 'Commercial Principles applied to Contracts for Hire of Land.' Here is a primeval contract for taking of land under the reign of lawless Argyll, dated Jan. 11, 1692: "William Rex. As for MacIain of Glencoe, and that tribe, if they can be well distinguished from the rest of the Highlanders it will be proper for the vindication of public justice to extirpate that sett of thieves.—W. R." Under the powers thus given him, orders were given to various commanders to provide troops at once. For a fortnight these troops were entertained as honoured guests by the unsuspecting victims, while the arrangements for the slaughter were being perfected by such letters as this: "Order from Major Robert Campbell to Captain Robert Campbell, of Glenlyon. Sir,—You are hereby ordered to fall upon the Macdonalds of Glencoe, and put all to the sword under seventy. You are to have a special care that the old fox and his sons do not escape your hands; you are to secure all avenues, that no man escape. This you are to put in execution at five o'clock in the morning precisely; and by that time I will strive to be at you with a stronger party," etc., etc. This is from one of the Argyll's to another of that ilk. So precisely at five o'clock in the morning on the 13th day of February, 1692, in the Valley of Glencoe, commenced the most damnable villainy of all the vile work which has built up our House of Lords. At three different points the butchering began. Hoary-headed fathers and prattling babes were shot and stabbed that we may have a Duke of Argyll and a bankrupt Lord Colin Campbell. Nine of a family in one lot, eight on one floor in another, and so the tale mounts to some forty, and an unknown number perishing in the frost, rain, and winds of a pitiless Grampian winter, for the time of year had been carefully chosen for the lordly work, to say devil's work is to insult any conceivable devil. Such is the Argyll's title to lands. Oh for a hell!—T. S.

Assassination Plot against the life of William III. by a few faithful adherents of James II. It was determined to make the attempt on Turnham Green, while the king was returning from hunting in Richmond Park, but the project was betrayed. A bloody revenge was taken by William, who also made it an excuse for a raid upon the disaffected of all kinds.—S.

Trial of Burns, Champion, Hyndman, and Williams.—At Bow Street Police-court, before police-magistrate Sir James Ingham, John Burns, Henry Hyde Champion, Henry Mayers Hyndman, and John Edward Williams, were charged on summonses with "maliciously and seditiously contriving and intending the peace of the Queen to disquiet and disturb, her liege subjects to incite and move to hatred and dislike of the Government established by law within this realm, and to incite and persuade great numbers of the liege subjects of the Queen to insurrections, riots, tumults, and breaches of the peace, and prevent by force and arms the execution of the laws of this realm . . . on Feb. 8th, 1836." After several remands the defendants were committed for trial at the Old Bailey (on April 6th), where after a five day's trial they were found "Not Guilty." Riots and tumults it is well known invariably result in the departure of capital. A Mansion House Relief Fund, which had taken some weeks to reach £3,000, in a day or two after the 8th had reached £39,000, and the *Standard* urged that it should be raised at once to £250,000.—T. S.

THE SOCIALIST LEAGUE.

OFFICES: 13 FARRINGTON ROAD, E.C.

Special Notice to London Members.

On Monday next, February 13, the advisability of establishing a Socialist organisation for the moral instruction of children will be discussed. Members are requested to attend.

Annual Conference.—The Fourth Annual Conference of the Socialist League will be held at 13 Farringdon Road, on Whitsunday, May 20. The attention of



Branches is particularly referred to (1) Rule V. on the subject of the annual conference, pp. 3 and 4 of Constitution and Rules; and (2) that all branches wishing to be represented at the Conference must pay their subscription up to the 31st March by May 1st.

#### Branch Subscriptions Paid. 1887.

Hastings, Nottingham, Pelsall—None. Bradford, Croydon, Glasgow, Hackney, Ipswich, Leeds, Marylebone, Merton, North London, Norwich—to end of March. Hull—to end of April. Edinburgh—to end of May. Mitcham—to end of July. Walsall—to end of August. Bloomsbury, Walham Green, Wednesday—to end of October. Leicester—to end of November. Clerkenwell, Hammersmith, Hoxton, Mile-end, Oxford—to end of December.

#### "COMMONWEAL" PRINTING FUND.

Weekly Subscriptions—C. J. F., 2s. 6d. K. F., 1s. Langley, 2s. P. W., 6d. W. B., 6d.

#### REPORTS.

**BLOOMSBURY.**—On Thursday, Feb. 2, Annie Besant (Fabian Society) lectured at the Athenæum Hall, 73, Tottenham Court Road, on "Socialism Old and New." Hall crowded and collection good.

**CLERKENWELL.**—On Wednesday, Feb. 1, D. Nicoll read a paper on "Law and Order." Discussion was very brisk, some members of this branch taking the side of the lecturer, and pointing out that all artificial laws produce disorder, and were criminal laws when made positive and repressive; on the other hand, the disobedience of natural laws as they affect the individual or individuals, brought its own punishment. Some visiting members opposed, stating that there was a possibility of getting good laws passed by Parliamentary institutions, etc. The lecturer satisfactorily replied. On Sunday, Feb. 5, a very successful "social evening" was held, several members and friends giving songs, recitations, and readings.—B.

**FULHAM.**—Tuesday, good meeting opposite the Liberal Club, Walham Green; Tochatti and Maughan spoke. Sunday morning meeting opened by singing "No Master," and addressed by Tochatti and Tarleton. Fair sale of *Commonweal*, and 3s. collected. In evening, meeting held outside rooms, C. Smith speaking. Afterwards, Morris lectured in rooms on "What Socialists Want." Several questions put and satisfactorily answered.—S. B. G.

**MITCHAM.**—The weather being fine, Parker addressed Sunday evening meeting on Mitcham Fair Green to a good audience, singing several Socialist songs.

**STAMFORD HILL.**—W. B. Parker held meeting here on Sunday.

**BRADFORD.**—On Sunday, Jan. 29th, Bland read Morris's "Misery and the Way Out" at Royal Oak, Shipley. Good discussion followed. Mitchell lectured at debating room in College Road, Bradford.

**GLASGOW.**—Sunday at 2.30, Glasier, Gilbert, and Bellini addressed meeting at St. George's Cross. At 6.30, in Infirmary Square, several hundreds listened to J. B. Glasier and P. Bellini. Some objection to practicability of Socialism effectively dispelled by Glasier.

**LEEDS.**—On Sunday, Jan. 29, we held four open-air meetings, and in the evening Sollitt gave a lecture on "Individualism." Last Sunday morning when we assembled in Vicar's Croft, we found the temperance party had about a dozen of their speakers awaiting us fully prepared to demolish Socialism. After two hours heated dispute, it was agreed to arrange for a set debate. Corkwell by a lecture, and Maguire by meeting J. G. Fisher in debate, finished the day's work.

**SOUTH SUSSEX.**—Leonard Hall lectured on the "Re-organisation of Society" at the Wesleyan School-room, Bexhill, on Thursday night, to a large audience, who followed the address with the closest attention. Some trifling opposition from a teetotaler. We are making gradual conversions by surreptitious pamphletting and disguised speeches, but the boycott is cruelly painful in this part. Local papers please do not copy.

**WALSALL.**—Donald lectured Monday last, on "Socialism, what it would do for the Unemployed." A discussion followed.—J. T. D.

**TOWER HILL.**—Taking advantage of an Anti-Coercion meeting held here on Sunday afternoon, Parker, Lane, Allman, Pope, and Mrs. Schack addressed two tremendous meetings.

**EDINBURGH.**—On Feb. 5th, Dewar lectured on "Trade Depressions." Good discussion. A French comrade spoke with great effect. St. Cuthbert's Co-operative Society has arranged for a course of free lectures. Three of the five are to be delivered by Socialists, James Mavor treating of "Industry in the Middle Ages" and "Industry in Modern Times," and Rev. John Glasse dealing with "The Relation of Socialism to Co-operation."

#### LECTURE DIARY.

##### LONDON.

**Bloomsbury.**—Communist Club, 49 Tottenham Street, Tottenham Court Road. Thursday Feb. 9, at 8.30, Quarterly Business Meeting. Thursday 16, T. E. Waidle will lecture at 8.30.

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

Sun. Feb. 12, at 8.30, H. A. Barker, "The Labour Struggle." Wednesday 15, at 8.30, H. H. Sparling, a lecture. Sunday 19, Edward Aveling, "The Fallacies of Henry George."

**Fulham.**—8 Effie Road, Walham Green. Sun. Feb. 12, at 8, J. Turner, "The Control of Capital." 19th. E. Mandel, "Our Present State Organisation and Political Parties." 26th. H. H. Sparling, "The Blind Samson."

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

**Hammersmith.**—Kelmescott House, Upper Mall, W. Sunday February 12, at 8 p.m., E. B. Bax.

**Hoxton (L.E.L.).**—C. J. Young, 8 Dunloe Street, Hackney Road, Secretary. Members please take up their membership cards for 1888.

**Mitcham.**—Corner of Merton Lane and Fountain Place. Club Room open every evening from 7.30 till 11. Sunday February 12, at 8, W. B. Parker, "Some Objections to Socialism." Feb. 19, T. J. Dalziel, "Why the People Starve." Feb. 26, J. Turner, "Co-operation."

**Mile-end and Bethnal Green.**—95 Boston St., Hackney Road. Business Meeting every Thursday at 9 p.m. Debating Class for members after Business Meeting.

#### PROVINCES.

**Aberdeen (Scottish Section).**—Sunday night meetings in Baker Street Hall, at 6. Secretary, J. Leatham, 15 St. Nicholas Street.

**Birmingham.**—Meetings at Summer Row Coffee House every Saturday evening at 8.

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

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

**Cowdenbeath (Scot. Sec.).**—J. Duncan, 30 Arthur Pl., sec. **Dublin.**—Saturday Club, Central Lecture Hall, 12 Westmorland Street.

**Dundee (Scot. Sect.).**—Meetings every Sunday in the Trades Hall, opposite Tay Bridge Station. Political Economy class, 2 p.m. Lecture at 6.30.

**Edinburgh (Scottish Section).**—4 Park Street. Sunday evening lectures, Trades Hall, High Street. On Sunday February 12, at 6.30, J. H. Smith on "The Payment of Labour under Socialism."

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

**Glasgow.**—84 John St. Reading-room open 10 a.m. till 10 p.m. daily. Propaganda Committee, Mondays at 8. Discussion Class meets every Thursday evening at 8 p.m.—object, the cultivation of extemporaneous speaking.

**Leeds.**—17 Chesham St., Sweet St. Club open every evening. Business meeting Wednesdays at 8 p.m. On Sunday February 12, at 7 p.m., W. Hill, "Why the Workers should be Socialists." Feb. 19, T. Maguire, "The Practical Bearings of Socialism." 26. S. A. Gaskell, "The Need of a New Industrial System."

**Leicester.**—Hosiery Union, Horsefair St. Fridays at 8.

**Lochgelly (Scottish Section: Fife).**—Secs. (pro tem.), John Greig and Hugh Conway, The Square.

**Norwich.**—Gordon Hall, 5 Duke Street. Monday, Concert at 8. Tuesday, Business meeting at 8.30. Wednesday, Band practice at 8. Thursday, Discussion class, Gronlund's 'Co-operative Commonwealth.' Friday, Rehearsal at 8. Saturday, Premises open from 8 until 10.30.

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

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

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

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

#### OPEN-AIR PROPAGANDA.

##### LONDON—Sunday 12.

11 ... Acton Green ..... Hammersmith Branch  
11.15... Starch Green ..... The Branch  
11.30... Garrett—"Plough Inn" ..... The Branch  
11.30... Hackney—Salmon and Ball... Rothman & Cores  
11.30... Hoxton Church, Pitfield St. ... Allman & Davis  
11.30... Merton—Haydoas Road ..... The Branch  
11.30... Mitcham Fair Green ..... The Branch  
11.30... Regent's Park ..... Mainwaring  
11.30... St. Pancras Arches ..... Bartlett  
11.30... Stamford Hill ..... Parker  
11.30... Walham Green ..... Fulham Branch  
3 ... Hyde Park ..... Nicoll

#### PROVINCES.

**Crieff.**—J. B. Glasier, at Market Cross, Saturday at 5.  
**Glasgow.**—Paisley Road Toll, Sunday at 1 p.m.  
Infirmary Square, 6.30 p.m.

**Leeds.**—Sunday: Jack Lane End, Meadow Road, at 10.30 a.m. In Prince's Field, at 3 p.m.

**Norwich.**—Market Place, at 3 every Sunday.

#### LOOK OUT

for the SOCIALIST LEAGUE PLATFORM at the Demonstration in Hyde Park on Monday next.

**JUNIOR SOCIALISTIC EDUCATIONAL SOCIETY.**—On Saturday February 11, 8 o'clock, Fry reads a paper at 64 Charlotte Street.—H. W. F., Sec. pro tem.

**SHEFFIELD SOCIALISTS, Commonwealth Café, Scotland Street, Sheffield.**—Discussions or Lectures every Sunday evening at 7 o'clock. Free.

**SOCIALIST CO-OPERATIVE FEDERATION.**—Meeting at *Commonweal* Office, 13 Farringdon Road, on Sunday February 12, at 3.30 p.m.

## THE TABLES TURNED.

Applications for engagements to be made to the Manager, H. A. Barker, 13 Farringdon Road, E.C.

Postponed for a week, in consequence of the Burns-Graham reception.

### The Lamp

AN EXTRAVAGANZA by Henry A. Barker, will be performed on **Saturday February 25** (not 18), at 13 Farringdon Road. Admission by Programme (now ready), price Threepence. The entertainment will commence precisely at Eight o'clock.

#### A

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Birmingham: J. Sketchley, 8 Arthur Place Parade.

#### SOCIALIST LEAGUE LITERATURE.

**Chants for Socialists.** By William Morris. . 1d.  
**Organised Labour: The Duty of the Trades' Unions in Relation to Socialism.** By Thomas Binning (London Society of Compositors). . 1d.

**The Aims of Art.** By Wm. Morris. Bijou edition, 3d.; Large paper, 6d.

**The Tables Turned; or, Nupkins Awakened.** A Socialist Interlude. By William Morris. In Wrapper . . . 4d.

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# THE COMMONWEALTH

The Official Journal of the Socialist League.

VOL. 4.—No. 110.

SATURDAY, FEBRUARY 18, 1888.

WEEKLY; ONE PENNY.

## NOTES ON NEWS.

PARLIAMENT has met once more, and to all appearance the coming session will be as hopelessly barren of any performance as the most sturdy Tory or the most constitutional Whig could desire. The overwhelming majority in favour of "resolute government" is still there, of course, and is not likely to be altered by the results of the bye-elections. But that is not all: the minority, if it had any cohesion or sincerity, might doubtless "keep the dull times off" their enemies in one way or other; but here is the rub, that they are *not* their enemies. By far the greater part of them are only awaiting a decent opportunity to declare themselves against the one measure before Parliament which tends towards the popular side, and which the chapter of accidents has forced them to put forward as a party test—Home Rule, to wit.

That is the reason why the leaders have passed the word to fight soft; but after all it is a futile expedient, now that the subject has had every word said about it that can be said. What will happen? Much what happened when Mr. Gladstone brought in his Home Rule Bill. He will come into office again sooner or later, and will be obliged to put forward his Home Rule measure, no doubt as strenuously as he knows how, since the rest of his life is pledged to carrying the matter through. Well, then up will jump a new section of the Great Liberal Party, men who are all Home Rulers now, and will cry out, "Oh, but we didn't mean this by Home Rule; this is disintegration of the empire, Socialism, Communism, and the devil knows what!" And they will turn Liberal Unionists, or whatever the name may then be for newly-declared reactionists, and the G. O. M. will be on his back in the road once more as a result of "strictly constitutional" opposition—otherwise fighting soft.

What is the alternative? Why, fighting hard. Mr. Gladstone is, without knowing it, engaged in rebellion—that is the plain truth; and his chance of success lies in his rallying to him all the elements of discontent and revolution throughout the country. These are growing on the one hand, just as the reactionary elements, the instincts towards absolutism, are growing on the other, and between them they make Mr. Gladstone's constitutional position an impossible one.

What could he do this session? it may be said. Well, two courses were open to the minority if they had (as they have not) any heart in them. In any case they could have said, How can this be a parliament when its very members are lying in gaol and are liable to be arrested on the threshold of the House for asserting their elementary rights as citizens? We do not acknowledge the authority of such a parliament. Then they might have proceeded to systematic obstruction, and prevented any business being done as long as the executive upheld its present tyranny.

Or, which would have been better, they might, after making an emphatic protest, have all marched out of the House in a body, leaving behind as traitors any of their party who had a mind to stop, never to return till coercion (in England as in Ireland) was at end, and invited the majority to make any new little laws they chose; they in the meantime meeting as a committee of freedom and giving advice and help to their constituencies.

Both these courses are, it seems, impossible, the first no less so than the last. Therefore the parliamentary opposition is worthless. Nay worse, it is actively harmful, because it prevents people from stirring who might otherwise be driven to do so; since they depend on the action of their precious "representatives."

One disappointment there has been already for those who were sanguine enough to hope for even a good wrangle in Parliament over Trafalgar Square. In spite of the brave words of Messrs. Russell, Pickersgill, Stuart and Bradlaugh, it has gone down the wind. For I suppose few can be found so—well, green—as to imagine that the appointment by the Government of a day when a substantive motion on the subject can be put, means anything else than the *shoff*.

After all something may come of all this; because though we are used to this miserable shuffling and thrusting aside of the people's needs and aspirations at the hands of all parties in Parliament, we are not so used to the assertion of the power (and therefore the right) of the Executive to treat us all like puppets, and our "constitutional

safeguards" as pretty pictures. In order to understand what real freedom is it was necessary for us to learn what middle-class democracy means by freedom, and to feel the full weight of the tyranny of a parliamentary majority, and to learn by bitter experience that it may be as tyrannous as the rule of any despotism of the earlier days. We are likely to grow wise in this knowledge before the end of this year.

Mr. Shaw-Lefevre has held *his* meeting without interference: can it be really true that this is because he is an ex-Cabinet Minister? One scarcely likes to accuse even Mr. Balfour of such mingled shabbiness and stupidity.

Bismark's new Socialist-Coercion Bill has missed fire, and our friends in Germany are not to be subjected to any more stringent repression than they are used to,—which is stringent enough in all conscience. There can be no question but that Singer's and Bebel's speeches in the Reichstag, mentioned in our columns last week, and their showing up of the interior working of Bismark's police, have been in the main the cause of what under the circumstances is a Socialist victory.

The Bermondsey Board of Guardians have been making a good thing out of the "relief" of the poor men employed in their stone-yards,—buying cheap and selling dear to them, as the way of the world is. The chairman thinks that the question was who should reap the benefit of a fall in prices—the ratepayers or the men? He was more of a man of the world than another member of the Board, a Mr. Bedding, who cried out, "Then we are actually making a profit out of our own poor on our own goods. I call it a robbery on these poor people."

It is creditable to Mr. Bedding that he could not take the matter coolly, and that this piece of shabby extortion startled him; but pray how do all capitalists live, except by "making a profit out of their own poor on their own goods"? May we not call it, like Mr. Bedding, "a robbery on those poor people"?

The jury find Arthur Gough guilty of "assaulting" the police (according to the story of the police), but think he did it "in a moment of excitement,"—i.e., "Guilty, but we don't think he did it." W. M.

An instructive example of the way in which bourgeois law regards woman is furnished by the action which Lord Howard de Walden brought against Major Burrowes on the 4th inst. The "noble" lord's wife was lying at death's door with peritonitis. The least excitement might have been fatal to her. Lord Howard de Walden is given to drink, and when intoxicated insists on entering his wife's room. As this might cost her life, her brother, Major Burrowes, finding other means of argument of no avail to induce the inebriated peer to remain outside his wife's door, knocked him down. Hence the prosecution.

The magistrate thought the assault justified it would appear. But the husband was not bound over to refrain from molesting his wife. It is apparently one of the privileges of matrimony that the husband, no matter how drunken, has a right to force himself upon his "property," even if he knows that fatal consequences may result. "May not a man do what he likes with his own?"

Last week also was raised the question whether a husband can rob his wife? Baron Huddleston on the 9th inst. answered this by saying (1) he cannot rob her at all under the common law, which regards all the wife's property as the husband's; and (2) theft is only robbery under the Married Women's Property Act when the wife is living apart from her husband or when he is preparing to desert her.

Whereupon the *Pall Mall* comments: "It is really quite amazing how many advantages a mistress has over a wife in all matters relating to property and to person. It almost seems as if the object of the law was to inflict such disabilities on wives in order to induce the fair sex to prefer concubinage to matrimony." But even the *Pall Mall*, brave as it is, would shrink from facing the *reason* of it all and carrying the question to its logical conclusion.

These anomalies and worse must last as long as private property exists in the means of life and therefore in those that live on them.

British pride has just received a severe shock from a curious dispute between a Japanese railway company and a German firm which contracted to supply rails. The company contracted for German rails as

"not only cheaper, but superior in quality to English rails." On their arrival it was discovered that the rails were all of British manufacture and the company accordingly refused to take delivery. Ultimately this matter was compromised, but "German credit has been brought into great disrepute on account of the transaction." "How have the mighty fallen!" S.

## THE NEW ETHIC.

(Continued from p 43.)

A FURTHER point of importance is, that the theological or mystical morality, while recognising the incompatibility of form to content in the individual—in other words, the incompleteness of the individual *per se*—as the crucial fact in the moral and religious consciousness, seeks to obviate this incompatibility, to resolve this contradiction, *per saltum*. The individual as individual cannot be an end or *telos* to himself, it rightly concludes; but his end it seeks to realise by a magic key which eliminates the concrete world altogether from the calculation. This done, the rest follows with the greatest possible ease and logicity. The ethical consciousness having disposed of the real world of concrete relations, proceeds to create an ideal world of abstract relations, in which it seeks satisfaction. And it must not be supposed there is anything arbitrary in this proceeding. The social medium in which morality first arose has changed; the individual has supplanted the community economically, socially, and politically; hence the ethical consciousness can by no possibility find satisfaction in the real world. The most that reason can do for it is to seek to explain it away by Epicurean or Benthamite theories of enlightened self-interest and the like. These, however, for the most part, only touch the man of learned leisure, and exercise but little real influence on the world at large. So that it is what we have termed the mystical or theological morality which alone really holds the field. And the apparent satisfaction which the latter carries with it only exhausts itself and passes away with the conditions which have given it birth. It was more or less in abeyance during the Middle Ages, when the social ethics of the German races asserted themselves concurrently with the remains of their primitive communism, which entered into the composition of the feudal system. But it existed nevertheless, and under Protestantism sprang up into rank luxuriance. It is the only moral theory the modern middle-class man can appreciate, with the exception of the empirical Benthamite theory, which in some cases is even more to his taste. But the Individualist ethics, whether mystical and introspective, or empirical and practical, is to-day rapidly evolving its own contradiction as its economic basis is dissolving. While the middle classes can conceive of no morality, of no goodness, that is not centered in the individual—be it in his soul or pocket—the working classes find their individuality merged in the collective existence of the group of producers to which they belong. Their whole life is, under the conditions of the Great Industry, a collective one, in so far as the labour of the individual is merged in the labour of the group, the group again in that of other groups, and so on throughout the entire industrial and commercial system. The workman of the Great Industry has never, as a rule, paid much regard to his soul, to the *good*, the *beautiful*, the *true*, as embodied in his character. "Personal holiness" has never been his ethical aim, as it has been the professed (and in some cases doubtless sincerely professed) aim of the moral man, and still more woman, among the middle classes. The idea of a "holy" working man is, so to say, comic. The virtues which the working classes recognise are rather those of integrity, generosity, comradeship, rather than those of "purity," "meekness," "piety," "self-abnegation," and the like—in other words, the *social* and objective virtues, those immediately referable to the social environment in which he moves, rather than the *individual* and subjective ones—those referable to his own personality as such. The working man has no time to think about his "soul," he will commonly tell you; he leaves that for the man of leisure. The decline of the introspective morality is of course largely connected with the dissolution by modern thought of its old theologic and ideologic basis. While the working classes have for the most part, in so far as they think at all about the matter, frankly renounced the old theology, the middle classes have occupied themselves with the endeavour to find out every conceivable compromise by which they might evade overtly breaking with the speculative tradition. But that it is possible for the introspective morality to survive its speculative basis is evidenced by the Positivists, who, while repudiating this basis, nevertheless retain the introspective ethics of Individualism in the most accentuated form, even to the extent of erecting into a devotional breviary the 'Imitatio Christi.'

As for the other form of the Individualist ethics, the latter-day counterpart of Epicureanism—namely, "enlightened self-interest"—that, like its forerunner in the classical world, is essentially the formulated ethic of the full belly and the full pocket. "Self-interest," from the workman's point of view, might lead him, should a safe opportunity offer itself, to plunder his employer's till, or at least husband his labour-power by doing the minimum of work possible, to the detriment of his master; but this, according to the advocates of the theory, would not be "enlightened." On the other hand, "enlightenment," in the bourgeois sense, would lead the workman (see Professor Huxley, 'Lay Sermons') "to starve rather than to steal"; but this, again, would not be "self-interest" from the workman's point of view, however "enlightened" it might be. So that, altogether, the workman seems rather "out of it" in so far as the gospel of "enlightened self-interest" is concerned.

This objective social morality, of which we see the germs even in the working classes of to-day, where they are not, as to a great degree, in this country, completely brutalised by the conditions of their life, becomes when translated into a higher plane the basis of the religion of Socialism, which consists in a sense of oneness with the social body—in its most immediate form, of oneness with the oppressed class which is struggling to emancipate itself. In the supreme aim and endeavour to aid the economic new-birth of Society, the Revolutionist has no time, and cares not to be continuously looking within, either to admire the beauty of his individual character or to measure its imperfections. He does not think about it. His highest instincts are directed not within but without, not on himself but on the social cause he has in view—the cause which means as its final issue the abolition of classes and the brotherhood of man.

Most of us are familiar with the well-known story of the workman National Guard who, when asked during the last days of the Commune what he was fighting for, replied *Pour la solidarité humaine*. It is quite possible that this poor workman understood but little if anything of "Scientific Socialism," or of the full meaning of the Human Solidarity for which he fought; yet his instincts and that of his fellows were true; they had the religion of Socialism at heart; they knew they were fighting for the emancipation of their class and that in this emancipation human solidarity was involved. The Ethics and the Religion of Socialism seeks not the ideal society through the ideal individual, but the ideal individual through the ideal society. It finds in an adequate and harmonious social life the end and completion of individuality, and at the same time it finds therein its primary condition.

But, says the empirical moral philosopher—and here we come to an important point—all I do is simply done to please myself; my apparently most disinterested actions are really at bottom selfish; I should not do them if it did not please me to do them,—I cannot transcend myself. Now this sound like common sense—irrefutable common sense. But in reality, like all the saws of the Empirical and eighteenth century philosophy, which sounds so plausible, it is but one of those half-truths which, when diligently investigated, evince themselves the most insidious of fallacies. It is quite true that externally and *formally* every motive actuating the individual has the stamp of his individuality upon it. This is a very harmless and at the same time a very obvious proposition; but it does not by a long way carry with it the implication which the empiricist would put upon it. Though the form of the motive may be individualistic, the content of the motive *may* transcend its form—*i.e.*, it may have for its end something wholly apart from and even antagonistic to individual interest as such. A man is said to have a high moral character precisely when the material of his motives does predominantly *not* coincide with their mere superficial form. He has a low moral character when this material does predominantly coincide with its form; and he has no moral character at all—*i.e.*, his character is criminal—when the form and the matter—*i.e.*, individual interest and motive-material—absolutely balance one another.

Now, the introspectionist, recognising the fact that morality implies motivation which breaks through its mere form of individual interest, and which may even contradict it, mistakes this merely negative element in the moral consciousness for its salient feature, and thinks the highest morality to consist in a continual mortification of self—in Asceticism. But as we before pointed out, while it seeks to kill off one self, it only does so in the interest of another, and, if anything, still more exacting self. Its object is only the individual in another form. Its great bogey is pleasure; its great end the annihilation of pleasure. Now the new ethic of Socialism has no part nor lot with asceticism. In the first place, it grudges the amount of energy expended by the individual in the effort to acquire the "self-discipline" so-called, which is only another name for moral tight-rope dancing which the ethics of inwardness postulates as its end. It despises the Introspectionist love of "striking an ethical attitude." The mere discomfort, or the sacrifice of the individual *per se*, is for it no virtue, but a folly, unless it be a part of the means to a *clearly defined* social end. I italicise the words *clearly defined*, as of course it is possible to smuggle in (*pace* the Positivists) under some vague phrase such as "social order" the whole of the theologic ethics, asceticism included. For it must be remembered that the habit of mind proper to the introspective ethics (sometimes broadly expressed by the word Puritanism) has the ascetic tendency so strongly developed that the possessor of it is never happy unless he is finding out that something or other which pleases his fellow-men is wrong. It is aptly illustrated by *Punch's* joke of the little girl who directs her brother to "go and see what baby's doing, and tell him he mustn't." *Refrain, refrain* is the dreary dirge which alone delights the soul of the being in question. Now the effects of the ascetic poison, as before said, outlives its cause. The introspective ethics of which it is part survive their theoretical basis. Thus even where this basis is no longer present, the mind cast in this mould will endeavour to find a possible evil in everything that conduces to pleasure or relaxation. The taint of introspection will not permit it to view life naturally. It must seek by sophistry to poison it for itself and others. Thus in the cases supposed where the divine fiat, or the inherent evil of matter, can no longer be appealed to, and where direct socially evil results cannot be proved, it will have recourse to vague and lofty phrases such as "Human Dignity" and the like. It is therefore necessary to emphasise the fact that for conduct to be justly condemned under the new ethic it must be proved to be *necessarily and directly* anti-social. The Ascetic and Puritan may lose his egoistic sense of smug self-satisfaction at being better than other men,



but the loss will be his alone; while the destruction of a false moral ideal will destroy the hypocrisy which is correlative with it. No, the negation of the individual only becomes a virtue for the new ethic when it occurs not for its own sake but as a mere incident in the attainment of another end.

ERNEST BELFORT BAX.

(To be concluded.)

INSTANTANEOUS STUDIES.

No. 13.—THE "FLASH" PHOTOGRAPH.

(Scene: A Police Station.)

Police Inspector. What's the charge, P 244?

P 244. I was on dooty at eight o'clock to-night in Trafalgar Square, when I see prisoner come along with this 'ere box in his right hand. Directly he got within three or four yards of me, something blazed up in his other hand, and suspecting as the box he'd got was a infernal masheen, and that he was one of them diameters, I took him into custody. I found this powder and this piece of crumpled paper in his possession.

Inspector (to prisoner). Have you anything to say?

Prisoner. Certainly, I have a good deal to say. In the first place, this box is a camera, and not an infernal machine, excepting when it makes people very ugly. This powder and paper, of which I have some more in my waist coat pocket, form the new illuminating combination, magnesium powder and gun paper.

Inspector. Most dangerous. Highly explosive. 21 Reserve, bring a pail of water at once.

Prisoner. Excuse me, but there is not the slightest danger. I was going to say it occurred to me that I would like to take the portrait of P 244 here, and I accordingly lighted a small quantity, as I am doing now— (Strikes a match and lights the compound. Before the police recover from the shock the flash is over. They rush forward and seize him.)

Inspector (pale and determined). This is the most dangerous assassin I have ever seen. But for the fact that the stuff evidently missed fire, we should have been all blown up. These men care nothing for their own lives so long as they accomplish their ends.

Prisoner. If P 244 will kindly remove his knuckles from my throat, and his knees from the small of my back, I shall be able to demonstrate that you are quite in error. Perhaps you'll pass the camera.

Inspector (grimly sarcastic). Oh, yes; it looks like a camera, doesn't it? Cameras are just like black leather cases, arn't they? Look sharp with that water, 21. Let no man touch it, for fear it goes off.

Prisoner (losing his temper). Well, of all the stupid—

P 244. Come, no bad language here.

Prisoner (exasperated). Do you mean to say you don't believe me?

Inspector (still ironically). Oh, we believe you. We've been looking out for you for a long time. We've had no end of complaints from people who have been frightened by sudden flashes of light exactly the same as yours. No doubt your machines are fearfully badly made, and that's why the stuff doesn't explode.

Prisoner. But, officer, I tell you there's not the least danger. These are all photographic flashes, and the photographic flash is the latest thing out.

Inspector. That'll do. Remove him to the cell, 244.

Prisoner. Anyway, you'll permit me to send for bail.

Inspector. It's like your impudence to ask. Certainly not. Oh, here's the pail. Plunge everything in, box and all, and take them at once to Colonel Majendie.

(21 Reserve gingerly takes up the camera and the powder and the paper, and gently deposits them in the pail. Prisoner is removed to the cell, protesting that he shall sue the authorities for the damage done to his property.)

THE FOLLOWING EVENING.

Inspector. Ahem! We've had an answer from Colonel Majendie, and it appears he can find nothing dangerous in the box, which apparently, is an ordinary camera.

Prisoner. I beg your pardon, it is not an ordinary camera at all. Ordinary cameras are never soaked in water for a night.

Inspector. I cannot discuss the question now. You are discharged.

Prisoner. Thank you for nothing. Perhaps you'll compeusate me for injuring my property and locking me up.

Inspector. I've nothing to do with that. Go away.

MORAL.

Amateur photographers must be careful how they use the magnesium flash in the street until the police get used to it.

From the 'Photographic News.'

Mr. Edward Mellor, the chairman of the Oldham Operative Cotton Spinners' Provincial Association, has been placed on the Commission of the Peace for the borough of Oldham.

MORE LABOUR-SAVING MACHINERY.—The prospectus of the European and American Machine-Made Bottle Company (Limited) contains a very significant statement as to the enormous saving of labour by the use of machinery. It is said that whereas by the present process two men and three boys make about eight gross of bottles per day, by the new process one man and two boys with the aid of a machine will make about 80 gross per day. The "estimated profits [i.e., plunder] from royalties alone is over £400,000 per annum, equal to 65 per cent. on the entire capital of the Company now issued." The result of this invention to the bottle-makers will be that great numbers of them will have their livelihood taken entirely away, whilst those who are employed will probably be forced to accept reduced wages in consequence of the overstocked labour-market. By the present process the cost for labour to produce a gross of ordinary bottles is 3s. 10d., but by the new system this cost for primary labour will be reduced, it is said, to about 3d. In other words, the workers are to be crushed out of existence in order that a gang of greedy shareholders and a plundering horde of directors, solicitors, brokers, etc., should draw fat salaries and large dividends. Thus, instead of lightening the toil of the labourer, each new invention serves but to intensify it and render his slavery to the monopolist more absolute. And yet there are "Labour representatives" (save the mark!)—e.g., Fenwick—who talk of averting the "calamity of Socialism"!—T. B.

LETTER FROM AMERICA.

"MILAN, Mo., Jan. 26, 1888.—C. C. Bradley was arrested on Friday of last week and tried for vagrancy before Squire Cochran. The charge was sustained and Bradley was sold yesterday afternoon as a vagrant. The sale was for a term of six months, bringing thirty-five cents, William McClannahan being the purchaser. This is the second instance of the kind that ever happened in this county, the other taking place about thirty-five years ago, and the party sold brought twenty-five cents."—Daily papers.

Remembering the thirteenth amendment to the Constitution of the United States, which provides that involuntary servitude, except as a punishment when the party shall have been duly convicted, is forever prohibited in the United States, I thought the paragraph from Milan rather queer news, and resolved to investigate the matter. As a result I may state on good authority that vagrants are sold in most States, in spite of the law; that the farming-out of men and women is quite a common incident of the poorhouse administration. This is a new proof of the barbarism which exists in this "land of the free."

There is very little news to report from the Reading strike. Matters are practically at a standstill. The miners are firmly convinced that the coal barons are combined to wipe out whatever little social rights the men possess by establishing a system of serfdom, in which it will be a crime to organise for mutual protection and advancement. District Assembly No. 16 of the Knights of Labour is convening a meeting in Pittston of all the local assemblies in the Wyoming and Lackawanna Valleys. The strikers feel certain that the one thing now necessary to bring the Reading Company to terms is a general strike of the anthracite industry, such as would completely cripple the shipment of coal from every section. This plan will be urged with great force upon the Lackawanna and Wyoming miners, who are averse to striking because believing that while in work they can better support their striking comrades. It is very likely that all these men, about 25,000, may be induced to go on strike. The idea of making the strike general has long prevailed among the Schuylkill miners, and they have been in communication with a number of local assembly men in the Lackawanna and Wyoming Valleys for some time past with that end in view. The misery of the Lehigh miners is something terrible. The men are out now about five months, and in that time have practically existed on flour and tea. The distress all through the mining regions is beyond description; the relief committees are sending flour and tea to keep the miners and their families from starving. There are thousands of children who have neither shoes nor stockings, although it is a very hard winter. The relief committee have only sufficient shoes to give to the children when a doctor orders it. Most of the miners have not lighted a lamp in their homes for months: living in the land of coal, they have not sufficient fuel to keep themselves protected against the bitter cold, and ugly east winds are whistling through broken window panes. One day a woman walked a long distance in her husband's shoes to beg a pair for herself, so that she could go out and work; her husband sat at home barefooted till she came back. Hundreds of similar cases might be quoted. Yet in spite of all this the men are determined not to yield one inch.

The thread operatives' strike in Newark, N. J., is practically ended. Work was resumed by some of the hands on the 24th.

The Courier Journal claims to have won the fight between it and its employes.

According to a recent press dispatch a great cigar-makers' strike, embracing nearly all the large eastern cities, is reported for early in February, to resist a wage reduction.

Four hundred ice-cutters at Wenham Lake, Mass., have struck for two dollars a-day. They were receiving 1 dol. 50 c.

A circular has been issued by all the brewers of Milwaukee to their 3,000 employes, notifying them that on January 26 every member of Brewers' Union No. 9 in their employ will be discharged unless he consents to leave that organisation. It is anticipated that the union will order a strike.

LIST OF STRIKES FOR JANUARY.

Number of strikers reported, Jan. 1 to 18	...	...	35,509
20...Washington—Pressmen and feeders in Bureau of Engraving and Printing, against change in management	...	...	—
20...Rockland, Mass.—Handsewers, against reduction	...	...	—
21...Brooklyn—Plate printers, for advance	...	...	35
23...New York city—Cigar-makers, refusal of employers to arbitrate differences	...	...	600
24...Salem, Mass.—Ice-cutters, for advance	...	...	140
23...Athens, N. Y.—Ice-cutters, for advance	...	...	—
25...Philadelphia—Carpet-cutters, against new system of working	...	...	18
25...Philadelphia—Newspaper compositors	...	...	25
26...Pittsburgh—Chambermaids, for proper food	...	...	10
Total number of strikers known to January 26	...	...	36,337

New York, January 31, 1888.

HENRY F. CHARLES.

OSCAR NEEBE.

OSCAR NEEBE, now in Joliet prison, under a sentence for fifteen years, was born in Philadelphia, of German parents. Both his father and his mother are still living. Neebe was at the time of his arrest not a wage-worker, but a well-to-do business man. Yet his heart was always with the toiling masses, and he did magnificent service as an organiser of trades' unions, and staunch supporter of Socialistic ideas. He is now about thirty-nine years old, a fine looking man. He was happily married, and has two children. His unfortunate wife, who adored him, died of a broken heart while he was imprisoned in the Chicago jail. His only crime, as far as can be seen, is to have been prominently active in the labour movement, and thus to have incurred the hatred of the ruling powers. He had nothing whatever to do either with the Haymarket meeting or with the throwing of the bomb. Neebe bears his undeserved fate like a true brave man.

The mild and the long-suffering may suffer for ever in this world. If the Catholics had stood with their hands before them, simpering at the Earls of Liverpool and Bathurst of the time, they would not have been emancipated until the year of our Lord four thousand. As long as the patient will suffer the cruel will kick. If the Irish go on withholding and forbearing, whether this is the time for discussion or that is the time, they will be laughed at for another century as fools, and kicked for another century as slaves.—Sydney Smith.



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

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

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

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C. A.—Ruskin's "Usury: a Reply and a Rejoinder" to the Bishop of Manchester, appeared in the *Contemporary Review* for February 1880, p. 316.

MARSEILLAISE.—The English words usually sung to this air ("Ye sons of France, awake to glory," etc.) were first published (anonymously) in Spence's 'Pigmeat, or Lessons for the Swinish Multitude' for 1793, p. 67.

Periodicals received during the week ending Wednesday February 15.

ENGLAND	FRANCE	GERMANY
Die Autonomie	San Francisco Arbeiter-Zeitung	SWITZERLAND
Jus	Coast Seamen's Journal	Zurich—Sozial Demokrat
Justice		SPAIN
Labour Tribune	Paris—Cri du Peuple (daily)	El Productor
Norwich—Daylight	La Revolte	Madrid—El Socialista
Railway Review	L'Autonomie Individuelle	GERMANY
	Guise—Le Devoir	Berlin—Volks Tribune
SOUTH AUSTRALIA		AUSTRIA
Adelaide—Our Commonwealth	HOLLAND	Brunn—Volksfreund
INDIA	Hague—Recht voor Allen	Vienna—Gleichheit
Bankipore—Behar Herald	Amsterdam—Voorwaarts	ROMANIA
UNITED STATES		Jassy—Lupta
New York—Der Sozialist	BELGIUM	
Volkszeitung	Seraing (Ougree)—Le Reveil	DENMARK
Boston—Woman's Journal	Ghent—Vooruit	Social-Demokraten
Chicago—Alarm	Antwerp—De Werker	SWEDEN
Vorbote	Brussels—L'Avant-Garde	Stockholm, Social-Demokraten
Denver (Col.) Labor Enquirer	Liege—L'Avenir	Malmo—Arbetet
Milwaukee (Wis.)—Volksblatt	ITALY	NORWAY
N Haven—Workmen's Advocate	Milan—Il Fascio Operaio	Kristiania—Social-Democraten
Providence (R.I.)—The People	Rome—L'Emancipazione	

## ON SOME "PRACTICAL" SOCIALISTS.

THE study of economics is no doubt necessary for militant Socialists; the more a man knows of them in all their details the more able he is to meet not only the sophistries of the "educated" anti-Socialist, but, which is still more important, the awkward and hard-to-be-answered questions which people who have never thought of these matters at all sometimes stumble on.

Of course, that he should be able to make his knowledge of any use depends on whether he has understood what he has learned, especially in dealing with enquiring ignorance. The "educated" man will sometimes be flooded by a phrase, will retire abashed before "surplus value," and refuse to tackle the iron law of wages, on the same grounds that the Oxford undergraduate declined to give his examiner any information about King David for fear he should be lugged all through the Kings of Judah and Israel; but the ignorant man may require information after he has got over the first shock of the unaccustomed enunciation of the big-worded dogma. So that our student of economy had best be careful to look to it that he can translate his phrases into a language "understood of the people." But when our learner has really got to know something about economics; nay, when he has them at his fingers ends, he still has to beware of another trap, or rather of two more. He has (for as old a Socialist as he may be) to take care that he does not read the present into the future, to suppose that when the monopoly in the means of production has been abolished, and no one can any more live on the labour of others, but must do some recognised service to the community in order to earn his livelihood, yet, nevertheless, people's ways of life and habits of thought will be pretty much as they are now. The other trap generally besets the way of the same kind of Socialist who is apt to fall into the first-named; it is the too entire absorption in the economic view of Socialism, and the ignoring of all its other aspects.

The kind of Socialist who is most likely to be caught by these traps is he who considers himself as specially practical; although the due deduction from the last one at any rate would be the abstention from action of all kinds, and the acceptance of the position of an interested but helpless spectator. Your "practical" man is (very naturally) anxious that some step towards Socialism should be taken at once, and also that it should be taken under definitely Socialist auspices, therefore, he really addresses himself to people who would be likely to be frightened into mere hostility by any apprehension of a large change in the life of Society; he is thinking entirely of the conservative side

of human nature as the thing to be won over, and ignores that which exists just as surely, its revolutionary side. The result is that the wolf of Socialism gets clad in the respectable sheep-skin of a mild economic change; yet not with much success. I have been present on several occasions when this experiment has been tried, and have been much amused by the demeanour of the respectables, who trying to be convinced, or at least to appear to be, have nevertheless showed uneasiness, as if they detected the disguised animal, and noted his glistening teeth and red jaws peeping out from under the soft woolly clothing of moderate progress. Also, though it was less amusing, it was as instructive to note the look of those convinced but not fully instructed Socialists who were present, on whom the sight of the transmogrified sham amiable monster produced nothing but blank disappointment and dismay. Altogether, these occasions have been to me hours of humiliation and discouragement; and I think also that there was no gain in the humiliation; neither I nor the other comrades needed to undergo it. The opponents were not won over by it, they were only confused and puzzled, and made feel as if they had been laughed at.

But I do not mean to say that these one-sided Socialists are generally acting disingenuously, or merely trying to smooth down a hostile audience. I believe, on the contrary, that they do not see except through the murky smoked glass of the present condition of life amongst us; and it seems somewhat strange, not that they should have no vision of the future, but that they should not be ready to admit that it is their own defect that they have not. Surely they must allow that such a stupendous change in the machinery of life as the abolition of capital and wages must bring about a corresponding change in ethics and habits of life; that it would be impossible to desire many things which are now the main objects of desire; needless to guard against many eventualities which we now spend our lives in guarding against; that, in short, we shall burn what we once adored, and adore what we once burned.

Is it conceivable, for instance, that the change for the present wage-earners will simply mean hoisting them up into the life of the present "refined" middle-classes, and that the latter will remain pretty much what they are now, minus their power of living on the labour of others? To my mind it is inconceivable; but if I could think such a prospect likely, I should join with Mr. Bradlaugh (whose idea of the aims of Socialism is probably just this) in a protest against the dull level of mediocrity. What! will, e.g., the family of the times when monopoly is dead be still as it is now in the middle classes, framed on the model of that of an affectionate and moral tiger to whom all is prey a few yards from the sanctity of the domestic hearth? Will the body of the woman we love be but an appendage to her property? Shall we try to cram our lightest whim as a holy dogma into our children, and be bitterly unhappy when we find that they are growing up to be men and women like ourselves? Will education be a system of cram begun on us when we are four years old, and left off sharply when we are eighteen? Shall we be ashamed of our love and our hunger and our mirth, and believe that it is wicked of us not to try to dispense with the joys that accompany procreation of our species, and the keeping of ourselves alive, those joys of desire which make us understand that the beasts too may be happy? Shall we all, in short, as the "refined" middle-classes now do, wear ourselves away in the anxiety to stave off all trouble, emotion, and responsibility, in order that we may at last merge all our troubles into one, the trouble that we have been born for nothing but to be afraid to die? All this which is now the life of refined civilisation will be impossible then.

I have often thought with a joyful chuckle how puzzling, nay inexplicable to the generations of freedom, will be those curious specimens of human ingenuity called novels now produced, and which present with such faithful detail the lives of the middle-classes, all below them being ignored except as so many stage accessories; amongst them all, perhaps, Dickens will still be remembered; and that because of what is now imputed to him as a fault, his fashioning a fantastic and unreal world for his men and women to act in. Surely here again all will be changed, and our literature will sympathise with the earlier works of men's imagination before they learned to spin out their own insides like silkworms into dreary yarns of their sickly feelings and futile speculations; when they left us clear pictures of living things, alive then and for ever. We shall not desire and we shall not be able to carry on the feverish and perverted follies of the art and literature of Commercialism.

I wonder that those who will insist in reading the life of the present into a world economically changed, do not see how they start wrong from the beginning; and I wonder all the more as they are often clear-headed and capable persons.

The competition of the profit-market forces us under our present system to turn our attention overmuch to producing wares with the least possible labour; our epoch is compelled to sacrifice everything to this necessity. Considering the aspect of London and our great manufacturing centres, for instance, it seems that if it were possible for us to go on for long at our present rate of sacrificing to this tyrant of cheap production, the time would come when having to choose between the greater part of us living in cellars and never seeing the sun again, and foregoing the cheapening of cotton cloth by a halfpenny a yard, we should be compelled to choose to submit ourselves to the former—inconvenience. This I say is our necessity at present, because the competition for profits, which is the master of production, is a system of mere waste, first as a war and next as a bonfire, so to say, for the consumption of the product of labour merely in the interests of the power of the proprietary classes. Or may we not say that the gentili-

ties, the luxuries, the pomp of these classes in an ascending scale, from the small villa dweller to the great territorial magnate, are the necessary baits held out to the producing classes to ensure their "content" with the present state of things. "It is true," they proclaim, "that you are in an inferior position now, because you belong to the useful class; but there is no legal disability preventing you from rising out of that class; by means of thrift, self-denial, and clever rapacity, you may attain to this nice stuccoed villa with its 'art objects' and nick-knacks, its smiling obsequious servants, and vacant wife and daughters dressed up to the nine; next, as you grow older and colder and stupider, this mansion awaits you with all the 'refinements of civilisation,' flunkies, libraries, parties, seats in Parliament and the rest of it; and at last, when you have really come to believe in yourself as a benefactor to the human race, because you, once the robbed, have become a robber on the very largest scale, here is your park with its surrounding acres, and the state and majesty of a landed gentleman amongst the toilers afield who have even less than you began with when you were a useful man. There shall you found a family, take a peerage, and die universally respected."

Expensive baits these! Yet necessary while classes last, since the lapse of time has evolved us out of the simpler systems of chattel slavery and serfdom.

I won't go into figures as to the cost of these two gulfs of waste necessary to the stability of our present system, the waste of commercial war, the waste of the supporting a proprietary class with all its camp-followers and hangers-on; nor do I suppose that we shall ever know how prodigious a waste we have saddled ourselves with in this matter; but it is clear that it is prodigious. Well, under the new conditions of Society commercial war will have died out, and with it the wasteful occupations that support it; and class-rule will have disappeared, so that its waste will have gone; labour will no longer be directed in the interest of the profit-grinder or the idler, and the task of the producers will be so easy, that the dogma which our pessimist friends now hold that men will always do their work in the way which gives them least trouble (understood whatever sacrifices they have to make for it), will cease to have any meaning; because there will practically be no longer any compulsion to work.

Mark Twain says, apropos of Tom Sawyer's white-washing, that work is labour that we are compelled to do, and pleasure labour that we choose to do, which we beg our economico-pessimist friends to remember.

Meantime, I hold that we need not be afraid of scaring our audiences with too brilliant pictures of the future of Society, nor think ourselves unpractical and utopian for telling them the bare truth, that in destroying monopoly we shall destroy our present civilisation. On the contrary, it is utopian to put forward a scheme of gradual logical reconstruction of society which is liable to be overturned at the first historical hitch it comes to; and if you tell your audiences that you are going to change so little that they will scarcely feel the change, whether you scare any one or not, you will certainly not interest those who have nothing to hope for in the present Society, and whom the hope of a change has attracted towards Socialism. It is a poor game to play (though so often played in politics) to discourage your friends in order to hoodwink your foes for a brief space. And certainly the Socialists who are always preaching to people that Socialism is an economic change pure and simple, are very apt to repel those who want to learn for the sake of those who do not.

WILLIAM MORRIS.

### LITERARY NOTES.

'Prison Poems; or, Lays of Tullamore' (*Nation* office, Dublin, 6d.) consists of a number of songs and parodies—chiefly political—written by T. D. Sullivan during his imprisonment in Tullamore gaol, which show that the writer of "God Save Ireland" and "A Song from the Backwoods" has not lost his old power. This is his description of Tullamore and his prison life;

Oh, Tullamore Gaol is a charming  
place  
(Bang the bolts and clatter the tins),  
'Tis Loyalty's school for the Irish race  
(At six a.m. the trouble begins).  
Rub and scrub, and tramp away,  
Pull and pick, and hammer all day,  
Smash the stones and turn the clay  
(And mourn for your political sins).

A dear old man is Featherstone-Haugh  
(Bang the bolts and clatter the tins).  
As tender and sweet as a circular-saw  
(At six a.m. the trouble begins).

He describes the Irish Secretary as

A being thin and shanky, white of visage, tall and lanky,  
Looking ill at ease and cranky, came and stood upon the floor;  
In his hands some keys he dangled, keys that harshly clinked and jangled,  
And over his right optic a large pane of glass he wore—  
When it fell, he slowly raised it, and replaced it as before—  
This he did, and nothing more.

It was a great shame that in a country so wealthy as this, a country which possesses such magnificent resources, they had thousands of people wanting bread.—*Mr. Mundella, M.P.*

The ultimate purpose of the State is not to rule men, to keep them in fear, to subject them to the will of others, but, on the contrary, to allow each as far as possible to live in security; that is, to preserve for each his natural right to live without harm to himself or his neighbour.—*Spinoza.*

## The Shade of Judge Jeffreys to the English Bench.

"I'll be judge, I'll be jury,  
Said cunning old Fury,  
I'll judge you, condemn you, and put you to death."  
—*Alice in Wonderland.*

Bravo, my masters! So ye still inherit  
A portion of your father Jeffreys' spirit!  
It glads my ghost, in these degenerate days  
Of manners mild and philanthropic ways,  
That still my true-born children of the ermine  
Can twist a law to snare these pestilent vermin,  
These noisy, stubborn, socialistic knaves,  
Who crack their crowns upon policemen's staves,  
Because, forsooth (may gallows' grace betide 'em!)  
Their precious British birthright is denied 'em—  
The right of bawling in the highways. Fudge!  
Would they had come to Jeffreys as their judge!  
For then, I vow, ere justice had been baffled,  
The rogues had known the pillory or scaffold,  
And paid such price for treasonable guile,  
As erst paid Sidney and the Lady Lisle.

Heigh-ho; I mind me, times are changed since then!  
But ye, my hearties, quit ye still like men  
In this same fight wherein I fought of yore—  
The worthy rich against the worthless poor.  
Flinch not, my big-wig bullies of the bench!  
'Tis your inheritance to wrest and wrench  
The sense o' the laws, intimidate the jury,  
And win by fraud where I prevailed by fury.  
Flinch not, nor question they deserve it well,  
But sentence, sentence to the felon's cell;  
Till every factious rascal sees with awe  
'Tis Jeffreys' self still animates the law!

H. S. S.

### THE STORY OF A DRESS COAT.

THE Paris correspondent of a Swiss journal tells a quaint tale of a dress-coat. Maxime Lisbonne, the Communist, received an invitation to present himself, along with other political guests, at the palace of the President. He accepted, and duly attended. It was necessary that he should renounce his Communist nonconformity for the occasion, and conform to the present evil world by appearing before Citizen Carnot in a dress-coat. This temporary backsliding from primitive principles in dress was naturally viewed with distrust and suspicion by his revolutionary comrades, and he was called upon to defend himself before the "Equals of Montmartre." "Citizens," said he, "it is true that I have visited the President of the Republic. I can assure you that he receives the people in a good and honourable manner. But you will ask, why should I, Lisbonne, and not another, have gone to the palace of the President as the representative of the people? For a very good reason; I was the only one who possessed a dress-coat." "How did you get it?" shouted several voices; "have you been herding with the Aristos?" "Citizens," continued Maxime Lisbonne, "you are aware that I am an actor. I had a dress-coat in which I performed the part of the Manager in 'Thirty Years; or, the Life of an Actor' at the Bouffes du Nord. I found this old coat somewhat out of fashion and stained with grease spots, from which I cleansed it with spirits. One of Citizen Carnot's guests as he passed him sniffed at me and observed, 'It is a notion which would have occurred to nobody except a revolutionist to perfume himself with petroleum.'" The "Equals" were disarmed of their suspicions, and laughed heartily. Lisbonne told his *frères et amis* that he regarded the "aristocratic old coat" as the common property of all, and that it would be at the service of any comrade who might need it for a public occasion.

### COMMUNE CELEBRATION.

THE annual celebration of the Commune of Paris is this year being organised by the Socialist League and the Social Democratic Federation. It is intended to make the celebration as distinctively English as possible, at the same time representatives of our foreign Socialist brethren will be invited to attend and speak on the occasion.

The 18th of March this year falls on a Sunday, and it is hoped that either a theatre or large hall will be secured for the celebration. Should, however, it be found impossible to obtain a suitable place on the Sunday, the meeting will then be held on the Saturday, *i.e.*, the 17th of March.

It is intended to make the celebration a large and imposing one, and that this may be done funds must be collected for the printing and hiring of the meeting-place, etc. Friends and comrades are earnestly asked to take in hand the collection of money, for which purpose cards will be issued. Donations may be sent to Comrade CLIFTON (S.D.F.), Treasurer; or to H. A. BARKER (S.L.), Secretary, 13, Farringdon Road, E.C.

[All monies received at the above address will be duly acknowledged in these columns.]

Just fancy in this democratic country Mr. Blunt in prison and Mr. Balfour in the House of Commons.—*Sir Wilfred Lawson.*

In my own private concerns with mankind I have observed that to kick a little when under imposition has a good effect. A little sturdiness when superiors are much in the wrong sometimes occasions consideration, and there is truth in the old saying that if you make yourself a sheep the wolves will eat you.—*Franklin.*



## THE LABOUR STRUGGLE.

### BRITAIN.

**EDINBURGH JOINERS.**—The dispute is likely soon to end in favour of the men. Several firms have opened their shops on the old terms. Many of the men have returned to work, and the practical sympathy of the public enabled the committee on Saturday to increase the strike pay.

**CLYDE SHIPBUILDERS.**—Labour troubles are already commencing in the shipbuilding yards on the Clyde. In consequence of the small amount of work on hand, several firms have been paying less than the current rates. The movement is now becoming general for a considerable advance.

**DISCHARGE OF DOCKYARD WORKMEN.**—Recently an Admiralty order was received at Devonport Dockyard directing that for the next financial year provision should be made for 1,100 men less than are now working in the yard. Discharges are also expected at Keyham Factory before the end of the present financial year.

**BELFAST TRAMWAY MEN.**—A meeting of the drivers, conductors, and pointsmen employed by the Belfast Street Tramway Co., has been held for the purpose of protesting against the proposed running of cars between five and six o'clock in the morning. At present the men work from 7.40 a.m. to 11.15 p.m., with one hour for meals. It was decided to draw up a memorial to be laid before the Police Committee of the Town Council.

**TRADE DEPRESSION IN WELSH IRON TRADE.**—The Ruabon Ironworks of the New British Iron Company, the most extensive works in North Wales, are now closed in consequence of the continued depression in trade. The blast furnaces are extinguished, and the usual fourteen days' notice having expired, all the ironworkers are discharged. Many of the workmen are emigrating, while others are leaving North Wales for Lancashire, Yorkshire, Staffordshire, and South Wales.

**STATE OF THE VELVET TRADE AT OLDHAM.**—The velvet trade, which is the staple weaving trade of Oldham, is, and has been for a long time, in a very bad state, though there are now some signs of improvement. Messrs. Eli Lees and Co., of Hope Mill, who have 1,360 looms, have had about 600 of them stopped for some time. At Albany Shed, belonging to Messrs. J. J. Shiers and Son, there are 1,060 looms, and of these about 400 have been stopped. At Collinge's sheds, Glodwick Road, where there are 2,070 looms, fully 1,000 looms are stopped, and at Mr. Hilton Greaves' mills, out of over 1,700 looms, between two and three hundred are stopped.

**WAGES ON THE NORTH EASTERN RAILWAY.**—An important movement is being made by the engine-drivers, firemen, goods guards, mineral guards, and signalmen of the North-Eastern Railway system, to obtain alterations of wages and hours of labour, which will involve an advance in wages in some of the higher grades of 15 to 20 per cent., and in all cases a substantial increase. The men, at a meeting which has lately been held, resolved to call a conference, at which delegates will be invited from each leading centre of the railway system—from Leeds, Hull, and York in the south, to Newcastle and Carlisle in the north, and all the intervening district.

**FIFE MINERS.**—At a meeting of the Fife and Clackmannan Miners' Association, held at Dunfermline, to consider the action of the coalmasters at the conference, it was reported that an overwhelming majority of the men had decided to set the masters at defiance by carrying out the policy previously agreed upon of stopping work at the collieries. It was agreed that the miners, numbering 6,000 men, should cease work, and it is said that the contest will be a lasting one. A lock-out has been declared. Notices have been posted up at the collieries announcing that all men who have intimated their intention to stop work for two weeks shall not be allowed to descend the pits without re-engagement.

**HAMILTON MINERS.**—At a meeting of the men employed in Hamilton and district one of the speakers said: "He was afraid the coal and iron masters were planning such war against them as would, if successful, reduce them to bond slaves again. All the efforts of members of Parliament and others were without result, because the men refused to help themselves, and were intimidated (as in the case of the Truck Act) into signing away their rights and liberties simply through not being in union. He made a strong appeal to them to remedy this state of matters." What the speaker said of the mineowners is about true of other trades. Although not so plain, the same action is taking place; and while the men are discussing conciliation and arbitration boards, the masters are making every effort towards organisation; the declaration of war will then come.

**THE NUT AND BOLT MAKERS AND THE TRUCK ACT.**—On Thursday night a largely attended meeting of nut and bolt makers was held at the Cross Guns Inn, New Street, Darlaston, for the purpose of deciding upon the amount of levy to be paid in support of the men now out on strike, and also to consider what course should be taken with reference to the stoppage of wages for rent. Mr. R. Juggins presided, and in opening the meeting said he had laid the matter before the Midland Counties Trades Federation, and they were unanimously of opinion that the case was one which ought to be tested, and they were prepared to support the men in any action taken for the purpose of recovering the wages that had been stopped. It was resolved "That this meeting instructs the secretary to take legal proceedings under the Truck Act to recover the rent illegally stopped from the wages of workmen." It was further decided to continue the levy of 1s. per member until the next meeting takes place, and that the secretary request the nut and bolt makers in the Smethwick district to render assistance to the men now out on strike.

**MANCHESTER.**—There is an enormous increase in the number of unemployed, especially in the building trades, and the number of members in receipt of relief from the funds of their trades unions is unprecedented. In spite of this the pernicious system of overtime is far too prevalent. The Amalgamated Society of Carpenters and Joiners has recently "drawn out" a number of its members from various jobs and shops not paying the standard rate of wages 8d. per hour. It is a notorious fact that, with the exception of five or six of the big masters, the standard rate has been practically ignored during the past ten years. The action of the society is likely to cause trouble, as there are hundreds of men who will work at the employers' terms rather than walk the streets starving. The disastrous result of the great strike of 1877 should have taught the necessity of a vigorous effort to organise the non-unionists instead of passively waiting for a revival of trade in order to do something to recover lost ground. The members of the A. S. are paying heavy levies to maintain the unemployed and "drawn outs," and there is a growing feeling of discontent, foreshadowing an impending crisis.

It is time that the unions ceased to be mere friendly societies and devoted their energies to organising the workers, skilled and unskilled, into a common brotherhood. The operatives of the building trades will welcome the cause which shall show them their "misery and the way out."—CRAFTSMAN.

**NORTHUMBERLAND MINERS.**—At the next delegate meeting of the Northumberland Miners there will be some lively proceedings. The following are some of the resolutions:—*New Delaval*: "Seeing that a large number of men in the county have not the opportunity of attending the meeting when the programme for the delegate meeting is being discussed, we protest against the vote taken at the last delegate meeting on Mr. Burt's and Fenwick's salaries being paid out of the labour fund, as we consider it unconstitutional and unjust for a vote at delegate meetings to rescind the voting of the county, and that vote by ballot; we therefore suggest that the voting-papers be sent out again." *Old Backworth*: "We, as a colliery, protest against the motion passed at the last Council meeting relative to Messrs. Burt and Fenwick's salaries, and we move that the ballot be taken again throughout the county as to whether we have to continue to pay their salaries or not." (2) "We beg leave to move that Samuel Marsh, who started work out of the county during the strike—and all similar cases—be paid their rent for the time they were on strike, as we consider it inconsistent and unfair to pay men their rent who started work in the county, and were therefore black-legging us, and refuse to pay those who went out of the county and had levies to pay for our support." *Seaton Burn*: "That our agents be reduced the whole of the 12 per cent." *Dudley*: (1) "That eight hours in the twenty-four be the maximum day's work for all persons employed underground where the single shift, and seven hours where the double shift is worked, the time to be reckoned from bank to bank." (2) "That one general holiday be observed each week: this day to be fixed in each district, and be strictly observed, even though men may have been idle on any preceding day that week."

**LECTURE ON TRADES UNIONISM.**—At Hulme Radical Club, Clopton Street, Hulme, on Sunday at 6.30, John Jenkins, Gen. Sec. of the Baker's Union, will lecture on Trades Unionism.

**METROPOLITAN PAUPERISM.**—The weekly return of metropolitan pauperism shows that the total number of paupers relieved during the first week of the month was 109,152, of whom 60,895 were indoor and 48,257 outdoor paupers. The total number relieved shows an increase of 3,953 over the corresponding week of last year, 8,555 over 1885, and 1,207 over 1884. The total number of vagrants relieved on the last day of the week, was 1,284, of whom 1,115 were men, 150 women, and 19 children under sixteen.

**"COMPARISONS," ETC.**—At a meeting of the Birmingham Trades Council last week reference was made to a recent speech of Mr. Kynoch, M.P. for Aston, in which he said that working-men candidates were the greatest frauds the country had ever known. They were generally a spouting lot of fellows who lived by the gift of the gab. Councillor Grainger said that the working-men members of Parliament would compare favourably with the member for Aston. A resolution was passed condemning Mr. Kynoch's expressions, and declaring them untrue and scandalous.

**A TRAITOR.**—Judgment has been given by the Sheffield County Court Judge in an action brought by an engine-driver, named Thomas Rodgers, against the Amalgamated Society of Railway Servants. He sued to be reinstated a member and for superannuation allowance; but it was argued that he was properly expelled during the strike of the Midland engine-drivers. He entered the service of the company during the strike, but was dismissed after a week's work, being colour-blind. Judgment was in favour of the society. The impudent conduct of the driver thus properly served, shows that some men have very hazy notions as to the functions of trades-unions. They were founded as fighting bodies, and must not be allowed to degenerate into societies for administering out-door relief for the benefit of the exploiting classes. May all traitors meet the fate of Thomas Rodgers! T. B.

### THE CHAINMAKERS.

Most, if not all of our readers, will during the last eighteen months have heard and read a great deal of the sufferings and poverty of the nail and chainmakers of South Staffordshire. We will not again go over the harrowing details, but a personal investigation we have made during the past few days into the causes of the state of things so often described contains a warning which ought not to be lost upon factory workers. So far as nail-making in Halesowen is concerned, it is a decaying industry, due to the introduction of machinery, but inventors have hitherto failed to construct a machine which can even help to make chains. It may consequently be said that the latter occupation is in a normal condition, as chains are in as good demand as ever. By working in a manner of which few people have any conception, strong men can, on the heavier classes of work, such as ship cables made in large workshops, earn decent wages; but, on medium and small work, the life of a chainmaker is a living slavery for a bare existence. There is no earthly reason why this should be so except want of organisation. On ordinary work, such as dog chains and chains used for horse gearing, 50 per cent. added to the wages would make no appreciable difference in the retail selling price. If the advance we have mentioned were conceded, there would not be a link less used or sold, and yet at present women have to slave at making them for six or seven shillings per week, and on medium sizes men do the same for about 15s. This state of things is largely, if not wholly, owing to competition amongst themselves. When unemployed, a proportion of them have been willing to undersell their fellows in the labour market, and as the small sizes are made in workshops attached to each house, this knobsticking could not be found out at once. In Cradley Heath, as elsewhere, such conduct is, however, used by employers, who give out the work as a lever to reduce all the rest, and so the little game has gone on. A more dirty, unpaved, unsanitary, and poverty-stricken district than Cradley Heath it would be impossible to conceive, all of which might have been reversed had the chainmakers been organised, as they ought to have been, during the last twenty years. We have no wish on that account to lessen the sympathy which all right-minded people must feel for them. They are in the hole, and have to make the best of it, though they have recently had a splendid lift upwards, largely due to the assistance rendered them by workmen in Lancashire and the north. They have got a substantial advance in prices, which we hope will only be a starting-point to better things. If every operative in the four counties could pay a visit to Cradley, we are certain that there would be no necessity for propagandist union work during the lifetime of the present generation.—*Cotton Factory Times*.

## REVOLUTIONARY CALENDAR.

WEEK ENDING FEBRUARY 25, 1888.

19	Sun.	1820. "Cato Street Conspiracy" formed. 1861. Russian serfs freed. 1867. Cathin Colliery accident.
20	Mon.	1831. Poles defeat Russians at Grohow. 1855. Joseph Hume died.
21	Tues.	1803. Col. Despard and others hanged for high treason. 1886. Socialist Demonstration in Hyde Park, 75,000 present. 1887. Great Unemployed Demonstration in Dublin.
22	Wed.	1787. First Convocation of Notables began to sit (France). 1811. Trial of John and Leigh Hunt for "seditious libel." 1831. Miner's Riots in Cornwall. 1855. Bread Riots in London.
23	Thur.	1677. Baruch Spinoza died. 1716. Earls Derwentwater and Kenmare beheaded for rebellion. 1823. Trial of "Bottle Conspirators," Dublin. 1848. French Revolution begins.
24	Fri.	1794. D. I. Eaton tried for seditious libel. 1848. Louis Philippe abdicated.
25	Sat.	1847. Samuel Fielden born. 1858. Trial of Orsini.

*Joseph Hume.*—On Feb. 20, 1855, died Joseph Hume, philosophical Radical. Born of humble parents, this Scotchman doubtless strongly approved of that wonderful system called "English civilisation," or the right of the British to plunder every nation under the sun. Hume was born at Montrose, January, 1777, son of the master of a small coasting vessel; Hume, sen., dying while Joseph was very young. Mrs. Hume started a small crockery shop, but being a woman of considerable intelligence, made a point of getting Joseph a good education; he was placed in a good school in his native town, and, after apprenticeship to a mayor, went through a regular course at Edinburgh University, where he was admitted a member of the College of Surgeons, 1795. Entered the marine service of the East Indian Company, 1797; served in Indian Army under Lord Lake in the Mahratta war, 1803. He applied himself closely to study of the native languages, and so was able during the war to act as paymaster, postmaster, and commissary general to an army of some 12,000 men. In 1808, he was able to resign his posts and return to England with a fortune of some £30,000 or £40,000. Not a bad eleven years profits on spreading English civilisation! Some of this money he sunk with a Scotch solicitor, who introduced Hume to the electors of Weymouth, and in 1812 he published a translation of Dante, and found himself Tory M.P. for Weymouth. The money was not well spent, however, for a dissolution came almost directly, and, as Hume had been talking of need of some reform, the Tory patrons of Weymouth struck; it is supposed some of the "consideration" was refunded. This little transaction settled Hume in his groove of constant war on jobbery. He was not M.P. again until 1818, when he was elected for the Montrose Burghs until 1830; 1830 elected for Middlesex, where in 1837 he was replaced by Tory Col. Wood, but was provided by Daniel O'Connell with the seat for Kilkenny; Montrose again in 1842 until his death, which took place at Burnley Hall, Norfolk. During the whole of his membership he was "death on jobbers" and corruptionists; he made more and longer speeches than almost any man who ever stood in the House; but by his persistence, his knowledge of detail, and his absolute honesty, he was always assured attention. As a guardian of the public purse there are few members who ever came near the good work he did. In 1835, he earned the hatred of the Orange faction by unearthing the conspiracy which was to have put the Duke of Cumberland on the throne, when some highly placed criminals would have swung, if Governments were in the habit of punishing rich the same as the poor. Hume, like Bright, Cobden, Lord Brougham, etc., settled everything by political economy (?), and seemed to think it rather better to have children beaten with leather thongs to keep them awake over their mill work, than to have an Act of Parliament fixing the hours of labour. The Factory Acts agitation, Thomas Michael Sadler's Ten Hour's Bill was vigorously opposed by the names above and many others called Radicals, and who really were extreme on other points of reform. Catholic Emancipation, Abolishment of Flogging, Impressment for Navy, were considerably helped by Hume, as also Repeal of Acts against export of machinery and working-men combinations. In the Anti-Corn Law agitation he worked immensely hard. He and Cobden once debated at Uxbridge 4½ hours against four put up to defend dear food.—T. S.

*Lt.-Col. Edward Marcus Despard.*—Born in Queen's County, Ireland, in 1750. Judicially murdered Monday, Feb. 21, 1803. Entered the army as Ensign in the 5th Regiment; exchanged to the 79th, and rapidly rose to be Lieut.-Col., winning in all posts the highest praise. In 1779, he was chief engineer of Dalling's expedition to Nicaragua, in which Nelson was a captain; the *London Gazette* (July 18, 1780) says "There was scarcely a gun fired but was pointed by Capt. Nelson, of the *Hinchinbroke*, or Lieut. Despard, chief engineer, who has exerted himself on every occasion." He was then employed to construct public works in Jamaica, and did them so well as to receive the thanks of the council and assembly of the island. Appointed commander-in-chief of the island of Rattan and its dependencies, he again proved his originality and organising power, winning thanks from all his superiors from the king downwards. In 1784, he was first commissioner for settling the boundary lines of the South American territories ceded to Britain by Spain. Soon after appointed superintendent on the coast of Honduras, his blunt honesty and strength of will brought him into collision with officialdom; recalled on false charges, he spent two years kicking his heels in ministerial ante-rooms, to be declared wholly innocent—and left to starve. Over urgent in pressing his claims upon government, and having been a little influenced in the meantime by contemporary French thought, he was looked upon as dangerous by the defenders of law'n' order, and was imprisoned without trial, released without examination, and re-arrested without warrant. His treatment in prison was so bad as to be debated in Parliament, and was involved in the celebrated questions as to the suspension of the Habeas Corpus Act and the treatment of prisoners. Finding, as many others have done, his imprisonment a time of education, he came out a declared democrat and reformer. At this time over an eighth of the whole population of Great Britain were public paupers; rates of labour were lower than the cost of the scantiest living for workmen of any kind; there was an enormous annual deficit in the revenue; every article of food adulterated, and every necessary of life taxed; an army of 50,000 men holding down the people by main force; unceasing and sanguinary popular tumults taking place; jails, hulks, and Botany Bay full to overflowing, and the gallows overloaded; the most excessive brutal luxury in direct contact and contrast with the most abject and degraded poverty; a king and his ministers ruling the whole by the most approved methods of despotism. At the same time France, under the First Consul, seemed in a fair way to attain the summit of human happiness, and America was yet in appearance the very land of promise. Hopes of freedom and hunger of bread were alike stirring the English folk; it was an era of revolutions. Everywhere there were societies meeting, more or less secret, to discuss the political changes they desired. Of one of these that had several branches, he soon became leader by education and experience. At the subsequent trial the following was produced as its Constitution: "The independence of Great Britain and Ireland. An equalisation of civil, political, and religious rights. An ample provision for the families of the

heroes who shall fall in the contest. A liberal reward for distinguished merit. These are the objects for which we contend; and to obtain these objects we swear to be united. In the awful presence of Almighty God, I, A. B., do voluntarily declare that I will endeavour, to the utmost of my power, to obtain the objects of this union; namely, to recover those rights which the Supreme Being, in His infinite bounty, has given to all men; that neither hopes nor fears, rewards nor punishments, shall ever induce me to give any information, directly or indirectly, concerning the business, or of any member of this or any similar society. So help me God." It was not long before the old tragedy was re-enacted, that is even now reproduced occasionally for the instruction of the people. Spies and provocative-agents were soon introduced among the "conspirators" in order to talk "sedition" where it might be heard, and arrange murder-plots of the most ingenious openness. So perfectly was it organised, that on Nov. 16, 1802, as the "conspirators" were talking in an open meeting in an upper room of the Oakley Arms, Oakley Street, Lambeth, at the very moment in which thirty-three men (!), "with no arms but tobacco-pipes, not even a poker, and with 15s. 6d. in the treasury" (see evidence), were about to start out to "break down the telegraphs, take the Bank, the Tower, and the India House, and blow the king to hell," the patrol breaks in (with a search-warrant duly signed by magistrates!) and 12 are taken to Tothill Fields Bridewell, and 20 to the "new prison" at Clerkenwell, Col. Despard being committed to Newgate. A special commission was appointed to try the case, and was opened Jan. 20, at the new Sessions House, Horsemonger Lane, Southwark, before Lord Chief Justice Ellenborough and three others. Not a tittle of evidence was brought forward to connect Col. Despard with any plot against the life of the king or anybody else, except the oaths of four hired informers. Nor is it, indeed, conceivable that a military officer of such wide and varied experience would have attempted such a "big order" with so slight resources. However, the Government wanted an example to overawe "the swinish multitude," and teach them not to grunt too loud; the circumstances made it easy to throw the treason upon his shoulders, for was he not "suffering under an imaginary injury, and therefore, etc.," Mr. Serjeant Best exerted his great power in vain; in vain did Lord Nelson, Sir Alured Clarke, and Sir Evan Nepean swear to the high character of Despard; the witnesses swore as they were ordered; Lord Ellenborough played Nupkins to perfection, and summed up dead against acquittal; going further than the counsel for the prosecution, he ordered the jury to find a verdict of "guilty," which they did, adding, however, "but we earnestly recommend him to mercy, on account of his former good character and the services he has rendered his country." No attention was, of course, paid to the jury's recommendation, and Despard, with six others, died at Horsemonger Lane jail by the hands of the hangman. They all died like men, but Despard like a hero. He mounted the scaffold firmly, helped the executioner to place the rope properly on his neck, politely bade farewell to the clergymen who accompanied the other prisoners, and as soon as he was fastened secure in a firm and audible voice to the crowd assembled. He was dressed in a double-breasted coat with gilt buttons, a cream-coloured waistcoat with narrow gold lace binding, a flannel inner vest with scarlet top turned over, grey breeches, top-boots, and a brown surtout. "Fellow citizens," said he, "I come here, as you see, after having served my country—faithfully, honourably, and usefully served it—for 30 years and upwards, to suffer death upon a scaffold for a crime of which I protest I am not guilty. I solemnly declare that I am no more guilty of it than any of you who may be now hearing me. But though his Majesty's ministers know as well as I do that I am not guilty, yet they avail themselves of a legal pretext to destroy a man, because he has been a friend to truth, to liberty and justice—(great cheering)—because he has been a friend to the poor and oppressed. But, citizens, I hope and trust, notwithstanding my fate and the fate of those who no doubt will soon follow me, that the principles of freedom, of humanity, and of justice, will finally triumph over falsehood, tyranny, and delusion, and every principle hostile to the interests of the human race. And now, having said this, I have little more to add—." (His voice seemed to falter here. He paused a moment as if he had meant to say something more and had forgotten it). "I have little more to add, except to wish you all health, happiness, and freedom, which I have endeavoured, as far as was in my power, to procure for you, and for mankind in general." When the drop fell he died almost instantly. Half-an-hour afterwards the bodies were taken down, the heads cut off and shown to the people, provoking them to groans and yells of rage. Despard's body having lain at Mount Row, opposite the Asylum, was taken away on the 1st of March by his friends and buried near the north door of St. Paul's Cathedral, St. Paul's Churchyard. So ends the career of a brave and noble-minded man, another name upon the long roll of those who have been sacrificed for no crime but in order to frighten the folk.—S.

*Miner's Riots.*—In the early part of 1831 the Cornish miners were in a very bad case, and were endeavouring to better their condition by combination. On the 22nd of February, they tried to frighten some "rats" at St. Blazey, and were interfered with by the authorities, who carefully worked up a "riot" which ended in a pitched battle between the crowd and a party of soldiers and police. The same day a party of 3,000 from the parishes of Breage, Gwennap, Crowan, Wendron, etc., marched through Helston in perfect order to prevent the "shipment of corn from a starving country." Achieving their object they marched back and dispersed in peace.—S.

*Trial of Leigh Hunt for Libel.*—The *Stamford News* published a strong article against military flogging, which was reproduced in the *Examiner*. Mr. Drakard, the printer of the *News*, was imprisoned for 18 months, fined £200, and bound over for three years. John and Leigh Hunt, despite the efforts not only of the Attorney-General, but also of the judge, Lord Ellenborough, were found "Not Guilty" of libel and discharged. The press for the most part explained this by saying that the most libellous paragraph was omitted, but the probability is that the real difference lay between the Lincoln and Westminster juries, the latter drawn from an advanced place for those days.—S.

*Bread Riots.*—Through the Russian war, then going on, and other causes, great distress prevailed throughout the country; 15,000 were unemployed in Liverpool alone. At Liverpool, Bilston, Wolverhampton, Walsall, and London, desperate bread riots took place. In Stepney, Bethnal Green, Shoreditch, and Bermondsey great crowds assembled, and for some time carried all before them. It was only by exerting their whole force that the police could "restore order."—S.

"*Bottle Conspiracy*" was an Orange "plot" against the Marquis Wellesley, then Lord Lieutenant. It was never very serious, but a great deal was made out of it for Government purposes.—S.

"Commercial enterprise" goes to queer lengths at times. An English novelist, who has been much pirated in America, received the following proposal from the agent of an American insurance company: "Dear Sir,—I am authorised to secure an author to write a novel, by a very wealthy and powerful corporation. Said novel to bear the name of a large hotel they have built on the Pacific coast, and the scene mainly to lay therein. To contain 300 pages. Will you undertake this, and at what price? They will spend a large sum to give the novel a world-wide circulation. Let me hear from you at once. Yours truly, —." And all the comment one can make is that it is a wonder he did not accept! To judge from several books that I have seen, the proposed plan is no new one.—S.



OFFICES: 13 FARRINGTON ROAD, E.C.

**Annual Conference.**—The Fourth Annual Conference of the Socialist League will be held at 13 Farringdon Road, on Whitsunday, May 20. The attention of Branches is particularly referred to (1) Rule V. on the subject of the annual conference, pp. 3 and 4 of Constitution and Rules; and (2) that all branches wishing to be represented at the Conference must pay their subscription up to the 31st March by May 1st.

#### Branch Subscriptions Paid. 1887.

Hastings, Nottingham, Pelsall—None. Bradford, Croydon, Glasgow, Hackney, Ipswich, Leeds, Marylebone, Merton, North London, Norwich—to end of March. Edinburgh—to end of May. Mitcham—to end of July. Walsall—to end of August. Hull—to end of September. Bloomsbury, Walham Green, Wednesbury—to end of October. Leicester—to end of November. Clerkenwell, Hammersmith, Hoxton, Mile-end, Oxford—to end of December.

#### "COMMONWEAL" PRINTING FUND.

Ambrose, 2s. 6d. *Weekly Subscription*—W. B., 6d.

**Strike Committee.**—Collected in Regent's Park, February 12, 3s. 2d.—J. LANE,

**General Fund.**—C. Walkden, 5s.

#### REPORTS.

**ACTON.**—Good meeting on Acton Green on Sunday, Feb. 12, at which Day, Tochetti, Maughan, and Fry spoke. Good sale of *Commonweal*. Three members made for new branch just starting.—H. J. D.

**CLERKENWELL.**—On Wednesday, Feb. 8, Annie Besant lectured on "Communalisation of Industry." Unfortunately, Mrs. Besant was suffering from loss of voice, and could only briefly allude to the different heads of her subject under great difficulty. At the close told her audience she would renew the subject at greater length (arrangements for which will soon be made), and hoped they would kindly carry on the discussion without her. This was unanimously agreed to, and very brisk speeches were made by Herbert Burrows, Capt. Pfoundes, Brooks, Barker, Cores, and others. On Sunday, Feb. 12, H. A. Barker lectured on "The Labour Struggle." Good discussion and reply. One new member.—B.

**FULHAM.**—Good meeting on Tuesday, opposite the Liberal Club, addressed by Tochetti and Day. On Sunday morning, F. Verinder spoke to an excellent meeting on "Christian Socialism." 27 *Commonweal* sold and 2s. 2d. collected. A short meeting was held outside our rooms in the evening, Tochetti and Day inviting the people inside, where J. Turner gave a lecture on "The Control of Capital." Several questions asked and satisfactorily answered.—S. B. G.

**WALSALL.**—Monday last, Weaver was to have lectured on "Social Conditions, their Relation to Formation of Character," but did not turn up, and Sanders addressed meeting in his place. Outdoor meeting on The Bridge on Saturday addressed by Sanders, the audience giving him a most attentive hearing.—J. T. D.

**DUBLIN.**—At Saturday Club, Feb. 11, P. Stephens lectured on "Trades' Unionism" from the orthodox unionist standpoint. The principles of International Trades' Unionism were ably expounded by Schumann and Fitzpatrick, much to the satisfaction of the audience. A number of comrade Binning's 'Organised Labour' were distributed.

**CRIEFF.**—At the request of the local branch of the S.D.F., J. Bruce Glasier (S. L.) delivered a lecture on "Socialism" to a large audience in James' Square. Our comrade was listened to with great attention, and at the close of his speech received a hearty cheer. 7s. 8d. worth of literature sold.—J. M. B.

**EDINBURGH.**—On Feb. 9th, Mavor lectured to St. Cuthbert's Co-operative Society. On 12th, Smith lectured in Trades' Hall. A member of the S.L.L.L. recently visited our Forfarshire branches, and reports that they are in a healthy condition. At Kilmarnock a strong branch is in process of formation.

#### LECTURE DIARY.

##### LONDON.

**Acton.**—17 High Street, Acton, S.W. (adjoining Purnell's Dining Rooms). Sunday February 19, at 8, J. Tochetti, "Human Nature and Socialism." Feb. 26. Catterson Smith, "Possibilities of Life under Socialism."

**Bloomsbury.**—Communist Club, 49 Tottenham Street, Tottenham Court Road. Thursday February 16, at 8.30, T. E. Wardle, "Our Ideal." 23rd. Joseph Lane, "Different Schools of Socialistic Thought."

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

Sunday February 19, at 8.30, Edward Aveling, "The Fallacies of Henry George." Wednesday 22, at 8.30, John Wood (S.D.F.), "Technical Education." Sunday, Feb. 26, at 8.30, Capt. Pfoundes, "The United States of Greater Britain."

**Fulham.**—8 Effie Road, Walham Green. Sunday February 19, at 8, E. Mandel, "Our Present State Organisation and Political Parties." 26th. H. H. Sparling, "The Blind Samson."

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

**Hammersmith.**—Kelmecott House, Upper Mall, W. Sunday February 19, at 8 p.m., Graham Wallas (Fabian Society), "Socialism and Patriotism." 26. Sidney Webb (Fabian Society), "Socialism and Co-operation." March 4. Percival Chubb (Fabian Society), "The Ethical Aspect of Socialism."

**Hoxton (L.E.L.).**—C. J. Young, 8 Dunloe Street, Hackney Road, Secretary. Members please take up their membership cards for 1888.

**Mitcham.**—Corner of Merton Lane and Fountain Place. Club Room open every evening from 7.30 till 11. Sunday February 19, at 8, T. J. Dalziel, "Why the People Starve." 26th. J. Turner, "Co-operation."

**Mile-end and Bethnal Green.**—95 Boston St., Hackney Road. Business Meeting every Thursday at 9 p.m. Debating Class for members after Business Meeting.

##### PROVINCES.

**Aberdeen (Scottish Section).**—Sunday night meetings in Baker Street Hall, at 6. Secretary, J. Leatham, 15 St. Nicholas Street.

**Birmingham.**—Meetings at Summer Row Coffee House every Saturday evening at 8.

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

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

**Cowdenbeath (Scot. Sec.).**—J. Duncan, 30 Arthur Pl., sec

**Dublin.**—Saturday Club, Central Lecture Hall, 12 Westmorland Street.

**Dundee (Scot. Sect.).**—Meetings every Sunday in the Trades Hall, opposite Tay Bridge Station. Political Economy class, 2 p.m. Lecture at 6.30.

**Edinburgh (Scottish Section).**—4 Park Street. Sunday evening lectures, Trades Hall, High Street. On Sunday February 19, at 6.30, a Lecture.

**Galashiels (Scot Sect.).**—J. Walker, 6 Victoria St., sec

**Gallatown and Dysart (Scottish Section: Fife).**—Meet every Tuesday at 7 p.m. in Gallatown Public School. Secretary, A. Paterson, 152 Rosslyn St.

**Glasgow.**—84 John St. Reading-room open 10 a.m. till 10 p.m. daily. Propaganda Committee, Mondays at 8. Discussion Class meets every Thursday evening at 8 p.m.—object, the cultivation of extemporaneous speaking.

**Leeds.**—17 Chesham St., Sweet St. Club open every evening. Business meeting Wednesdays at 8 p.m. On Sunday February 19, at 7 p.m., T. Maguire, "The Practical Bearings of Socialism." 26. S. A. Gaskell, "The Need of a New Industrial System."

**Leicester.**—Hosiery Union, Horsefair St. Fridays at 8.

**Lochgelly (Scottish Section: Fife).**—Secs. (*pro tem.*), John Greig and Hugh Conway, The Square.

**Norwich.**—Gordon Hall, 5 Duke Street. Monday, Concert at 8. Tuesday, Business meeting at 8.30. Wednesday, Band practice at 8. Thursday, Discussion class. Gronlund's 'Co-operative Commonwealth.' Friday, Rehearsal at 8. Saturday, Premises open from 8 until 10.30.

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

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

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

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

#### OPEN-AIR PROPAGANDA.

LONDON—*Sunday 19.*

11	Acton Green	Hammersmith Branch
11.15	Starch Green	The Branch
11.30	Acton	Steyne, Day, & Maughan
11.30	Garrett—"Plough Inn"	The Branch
11.30	Hoxton Church, Pitfield St.	Wade & Pope
11.30	Merton—Haydons Road	The Branch
11.30	Mitcham Fair Green	The Branch
11.30	Regent's Park	Nicoll & Mrs. Schack
11.30	St. Pancras Arches	The Branch
11.30	Stamford Hill	Parker
11.30	Walham Green	Fulham Branch
3	Hyde Park	Parker

##### PROVINCES.

**Leeds.**—Sunday: Jack Lane End, Meadow Road, at 10.30 a.m. In Prince's Field, at 3 p.m.

**Norwich.**—Market Place, at 3 every Sunday.

Wm. Morris will give an address on "Monopoly" at the Progressive Association, Penton Hall, 81 Pentonville Hill, on Sunday next, Feb. 19, at 7 o'clock. Admittance free. Collection to defray expenses.

S.W. HAM RADICAL ASSOCIATION, Swanscombe St., Canning Town.—Wednesday February 22, at 8 p.m., H. H. Sparling, "Wilful Waste and Woful Want."

**SHEFFIELD SOCIALISTS.** Commonwealth Café, Scotland Street, Sheffield.—Discussions or Lectures every Sunday evening at 7 o'clock. Free.

**SHEFFIELD.**—Sunday next, February 19, Mr. J. Sketchley of Birmingham will deliver three lectures at the Hall of Science, on the following subjects: At 11 a.m., "The Evils of Secret Diplomacy"; at 3 p.m., "How and Why we Govern India"; in the evening, at 7, "Socialism: What it is, and what it is not."

**SOCIALIST CO-OPERATIVE FEDERATION.**—Meeting at *Commonweal* Office, 13 Farringdon Road, on Sunday February 19, at 3.30 p.m.

#### LAW AND LIBERTY LEAGUE.

##### WELCOME TO

R. CUNNINGHAME GRAHAM, M.P.; JOHN BURNS; and other Released Prisoners of Liberty.

#### TEA AND PUBLIC MEETING

will be held

At 6 p.m. on Saturday, 18th Feb.,

AT CRAVEN HALL (THE REV. ARTHUR HALL'S), FOUBERT'S PLACE, REGENT STREET.

Tickets, 6d. each, can be had at the Socialist League Office; *Link* Office, 34 Bouverie St.; etc.

ON MONDAY 20th FEBRUARY,

#### A GREAT DEMONSTRATION

AT ALLAN'S RIDING SCHOOL

SEYMOUR PLACE (BRYANSTON SQ.), EDGWARE ROAD. Chair taken at 8.30 by MICHAEL DAVITT.

Platform Tickets, 2s. 6d.; a few Reserve Seats, 1s.

Don't forget to be at Pentonville Prison, Caledonian Road, Saturday at 8 a.m.

#### THE TABLES TURNED.

Applications for engagements to be made to the Manager, H. A. Barker, 13 Farringdon Road, E.C.

#### The Lamp

AN EXTRAVAGANZA by Henry A. Barker, will be performed on Saturday February 25 (not 18), at 13 Farringdon Road. Admission by Programme (now ready), price Threepence. The entertainment will commence precisely at Eight o'clock.

##### IMPORTANT NOTICE.

Just received from New York, extra quantity, 600 Copies of the Special Edition of SOCIAL SCIENCE

Containing splendid Portraits of the eight Chicago Anarchists, with good Biographical Notices of each. Price 5d, post free 6d. Every worker should procure a copy.

Birmingham: J. Sketchley, 8 Arthur Place Parade.

#### THE LEAFLET NEWSPAPER,

Published every Saturday at 1 p.m. Edited by Thomas Bolas. Packet of 25, 1d., Postage 3d.; 1000 1s. 6d., Postage 6d.—Leaflet Press, Cursitor St., E.C.

#### SOCIALIST LEAGUE LITERATURE.

**Chants for Socialists.** By William Morris. . 1d.  
**Organised Labour: The Duty of the Trades' Unions in Relation to Socialism.** By Thomas Binning (London Society of Compositors). . . . . 1d.

**The Aims of Art.** By Wm. Morris. . . . . 1d.  
Bijou edition, 3d.; Large paper, 6d.

**The Tables Turned; or, Nupkins Awakened.** A Socialist Interlude. By William Morris. In Wrapper . . . . . 4d.

**The Manifesto of the Socialist League.** Annotated by E. Belfort Bax and William Morris. An exposition of the principles on which the League is founded. . . . . 1d.

**The Commune of Paris.** By E. Belfort Bax, Victor Dave, and William Morris. . . . . 2d.

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**"All for the Cause!"** Song. Words by William Morris; Music by E. Belfort Bax. 4to, 4 pp. 6d. per dozen, 4s. 6d.

**Mrs. Grundy (Cartoon).** By Walter Crane. Fine hand-made large paper. . . . . 6d.

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# THE COMMONWEALTH

The Official Journal of the Socialist League.

VOL. 4.—No. 111.

SATURDAY, FEBRUARY 25, 1888.

WEEKLY; ONE PENNY.

## NOTES ON NEWS.

MR. COMMISSIONER KERR deserves to be long remembered for the language of his sentence on our friend Gough. Mrs. Gamp at her best could hardly have achieved a greater success than this remarkable production: that is, as regards its manner: as to its matter, Mr. Commissioner Kerr finds it extraordinary that anyone, still more several persons, could be found to swear that the police were—well, mistaken—in asserting that the prisoner committed an assault on a constable's—helmet. Amazing indeed that any citizen should venture on such boldness as flying in the face of police evidence after all that has passed during the last three months! I remember being rather surprised when a policeman who shoved me in the Thames Street Police-court swore that I hit him; but I was not much alarmed, because I thought that a serious citizen's word would weigh at least as heavily as that of an excited policeman. We have changed all that now, and witnesses who contradict police evidence had better nerve themselves against indictment for perjury.

At the same time our comrade Gough must be congratulated for not being tried by Edlin, who would probably, after praising him for his good character and admonishing him for his rashness, have given him six months. Considering the times we are in, he probably thinks himself lucky in getting off with a month for *not* hitting a policeman. Great are the blessings of law and order certainly, yet it is now as in the days of David, "The tender mercies of the wicked are cruel."

This morning (Feb. 18th) the Government of the British Islands won a great and notable victory: the friends of two citizens who had been imprisoned for trying to speak on a piece of public land proposed to meet them and greet them at a tolerable early hour as they came out of prison, the hour being the usual time for such release and at which it was announced that they would be released. By a stupendous exertion of strategy the prison officials thrust out the prisoners an hour and a half before the appointed time, so that many of the friends aforesaid missed seeing the prisoners, and, triumph of triumphs, John Burns had to wait about the neighbourhood of the prison for his wife for some time! Such preposterous shabbiness shows how low prison life will bring the officials connected with it: the poor devils have to spend their days in carrying out the multitudinous petty tortures of the place, whose aggregate makes up a severe torture enough, and one can scarcely wonder at any shabbiness that they may perpetrate. But just to think of all the elaboration of officialism, the wheels within wheels, the whole force of army, navy, and police, not to mention the judges, lawyers, etc., brought to bear upon such a shabby little trick! For indeed it takes all that to do it.

Ireland has carried the day in eloquence at least, and the speech of William O'Brien will be long remembered as a mark in the record of her rebellion. Mr. Balfour must receive the kind of praise for moral courage and self-restraint for not answering him the same evening, which a duellist does who manages to walk away from the field of honour without drawing his sword; it was almost *too* courageous. Doubtless he thought it well to wait till the effect of O'Brien's speech had worn off a little, but the alternative was not very happy after all, and the effect of O'Brien's speech remains.

The Liberals have at last won an undoubted victory in the big majority in Southwark; but the big majority still remains against them in the House of Commons, and they may chasten their exultation by remembering that Disraeli pulled the string of the shower-bath upon him owing to the encouragement which the Southwark bye-election of that year gave him.

In any case how will they spend the time between the time of the hope of office and its fulfilment? Probably in thinking of nothing political except electioneering; as for other matters they will go on hoping that "things will come round and be all square." If they were wise (as they are not), they would reflect that though the relief from the very worst to something not quite so bad will give them a chance of popularity, yet the present period of resolute government has bred discontent that is gathering hopes and ideas, and that a com-

promise with the Irish demands, followed by masterly inactivity, will not satisfy those hopes or smother the ideas; so that they also will have their own crop of discontent to deal with.

The reception of the prisoners of liberty on the evening of the 18th was most enthusiastic, and the meeting was in every way remarkable. It is needless to say that both Burns and Graham spoke heartily and to the purpose, though their voices had been thinned down by "prison discipline." Mr. Blane, M.P. (condemned to four months for the usual "crime"), made a very favourable impression on the meeting by a speech full of friendliness and good feeling, which was far more advanced and less national than the conventional Irish member's speeches are wont to be. The tremendous cheers that greeted him on rising, however, were obviously given to him as a rebel. It is worth noting also that while the cheers for the rebels, both Irish and English, nearly took the roof off the hall, Mr. Gladstone's name was only cheered by a small minority of those present, and that when the said minority seemed inclined to persist an ominous booning arose, which did not cease till the cheering ceased.

The meeting held on Monday to welcome Graham and Burns was a very remarkable one, and in most respects very satisfactory. But whatever differences of opinion there might be between different sections of the audience, some of them need reminding that a meeting assembled to defend freedom of speech should allow a hearing to any one who may differ from them, and that though they had a right to express their disapprobation of Hyndman's speech, they had no right to prevent other people hearing him. For the rest the fact to which he drew attention was obvious enough; it would have been strange indeed if the meeting had separated without noting that the Liberal and Radical members were conspicuous for their paucity,—if nobody had called attention to the conspiracy of silence on the part of the orthodox party (which aspires to be popular) on the subject of the Tory dragooning. Hyndman's indignation was felt by many other persons who had no opportunity of expressing it. W. M.

The reported secret understanding between this country and Italy, by which Lord Salisbury is said to have pledged the English navy to defend the Italian Court in the event of war, is, if true, as fraught with import for the fortunes of the Government as the Coercion Act itself. Should war break out, and France be involved, as she probably would be in the long run, the Briton might easily find the second navy in the world arrayed against him, and French gunboats and ironclads in unpleasant proximity to his "island home." A French invasion in the shape of a landing is a thing hardly to be thought of, but it is by no means unlikely that open coast towns like Brighton or even Liverpool might receive a few shells, sufficient in any case to make the "brass-headed jewesses" of the Queen of Watering-places and the self-made men of the northern metropolis feel a little queer. They doubtless only require to realise this fact in order to discover that a change of administration is indispensable to the interests of the country. E. B. B.

## PRISONERS FOR LIBERTY.

THE days of receptions here in England are only just beginning. We have had a whole week of them, beginning with Sullivan and O'Brien, and ending with Burns, Graham, Culwick, Leggett, and others. The gathering together of thousands of workers to greet them is a greater assurance that their labours are appreciated than the presentation of any number of illuminated addresses by political hacks ever could be.

There has been a most remarkable oneness of purpose about these magnificent demonstrations. Cunninghame Graham, on Saturday night "called upon every man, whether he called himself Radical, Socialist, Liberal, Communist, or even Tory, to take his part in the great Battle of Freedom which had commenced." And such an heterogeneous body as this has been fired with one purpose (the last-named element perhaps only to a very small extent)—the determination to secure, if not that full freedom for which Socialists labour, at any rate that out of which it must grow, namely freedom of assembly and freedom of speech.

Burns, Graham and others, have attempted to secure this small measure of freedom, and for so doing have been sent to prison, one of them with his skull cracked. Monstrous as this is, we are reminded

that their sufferings are small indeed compared with other champions of the cause of the people. We should be unworthy of the freedom we hope to enjoy did we not recognise this, and to the credit of Burns he is said, that he at any rate had courage enough to acknowledge that his month's imprisonment was as nothing to "the ten years' imprisonment of Michael Davitt, the two years of Ernest Jones, the fifty years of Blanqui, or the sufferings of Kropotkin." To and from prison these have gone, marking the way that labour shall win its own, and amidst chains, and shouts and tears, to and fro many more will go until life and liberty be won for all.

It is satisfactory to note how bludgeons and coercion are driving the workers all together, how it is making them march together behind one banner, be it green or red, recognising the mutuality of their interests, if only for the time being. Is this the beginning of that solidarity which must precede their triumph over privilege and monopoly? Surely yes; surely they at last begin to see the oneness of their cause! One thing their rulers see and they must see as well, and that is, that behind the question of free-speech lurks the great labour question. It is the rights of labour, that is the right to a good joyful life, which is at stake, the securing of which is only possible when the so-called rights of property no longer exist. Privilege and monopoly know this and hope to stave off extinction with the bayonet, bludgeon, and prison. And they will succeed if the workers do not rouse themselves and think and work. But these are stirring times, and the great arousing that is taking place just now is a sign that the struggle between the masses and the classes has at last begun in earnest. The tithe and crofter questions in Wales and Scotland, the land, unemployed, and free-speech questions in Ireland and England, are all manifestations of its beginning.

To win their rights the workers must voice their wrongs, and to do this they must meet in the public places that they may take council together; and whatever differences, small or great, they may have as to the end to be realised, they must first remove the barrier which stands between them and the righting of any of their wrongs. Our friends Graham and Burns have headed the way and done their best to remove it, and had there been "10,000" to follow them, all the king's horses and all the king's men could not have set up the humpty dumpty of Warren again. But their efforts have not been in vain; the repulse they have met has, to use the words of Graham, given the workers "a common cry for a common wrong," the end of which will not only be the vindication of the right to meet in Trafalgar Square and other public places, but the closer communion which the "common cry" has brought about will hold them together long after their first wrong has been righted—aye, likely until they have completely emancipated themselves.

It is only the ordinary political huckster that undervalues the vast importance of the present struggle, but men like Graham and Burns fully recognise it; and this they and nearly every speaker which followed them last Saturday night showed by pointing out that it is not freedom of speech that the classes fear, but what it must lead to.

The atmosphere which pervaded the great gathering which met to welcome Burns, Graham, Culwick, and others reeked with revolution, and this although the majority of the speakers were not professed revolutionists. Perhaps the spirit of revolution is contagious, else why was it that an ex-M.P. and an Irish Nationalist M.P. pronounced themselves so strongly for it? The fact of the matter is there has been much painful eye-opening going on lately outside the orthodox political camps, and a great widening of the mental vision in consequence. The workers are growing tired of lame old crawling and jog-trotting politicians, and are beginning to see the advisability of becoming their own political "knackers"; that it is time they did their own work, dirty or clean though it be; and in doing so they will make a deuce of a mess in the stable-yard of politics.

Those who stand in the vanguard of the battle for liberty, as all the men we have been welcoming from prison this last week do, are the friends of the people, and who when they are tried are not found wanting. And "these are the times that try men," and all the host of men who are in and have been in prison for championing the cause of the workers are indeed real soldiers of Freedom. They may not any of them come up to the Socialist ideal, but they are on the side of the workers, and it is the business of Socialists to keep them there. Sullivan, O'Brien, and Graham are not Socialists, but they are fighting their battles, and so long as they do it is the duty of Socialists to fight with them. The day of parting may never come, for the struggle for freedom may not be ended ere their lives.

H. A. BARKER.

## THE NEW ETHIC.

(Concluded from p. 51.)

THE highest expression of Socialist morality, Socialist religion, is of course the readiness to sacrifice all, even life itself, for the cause. In the new ethic of Socialism, moreover—and this is a thing to be noticed—we have for the first time in the world's history the conscious sacrifice of the individual to the social whole. In the case of the French National Guard before mentioned, we have the type of this true moral heroism. Early man was ready enough to fall for his tribe or gens, but then he had not awakened to the full consciousness of himself as an independent individual. He was so completely identified with his society that he could not conceive of his having an independent interest or even of life apart from it.

It is not so now. In the world of to-day the self-consciousness of

the individual *quâ* individual is fully developed. The Paris workman consciously surrendered himself; the contradiction between the content of his moral personality and its form is absolute—the form succumbs. *La solidarité Humaine*, the Social ethic, has triumphed over Individualism, the Personal ethic. The Paris workman, in deliberately exposing himself to certain death, believing in no personal immortality, in no sort of continued existence for himself as individual, for the sake of the cause of human brotherhood, embodies the highest expression of the new ethic the world has yet seen. Martyrs to the individualist-introspective religions there have been without number, martyrs who believed that while their pain endured but for a moment, their joy would be everlasting—in brief, that their souls would rise to higher realms, their personality to union with the Divinity. All very fine, all very noble, doubtless, but without a gleam of aught but sublimated Individualism, and rarified self-seeking. How different the workman who died willingly for his class and through his class for Humanity!

Let us now take a glance once again at our Benthamite Utilitarian friends who see nothing in morality but self-interest. The belief that in the *ought* of conscience there is any element that is not personal and individual (the Spencerite modification of the theory by incorporating with it the notion of heredity does not affect my case)—this belief they tell you is an illusion, and in confirmation thereof point to the stamp of self-interest which every action on the part of the individual apparently bears upon its face. Now I contend that the illusion is on the other side, and consists in confounding the merely superficial form of the action with its *end*, the motive-material which is its content. This barren abstract form has deceived them. Their proceeding is exactly merely analogous to that of the metaphysician who thinks he has made a profound discovery when he has reduced everything to the barren category of Pure Being. Of course every action emanating from the individual bears on it the stamp of its source. But the enunciation of this singularly empty proposition leaves us exactly where we were. What the ordinary person means by self-interest is not merely that the action begins with the individual, but that it ends there, that its *telos* is the personality. As in a great many similar cases, by a verbal juggle two distinct things are confounded in one. To say that I am actuated by self-interest when I with others place myself in front of a mitrailleuse, with the dead certainty of having my empirical self annihilated, and without any belief in any immortality whatever,—to say that this is self-interest, that I do it to please myself, is either the flattest of all platitudes, or else it is a piece of the wildest Bedlamite nonsense. It may be either, according as we take it; the truth being that in this case the motive-material, the content of the action, has absorbed and abolished its form. The individual in that very act of Will by which he apparently affirms himself—"pleases himself"—*really* negates himself, contradicts himself, and *a fortiori* the interest or pleasure which is identified with himself. Of course the example chosen, that of the deliberate choice of immediate death for a cause into the realisation of which the individual as individual does not enter, is an extreme one, but the same principle holds good in the case of working for such a cause—that is, sacrificing personal pleasure and interest for results which we know we shall never see. Here, though the form of self-interest is not immediately abolished, the individual does not negate himself as in the former instance, yet nevertheless he supersedes his interest as individual, the material of impulses and motives proclaims the inadequacy of their form. The man who works for such a cause tacitly admits the inadequacy of himself as an end to himself. And this brings us back to the point from which we started, and therewith to our concluding summary of the results of this investigation.

First, then, we find that the meaning of the *ought* or of conscience, of the moral impulse, "moral sense," moral consciousness, or by whatever other name it may be called, is nothing more nor less than the implicit or explicit consciousness of the inadequacy of the individual and his interests as an end to himself. This consciousness is presupposed in the existence of Human Society at all. But while this fact is ultimate, the forms of it, the manifestation of the moral consciousness, no less than its object, are determined by the conditions of social and economic evolution. At first the "society of kinship" is the end of all duty, the individual implicitly conscious of his own inadequacy, is sunk in the society, knows and cares for no existence outside the society. This is from the Socialist point of view the highest morality which up till now has been generally prevalent in the world. But with the break-up of early society with its kinship basis, with the rise of the State with its property basis, and the leisure thence resulting, the old ethical object of the individual gradually lost its power. He no longer recognised his end in the society, but rather in himself—either as a natural individual or as a spiritual individual. Hence arose the two systems of Individualistic ethic, which, though infinitely varied, have remained fundamentally the same from then till now. On the one hand, amongst the well-to-do, you have, as it were, a light froth, the Epicurean-Benthamite ethic of enlightened self-interest. On the other the Stoic-Christian ethic of personal holiness and sin. This is fundamentally the same, whether in Neo-Platonist, Buddhist, Parsee, or Christian. It boasts an enormous literature, from the noble musings of a Marcus Aurelius, the Sermon on the Mount, and the 'Imitatio Christi,' down (and verily, great is the fall!) to the last goody-goody volume of edification issued by Messrs. Griffith and Farran or Nisbet & Co. The morality of the early world was a naively objective ethic; this is a naively subjective ethic.

The consciousness of a new meaning to the term goodness is now gradually dawning on men. The Christian and the introspectionist even (and this is one of the surest signs of a change) are driven on

the defensive and feel themselves compelled to try and read a social meaning into the personal ethics of their creed. The old ethical sentiment they instinctively feel has exhausted itself and is passing over into its opposite, although its form may remain intact. The end is now no longer self-renunciation, but the identification of self interest with social interest. Evil tendencies are on this view to be combatted rather by means of their exhaustion than their suppression. We are now beginning to see that any morality of which self-renunciation is an end, or even an essential element, is one-sided and fallacious. In a concrete ethic, self-sacrifice can never be more than an accident, the substance of such ethic consisting, as before said, not in the suppression of self, but in the affirmation of self in society. By this is not especially to be understood the "living for others" of the current Christian ethics, which at best means sacrificing oneself for other individuals, as such. What we mean is, we must again repeat, the identification of self with society, which in the first instance can only be effected by the identification of the material conditions of individual wellbeing with those of society.

Now at last, with the dawn of a new economic era—the era of social production for social uses—we have also the dawn of a new ethic, an ethic whose ideal is not personal holiness, but social happiness, for which the perfect individual is subordinate to the perfect society, and the test of personal character is not self-renunciation in the abstract, but the possession of social qualities and zeal for definite and positive social ends. This may be termed, in a sense, an absolute ethic. It is no longer naively objective, like the ethic of the primitive world, when the individual was unconscious of possible interests apart from the community; still less is it naively subjective, the attention of the individual being no longer primarily directed towards the mortification or the performance of other surgical operations on his wretched self, but towards the broad issues of social life and progress. In this new conception of duty the individual consciously subordinates himself to society, this time not a society of kinship, but of principle; not limited by frontier, but world-embracing. It recognises the call of duty, to do and to forbear, only in things which directly concern society—all actions not having an immediate social bearing being morally indifferent.

Thus in the new ethic the two previous ethical momenta are at once absorbed and abolished. The *naïveté* and the limitation of the first social ethic have passed away, never to return. The Individualism and the abstractness of the second have also passed away, never to return. The separation of ethics from politics, and both from religion, is finally abolished. In Socialism ethics become political, and politics become ethical, while religion is but the higher—that is, the more far-reaching—aspect of that sense of obligation, duty, and fraternity which is the ultimate bond of every-day society. Yet, nevertheless, all that was vital in the two earlier stages of the moral consciousness will be preserved in this one,—the social object of the first; the conscious definiteness of the second.

In treating the subject of Ethics, I might have proceeded very differently. I might have filled this paper with an account of various practices and customs drawn from every conceivable source—ancient and modern; savage, barbarian, and civilised—and in this way I should doubtless have pleased many. But this has been done often enough, and this was not my object. My object was, by indicating the salient points in a thorough-going analysis of the moral consciousness, to lead the reader to regard Ethic in its essential character and as embodied in the historical races, rather than as many do, content themselves with a mere co-ordination of the casual manifestations which are its temporary and local expressions. Again, I have purposely refrained from entering upon the speculative problems which lie on the confines of the subject. To treat such even in outline would require not one but a series of papers like the present. One very obvious question, for instance, arises as to the *telos* of society, and the connection between the moral consciousness and this *telos*. May we regard the inadequacy of the individual as an end to himself as the indication that the *final purpose* of society, as such, is not to be merely for the consciousness of its component personalities, but that they are in the end destined to be absorbed in a corporate social consciousness; just as the separate sentiency of the *organic* components of an animal or human body are absorbed in the unified sentiency and intelligence of that body? We leave this as a closing suggestion for those of a speculative turn of mind.

E. BELFORT BAX.

LETTER FROM AMERICA.

THE immense strike of the coal-miners is assuming a dangerous character—dangerous not for the men, who have nothing to lose but a miserable, wretched existence, but for the middle classes. The passions and hatred of the men are worked up to the highest pitch, and an explosion of a gigantic nature may be daily expected. Sharp strokes of lightning have flashed through the air and shown to an anxious public the terrible dark horizon. Rarely, even in America, a strike has happened where from its early beginning the strikers have assumed so determined and uncompromising an attitude.

Congress has at last been forced to show some interest in the matter, and resolved to appoint a committee to investigate the differences existing in the Lehigh and Schuylkill region of Pennsylvania between corporations mining coal and the miners, and report the same to the House, with such recommendations as the committee may agree upon.

Some mines have been started with scab labour. On the 31st of January the wives and daughters of the striking miners of the Glendower Colliery met the scabs now working at this mine. Each of the women carried in her hand a loaf of bread. A delegate woman of the crowd advanced and read

an address to the scabs about the shame of taking the place of their husbands and brothers, and offering to share their last crust with them. They then, as a proof of their earnestness, offered the loaves to the men, but the scabs thought it best to run away. The women, disgusted with such sneaking action, showered the loaves upon the heads of the running men and chased them to the miners' tram, which arrived just in time to take the sneaks out of the reach of their female pursuers. This was the first collision during the strike. A public meeting was held soon after this episode, and the action of the women endorsed.

The place is swarming with police, detectives, and Pinkertons. At the few mines restarted, all the scabs work under police surveillance. On the 3rd of February the ill-feeling created by the importation of foreign labour into the coal-regions to take the place of strikers has caused the first fight between the police and the strikers. The Polish and Lithuanians engaged in the strike are especially very bitter against all the scabs, and can with difficulty only restrain their angry feelings. When the scabs were leaving work to go home, it seems some stones were thrown at them from a crowd watching their departure. The coal and iron police at once attacked the people and arrested one man, who, however, was speedily liberated by his friends. After this the police at once drew their revolvers, firing into the crowd and seriously injuring three men. The police retired to the office of Squire Monaghan, but were pursued by the people, demanding the surrender of two of the policemen, desiring to lynch them. The house was stormed, and with difficulty the law and order murderers made their escape through the windows. Special officers, or rather legalised murderers, and all the fire companies in the district, were sworn in by the sheriff. Another outbreak occurred on the 4th of February. The scabs returning from work from William Penn colliery had to pass through a crowd of strikers. A few stones were again thrown at the sneaks, which made the cowardly men scatter in all directions. The police at once again drew their revolvers, and as one capitalistic paper says, "when they got right in front of the strikers they halted and facing them, pointed their revolvers at them, most of them having two. The crowd of spectators watched with bated breath for the flash of fire that would send at least a score of the men to eternity—but it did not come. Just as the officers were about to fire, the captain raised his hand and the revolvers fell by their sides. The mob stood still all the time but did not even speak." The scabs had by this time managed to escape, and the police thought it best to follow their example. The strikers, now excited beyond endurance, followed the bluecoats and hurled some stones at them. Then the police halted again, faced the men, and fired. The strikers fired back, and about forty shots were exchanged. Nobody, however, received any serious injury. The police soon after managed to disappear. Half an hour later about sixty policemen armed with repeating rifles appeared upon the scene, but the strikers had gone home; there was no chance to slaughter starving people.

For the last three days no bloodshed has happened, but the excitement in the district is intense, and a feeling of indignation against the police general. The Wyoming miner delegates have finished their session in Pittston. The closing hours of the convention were marked by considerable enthusiasm, which was intensified by an address from John L. Lee, the leader of the Schuylkill strike. The delegates adopted a resolution making an immediate demand upon the coal companies of Wyoming and Lackawanna valleys for an increase in wages of 15 per cent. An answer to this demand is expected on the 20th of this month. The delegates voted 7000 dollars to support the strikers and promised 8000 additional. Each man will contribute a day's wages per month.

The velvet cutters who were imported under contract last spring by the Compton Company, Providence, R.I., are on strike, claiming the contract void and demanding decent wages.

The shoe manufacturers of Cincinnati at a secret meeting of their association, decided to lock out their three thousand employes because the latter decided to send a committee to one firm and demand the payment of wages due twelve girls which the firm refused to pay, after it had been well earned.

A dispatch from Pittsburg says: "As was feared, a collision occurred this evening (the 4th inst.) between the non-union men at the Solar Iron Works and the strikers, in which three persons were injured."

The Speaker of the House has not yet been able to form the committee to investigate the coal trouble. A dozen or more prominent members have begged off.

On the 6th of February the non-union men in Pittsburg were stoned by the strikers.

Thirty-eight families of the striking New York cigar-makers must leave their homes; evictions flourish as much in America as in Ireland.

The strike against the employment of children under the prohibited age in the cotton factories of Cornwall, Ont., continues.

All the carpenters in Pittsburgh, Pa., have asked for an advance of 10 per cent. in wages and "a nine-hour day," with payment for overtime.

The masons strike at Pittsburgh has been settled pending an arrangement to be made May 1.

Several large tube-work concerns in the vicinity of Pittsburgh, Pa., have decided to reduce the wages of their employes, and a strike involving 6,000 men is threatened.

LIST OF STRIKES FOR JANUARY.

Number of strikers reported, Jan. 1 to 25	...	...	36,337
26...Milwaukee, Wis.—Brewery employes, unionism	...	...	60
28...Paterson, N. J.—Newspaper employes, for an advance and fewer hours	...	...	25
29...Pittsburgh, Pa.—Tube works employes, lock-out because of refusal to accept a reduction of wages	...	...	500
Total number of strikers known to January 30	...	...	36,922

LIST OF STRIKES FOR FEBRUARY.

1...Pittsburgh, Pa.—Wire mill employes, against reduction	...	...	300
1...Cincinnati, Ohio.—Shoe hands, lock-out because of alleged violation by employees of agreement with manufacturers	...	...	3,300
Total number of strikers known to February 1	...	...	3,300

New York, February 8, 1888.

HENRY F. CHARLES.

In the Pennsylvania strike many thousands of men are idle, and their families suffering from hunger and cold, all by the obstinacy of a few wealthy men, whose income from these industries is each year a fortune.—N. Y. Truthseeker.





## CORRESPONDENCE.

## "PRACTICAL" SOCIALISTS.

COMRADE MORRIS seems to be trying to scare some of us with the word "Practical" between inverted commas; but I who have by turns been denounced as Conservative and Communist for a good few years, am little likely to be frightened by this new bogey. It is true that it is the so-called "one-sided Socialist" who is attacked, and therefore I am not obliged to "put on the cap"; but it is rather with what is implied—with the mental attitude of the writer, in short—that I take issue. With a score or so of ambiguous lines deleted, comrade Morris's article remains simply a poet's plea for recognition as a factor in the making of the Revolution; and I am therefore compelled, in order to raise an issue between us, to state my views rather in the form of a counterblast than of a criticism. I would point out, too, that really the only indictment he has made against the "practical" Socialist—for although he instances two "traps" or pitfalls, he himself afterwards resolves them into this one unpardonable sin—is this, that the "practical" Socialist insists on reading the life of the present into his conception of the society of the future; and I would say thereon that this point relates to a difference in ideal, and as I understand, the difference between the "Practical" and the "Micawber" Socialists is not so much a difference of ideal, but rather as to the best way of realising their common ideal.

As to the charge of one-sidedness, I fail to perceive how it applies to the too exclusive advocate of the economic view of Socialism, more forcibly than to the Socialist whose vision is focussed on the far-distant future. But it by no means follows that because one does the work that lies nearest to his hand, that therefore he is unable to picture to himself the good time coming of which comrade Morris writes so charmingly. There are few "Practical" Socialists, I venture to think, any more than myself, who would be likely to find much fault with his ideal society. (Possibly there might be some little details as to water-mills, etc., to be adjusted, but nothing very serious.) It is not, however, with "brilliant pictures of the future," but with the bare and ugly present that I as a "Practical" Socialist am most nearly concerned. I hold that a true revolutionist is one who combines a cool head with a warm heart, who is able to bring something of the fervour of a fanatic to bear upon the ordinary every-day life of his own generation. Faith without works is dead. It has always appeared to me something of a cowardly policy to simply stand aloof, and carp and cavil and criticise the efforts, blundering though they be, of those who strive to realise for the workers of to-day a foretaste at least of the blessings which Socialism has in store.

The Unpractical Socialists—the apostles of inaction, or deferred action—seem to me to be for the most part, either extreme theorists, who are content to go on "educating and agitating" indefinitely, like so many John the Baptists crying in the wilderness, hoping and waiting for the day when all mankind shall accept the true gospel; or the younger, more ardent, and impatient spirits, with somewhat hazy notions who often deal largely in denunciation, who do not take kindly to a "wait-for-the-crisis" policy, but console themselves for their forced inaction with the belief that some day soon they will carry Socialism with a rush.

I hold that a truly Socialistic Society can only be established and administered by Socialists—that is to say, by men and women imbued with the spirit of *solidarity*, of fraternity and equality—who are prepared to work together for the common weal, foregoing the spirit of domination and desire for self-aggrandisement engendered by the present horrible wolfish struggle for existence. Until there is at least a well-organised and compact and determined and intelligent minority, prepared to take control and carry on the necessary business of the community, it is of little use to clamour for the overthrow of the exploiting classes. Wretched and abominable as are the results of the present haphazard, disorganised, competitive mode of production and distribution of commodities, it is at least doubtful whether if it was forcibly overthrown to-morrow we should, with the ignorance and incapacity now so widespread amongst the masses of the people, be able to much improve matters. It is all very well to cry out and declaim against those who rob and rule us, to denounce the rapacity and oppression of our task-masters, and to call upon the bourgeoisie to surrender their unjust power to extort and impoverish the workers. But to whom are they to surrender? If conscience-smitten, by one consent the whole host of exploiters should cry, "Relieve us of the burden of our iniquity," to whom are they to deliver up their functions? Of course, in the vanity of our hearts we say, "Oh, things could not be possibly worse managed than they are," and with a light heart, and a light head too, I am inclined to think, some of the more youthful and exuberant enthusiasts would at once dash themselves upon the citadel of Capitalism. It may be well to remind these too heedless and impatient spirits that the walls of Jericho did not fall till the trumpet blast had sounded seven times, and that the modern Jericho will not tumble to the tootings of a penny whistle.

It is useless for the mere handful who form the advance-guard of the revolutionary forces to precipitate a conflict with the organised power of the monopolists. Until the main body—the mass of the workers—are leavened with the spirit of Socialism, and are marching in line towards the enemy, they but invite their own destruction by so doing, and would but delay the accomplishment of the overthrow

of Capital and the final Emancipation of Labour, which is the end we all seek, however diverse may be the means chosen by which to realise it.

The Cause of the workers is not to be won by a sudden rush, by a tumultuous outburst—a mere revolt. Such uprisings, doubtless, are inevitable, and will compel our sympathy. But even as we admire the heroic charge of the six hundred at Balaklava, notorious blunder as it was, so also our sober reason enables us to perceive that a revolt is not a revolution, and however successful as a destructive force, can achieve even at the utmost a mere change of governors instead of the Co-operative Commonwealth we desire.

There are, however, persons who seem unable to conceive of the Social Revolution except as a sudden transformation from darkness into light, a complete overthrow and dislocation of everything, out of which is to emerge full-blown the ideal commonwealth, as a matter of course apparently, without any preparation, since the workers are to abstain from any attempt to better their condition or to take part in the administration of public affairs,—all such things being merely palliatives, and of course to be looked upon as unclean by the true believer.

It is all very well for people in comfortable circumstances to go in for the "whole hog," to deprecate the vulgar comfort of the middle classes, and to make light of ameliorative changes in the condition of the workers. But those whose daily life is brightened and made happier and more hopeful by these little changes so slightly spoken of are not likely to be favourably influenced by the abstract notions of doctrinaires. "A bird in the hand," etc. The workers have been told by those whose function it is to administer spiritual consolation, that their privations in this life will be compensated in heaven; and it seems to me to be pretty much the same thing to ask them to forego an advantage within their grasp for the promise of a beatific state of society in the indefinite future. Of course it may be urged that the motive in one case is to produce submission and in the other to provoke revolt; but this line of policy if logically carried out is both cruel and dangerous, and unjustifiable. It is assumed to be essential to keep the masses of the people uncomfortable in order to keep up the revolutionary spirit. What does this really mean? Why, that the more ignorant, foolish, and fanatical proletarians are to be manipulated by the theoretical revolutionists, who, being of superior metal, I suppose are not corrupted by the aforesaid bourgeois comfort, and so are not called upon to deprive themselves of a single luxury meanwhile. The attitude of those who reason and act in this way is essentially the same as the reactionists. The question of motive is of little importance to the workers. Some employers are accustomed to give lofty reasons for the employment of women at cheap rates and for their preference for non-union labour, but their professions are generally received with an incredulous shrug of the shoulders; and there is danger of some of our comrades having their action misunderstood when it takes the form of antagonism to progressive movements which may not be exactly on the lines they would like.

Advanced principles that are not put in action are of little value to the workers. Ideals are but as beacons to guide us on the path of progress; but the mere knowledge of the end to be desired will profit us little so long as we delay to take the preliminary steps towards the accomplishment of our wishes. But it is illogical to suppose that we can prevent the leaven of Socialism working and so modifying the various institutions of the country. It seems to me, therefore, much more rational to follow the course of evolution, forbearing with those who do not come up to the level of our "superior" intelligence, and recommending our more advanced views by our earnestness and fidelity in helping forward everything tending honestly in the direction of Socialism.

It seems to me that nothing but good can result from such procedure. Those who are convinced of the truth of our doctrines will not need the spur of hunger to make them fight if need be. Whether or no the transition from our present degraded society, as so vividly portrayed by comrade Morris, to the communal form which is our common ideal be brought about or accompanied by conflicts between the masses and the classes, it cannot be gainsaid that the turmoil of the transitional period will be considerably lessened and the blessings of the new era be sooner realised in proportion as the workers begin to formulate their desires and to agree upon some common course of action. It is because I believe this consummation, so devoutly to be wished, can best be achieved by improving the material condition of the poorer classes, that I hold myself free to use any and every means calculated to attain this object.

I have of course in this reply only affirmed the policy of political action as against the negative. The nature of such action, and many other points in comrade Morris's article, would form profitable themes for discussion in these columns by other comrades.

T. BINNING.

[Comrade Binning having found some fault with my article, I asked him as Editor to put his animadversions in writing: I must say there is very little in his letter which I should quarrel with; but it seems to me beside the subject of my article, which does not profess to deal with the methods by which either transitional Socialism or the completed communal society is to be attained. To clear up any misunderstanding there may be between us, I should say that my remarks were meant as words of warning to those, on the one hand, who are blind to the ideal which we have before us, and to those, on the other hand, who seeing and knowing that ideal, are afraid to put it before persons lest they should startle them too much. I never supposed that comrade Binning belonged to either of those groups, the latter of which are composed almost wholly of middle-class persons: as to the former, I think it of great importance to put the highest ideal before them, so as to encourage them to the utmost.—W. M.]

# THE LABOUR STRUGGLE.

BRITAIN.

**THREATENED STRIKE OF 100,000 MEN.**—The colliers of South-East Lancashire, who number nearly 100,000, have given notice that their present engagement will terminate at the end of February if the masters do not abate the deduction made for "dirt" sent up with coal.

The employers in the Leeds building trade have given the men six months' notice to abolish or amend the present working rules, with a view, it is stated, of proposing an increase of four working hours per week. The men have also given a similar notice for the purpose of asking for an increase in wages.

**THE LOCKMAKERS' STRIKE AT WILLENHALL.**—The lockmakers who are on strike at the factory of Messrs. J. Payton and Co., Walsall Street, Willenhall, still continue to receive liberal support from other lock factories. The total sum collected for the men during last week was £29. The suggestion of settling the dispute by arbitration has fallen through, and the men now seem determined not to restart work unless the town's prices are paid.

**FIFESHIRE MINERS' STRIKE.**—The miners' strike in Fife and Clackmannan against a 10 per cent. reduction is said to have collapsed on Saturday; but a number of the men apparently are still holding out and the masters threaten a lock-out if they do not at once return to work. The capitalist press says the miners had little chance to gain in the dispute, seeing the coal-owners have from 300,000 to 400,000 tons of coal accumulated at the pit-head. Why did the men allow this?

**EMPLOYERS AND THE POOR LAWS.**—The *Cotton Factory Times* reports a curious instance of the way in which the administrators of the Poor Laws play into the hands of the employers. Mr. Catlow, at Garden Vale, Colne, is in want of weavers to take the place of those on strike. The Guardians of the Burnley Union finding that there were in the workhouse some people who had been weavers at some time or other, actually sent them to Mr. Catlow with a letter of introduction. It is satisfactory to learn that they did not turn up as expected.

**MINERS' AGITATION IN SOUTH WALES.**—The employés of the Ocean Colliery Company, South Wales, numbering between five and six thousand hands, decided at a mass meeting on Monday to join the Rhondda Valley Steam Coal Miners' Association. Mr. Abraham, M.P., attended the meeting. Several important resolutions were adopted, and the secretary was directed to send to the general manager of the Ocean Colliery Company a resolution calling upon the management to carry out the timbering clauses of the Mines Regulation Act. It was also resolved to support the views of the workmen's representatives on the South Wales Sliding Scale Committee that colliers should not be called upon to stow away rubbish, but simply to give it "one throw."

**A NOBLE EMPLOYER.**—A female weaver employed at one of the oldest mills in Bacup, was on Friday discharged by one of the tacklers because her eyesight was dim, her fingers had lost their nimbleness, and she could only earn very low wages on her three looms, and she did well if she got nine shillings per week. As she had worked at the mill nearly 30 years, she took matters rather hard, and was advised to see the master. She went to his mansion along with two other weavers, and on seeing her he exclaimed, "Well, Sally, what's up now?" She commenced crying, and said she had been sacked, after working for him and his father for 30 years. "Who says so?" says the master. "Th' tackler," says she. "Oh, that's the game, is it? Here's summat to dry thi tears with (giving her a sovereign), and be at th' looms in th' morning, and stop there as long as I live."—*Cotton Factory Times*.

**PICKETING IN THE SHOE TRADE.**—An important case as to picketing has occurred in the boot and shoe trades at Leicester, and will come before the assizes for settlement. Mr. Edward Kell, president of the National Boot and Shoe Trades Union, was charged with intimidating Mr. J. E. Hyde from manufacturing boots and shoes. It appeared at the investigation before the magistrates that Mr. Hyde has a branch factory at Sibley, about ten miles from Leicester, and pays the country workmen lower wages than those in town. The Leicester factory was closed for several months until the standard rate of wages should be conceded. On Mr. Hyde attempting to open the factory the workmen were stopped by pickets, and therefore business could not be carried on. At interviews it was explained that the unionist leaders demanded that the factory at Sibley be closed. The defendant was committed for trial at the Assizes, and the case, when it comes on, will be one of great interest to trade unionists.

**MAGISTRATES AND THE FACTORY ACTS.**—The *Cotton Factory Times*, commenting on a "glaring instance of antipathy against imposing a suitable penalty for serious breach of the law" at Oldham, says: "As a rule magistrates, at least most of them, are far from being disposed to assist the factory inspectors in putting down the illegal practices to which limited companies seem so fond of resorting. A spinning company, which has previously been convicted twice for offences against the Factory Act, was again recently caught infringing the law by employing a number of reelers during prohibited hours. The inspector took a few names, but could have taken many more had he wished to do so. He was also obstructed in the execution of his duties by the lights being turned out, contrary to his instructions, for which he could have made out a case, but elected not to do so in the interest of the company. By way of an example, and to make an impression on the management to be more careful in the future, and to adhere to the law, he asked that a fine of £3 each and costs should be inflicted in two cases and costs in the remainder, but to his surprise and regret the bench only agreed to inflict a fine of 10s. and costs in each case. The inspectors are at one with the operatives in declaring that an alteration in the law is desirable, so as to take the power out of the hands of the magistrates in fixing the amount of penalty when a case has been proved, and such cases as these only tend to increase such a feeling."

**VALUE OF UNIONISM.**—A surprise has sprung upon a mill manager and his mule overlooker, as well as upon the minders employed under him. From what has been communicated to us, we gather that at a well-known spinning company in the Chadderton district, near Oldham, the manager and the mule overlooker, who are said to be two genial and comfortable men to work with, set about the task of calculating the prices, and both were of opinion that the prices paid were too high, and wanted reducing to the terms of the list. They accordingly agreed upon what would be a fair reduction to propose to the minders, and gave them one week's notice to pay the new prices. The men informed the committee of the union of the proposed alteration of

prices, and the matter was investigated by the officers of the association, who found that, instead of a reduction, the men were entitled to an advance, and such advance has been paid on all the woff mules in the mill. This is an instance of the value of unionism, as the men would undoubtedly have had to accept the proposals made to them if they had not been assisted by a union. Although, as was admitted by the manager, the proposed reduction was made under a misapprehension, it would not have been found out had the men not been connected with the union. Such cases as these do more good to unionism than all the lecturing and writing which can be done in favour of the cause, and the more such cases are made known the better for those who are trade unionists.—*Cotton Factory Times*.

**THE NUT AND BOLT MAKERS.**—Last week a meeting was held in Darlaston to consider the advisability of a general strike and demanding the list price of 1881. Mr. R. Juggins occupied the chair, and in opening the meeting said he and the workmen concerned in the Truck cases had that day waited upon the solicitor to the association and given the necessary information, so that the summonses under the Truck Act would be issued in a few days. He also said that in his opinion the best way to bring about a more speedy settlement of the present dispute was to give a general notice to every employer in the town to demand wages in accordance with the list of 1881 without any discount. This would simply mean the restoration of the 5 per cent. that was taken off the workmen in 1885. Mr. John Richards, chairman of the Executive Council, said he was very pleased to find that the Darlaston nut and bolt makers had been so staunch in supporting the men on strike at D. Harper's without any outside help. A general discussion then took place as to the best means of bringing about a settlement of the present strike. It was stated that other employers were supplying Mr. David Harper with work, and as a consequence the strike may be protracted for a long time. It was agreed "That this meeting considers it most advisable that the opinion of the whole of the members should be ascertained upon the question of demanding wages to be paid in accordance with the list of 1881, and in case the employers refuse, that a meeting be held on Thursday next to decide upon the advisability of a general strike."

**THE MINERS AND THEIR MEMBERS' SALARIES.**—A meeting of the delegates of the Northumberland miners was held on Saturday at Newcastle, the principal business being to discuss resolutions respecting the salaries of Messrs. Burt and Fenwick, M.P.'s, which it was recently decided by ballot should not in future be paid out of the funds of the union. It was agreed after much discussion that voting papers be again issued and a fresh ballot taken in the county. A Northumberland correspondent writes:—"The objection to the payment of the M.P.'s is not founded on any differences of opinion on political subjects, or on the injustice inflicted on the Conservative element among the miners, strong as that element may be, so much as on the unwavering allegiance of the M.P.'s, to the leaders of the Liberal party. While the body of the miners can see no differences of principle, except on the question of Home Rule, between the regular Liberal party and the Conservative party, the labour M.P.'s allow questions of the most vital importance to the miners to remain in the background in order to suit the party interests. The miners' representatives will denounce with all the eloquence they can command the high charges made as royalty rents and wayleaves when addressing meetings of miners; but for some reason or other they will not take up the time of the House of Commons with a discussion on the question. While the House is spending weeks over the Irish question, no word is uttered by the labour members about the distress at home, although in the large towns it is not less severe than in Ireland. Land is going out of cultivation, the sweating system is regarded by some classes of workmen as a crying evil, yet the labour M.P.'s have no word to say on these matters in the House of Commons. On the pressing question of the immigration of pauper labour, they have no solution to offer. Clearly men like Mr. Cunningham Graham, Mr. Conybeare, Mr. Arthur O'Connor, and Mr. S. Mason are of far greater value to the miners than the so-called labour representatives, and these men require no salaries. This aspect of the question is being pressed on the miners' notice by the Socialists, and the miners are discussing it very quietly and very earnestly."

Mr. Bradlaugh in reply to a question the other day, said it was heart-breaking to see over one hundred strong young crofters compelled by Lady Matheson to leave their native land; still the question had two sides, and he would not like to interfere with the "liberty of the individual." Wonderful and monstrous wisdom! Mr. Bradlaugh would allow Lady Matheson to compel the crofters to emigrate, but he would not compel Lady Matheson to allow them to stay at home, even though their forced expatriation should be heart-breaking. How true it is that we have but one law for rich and poor in this land!—*Miner*.

**THE "LABOUR TRIBUNE" AND THE NORTHUMBERLAND MINERS.**—The *Labour Tribune* appears to have reversed the old Radical watchword "Measures not men," in its anxiety to serve Messrs. Burt and Fenwick. In an article last week on "The Miners of Northumberland and their Members of Parliament," the writer runs amuck against all and sundry who do not worship his little gods. Reference is made to certain "sneaking, cowardly, secret-working spirits" who are charged with wishing to deprive the miners of a voice in Parliament. The writer says: "Why these malicious people seek this end we know not, nor care to ascertain; but it is plain on which side the loss will fall if it be attained. The prime movers are not within the ranks of the miners, and they would do well to hesitate before they give sanction to the teaching, whether done directly, or by base innuendo. It would suit the maligners if the miners were voiceless; but what would be the results to those whose wrongs can only be remedied by men who speak with feelings and ideas formed in the same rough, but effective, school?" Observe the *Tribune* does not know why these people act as they do, nor does it care to inquire, and yet it takes upon itself to pass judgment. This is strange language and behaviour for a journal which claims to be in the van of progress. It is really too ridiculous of the *Tribune* to keep on telling us that the miners have no option but to support the present members or be voiceless. I scarcely need tell the readers of the *Commonweal* that the "malicious people" hinted at are the Socialists who have very properly taken Messrs. Burt and Fenwick to task for their very "soft fighting." Mr. Fenwick's attitude towards Socialism, too (feebly echoing Mr. Bradlaugh's fallacies) does not seem to have made a very favourable impression on the "sturdy miners" who do their own thinking. They appear to be fast arriving at the conviction that Socialism is not a "calamity" to be averted, but a blessing to be welcomed. It would be much better if the *Tribune* would face the facts fairly instead of whimpering and trying to obscure the main issue with all sorts of reckless and foolish imputations.

T. BINNING.



## INTERNATIONAL NOTES.

## BELGIUM.

Belgium last week lost one of the veterans of the Social Revolutionary Cause, Désiré Brismée, compositor and printer at Brussels. He was born at Ghent, in 1821, but in his early youth came to the capital and never since left it. He has always been a straightforward Socialist, also devoting a great deal of his time in spreading among the working-classes the gospel of Atheism and Materialism. During more than forty years he has been at work, day by day organising the various worker's trades, encouraging his fellow comrades by his most persuasive and manly eloquence, and very often courageously suffering for the defence of the rights and the interests of the people. Not only was he a splendid organiser and an inspired tribune, but as a sound thinker and a popular writer he was equal to the best. As far back as 1848 he was editor of the Socialist paper, *Le Drapeau* (The Flag), when he was sentenced to eighteen months of imprisonment. He was one of the founders of *Les Solidaires*, a society of Socialist Freethinkers who have struck many a blow on the reactionary parties of Belgium. In 1861, *La Tribune du Peuple* (The People's Tribune) was created by his and his friend's endeavours, and for long years was the most advanced organ of the Belgian democracy, and a forerunner of the doctrines of the International Association of Working-men. When in 1864 this great association was inaugurated at London, Brismée was amongst the first Socialists who organised the Belgian branch of the same, and from its very beginning to the end of its existence was in office as a member of the Belgian General Council. He represented Belgium at several International Congresses, so at Basel, Lausanne, Brussels, the Hague, etc., and contributed very actively to its official organ, *L'Internationale*, from 1868 to 1873. At the time of the defeat of the Commune, Brismée's house became the very home of the Parisian exiles, when side by side with his admirable wife, a keen-hearted matron of olden type and of strong revolutionary sense, he helped them one and all through the first struggles of a new existence. None of them, I feel sure, will ever forget "Father and Mother Brismée," as they used to call their generous friends. The Belgian workers, too, in every nook of the land, will always keep in remembrance the name of Désiré Brismée as one of the most devoted and ablest forerunners of the cause of social, political, and religious emancipation.

A few days ago, a full pardon was granted at Brussels to one Vandermissen, a barrister and clerical member of Parliament, sentenced to fifteen years hard labour for the murder of his wife. This well-to-do assassin has not done one single day of "hard labour," but has been confined at the prison of Mons for a few months only, receiving his friends all day long in a "saloon," writing and smoking and drinking fine wines as much as he liked, receiving his meals from a first-class hotel in the town, and so forth. And yet our comrades of the mining strikes of 1886, who were sentenced for crimes committed not by them, but by Society and its murderous institutions, who are really victims and not criminals, are still at hard labour in the real meaning of the word, and not likely to be amnestied before a long time, in spite of all the manifestations already made on their behalf. Every day that our friends Falleur, Schmidt, and their comrades pass in jail is a renewed outrage to justice, and we earnestly urge upon our Belgian co-workers in the Cause not to rest until all these victims of an execrated commercialism are set at liberty.

## HOLLAND.

One of the largest china-ware making firms of Holland, and almost of Europe, Regout and Co., at Maastricht, is at the same time one of the most brutal and cruel to their workers. Week after week they reduce their miserable wages under pretence of foreign competition, and now they replace as far as they possibly can adult by infant labour. The students of the University of Utrecht, in order to help the wage-slaves to resist that stupid system, have unanimously resolved to refuse to take any longer their meals served in plates manufactured at Regout's works, and they are going to persuade their fellow-students of the Dutch Universities to do the same. That's not very much perhaps, but at any rate it is a good token of sympathy and solidarity coming from quarters where solidarity and sympathy with the workers are not very often found.

At Almelo (Overijssel), an important manufacturing centre, the spinner-masters have decided to reduce the already very low wages of their "hands." A big strike has been the immediate result, and for some weeks past the slaves have refused to accept any reduction whatever. Relief funds are sent to them from all parts of Holland, and they intend keeping on to the utmost. Another reason of the strike is that these exploiters, being also shopkeepers, force their workers to provide themselves with all the necessaries of life at the master's shops. This also they won't accept any longer, claiming to be free to spend their miserable wages where they like. It needs not to be added that Almelo is occupied by the military, who are to settle, at first call and in their own way, the relations between capital and labour. We hope the workers will succeed, aided as they are by their comrades all over the country.

A new paper has been started last week at Amsterdam, entitled *Multatuli*, this being the *nom de plume* of Douwes Dekkers, the famous Dutch Socialist philosopher who died some months ago. It is to be a weekly organ, and each number will be accompanied by a cartoon. Go ahead, friends!

It is stated by *Recht voor Allen* (Right for All), that F. Domela Nieuwenhuis has accepted to stand as a candidate for the Dutch Parliament at the forthcoming election in the district of Schoterland. I very heartily wish that our distinguished comrade may run aground on the job!

## GERMANY.

Bismark and Puttkammer, who have been convicted of using damnable means and shameful tricks in the prosecution of Socialism, and who had prepared a new scheme exceeding even the existing laws, have not succeeded in their diabolical plans. Thanks to the scandalous revelations of comrades Singer and Bebel the new law has not passed, and the old one, which is bad enough, is to be prolonged for two years.

The German Socialists have had a heavy loss in the person of Dr. Adolph Douai, who was born on February 22, 1817, at Altenburg, and who died a month ago at New York, where he acted as chief editor of the Socialist newspaper, *New Yorker Volkszeitung* (New York People's Gazette). Dr. Douai studied at Leipzig until 1841, and went afterwards to Russia, living as a private teacher. In the year 1846 he came back again to his native place, founded there a lyceum, which was very flourishing at the time of the outbreak of the Revolution of 1848. The prominent part he took in public affairs at that time brought as a first result ruin to this institution; he was

sent three times to prison, and besides tried five times for high treason, but always dismissed. In 1852, Douai and his family emigrated to America, and went first to New Braunfels, Texas, where he established a pro-gymnasium, and also became the editor of the *San Antonio Zeitung*, in which he vigorously struggled against slavery. After having suffered very much indeed at the hands of the slave proprietors, he was obliged in 1866 to leave Texas for Boston, where he created a new institution and founded the first American *Kindergarten*, which still exists. At the instigation of Carl Summer, he became a deputy to the National Convention of Detroit, and there, with his friend Carl Schurz, worked very actively to bring about the nomination of Abraham Lincoln as President of the United States. He soon became a mortal foe to the clerical party and to the Boston puritans, and after several severe struggles which lasted for years, he was finally compelled to leave the place and went to New York, where at first he found an occupation as editor of the *New York Democrat*. In 1861, he created at Hoboken, near New York, the German-American Academy, which is said to be the best school throughout America, and which he presided over for more than six years. He afterwards, in 1868, became chief editor of the *Arbeiter Union* (Union of the Workers), and on the 28th of January, 1878, he entered in the same capacity the *New Yorker Volkszeitung*, and remained there until his death. He has laboured very hard and with some good results in two fields of human activity, where work is difficult and enjoyment rare, viz., the education of the youth and the organisation and instruction of the people, and he deserves to be cheerfully remembered by all those who have at heart the final triumph of the ideas of justice and equality.

## ITALY.

Socialists in all countries are preparing for the commemoration of the Paris Commune of 1871, but not everywhere do they commemorate it in the same manner. For instance, our Italian friends have found the following way, and to my mind at least it is not a bad one. On the 22nd of last month, the revolutionary organisations of Milano decided to pass around subscription lists among all the Socialist groups, and to divide the monies so collected in equal parts between all existing Italian revolutionary papers, taking advantage of this distribution to recommend the various schools of Socialist thought to avoid in the future all personal and intestine war, as this only tends to weaken instead of strengthening the cause of Revolution at large.

V. D.

## REVOLUTIONARY CALENDAR.

WEEK ENDING MARCH 3, 1888.

26	Sun.	1786. D. F. Arago born. 1797. Banks suspended cash payments 1848. French Republic proclaimed.
27	Mon.	1534. "Kingdom of God" established in Münster. 1854. Lamennais died.
28	Tues.	1869. De Lamartine died. 1878. Insurrection in Thessaly.
29	Wed.	1887. Unemployed attend St. Paul's Cathedral; 3,094 police present.
1	Thur.	1769. Williams pilloried for publishing <i>North Briton</i> . 1789. J. R. McCulloch born.
2	Fri.	1629. Speaker held in chair while Commons passed motion condemning the king's policy. 1882. Attempt to shoot the Queen.
3	Sat.	1756. W. Godwin born. 1848. Louis Philippe as "Mr. Smith" landed in England. 1861. Serfdom abolished in Russia. 1879. W. K. Clifford died.

*Banks suspended cash payments.*—Macbeth: "How now, you secret, black, and midnight hags! what is't you do?" Witches: "A deed without a name." Such would have been the correct answer of the members of the King's Privy Council on Sunday February 25, 1797, for on that day was perpetrated a shameful swindle. When the Bank of England closed Saturday evening it was practically bankrupt; there had been a run; gold was going out at a pace which would have made the bullion-chest empty within a few hours of reopening on Monday morning. The governors therefore persuaded Pitt to call a special Cabinet Council on the Sunday, and an Order in Council was issued that the bank was to forbear issuing gold till the sense of parliament was taken on the question. It has been calculated that on the 25th Feb. the bank's liabilities on notes in circulation only was £3,540,250, while the total amount of cash and bullion in the bank was only £1,270,000. The Ten Hours Bill, the Factory Act, took thirty-three years of agitation; how speedily governments can act when against the general good of the public was proved in this case. To hold a special meeting of the Privy Council on Sunday, issue an order to take effect next morning, to draft, read, pass both Houses, and to receive royal assent, all this can be done in a few weeks; for on May 3rd the 38 Geo. 3, ch. 1, termed the Restriction Act, received royal assent. The Great National Swindle Act was to remain in force for fifty-two days; on June 22, two days before the expiration of that term, it was renewed till one month after the next session of parliament; it has been renewed again and again, and the gigantic National Debt, the devilmint of the funding system, and the stock exchange swindle, and the evils of credit trading and debt, national and domestic, may be really said to date from 25 Feb., 1797.—T. S.

*Attempt on the Queen.*—As the Queen with the Princess Beatrice was getting into her carriage at Windsor station on returning from London, she was fired at by a man named Roderick Maclean; no damage done, even to the bystanders. Maclean was at once arrested, and on the 19th of April tried for high treason, being acquitted on the ground of insanity and ordered to be confined during "Her Majesty's pleasure." Thus fell to the ground many hopes of fixing "plots" on innocent people.—S.

*Landing of Louis Philippe.*—A passage having been secured for them in the *Express* steamer, the ex-King and Queen went on the 2nd in an open fishing-boat from Honneur, whither they had fled, to Havre, the King passing as "Mr. William Smith," an Englishman. Early next morning they landed at Newhaven, in Sussex. A man named Stone recognised Louis a good way off in the boat which brought him ashore, and benevolently assured him of English protection. The actual conversation is too good to be lost:—Stone: "Welcome to England, your Majesty." Louis: "I—I thank you, I thank you; I—I have always felt pleasure in coming to England. Thank God, I am in England once more!" Stone: "We will protect your Majesty." Louis (*much agitated*): "I th—thank you, I—I thank you!" The ex-King wore a rough pea-jacket—borrowed from the captain of the *Express*—and grey trousers, with coarse blue cloth cap, and round his neck a common red and white comforter; on his chin a stubble of a week's growth. The ex-Queen could not be seen in a large plaid cloak and heavy veil. A great deal of very funny reading is afforded by the adventures of the "royal exiles" who swarmed into England about this time.—S.



OFFICES: 13 FARRINGDON ROAD, E.C.

**Annual Conference.**—The Fourth Annual Conference of the Socialist League will be held at 13 Farringdon Road, on Whitsunday, May 20. The attention of Branches is particularly referred to (1) Rule V. on the subject of the annual conference, pp. 3 and 4 of Constitution and Rules; and (2) that all branches wishing to be represented at the Conference must pay their subscription up to the 31st March by May 1st.

**Branch Subscriptions Paid.**  
1887.

Hastings, Nottingham, Pelsall—None. Bradford, Croydon, Glasgow, Hackney, Ipswich, Leeds, Marylebone, Merton, North London, Norwich—to end of March. Edinburgh—to end of May. Mitcham—to end of July. Walsall—to end of August. Hull—to end of September. Bloomsbury, Walham Green, Wednesbury—to end of October. Leicester—to end of November. Clerkenwell, Hammersmith, Hoxton, Mile-end, Oxford—to end of December.

**"COMMONWEAL" PRINTING FUND.**

C. J. F. (2 weeks), 5s. K. F. (2 weeks), 2s. Langley (2 weeks), 4s. P. W. (2 weeks), 1s. Oxford Branch, 2s. C. J. Gladwell, 2s. W. B. (weekly), 6d.

**REPORTS.**

**BLOOMSBURY.**—On Sunday morning at St. Pancras Arches, Mark Morley spoke; Neilson in chair. 3s. collected for Gough's wife and family.

**CLERKENWELL.**—On Wednesday, Feb. 15, H. H. Sparling lectured on "Radicalism of the last Century." On Sunday, Feb. 19, T. E. Wardle on "Radicalism and Socialism." Brisk discussions.—B.

**GLASGOW.**—Owing to the severity of the weather these two weeks past our outdoor meetings have been in great part abandoned, but notwithstanding the cold wind that prevailed on Sunday night, Glasier addressed a good audience in Infirmary Square, all of whom seemed in sympathy with our comrade's animated appeal to them to embrace Socialism, the new and nobler life. After going to our rooms, comrade Schulzer gave an interesting account of "The Progress and Methods of German Socialism."—S. D.

**NORWICH.**—This branch is getting along well, increasing in numbers, and doing good work. Wednesday, the 15th, the Tory party tried a Protection and Anti-Foreigner meeting, but owing to the exertions of Mowbray and other comrades, assisted by the Radicals, it was not a success for the promoters. Sunday the 19th, a very large afternoon meeting was held in the Market Place, and in the evening Mowbray lectured in Gordon Hall.

**WALSALL.**—On Monday, Feb. 13th, Sanders lectured to an appreciative audience on "Revolution: what Socialists mean by it, and why they believe it inevitable." Questions and discussion followed the conclusion of the address.—J. T. D.

**JUNIOR SOCIALIST EDUCATIONAL SOCIETY.**—At the last meeting of this Society, held at 64, Charlotte Street, Fry read a paper on "The Woman Question." Discussion followed. On Saturday, March 25th, Cooper reads a paper on "The Reward of Labour," at 65, Chancery Lane, 8 o'clock sharp.—H. W. F.

**LECTURE DIARY.**

**LONDON.**

**Acton.**—17 High Street, Acton, W. (adjoining Purnell's Dining Rooms). Sunday February 26, at 8, Catterson Smith, "Possibilities of Life under Socialism." March 4, J. Turner, "The Control of Capital."

**Bloomsbury.**—Communist Club, 49 Tottenham Street, Tottenham Court Road. Thursday February 23, at 8.30, Joseph Lane, "Different Schools of Socialist Thought." March 1, Social Evening—members and friends.

**Clerkenwell.**—Hall of the Socialist League, 13 Farringdon Rd., E.C. Business meeting every Sunday at 7. Sunday February 26, at 8.30, Capt. Pfoundes, "The United States of Greater Britain." Wednesday Feb. 29, at 8.30, W. B. Parker, "Notes on the League Manifesto." Sunday March 4, Free Concert by Wm. Blundell and Friends. Wed. 7, H. H. Sparling, "The Cato Street Conspiracy." Sun. 11, Mr. Touzeau Parriss.

**Fulham.**—8 Effie Road, Walham Green. Sunday February 26, at 8, H. H. Sparling, "The Blind Samson."

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

**Hammersmith.**—Kelmescott House, Upper Mall, W. Sunday Feb. 26, at 8 p.m., Sidney Webb (Fabian Society), "Socialism and Co-operation." March 4, Percival Chubb (Fabian Society), "The Ethical Aspect of Socialism."

**Hoxton (L.E.L.).**—C. J. Young, 8 Dunloe Street, Hackney Road, Secretary. Members please take up their membership cards for 1888.

**Mitcham.**—Corner of Merton Lane and Fountain Place. Club Room open every evening from 7.30 till 11. Sunday Feb. 26, at 8, J. Turner, "Co-operation."

**Mile-end and Bethnal Green.**—95 Boston St., Hackney Road. Business Meeting every Thursday at 9 p.m. Debating Class for members after Business Meeting.

**PROVINCES.**

**Aberdeen (Scottish Section).**—Sunday night meetings in Baker Street Hall, at 6. Secretary, J. Leatham, 15 St. Nicholas Street.

**Birmingham.**—Meetings at Summer Row Coffee House every Saturday evening at 8.

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

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

**Cowdenbeath (Scot. Sec.)**—J. Duncan, 30 Arthur Pl., sec  
**Dublin.**—Saturday Club, Central Lecture Hall, 12 Westmorland Street.

**Dundee (Scot. Sect.).**—Meetings every Sunday in the Trades Hall, opposite Tay Bridge Station. Political Economy class, 2 p.m. Lecture at 6.30.

**Edinburgh (Scottish Section).**—4 Park Street. Sunday evening lectures, Trades Hall, High Street.

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

**Glasgow.**—84 John St. Reading-room open 10 a.m. till 10 p.m. daily. Propaganda Committee, Mondays at 8. Discussion Class meets every Thursday evening at 8 p.m.—object, the cultivation of extemporaneous speaking.

**Leeds.**—17 Chesham St., Sweet St. Club open every evening. Business meeting Wednesdays at 8 p.m. On Sunday February 26, at 7 p.m., S. A. Gaskell, "The Need of a New Industrial System."

**Leicester.**—Hosiery Union, Horsefair St. Fridays at 8.

**Lochgelly (Scottish Section: Fife).**—Secs. (pro tem.), John Greig and Hugh Conway, The Square.

**Norwich.**—Gordon Hall, 5 Duke Street. Monday, Concert at 8. Tuesday, Business meeting at 8.30. Wednesday, Band practice at 8. Thursday, Discussion class, Gronlund's 'Co-operative Commonwealth.' Friday, Rehearsal at 8. Saturday, Premises open from 8 until 10.30. General Meeting on Tuesday, Feb. 28, to consider the best method of organisation. All comrades should attend.

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

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

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

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

**OPEN-AIR PROPAGANDA.**

**LONDON—Sunday 26.**

10.30...Acton—the Steyne	.....Day
11.15...Starch Green	.....Hammersmith Branch
11.30...Acton Green	.....Tochatti & Day
11.30...Garrett—"Plough Inn"	.....The Branch
11.30...Hoxton Church, Pitfield St.	.....Wade & Pope
11.30...Merton—Haydens Road	.....The Branch
11.30...Mitcham Fair Green	.....The Branch
11.30...Regent's Park	.....Nicoll & Mss. Schack
11.30...St. Pancras Arches	.....Bloomsbury Branch
11.30...Stamford Hill	.....Parker
11.30...Walham Green	.....Fulham Branch
3...Hyde Park	.....Parker
7...Acton—Priary	.....Smith & Day

**PROVINCES.**

**Leeds.**—Sunday: Jack Lane End, Meadow Road, at 10.30 a.m. In Prince's Field, at 3 p.m.  
**Norwich.**—Market Place, at 3 every Sunday.

**SHEFFIELD SOCIALISTS.** Commonwealth Café, Scotland Street, Sheffield.—Discussions or Lectures every Sunday evening at 7 o'clock. Free.

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**A**

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# THE COMMONWEALTH

The Official Journal of the Socialist League.

VOL. 4.—No. 112.

SATURDAY, MARCH 3, 1888.

WEEKLY; ONE PENNY.

## NOTES ON NEWS.

THE debate on the Crofters was treated as one expects important subjects to be treated in the House, and as a matter of course those who were anxious to keep these poor people from starving because they are not allowed to use their own land, had no chance at all before the advocates of the snob-made solitude called a deer-forest. The utmost that their rulers think they can do for them is to transport them (some time or another) to some place where they do not want to go. It is sickening to read the speeches of these tyrants and prigs, talking (but not understanding) scraps of Malthusianism, when one considers that the poor people are actually at the point of sheer destitution, and that if they were treated with something like reason, there would at least be breathing space for them.

There is a certain pleasure in being able to say to one's enemy, "Well, do you know I quite agree with you there." Mr. Balfour has given us the opportunity for this pleasure, since he has (at last) found out that the Irish agitation is at bottom socialistic; or in other words that its ultimate aim is not a parliament at Dublin more or less after the pattern of the ignominious assembly in London, but the welfare of the Irish people. Strange to say, his discovery leads to no practical consequences, and he remains still opposed to Home Rule.

Indeed he finished his speech in a way that would make even a pro-pagandist Socialist stare with wonder who is accustomed to the humours of the debates which follow his lectures. Not even the man who says, "Mr. Chairman, I have not heard the lecture and do not know what the subject of it is, but I should like to say a few words in opposition"—not even this genius can quite equal Balfour's impudence. "The laws of property are made much more for the advantage of the poor than for the rich." I am glad to say that the Irish members laughed at this joke.

If one believed that Balfour had not had his tongue in his cheek when he said this, one might ask him to alter this a little and say, "the laws of property are made more for the advantage of those who have no property than for those who have it." But as a matter of fact, his phrase is only a measure of bourgeois hypocrisy in this country, which not only knocks a man down and robs him, but is not ashamed to say at the same time, "My friend, it is for your benefit I do this, in order to stimulate your industry."

This is not the only country where the immigration of "foreign paupers" is a difficulty. America has the same trouble, only the "foreigners" there are many of them English. We are to have an article in the forthcoming *Century*, says the *Daily News*, which suggests a passport system for immigrants, so as to prevent the landing at American ports of all criminals, paupers (say Highland crofters), Mormons, Anarchists, and the depraved classes generally.

Good! So much for keeping out those who are *not* there, but how about getting rid of those that *are* there? What's to be done with the "native American" thieves who live on other people's labour? the "native American" criminals who murder their political opponents by the safe process of false witness in a law court? With the "rogue and whore" varnished over with gentleman and lady, of which "native American" society (like our's) is so largely composed? If the Americans set themselves seriously to getting rid of their "depraved classes," 'tis thought that house rent will fall heavily in the "genteel" quarters of New York, and Wall Street will be quiet enough.

Well, well! so it goes on! let us pass our paupers on if our neighbours will but have them; and if they won't—Well, the Romans fell before the barbarians whom they despised, but who were at any rate *without* their society; while our barbarians are *within* ours! Would it not be cheaper and safer (let alone humanity) not to manufacture paupers and criminals, if we find them so hard to deal with when made?

Do people doubt that our destroyers are in the midst of us? I fear they do. It was thought even by "advanced" persons that John Burns was either joking, or speaking with the extravagance natural to a man who had recently suffered from the hideous den when he spoke the other day so heartily, and wisely also, about pulling down

Pentonville. Will people never understand then, not even Home Rulers and extreme Radicals, what our prison system means? Must we Socialists teach them even this? Pentonville must not compete with the slums, or its terror will be gone; and a very little more and it would compete with them. Therefore its diet and discipline must be on such a scale as is a torture to a gentleman like Graham, or even an artisan like Burns. If only Pentonville could be pulled down before revenge overtakes us for this folly and cruelty! W. M.

The defeat at Doncaster is mournfully submitted to by the Home Rulers as a check to their chance of College Green. But there is at least as much danger to them in such Liberal victories as that at Southwark. There is a danger of the Liberals proving too successful. What if they obtain a majority without counting the Irish party? In that case they are just as likely to pass a Coercion Bill as a measure of Home Rule. It would be a repudiation of their election pledges, certainly; but that is one of the inevitable incidents of the septennial system. If the Home Rulers are wise, they will help the Liberals enough to make them dependent on the Irish party. One vote beyond that will make them quite as dangerous to their present allies as the Tories are. G. B. S.

## SOCIALISM AND LAW.

ONE of the most curious objections urged by our opponents, and yet one we are constantly having to refute, was that put forward by a speaker at a recent discussion at Clerkenwell—namely, that the establishment of Socialism must tend to the multiplication of laws. I have called the objection curious, but think it more than that, for it shows with tolerable clearness, on the part of those who advance it, first, an utter lack of analytical power of thought in the consideration of present society, and second, what we must judge to be a constitutional incapacity for analogical deduction in gathering therefrom the probable form of a future society founded on a Socialistic basis.

To take first the consideration of present society, this apprehension has, I think, its birth in the minds of many individualists, primarily from the habit of superficially regarding existing laws merely as well-intentioned but essentially empirical human expedients for the welfare of society; expedients which at the same time may be regarded by them as invariably mistaken, fussy and meddling, and often pernicious.

It is not difficult to see that such a false and wholly inadequate view of the science of law-making is in reality one result of the failure to recognise the first great fundamental truth, that society as at present constituted, far from being a heterogeneous assemblage of ill-assorted units without guide, aim, or bond, is one clear and distinctive stage in social evolution, having for its basis one all-powerful ruling principle which either creates or moulds all its laws and governs all its institutions—*private property*.

Some time since, in a valuable analysis of criminal law in relation to Socialism, comrade Bax divided, if I remember rightly, the penal code into three great classes intended to deal with (1) offences against property (the largest to a considerable extent); (2) offences against the person (to a great extent actuated by want, or resultant on ill-distributed wealth); (3) sexual offences. Applying the same method of analysis to the civil laws, we shall find that they in like manner can be classed under one of three heads—1st, laws relating to property; 2nd, laws relating to imperial and local government; 3rd, laws relating to individual action and liberty.

The first is of course immeasurably the greatest class, embracing as it does all laws bearing on the relation of landlord to tenant (a class in itself), recovery of debts, inheritance, private "interests," and the thousand and one marvellously ingenious legal contrivances impossible to enumerate. In this class also would have to be included all those modern laws, miscalled Socialistic, but in reality opportune expedients rendered necessary to nullify in some measure the dangerous results of private property.

The second class, a comparatively small one, would be better subdivided by (1) laws relating to central or bureaucratic government, comprising the foreign, home, and other offices and departments, fiscal, army, navy, and other lines of defence, etc.; and (2) those relating to purely local matters—parish and municipal affairs, gas and water supply, public buildings, poor laws, etc. Here it is well to bear in mind that even under the present system the laws comprised in this



second class are capable of very great simplification compatible with their greater efficiency for the purpose for which they were instituted. Indeed it may be taken as sure that under democratic sway, with extended or universal suffrage, a reduction in their number and complexity is inevitable.

The third class is of slight importance. It comprises laws bearing solely on individual liberty and action, and is necessary only under class rule. The extent and nature of these needs but little demonstration. Having a manner of foundation in the Magna Charta, their development, judging from recent events, appears to have been entirely retrogressive.

It will be seen, therefore, that even such a brief analysis or classification as the foregoing brings forward the one prominent fact, stated before, but worthy of repetition for the benefit of those who ignore it, that existing laws are in no sense purposeless or without aim or governing principle, but that they have the one distinct and obvious function of the preservation, maintenance, and consolidation of private property. This is, in point of fact, their *raison d'être*, without which they would cease to exist; while on the other hand as long as private property is allowed to endure they are vitally necessary. Viewed in this light, no single property law can be regarded as unnecessary or useless while as a unit of a concrete whole it in any way contributes to the fulfilment of the law of its being. Also herein, I conceive, lies the weak point in the theory held by so many present day individualist "philosophers," of the beneficial effects likely to result from the gradual abolition of all laws: it is the non-recognition of the fact that this abolition of law can only be effected by and through the consistent abolition of private property.

Before leaving this consideration of present law, I might remark that while all these laws exist which relate to the *disposition* of wealth, with regard to the *production* of wealth there are absolutely none. It is indeed certain that the whole vast human and inanimate machinery for the production of wealth as it exists at present, complete in a degree hitherto inconceivable, has been established and organised (as organised it is) without the aid or seeking of one act of legislation. I repeat, so far laws have been found to be necessary only in the ownership of wealth and never in its production.

To pass on to the other point expressed in the second paragraph, it appears to me that from these data, the very simple and obvious deduction remains, that with the abolition of private property must also occur the abolition of all laws relating to it. These constituting the vast bulk of existing laws, it would also seem clear to a reasonable mind that in a Society based on the abolition of private property, the gross number of laws would consequently be less to this extent.

If, then, the contention is to be upheld that a Socialist State would be overburdened with law-making to a degree even as great as at present, it becomes necessary to consider in what direction the increase of laws may be anticipated. Here it must be avowed one's difficulties begin. Perhaps it may be contended, however, as it sometimes is, that stringent laws would be necessary to exact from each his due quantum of daily labour. Indeed, from what I have been able to understand of our opponents' position, this is considered one direction in which laws will be requisite. Under any circumstances the point is worth consideration.

Let me say at once that undoubtedly in the early years of a Socialistic Society, thriftlessness, laziness, and general inertia on the part of a large number of its members would have to be faced, and would constitute a serious hindrance to the contentment and prosperity of Society. The aristocrat and "independent person" on the one hand, and the social parasite on the other, would survive at least for a time as the harmful relics of an ancient order. But here again, to consider the question at all justly, it is necessary to regard (1) the conditions under which laziness and indisposition to honest work exist in the present system, and (2) the conditions which in like manner will obtain in the future.

Every Society contains within itself in unequal strength what may be called the fostering and restraining forces of every known vice or virtue. In existing Society the fostering force of this particular vice is undoubtedly the ability to live in comfort without work. On the other hand, the restraining influence which in relation to every unworthy act is invariably all-potent, to wit, the sense of shame, here has little or no power. With such conditions, then, the rapid growth of all forms of laziness and disinclination for work, and ultimately the production of individuals to all practical purposes incapable of work, is not to be wondered at.

As to the future Society, a community formed on the basis of work from every able member, would necessarily give an absolutely inverse proportional strength to these two forces. The fostering and productive forces would, from the inability of existing without work, be greatly reduced, and the bent of the mind of man in that direction in time removed. While on the other hand, in addition to the work itself being far less laborious and rendered more pleasant in nature, as every worker would receive his equal reward from the common store, laziness or idleness would be regarded by the bulk of the workers much in the light in which theft is regarded now. It may then safely be assumed that the restraining influence of the sense of shame will, in the absence of opposing forces, be all powerful in gradually eliminating this particular vice.

Reasoning from the foregoing I think we may well conclude that laws dealing with the relation of workers to their work will, from these natural causes, be unnecessary. The evil of laziness must die a natural death when placed in inharmonious conditions.

I have dwelt upon the one source from which it might be used that

the gap caused by the lapsing of property laws will be filled. In turning to consider in what other direction we may suppose complex legislation will be found necessary, one is at a loss to fix upon even a single department of social life in which it can be assumed to follow. The forms of social unity which probably offer the nearest resemblance to the labour groups of the future, such as trades' unions in every shape, co-operative societies, etc., are certainly autonomous. As any new laws cannot be seen to be likely to be necessary in the production or distribution of wealth, nor, certainly, in its ultimate ownership, it would be well if those who raise the objection would in future more particularly specify the actual class of laws Socialism will tend to multiply.

To put the matter in a nut-shell, however, the whole science of jurisprudence appears readily intelligible when it is comprehended that many laws are necessary only in government by minority (as at present), but few laws in government by majority (as under Socialism), and none at all when each individual is a law unto himself, or in fact in the Millennium.

CHARLES J. GLADWELL.

## INTERNATIONAL NOTES.

### AUSTRIA-HUNGARY.

At Trafaiach (Steiermark) comrade Lundenburg has been arrested on a charge of high treason on the denunciation of his own wife!

Some months ago I announced in these notes that "comrade" August Carl Hermann had been arrested at Warnsdorf charged with having distributed prohibited papers and incited our Austrian friends to commit acts of violence. Now the "comrade" in question has proved that he is one of the numerous hirelings of the Berlin and Magdeburg police, and of course has been set free at once.

### BELGIUM.

At Liège, Seraing, Angleur and neighbourhood, that is to say among the miners of that district, a lot of German police-spies have been detected, who did exactly the same provocatory business as their colleagues in Switzerland. The only difference is that the Swiss authorities expelled police-councillor Krueger's employes, and that the German rascals worked in Belgium with the avowed assent of the clerical Belgian Government. Belgium becomes more and more a province of Germany.

Comrade Louis Bertrand, editor of *L'Avant-Garde* (the Vanguard) of Brussels, has issued a very ably written, but somewhat too laudatory brochure, entitled *Godin et son Œuvre* (Godin and his work).

### HOLLAND.

In the month of December last our Dutch comrades sent to the House of Parliament a petition signed by thousands of workers, asking the M.P.'s of that land to introduce in Holland "a normal working day." Last week these clever gentlemen put the petition aside, *i.e.*, in the wholesale waste paper basket, declaring that they did not understand such "humbbug." And that is the use of Parliament.

The workers at Almerloo are always striking, and they intend going on with their struggle as long as they possibly can. The solidarity of the Dutch workers continues to prove admirable; they send to their comrades meat, vegetables, money, in important quantities.

F. Domela Nieuwenhuys is about to publish a new book, entitled 'The Normal Working Day.' It will be an historical as well as an economical study on that question, involving 300 pages.

The 1st of March *Recht voor Allen*, the organ of our Dutch comrades, will appear in gala dress—*i.e.*, printed on fine paper and illustrated by a cartoon representing the Socialist press struggling against capitalist journalism. And all over Holland there will be meetings, amusements, banquets, and so forth, to commemorate the tenth year of the existence of the Socialist organ.

It is not enough that Domela Nieuwenhuys should stand as a candidate at the next elections; now Croll, sub-editor of *Recht voor Allen*, and A. Schrouter are going to contest a district at the Hague and Vander Goes is to be a candidate for parliament at Amsterdam. What a pity these devoted friends of the cause should waste their time in such a way.

### FRANCE.

For the last two months the glass-blowers and the glass-engravers of Vierzon (Cher Department) have been on strike, and they have announced their resolution to go on with it to the utmost. They have spent now all their "spare" money, and have sent to all the workers' associations of France a circular letter asking them to stand by their side to help them in their struggle. As perhaps the English glass-blowers may do something for their fellow-workers of Vierzon, as they so willingly did last year for those of Montluçon, we give here the address of the treasurer: Chaput Grand-Rue, 49, Vierzon (Cher), France.

Comrade Cyvoct, who in 1883 was sentenced to death at Lyons for an article he did not write, and whose sentence was changed into one of hard labour for life in New Caledonia, will in all probability be again sentenced to death, and if so, to be certainly executed. He is charged with having insulted a jail-warder, and that is enough in Republican France of to-day to ensure his being guillotined. Gallo, the Anarchist who fired some pistol-shots at the Exchange at Paris, without doing any harm at all, and who also has been in New Caledonia, has already been executed for striking a warder who grossly insulted him. Shame!

Felix Pyat has consented to be the candidate of Revolution for the French Chamber of Deputies at the hands of the Socialists of the Department Bouches-du-Rhone (Marseilles, etc.).

The weavers and winders of Flers (Orme Department), numbering 500, not willing to accept a reduction of their already very low wages, struck a fortnight ago; but the masters, seeing that they were determined, have given way, and the workers have returned to work on the former conditions.

### GERMANY.

Hip, hip, hurrah! At Halle six Socialists tried last week for secret con-

one and all dismissed. That sounds very strange indeed, and there must have been some mistake or other. Dismissed! it's a real shame for German Puttkamer-magistrates.

Ihring-Mahlow and Naporra, the two detectives denounced in the German Reichstag by comrade Bebel, and who played such a despicable game at the trials of Berlin and Posen, have received at the hands of their master, Minister von Puttkammer, the Cross of Honour which they so richly deserved. If Puttkammer would only give them all a decoration and force them to bear it on their back instead of bearing it on their breast, wouldn't it be a good distinction?

Germany's prosperity is going on all right. From the 1st of January to the 31st of December 1887 no less than 99,712 people have emigrated. Of these 62,036 are Prussians, 13,350 Bavarians, 6,016 of Wurtemberg, 3,871 of Baden, 2,434 Saxonians, 2,334 of Hesse, and the rest of the minor nooks of the blessed Fatherland.

The bookseller Nebel, of Leipzig, who was denounced a short time ago as a secret agent of Bismark and Puttkammer, has hung himself at Rosenthal, near Leipzig. Perhaps he thought it better to do away with all the miseries of this wretched existence than to continue, even for another day, to serve the despicable German Government.

ITALY.

The 10th of March a new paper will be issued at Palermo, entitled *Il Dovero* (Duty). It is to be written under the inspiration of the ideas of Giuseppe Mazzini.

Whereas the Italian Government systematically suppresses all the papers of our friends as soon as they appear, our Parisian colleague *La Révolte* suggests the idea that our Italian comrades might issue a secret paper.

V. D.

"IT MOVES."

THE WELSH LAND, COMMERCIAL, AND LABOUR LEAGUE. *President:* John Parry, Plas, Llanarmon, Mold. *Treasurer:* Thomas, Gee, Denbigh. *Hon. Sec.:* J. Howell Gee, Denbigh. *Financial Sec.:* Gwilym Parry, Chapel Place, Denbigh.

BRISTOL AND DISTRICT LABOUR LEAGUE. *President:* Alfred Harris. *Vice-President:* W. Saunders. *Secretary:* John Gregory, 8 Redcliffe Terrace, Newfoundland Road.

We have received within a few hours of each other manifestoes put forth by the above-named Societies, which afford gratifying evidence of the enormous growth of public spirit now taking place on all sides. The Welsh Land, Commercial, and Labour League is the outcome of the Anti-Tithe Agitation. The old League having been very successful during its year of existence in obtaining large abatements in the tithes, has determined at the commencement of its second year to change its name and extend the area of its operations. Its programme, in addition to the Tithe Question, is the Disestablishment and Disendowment of the Church of England and Wales, Reform of the Laws relating to Land, Building Leases, Royalties on Coal and other minerals, the Game and Fishery Laws, etc., and the Payment of Members of Parliament out of the public exchequer. "It is not intended to restrict the League in the future to the reforms above mentioned. Other questions may be proposed for consideration at the annual meetings." The constitution and rules are thoroughly democratic. One of the latter pledges the members to be faithful to one another, and to prevent land-grabbing. The minimum annual subscription for artisans, agricultural, and other labourers is only sixpence.

The Bristol and District Labour League is distinctly Socialistic in its aims. To quote the words of its excellent manifesto, it "affords every working-man an opportunity to help himself, his children, his fellows, his country, and the world. No man's poverty need exclude him. The League is worked on entirely voluntary principles." The League has at present four branches in connection with the central body, and gives a good record of work done. The following extract shows the spirit which animates the League, and will doubtless receive the hearty approval of the readers of the *Commonweal*:

"Among the particular lessons which the League enforces is that for working-men to accept the social or political patronage of the upper and middle classes is the greatest degradation that can be submitted to, and is nothing less than a venal prostitution of their liberties. For them to willingly receive the so-called charitable alms and doles from these classes is equivalent to selling their birth-right for a mess of pottage. It further teaches and shows that the so-called laws of political economy, which result in the poverty of the poorest man setting the rate of wages for his class—laws which condemn by far the largest portion of the civilised human race to eternal slavery, that the few may be kept in ease, luxury, elegance, pre-eminence, arrogance, and pride, are fallacious, unjust, and monstrous laws. That any laws which do not result in a moral and material recognition of the dignity of labour and the nobleness of the labourer, and at the same time, the degradation of the idler and lout, are based upon altogether false principles, and therefore, truly considered, are not laws at all.

"The League interferes with no man's creed. It seeks the injury of no one, but the good of all. It excludes no honest working-man, but is purely and simply an effort, by Fraternity of interest, to extend to each and all such Equality of opportunity in life as shall secure to them that absolute unshackled Liberty which belongs to them of right, by which alone the vast capacities of humanity may be opened up and developed to their fullest measure, and life, instead of being the burden it is to millions at present, shall in the near future become truly worth living to all worth living it." T. B.

The Duke of Brummagem—we mean Manchester—is honouring the colonies with another visit. He is cordially welcomed by the same politicians who pretend to be in accord with the workers in their objections to the presence of the Chinese. And yet men of his class are more dangerous and do more harm to the workers than all the Chinese that ever left China. The Duke is not here to purchase Australian slaves, but to purchase that which will enable him to make slaves of hundreds of thousands of Australian workers. He will secure to himself, his heirs, executors, and assigns for ever the sole right of using certain portions of the Australian colonies, which will entitle them—as they blindly believe—to draw annually without working, an ever-increasing portion of the wealth produced by the labour of our children and our children's children for ever and ever. Don't he wish they may get it? We are afraid that game is rapidly being played out, and will not last much longer.—*Our Commonwealth.*

FOR FELLOWSHIP.

You may sneer, if you will, at our numbers;  
The pathway of progress is steep;  
And the slave yet in apathy slumbers,  
Though he tosses and moans in his sleep.

Yet we march, and our footstep is steady,  
Our gaze is unflinching, and why?  
For we live in the future already,  
We live in the ages gone by,

We are one with the saints and the sages,  
Who told long ago what a birth  
Should be born of the womb of the ages  
For the joy of the meek upon earth.

We are one with the world of to-morrow,  
We are one with our children unborn,  
Who shall hear in amaze of the sorrow  
Of our famished ones, faint and forlorn.

We spurn your impossible heaven;  
The only salvation we crave,  
The one we *will* have, must be given  
Not that side, but this, of the grave.

They have touched us, those hopes that are hollow,  
We have felt it, the faith that is vain,  
But the faith we have hope in and follow  
Is that Justice shall conquer and reign.

Laws baffle, we heed them no longer;  
Force threatens, our will is unawed;  
Force is much, yet is liberty stronger,  
And fellowship wiser than fraud.

Come help then, for though you assail us,  
Things move, and the end is not far;  
The forces of heaven do not fail us,  
"Our waggon is hitched to a star."

Every moment makes clearer the manner  
To build our idea sublime;  
Come follow the Socialist banner,  
Come fight for the Spirit of Time.

C. W. BECKETT.

A LETTER FROM JAPAN.

SOME little time ago, a note was published in the *Commonweal* from our comrade Burton, formerly of the Hammersmith Branch. The following remarks by him on the social condition of Japan, in a letter to comrade Bolas, will doubtless prove interesting to our readers:

"The newspapers were particularly welcome, as, besides the *Pall Mall Gazette*, no paper of at all a Socialistic tendency reaches here. The *Pall Mall Gazette*, I am glad to see, becomes more and more decidedly Socialistic. I imagine that it will be the leading Socialist organ before long. It is very encouraging too, to see a paper such as *Reynolds* taking so clear a Socialistic stand. It is a paper that must have immense influence. The opposition of *Punch* too, which is now, in spite of its pretended Liberalism, more essentially a class paper than any other that I know of, is, on the whole, a matter of congratulation. One can never be certain that a good cause is going to succeed till the *Times* and *Punch* consider it worth their while to stupidly abuse it and thereby help it on.

"I still have much interest in studying the economic condition of this country, or rather in attempting to study it, for it is very difficult to investigate. The great problem here will be, I believe before very long, whether the country can be Socialised without first passing through a system of which competitive production is the chief element. I have some doubts about it. There can be no doubt that, evil as the competitive system now is, it has brought great qualities to the people. The Government here, although I imagine they would repudiate the name with horror, are more Socialistic than any other Government that I know of. They keep all the great educational concerns under their direct control, using them for the people; they do the same with almost all the affairs that form great monopolies at home, and even control to a very great extent the production of the articles which form the staple trade of the country, endeavouring in all these things to turn matters rather for the benefit of the many than of the few. The making of anything that we would call a fortune at home is practically impossible here, and even the highest Government officials get what we would consider exceedingly low pay; about what a Government clerk gets at home. Above all, the Japanese see that if they make the country a happy hunting-ground for the British merchant, the British merchant will rapidly make a fortune at the expense of the Japanese; so there are such restrictions put on the precious British merchant—who considers himself to be the centre of all things without whom the world would cease to go round—that he is not able to make a fortune here at all. This makes the British merchant very mad, and he writes home that the country is a miserable one, whose people have no knowledge of trade, and he hints that people who have not such knowledge and do not use it to enrich him are going to be damned very quickly. The British merchant is about the most despicable skunk knocking around."

The true test of civilisation is, not the census, nor the size of cities, nor the crops—no, but the kind of man the country turns out.—*Emerson*



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

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

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

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

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

A. H.—Of course the Calendar cannot be made wholly exhaustive all at once. We shall be much helped by anyone who fills up for us any omission in the list of events. The Cato Street affair will be treated in an article as fully as time and space will allow.

#### Periodicals received during the week ending Wednesday February 29.

<b>ENGLAND</b> Bristol—Magpie Die Autonomie Jus Justice Leaflet Newspaper London—Freie Presse Labour Tribune Norwich—Daylight Railway Review Worker's Friend	<b>MILWAUKEE (Wis.)</b> —Volksblatt San Francisco (Cal) The People Coast Seamen's Journal Freethought	<b>SWITZERLAND</b> Geneva—Bulletin Continental
<b>UNITED STATES</b> New York—Freiheit Truthseeker Volkszeitung Boston—Woman's Journal Denver (Col.) Labor Enquirer Fort Worth (Tex)—South West	<b>FRANCE</b> Paris—Cri du Peuple (daily) La Revolte <b>HOLLAND</b> Hague—Recht voor Allen <b>BELGIUM</b> Seraing (Ougree)—Le Reveil Ghent—Vooruit Antwerp—De Werker Brussels—L'Avant-Garde Liege—L'Avenir	<b>SPAIN</b> El Productor Madrid—El Socialista <b>PORTUGAL</b> Lisbon—O Protesto Operario <b>GERMANY</b> Berlin—Volks Tribune <b>AUSTRIA</b> Vienna—Gleichheit <b>HUNGARY</b> Arbeiter-Wochen-Chronik <b>DENMARK</b> Social-Demokraten <b>NORWAY</b> Kristiania—Social-Demokraten
	<b>ITALY</b> Milan—Il Fascio Operaio Rome—L'Emancipazione Marsala—La Nuova Eta	

### A TRIPLE ALLIANCE.

THE struggle for the elementary right of freedom of speech, of which the events of Bloody Sunday formed such a dramatic episode, is taking a new development. The police onslaught of November 13th, and the subsequent reactionary tyranny of the Government, came as a surprise on the genuine Radicals who took part in the proceedings of that disastrous and shameful day: and it can hardly be doubted that the orthodox Liberals were also surprised at it; but their surprise took the form of striking them dumb as well as deedless. Comment has been made in these columns on the dastardliness of their behaviour, which, all things considered, was not astonishing, as well as on its stupidity, which really was almost astonishing. For here had the Tories put a weapon in their hands of a like nature to that which they were using so eagerly in Ireland, and yet they let it tumble to the ground and lie there; thus practically admitting their real alliance with the very men they are formally contending with in the Parliamentary game. So much for Mr. Gladstone's British following, and, grievous as it is to say it, his Irish allies behaved no better. Here one has some right to be surprised: how could it be that they did not see the force of the argument ready to their mouths, "You Englishmen, you Londoners, have coerced and gagged Ireland, with the result that you are coerced and gagged; join you with us, as we will with you, to get rid of coercion and gagging altogether, or else you will suffer along with us"?

And moreover, in joining heartily in our protest they would have been even formally pushing their own cause; the meeting on Bloody Sunday was called to protest against the wrong done to an Irishman and Ireland, and every man in the bludgeoned processions was an enthusiastic Home Ruler. Yet no one spoke or stirred, except, to be fair, Mr. Bradlaugh, mindful of his old struggles in the Square. It was left for the Socialists only, helped in the press by the professed democratic and workman's paper, *Reynolds*, and the *Pall Mall Gazette*, which for the time at least became almost a Socialist journal.

Nevertheless, so flagrant was the case, so open was the intention to thrust forward the merest absolutism, so disgracefully unfair was the conduct of the courts that tried the "rioters," and so savagely vin-

dictive the sentences passed on them, that the conspiracy of silence has failed at least as far as London is concerned; and the Southwark election, which otherwise would have been a matter of little importance, showed, as is admitted on all sides, that the London workmen understand the subject of Trafalgar Square much better than their so-called "leaders."

This fact has at last penetrated the numskulls of the orthodox Liberals, and it said that the wily old politician who "leads" them is going to contribute his "old stager" wisdom to the debate on Trafalgar Square, which is (perhaps) to come off on Thursday: nay, that the very dissentient Liberals themselves have taken the alarm, and are meditating a little dishing of the Gladstonians.

Meantime, the meeting of Monday 20th, which was called to welcome Burns and Graham, became under these circumstances a demonstration of a triple alliance for freedom of speech between the Irish, the Radicals, and the Socialists. We are bound to hope that this alliance will give back Trafalgar Square to the people, and put the whole matter of open-air meeting on a better footing than it is at present; but it will only do so if the rank and file of the Irish and Radicals are determined to make a genuine alliance with their Socialist brethren, whatever the leaders may do: it is their business if they are in earnest in upholding freedom of speech throughout the country to look to it that the Liberals do not use it merely as a good electioneering cry for London, to be cast aside on the first opportunity. At the meeting of the 20th the Radical part of their audience were loud in their boast that they could win the right of free speech from the reactionists by the ballot box. So be it! They are certainly not prepared to win it by physical force or the threat of it; though for my part I must think that rather their shame than their glory; and also that it is impolitic to cry out to such an enemy as they are facing (if they are in earnest) "Do what you will with us, if we cannot out-vote you, you are safe." However, let that pass; they are *not* prepared to carry the matter by force, and they think they can by voting. Well, then, at least let them vote hard and not soft; let them exact a pledge from every candidate to support the freedom of speech in Trafalgar Square and open spaces generally, and refuse to vote for anyone who will not give this pledge unreservedly, whether he calls himself Liberal, Radical, or Home Ruler. If they do less than this they may be sure of one thing, that the attitude of the Liberals when they come into power will be pretty much that of the Tories; and they will find after all that they will be driven to use force if they really want to speak out their grievances in public. For after all, it will one day be just as inconvenient to the Liberals as to the Tories that the people should claim what they want by means of public meetings, and whatever opinions the majority in the House of Commons may profess, the Executive will always do its best to silence the people, unless it is repeating parrot-fashion the words put into its mouth by its masters.

As to whether the mass of the Radicals are prepared to assert themselves, and will pluck up heart of grace to beard their leaders, from all that is past one cannot help being very doubtful about that. If they are not, they are exciting themselves very unnecessarily about getting rid of the Tories, who will in that case answer all their purposes quite as well. They may make use of the Liberal party to carry on democracy to the point when it must melt into Socialism; if they do not, they will be made use of to get a party into office, which, as far as any practical purpose is concerned, is composed of leaders who will not lead, and of followers who have got nothing to follow.

W. M.

ANOTHER GREAT RAILWAY STRIKE IN AMERICA.—The engine-drivers and firemen have struck along the entire Quincy system, comprising 6,000 miles of railroad in Illinois, Iowa, Missouri, Kansas, Nebraska, Colorado, Minnesota, and Wisconsin, both the freight and passenger traffic being paralysed.

SOCIALISM IN LONDON.—The Socialists seem to be making headway in the local Parliaments. There has been a Socialist Ministry at Charing Cross, and now the Battersea Parliament has followed suit, and is led by a Socialist Ministry. We notice that at Battersea, as at Charing Cross, the first measure to be brought forward is one for the enlargement of the municipal and parliamentary franchise, and prominent among the projects of legislation is "a Bill to increase and amend the powers of local authorities." It looks as though at Battersea, as at Charing Cross, the "Socialists of the municipality" were in the ascendant.—*Pall Mall Gazette*.

THE TITHE RIOTS AT LLANGWM.—Eight men, including the Rev. Edward Roberts, Wesleyan minister, were indicted at Ruthin assizes on Tuesday that "they, with other evil-disposed persons to the number of three hundred, did riotously assemble armed with sticks, and further did wound George Thorpe and others." They were escorted from Llangwm by an enthusiastic crowd. Twenty-seven men were originally committed for trial, but the Attorney-General entered a *nolle prosequi* against nineteen of them. Mr. M'Intyre, Q.C., opened the case for the Crown, and described in detail the riots; but subsequently the defendants were liberated on their recognizances in £20 each to appear, if necessary, on March 28.



THE YELLOW INTERNATIONAL.

THERE is in every country of the civilised world a band of fiends, who are the very worst enemies of the people. The only principle in their lives—the be-all and end-all of their existence—is to heap up money. To heap up money! In order to do this effectually, they set aside all the laws of religion and morality without the slightest remorse. When it suits them, they will rudely brush away all ideas of nationality and fatherland. Or if more convenient to themselves, they bolster up with all their greedy pride the empty sentiment of Jingoism.

They are the arbiters of the universe. They spread rumours of wars and disturbances; they make war and they make "peace" that is worse than war. They can cause a country to be overwhelmed by calamity, or they may allow it to remain in prosperity. They hold in their hands all the produce of the world, and consequently are the absolute masters of the people everywhere, whom they regard merely as so many instruments for their purposes.

They are internationalists in the fullest sense of the word. As such, they know neither creed, politics, or nationality, except when it will further their wishes. The control of the means of communication being in their hands, enables them to direct both the home and foreign politics of every country.

These men are the financiers—the Goschens, the Jay Goulds, the Rothchilds, the Erlanders, the Schneiders, etc. To these men and their kind is to be attributed the greater part of the sorrows and misery of human life. There is not a family in the land but knows some reason to curse these cruel murderers.

But for them there would have been no need for the peoples of France and Germany to grapple blindly with each other as they did in 1870. But for them, there would have been no need for England to send her soldiers and sailors to lay waste the country of Egypt and to outrage its inhabitants. But for them, the Englishmen, the Irishmen, the Scotchmen, and the Welshmen who have fallen in iniquitous wars like these—causing desolation in the homes of thousands—might have been still alive, enjoying life and contributing to the well-being of the community.

When the people are awake to these facts, it is to be hoped that no quarter will be shown to these heartless and shameless bloodsuckers.

In *Le Socialiste* of Jan. 28, 1888, our comrade Paul Lafargue, in an article on "La Banque de France," shows in a very striking manner the way in which the financiers—the Yellow International, as they are well called—rob the people and impose heavy burdens upon them. In 1868 France was enjoying peace and prosperity. The Bank of France distributed that year a dividend of 90 francs per 1000 franc share. In 1871 France was vanquished and laid waste; the bank gave its shareholders a dividend of 270 francs per 1000 franc share. In 1872, a dividend of 320 francs. In 1873, a dividend of 360 francs. In five years the dividends had increased four fold.

In October 1869 the market price of a 1000 franc share of the Bank of France was 2725 francs; in 1873 it was 4515 francs.

It will be seen by these figures that a war is much more profitable to the financiers than a period of peace. But it will also be seen, by examining the following figures, that defeat and disaster are ever so much more profitable than victory to these robbers of the working classes.

In 1854 France went to the Crimean War, which proved long and troublesome. The dividend of the Bank of France was 194 francs per share. In 1859 France went to war with Italy. The struggle was a short one and the French were victorious. The dividends of the bank were 115 francs per share. But in 1870-71, when France was beaten by Germany, when its fields were wasted, its cities bombarded, its armies destroyed; when Paris was soiled by the Prussian troops encamped within its walls, Metz delivered up to the enemy, fire and sword carried in all directions; when France was betrayed by Napoleon the Little, condemned to give up two fair provinces, and to pay an indemnity of five milliards,—then was the joy of the shareholders of the Bank of France at its full. The dividends were as follows: In 1871, 270 francs per share; in 1872, 320 francs; in 1873, 360 francs. There had not been such a devilish festival since 1815, when Napoleon the Unambitious was overthrown.

As in France, so in England. A like story could be told of our so-called National Bank. That soul of honour, the pure-minded and patriotic Goschen, has proved himself quite eminent by feathering his nest in the same manner. Being a politician, he uses his power to provoke a rebellion in Egypt, to banish and murder its leaders, to bombard Alexandria, to extort enormous taxes from the peasantry, and—worse than all—to make the English people do all this horrible work. This is the same Goschen who is our present Chancellor of the Exchequer—the man, linked with Balfour and Salisbury, who is engaged in trying to coerce the Irish nation, by batoning, shooting, imprisoning, evicting, and deliberately murdering its people.

There is a moral side to this question, and it behoves all religious folk, all intelligent and honest Christians, and all single-minded Free-thinkers, to consider it from this point of view. A careful enquiry and an impartial judgment would condemn the rottenness of society, which allows such revolting crimes to be done, without fear of punishment, by its principal men.

The working classes have to remember many important facts in these days, but let them ever remember that among their worst enemies are the financiers.

W. CHAS. WADE.

CORRESPONDENCE.

PUSHING "COMMONWEAL."

For some weeks past a vigorous effort has been made to extend the circulation of this journal, and the result has been to get it into quarters of the metropolis where it had hitherto not been seen. A deal of indifference and actual hostility, amounting to boycotting, has to be met with from the small newsagents who have been solicited to sell the paper. Being glutted with the ephemeral publications that are thrust upon them, they are against accepting an addition which promises more trouble and little or no profit. Others positively refuse to help the circulation from hostility to the doctrines of Socialism. Where this intolerance is most objectionable is on the part of newsagents who obtain it upon order for customers who deal with them for other articles, and yet positively refuse to show a bill or take copies upon sale or return. One remarked to me the other day, "Although I have both *Justice* and *Commonweal* for customers that lay out money for other things, yet I wouldn't have it seen in my place, and I would like to see the whole lot of you put down." "This is like a clothier wanting to sell clothes all of one fit," I made answer, and shows that Ireland might receive a lesson in boycotting from here. To meet this boycott I suggest to the editors to publish a list of where and where not to get the *Commonweal*, the latter list to include the names of shopkeepers who act as I describe. Our comrades may then transfer their custom to friendlier hands. Readers and sympathisers may supplement the efforts that are being made to widen the circulation by sending in the names and addresses of shopkeepers in their neighbourhood who would take the paper, and above all display a poster. Friends in the distant suburbs might supply a board to shops where they deal, and see that it is not covered over with other bills. Further help can be given where, as in the case of even democratic Battersea the newsagents with few exceptions refuse the paper, a member supplies a circle of readers himself.

F. KIRZ.

NEW VERSION OF "THE FINE OLD ENGLISH GENTLEMAN."

SIR,—The following lines appeared in the *Examiner*, Saturday, August 27, 1841, p. 500, and appear so exactly suited to the state of things to-day that you may perhaps feel disposed to find room for an example of Charles Dickens in a character that many readers of his novels have never considered—*i.e.*, a writer of political squibs:

I'll sing you a new ballad, and I'll warrant it first rate,  
Of the days of that old gentleman who had that old estate;  
When they spent the public money at a bountiful old rate,  
On every mistress, pimp, and scamp, at every noble gate,—  
In the fine old English Tory times;  
Soon may they come again!

The good old laws were garnished well with gibbets, whips, and chains,  
With fine old English penalties, and fine old English pains;  
With rebel heads and seas of blood once hot in rebel veins,—  
For all these things were requisite to guard the rich old gains  
Of the fine old English Tory times;  
Soon may they come again!

This brave old cove, like Argus, had a hundred watchful eyes,  
And every English peasant had his good old English spies,  
To tempt his starving discontent with fine old English lies,  
Then call the good old yeomanry to stop his peevish cries,—  
In the fine old English Tory times;  
Soon may they come again!

The good old times for cutting throats that cried out in their need,  
The good old times for hunting men who held their father's creed,  
The good old times when William Pitt, as all good men agreed,  
Came down direct from Paradise, at more than railroad speed,—  
Oh, the fine old English Tory times,  
When will they come again?

In those rare days the press was seldom known to snarl or bark,  
But sweetly sang of men in power like any tuneful lark;  
Grave judges, too, to all their evil deeds were in the dark;  
And not a man in twenty score knew how to make his mark.  
Oh, the fine old English Tory times,  
Soon may they come again!

Those were the days for taxes, and for war's infernal din;  
For scarcity of bread that fine old dowagers might win;  
For shutting men of letters up, through iron bars to grin,  
Because they didn't think the Prince was altogether thin.  
In the fine old English Tory times,  
Soon may they come again!

(This is most certainly written for the benefit of all Irish editors and contributors, many of whom have been looking from the wrong side of the iron bars. All true poets are prophets, we have heard; and thinking of Tullamore, we can believe the statement.)

But Tolerance, though slow in flight, is strong-winged in the main;  
That night must come on these fine days, in course of time was plain;  
The pure old spirit struggled, but its struggles were in vain,  
A nation's grip was on it, and it died in choking pain.  
With the fine old English Tory days,  
All of the olden time!

The bright old day now dawns again; the cry runs through the land,  
In England there shall be—dear bread! in Ireland—sword and brand!  
And poverty and ignorance shall swell the rich and grand;  
So, rally round the rulers with the gentle iron hand,  
Of the fine old English Tory days,  
Hail to the coming time!

This last verse so accurately expresses the state of affairs to-day, when we have a gang of monopolists who are hoping for "only a small duty, you know, on food"; when we have another gang, booted and spurred ready for civil war in Ireland, and a brutal police autocracy, backed up by grave judges, too, in London.

THOMAS SHORE, jun.

## THE LABOUR STRUGGLE.

BRITAIN.

Three thousand men and boys struck work last week at Usworth Felling, Wardley, and Springwell Collieries, in Durham.

The miners strike in Clackmannan county against the proposed 10 per cent reduction of wages has now collapsed.

The workmen in the Tyneside engineering trade have been conceded an advance of 2s. weekly all round.

The Edinburgh joiners have accepted the employers' offer to pay 7d. per hour, commencing on 3rd March. The settlement has caused much satisfaction among the men.

**STEAM-ENGINE BUILDERS.**—The annual Report says large numbers of men are off work, and the arrears due by them are heavy. The average arrears are over 5s. 4d. per member—the arrears being least at Oldham and Brighton, and heaviest in the West Manchester district.

**NUT AND BOLT MAKERS.**—In accordance with a decision arrived at at a public meeting of nut and bolt makers at Darlston on Thursday night, notice was given to the employers on Saturday for the return of 5 per cent. taken off the recognised list of prices in 1885.

At a meeting of miners held at Irvine last Thursday a resolution was carried that eleven days per fortnight be worked by miners in the district till they find it convenient to fall in with the resolution of the National Federation of five days per week.

The majority of the girls employed in the hemming department of Messrs. Torrance & Co., Calton, Glasgow, who struck work last week in consequence of a notice of reduction in their wages, have resumed work at the masters' terms.

**FIVE MINERS.**—DUNFERMLINE (Monday).—To-day upwards of 2,000 of the five miners on "holiday" are locked out, and the coal-masters do not meet to consider the situation until Thursday. Many of the idle men had not one penny to draw at the pay-office on Saturday, and a good many families are reported destitute.

**SCOTTISH BAKERS' CONFERENCE IN GLASGOW.**—At the conference held in the Albion Halls last week, it was unanimously agreed to form an organization to be called "The Operative Bakers of Scotland's National Federal Union." The union is to be divided into branches, with Aberdeen as the first seat of the central board.

**WEAVERS' STRIKE.**—The strike at the Newchurch Manufacturing Company's Victoria Works, Cloughfold, still continues. Over a fortnight ago the weavers, who numbered 368, ceased to work because the company had declined to give an advance of 5 per cent. to make up for the loss the weavers allege they sustain in consequence of the bad quality of the material they had to weave.

**NORWICH SHOE TRADE.**—A strike affecting 120 of the riveters in the employ of Messrs. Haldenstein and Sons began on Saturday. The prices paid by the firm on certain kinds of work are said to be under the standard, and the men have other grievances. A meeting of the employes was held on Tuesday, and the secretary of the union is making preparations for a lengthy resistance. From reports I have received, the firm does not bear a very good name in the city.

**IRON TRADE WAGES.**—An important mass meeting of ironworkers representing South Staffordshire was held on Saturday at Wolverhampton, at which it was resolved to instruct the operatives members of the Iron Trade Arbitration Wages Board to give notice for an advance in wages corresponding to the advance that has occurred in iron prices. It is expected that the operatives' representatives will give notice for a 5 or 10 per cent. advance. Loud complaints were made that wages are still regulated by the selling price of bars instead of sheets. The bar trade, it was urged, is fast becoming obsolete, and the sheet trade is taking its place. It was resolved that a change in the direction indicated should also be demanded from the Board. These resolutions affect many of the other ironworking districts besides Staffordshire.

**EDINBURGH BAKERS.**—Last Thursday a largely attended meeting of the Edinburgh bakers was held in the Trades Hall, Mr. Henry presiding. The following resolutions were submitted and carried by acclamation: (1) "That we, the operative bakers of Edinburgh, being convinced that the present degraded and unsatisfactory condition of the trade arises mostly from the want of union among ourselves, resolve to sink all minor differences and unite together to make every lawful endeavour to improve our position by shortening the hours of labour, and thus advancing our physical and social wellbeing"; and (2) "That we are of opinion that the best means by which we can hope to attain our object is by becoming members of and giving our united and persevering adherence to the Edinburgh branch of the Bakers of Scotland Federal Union."

**THE LOCKMAKERS' STRIKE AT WILLENHALL.**—A public meeting of lock-makers was held on Thursday evening at the Town Hall, Willenhall, for the purpose of considering the strike of the workmen employed at Messrs. Payton and Co.'s lock works, Walsall Street, Willenhall; Mr. W. H. Tildesley presiding over a good attendance. The chairman said he entirely sympathised with the lockmakers in their endeavours to obtain a fair day's wage for a fair day's work. The men had been really very unfairly dealt with, and the support that they had received augured well for the successful issue of the struggle. He gave his support to the men because he was a Christian, and believed in the principle, "Do unto others as ye would that they should do unto you," and also as a citizen, knowing that such low wages as these men had been receiving would mean ruin not only to themselves but to the whole town. He hoped the strike would be brought to a successful issue. Mr. William Vaughan (Messrs. Wm. Vaughan and Sons, lock manufacturers) moved, "That this meeting of the inhabitants of Willenhall strongly condemn the action of Messrs. Payton and Co. in their unfair competition with other employers in the district, and pledge themselves to use their utmost endeavours to assist the men to obtain a fair settlement of this dispute." He was pleased to see that their subscriptions were increasing, and he hoped they would still continue to do so. He would do his best amongst his friends and workmen to gain help for them. If the men could only hold out for a few weeks victory must be theirs, for their employers must either shut up or give them wages they could live on. Resolution was seconded, supported, and carried unanimously.

**CLOSING UP THE RANKS.**—The necessity of federation is being recognised

generally throughout the country. Last week the Welsh miners, and the Scotch miners declared in favour of it; now it is announced that the Edinburgh bakers have resolved to join the Bakers' Federal Union of Scotland.

**SEARCHING FOR WORK.**—At the Warrington Borough Police Court, Wm. Woods, who said he had been a soldier nineteen years, was charged with begging. He admitted it, but said he had had nothing to eat for eleven hours, and had walked fifty-three miles from Bradford in search of work on the Ship Canal. The magistrate discharged him with a caution.

**THE LATE BOLTON STRIKE.**—The Bolton Ratepayers' Association, through their solicitor Mr. Grundy, have obtained counsel's opinion on the legality of the charges, amounting to nearly £10,000, for county constabulary owing to the late strike riots. Mr. Crump, Q.C., states that the expenses should not be borne by the borough, and it is expected that the Association will take the matter to the Queen's Bench.

**THE INTERNATIONAL LABOUR CONGRESS.**—The preliminary notice has been issued for this important meeting, which will take place next November. Great precautions have been taken to keep out all those who are not connected with "bona fide" trades' unions. The refusal to acknowledge the solidarity of labour is openly and plainly shown by the ring of wire-pullers who manipulate the English Trades' Union Congress.

**LIBEL.**—Mr. Pickard, M.P., has been mulcted in £500 damages for stating that Mr. Pepper, the owner of the Monk Bretton colliery, had caused misery to many families by discharging men who wanted to avail themselves of the new Act and have the mines inspected on their behalf. The defendant also said that the Monk Bretton mines were full of gas, and had been condemned over and over again by the Government inspectors. The money will be raised by public subscription. A Bill has been introduced into the Commons to amend the law of libel, not, however, before it was wanted.

"Disputes with our servants are very distasteful to the directors." So said Mr. Thompson, the chairman of the Midland Railway Company. The public, however, will find nothing in the past history of the Midland directors to lead them to accept Mr. Thompson's statement, for, as a matter of fact, that company has had more disputes of a serious character with its workmen than any other company in the kingdom, and does little or nothing to avoid them.—*Railway Review.*

A correspondent in a contemporary says that, "after carefully dissecting the returns to the Board of Trade of all the existing collecting companies from their formation to the close of 1885, extending over about fifty years, I found (1) that not more than 5 out of every 100 members of Friendly Societies appear to have received anything whatever in return for their premiums, and that there is no apparent probability of this proportion being increased; and (2) that of the premiums so paid, no less than 55 per cent., on an average, with all the interest received in addition, had been absorbed by the companies in expenses. At present about 9,278,500 persons, averaging 20 years of age, appear to be paying to them about 2d. each, or 10d. per family per week, in the hope of securing to their representatives at their death on an average a little under £16 each."

**THE EIGHT HOURS' QUESTION.**—Much against the will of the clique who work the Trades' Union Congress, a resolution was last year passed that a vote be taken on the eight hour labour question. The Parliamentary Committee issued a circular, and to elucidate the object of that vote kindly undertook to explain what it meant. In the circular men are told that in order to put both sides before the voters, it must be pointed out that "in case of an eight hours law being obtained, all overtime would of necessity cease; that in case of being in favour of asking Government for such a law it must not be forgotten that capital, which is much more powerful and better organised than labour, will have the same right to ask for the regulation by Parliament of the conditions under which you labour; and would you be willing to make the necessary sacrifice in your total week's wages which such an alteration might involve?" Such an extraordinary way of putting the principle before the voters seems unprecedented. How would the nine hour day agitation have fared had the matter been placed in the same light before the men at that time? The voting of the London Society of Compositors took place on Monday. A number of men employed in the printing trade thus protested in a letter to the Executive: "The introductory matter in the ballot paper is of such a nature, and the questions so confusing, that we find it impossible to vote upon the matter. We are, therefore, unable to express an opinion on the Eight Hours' Question, and feel that many of our brother members are in the same difficulty."

In England those that have no work are busily engaged in freezing, starving, and suffering miscellaneously; those that have it rush about after John L. Sullivan; the wealthy men, and those aiming at wealth, are prosecuting their business called Parliament. A few brave men struggle for the rights of the poor and a few for religious liberty.—*N. Y. Truthseeker.*

**SOCIALISM AND TRADES UNIONISM** are not at all antagonistic. Trades Unionism wants an infusion of the thorough-going spirit of Socialism. Socialism would be all the more useful for an infusion of the practical clear-headedness of Trades Unionism. Trades Unionism is fighting the present day battle of labour for bread. Socialism points the way to a future for the labourer, in which his struggle with his fellow-man will cease, and labourers will be associated on democratic principles for their mutual benefit.—*Miner.*

**CIGAR-MAKERS IN MONTREAL AND NEW YORK.**—Reports from both the foregoing cities reveal a sad state of slavery amongst the cigar-makers, and of heartless rapacity on the part of the wretches who prey upon their labour. In Montreal, before the Royal Labour Commission, which began its sittings on the 6th of February, witnesses have given evidence that the average wages of cigar-makers only amounted to 4dols. a week, and that the employes were taxed for gas whether they worked or not. Apprentices received 1 dol. per week the first year, 2dols. the second, and 3dols. the third, but these sums were often greatly reduced by fines. An instance was given of an apprentice after working 57 hours, owing his employer 15 cents. The apprentices were often cruelly treated. In New York, where a strike has been going on for some time, the firm of Jacoby and Bookman are ejecting their unfortunate employes from the tenement houses belonging to one of the partners of the firm. "Several of the tenants," says the report, "are young girls, thinly clad, and with faces lined with care. They looked hungry and despondent." Their case impressed the judge as so sad that he strained a point to give them a few days extra time in which to vacate their rooms, as requested by the counsel for the Cigar-makers' Union.

T. BINNING.

REVOLUTIONARY CALENDAR.

WEEK ENDING MARCH 10, 1888.

4	Sun.	1877. George Odger died. 1880. Karl Sladkowsky died.
5	Mon.	1873. Plimsoll's Bill introduced. 1882. Edwin James died.
6	Tues.	1848. Riots in Trafalgar Square, West End, and Provinces. 1881. Formation of Land Nationalisation Society.
7	Wed.	1879. Female Suffrage rejected in Parliament.
8	Thur.	1831. Riots to Prevent Shipment of Corn.
9	Fri.	1762. William Cobbett born.
10	Sat.	1872. Mazzini died at Pisa.

*George Odger.*—George Odger was born at Rowbro', a small village between Plymouth and Tavistock, Devon. His father a miner, George was put to the shoemaking at an early age, not much of education falling to his share; by self-culture, however, he became fitted to fill in his native country a public position as an advanced politician, public reader, and reciter. He settled in London, after travelling about for some time to perfect himself in the various branches of his trade, and joined the Cordwainer's Society. In 1859, he took a prominent part in the delegate meetings during the great lock-out in the building trade. When machinery began to be largely introduced into his trade it met with much opposition from the general body of workers, and Odger worked hard to influence his fellows in favour of machinery, and in the same direction, strongly condemned Broadhead and his colleagues for the rattening and outrages in the cutlery trades. About 1863, he was appointed secretary of the London Trades' Council—at the extravagant salary of 2s. 6d. per week—and visited many towns in that capacity, doing more good work than has been done by some of the same body since, although rewarded by presents of game and cups of tea at Sandringham. In 1868, he stood candidate for Parliament for Chelsea, but was shamefully sacrificed on the "don't split the party" altar; 1869 he was again a sacrifice to "the party" at Stafford; in 1870 he contested Southwark and polled 4,382 votes, the Tory, Col. Beresford, polling 4,686, the election being lost to him by Sir S. Waterlow, who retired, never having a real chance, at the eleventh hour, taking 2,966 votes, a very small proportion of which would have given Odger the position which he had honestly earned. He proffered to contest Bristol the following month, but the preliminary ballot was against him once more, and when he next stood for Southwark in 1874 he had lost ground, polling 3,496. In the course of the negotiations attending the above contests, several attempts were made to bribe and buy him, large sums of money being placed at his command; but George Odger was not to be bought. That he was far-seeing and fitted for the position he aspired to, his conduct during the American war as compared with Earl Russell's ideas at the time is only one proof out of many. He suffered a long and cruel illness from rheumatism, which touched the heart, which disease was further complicated by dropsy and diabetes, and died, brave to the last, at 2 a.m., Sunday, March 4, 1877, aged 63. He was buried at Brompton Cemetery on the 10th, receiving the honour of one of the largest public funerals seen in London for many years; Profs. Fawcett, M.P., and Beesley; Messrs. Dilke, Burt, J. Cowen, Macdonald, M.P.'s, Dr. Bridges, F. Harrison, G. J. Holyoake, and Rev. G. M. Murphy attending on foot; Sir J. Bennett, Mundella, M.P., and Miss Helen Taylor in carriages. Fawcett and Beesley, after the burial service was concluded, addressed the crowd around the grave, Professor Beesley exciting some comment in the press by beginning his speech with the word "citizens."—T. S.

*Land Nationalisation Society.*—This society, under the presidency of Prof. A. R. Wallace, was formed for a very good purpose, that a nation shall own its own. Being founded, however, on an economical basis similar to that of the youthful claimant to the noted Jarndyce estates, described by Dickens in 'Bleak House,' it will probably have an effect on the evils of landlordism somewhere about the time that pigs begin to fly. "In order that the State may become possessed of this portion (quit-rent) of the value of all landed property in the kingdom, it must compensate existing landowners and their expectant heirs."—Wallace's 'Land Nationalisation,' 1882, p. 197. The economic parallel of this is the spending of your last shilling to buy a purse.—T. S.

*Riots.*—The French Revolution stirred up the people of England a good deal, and a few feeble attempts were made here and there to follow the good example. Monday, March 6, there was to have been a demonstration in Trafalgar Square against the Income-tax, convened by a Mr. Charles Cochrane. Act 57, G. III., c. 19, prohibits, during the Session of Parliament, any open-air meeting to petition the Legislature for any measure affecting Church or State, at any place within a mile of Westminster Hall, except the parish of St. Paul's Covent Garden. Warned of this by the police, Mr. Cochrane withdrew, and issued notices to stop the meeting, but this only served to exasperate the assembled audience. After a little sky-larking, during which some unpopular people made acquaintance with the fountains, some Chartist speakers came forward and held a very successful and orderly meeting (composed, according to the papers of next day, of "artisans and labourers out of work, idle spectators, and thieves"). But although this meeting had nothing to do with that proposed, and was therefore perfectly legal, the police attacked the people with their staves and a fight ensued. The wooden railings that then surrounded the pillar were torn up and used as weapons, and after a brief but fierce fight law-'n'-order had to run for it and take refuge in Scotland Yard. After awhile large reinforcements were got together, and after a severe struggle the Square was stormed and cleared; whereupon the crowd marched round the West End, keeping up a running fight with the police, and smashing lamps and windows until midnight. Loud shouts of "Vive la Republique!" were raised from time to time. For several days the fighting was renewed, but lack of organisation rendered the "mob" comparatively helpless. At Glasgow, the disturbances were much more formidable. On Tuesday, March 7, a large crowd assembled on the Green, and proceeded to arm themselves from the gunsmith's shops with guns, pistols, swords, etc., after which they marched about the town, satisfying their hunger from the provision shops. Police and special constables were put to flight, and the military had to be called out. After sharp fighting and some loss of life on both sides, the "mob" was "checked" and "peace" restored, and about 100 prisoners taken. Large reinforcements of the military were brought into the town, over 10,000 special constables sworn in, and with some trouble quiet was maintained on the following days. At Edinbro', Newcastle, and many other places the same kind of rising took place. As no real organisation or training had been looked after, the energy and effort that, well-directed, might have made a revolution, dissipated itself in futile street-fighting, and only served to warn the governing classes so that they were ready for the events of the next few months.—S.

*Joseph Mazzini.*—On March 10, 1872, Joseph Mazzini, Italian patriot, died at Pisa. He was associated with the most advanced revolutionary party in Italy, and suffered, in common with them, great hardships in prison and exile. Mazzini was born in Genoa in 1805; he was reared in Republican faith, and thoroughly imbued with the principle of Equality. At the age of 22, he joined the Carbonari, a secret society; sent by this society to plant the order in Tuscany, he was entrapped and imprisoned. During this confinement he conceived the idea of founding "Young Italy," a society devoted to the cause of Republicanism and

earnest in their work, was quickly destined to meet the fate of all those who denounced the system of organised oppression. Many of its members were executed, others banished or imprisoned. Although Mazzini with others was condemned to death, yet he lived to see royal dynasties swallowed up in the tomb of popular fury, the Austrian Empire all but destroyed, kings and queens sent to die in exile, the Pope flying in disguise, and the banner of Republicanism floating over the Vatican. When again all this reversed, the armies of law and order over-running Europe, Mazzini never lost heart; he was found an exile in Switzerland carrying on the work he had done. A weak Swiss Government pressed by France expelled him, together with a band of loving exiles, banished for ever from the Swiss Republic. His next move was in the direction of this country, reaching London about the beginning of the year 1837, where he dragged through a life of deepest poverty. Even here, in our country of "freedom and liberty," he was subject to petty annoyances from the government of the day, although amongst the English people he found many co-workers and friends. When in 1848 the Italian people made great efforts to throw off the yoke of rival princes, and Italy was torn asunder at this time by contending parties, Mazzini hastened to his native land, taking a most active part in a great revolt, which achieved the Declaration of the Republic of Rome in 1849. In the meantime the Pope fled from the city. It is to be deplored that this Republic, one of the most glorious and noblest Republics that ever existed, elected by universal suffrage, should have been destroyed by a sister Republic, France. A short-lived Government, of some four or five months, was overthrown upon the invasion of Rome by the French troops. The "Vicar of Christ" returned, reinstated by brute force and violence of foreign arms. After this crushing blow to the hopes of liberty and government by the people, Mazzini left his country, compelled to make a sharp exit, and again steered for London. Living there for a short time he went to Switzerland, from whence he was once more expelled, spending the remainder of a broken and shattered life at Pisa. A recent biographer of Mazzini says: "Mazzini's lofty idealism, his religious spirit, and his constant insistence on duty rather than on rights, frequently brought him into antagonism with many of the revolutionists of Europe. . . . His attitude towards our current Socialism would probably be somewhat different, for that is historical, and is connected with those democratic forms which he thought essential."—F. C. P.

THE BRISTOL UNEMPLOYED.

THE Report of the Committee of the Bristol Unemployed has been sent to us, and we regret that space will not allow of its being reprinted entire in these columns. The committee say:

"To us, it is surprising to have found that a movement of this kind, which one would have thought in a so-called Christian country would evoke general sympathy, has, except in a very few instances, some of them to be presently mentioned, met with the most strenuous, unjust, unfair, and even calumnious opposition. There has been a manifold effort to discredit the cause from the beginning. It is no figure of speech to say that the prominent men in the movement have from the first been marked out, and one after the other unmercifully attacked—a manoeuvre, we venture to say, more military in its method than human and honourable in practice against men on whom it would not have been exercised if it had not been meanly assumed that they were poor and defenceless."

As it is well to know who are our friends, we may here give the exceptions referred to. They are the Revs. T. W. Harvey, E. A. Fuller, U. R. Thomas, J. R. Graham, and G. E. Ford; Messrs. R. G. Tovey, and F. G. Barnett, and the Socialist Union. The *Evening News* and the *Bristol Observer* are also credited with "some generous and kind articles."

The mayor and his capitalist friends seem from the first to have tried by every means to discredit the committee, as also Mr. Councillor Tovey, who "his worship" objected to because "his opinions were too pronounced." The mayor's "specific for solving the great unemployed question is, we understand, that men and women must 'work longer hours for less pay'." The Report then refers to the efforts made to pry into the personal character of the committee; and while not objecting to this, which it did not oppose but rather facilitated, suggests "whether it would not be well for the working class to form a court of enquiry into the personal and commercial character of some of our public men." One can scarcely wonder at the bitterness of the concluding words:

"The end of all of it is there is still greater distress now than before. Our efforts appear to have been thrown away, except for a sum of money subscribed sufficient perhaps to provide, if properly distributed, a small loaf each to the very large number of men, women, and children in a semi-starving condition. For a very large number it is, let the mayor, *Mercury*, *Mirror*, and mayor's myrmidons mince and mock as they may, and take joy in such sickly pastime. Granting it is a small number, as they say, how much easier is the task of saving them, and how much greater the blame and the shame that they remain unassisted. But we will not say our efforts are altogether useless. The one main thing it has taught us is that there is no mistake in the idea that the case of unemployed men and women is well-nigh hopeless, and that an attempt to bring their condition before the public in an orderly and peaceful manner is fruitful in nothing scarcely but misrepresentation, calumny, jeers, and gibes of the well-to-do who live upon the produce of other people's labour, and are calmly content to laugh at their brothers and sisters and little children starving and dying, provided they do it not too noisily." T. B.

THE SOCIALIST LEAGUE.

OFFICES: 13 FARRINGTON ROAD, E.C.

Annual Conference.

The Fourth Annual Conference of the Socialist League will be held at 13 Farrington Road, on Whitsunday, May 20. The attention of Branches is particularly referred to (1) Rule V. on the subject of the annual conference, pp. 3 and 4 of Constitution and Rules; and (2) that all branches wishing to be represented at the Conference must pay their subscription up to the 31st March by May 1st.

*Branch Subscriptions Paid.*—1887: Hastings, Nottingham, Pelsall—None. Bradford, Croydon, Glasgow, Hackney, Ipswich, Leeds, Marylebone, Merton, North London, Norwich—to end of March. Edinburgh—to end of May. Mitcham—to end of July. Walsall—to end of August. Hull—to end of September. Bloomsbury, Walham Green, Wednesbury—to end of October. Leicester—to end of November. Clerkenwell, Hammersmith, Hoxton, Mile-end, Oxford—to end of December.

**SPECIAL NOTICE.**—On Monday next, March 5th, the usual monthly meeting of London Members will take place at 9 o'clock. Members of Council are requested to attend early, and business will commence at 7.45.

"COMMONWEAL" PRINTING FUND.

*Weekly Subscriptions.*—C. J. F., 2s. 6d. K. F., 1s. Langley, 2s. P. W., 6d. Oxford Branch, 2s. W. B., 6d.



## REPORTS.

**BLOOMSBURY.**—On Thursday evening, W. B. Parker opened debate in absence of J. Lane, who was unwell.

**CLERKENWELL.**—On Wednesday, Feb. 22, J. Wood (S.D.F.) lectured on "Technical Education." On Sunday, Feb. 26, Capt. Pfoundes on "The United States of Greater Britain." Brisk discussions. Important business meeting next Sunday at 7 p.m.—B.

**FULHAM.**—Sunday morning meeting addressed by Turner and Morris. Fair sale of *Commonweal*. In evening a meeting was held as usual outside our rooms. Parker (of Norwich), Knowles, Groser, and Sparling spoke, and the choir sung. Afterwards a fair audience in the rooms; Sparling lectured on "The Blind Samson," Parker in the chair.—S. B. G.

**MITCHAM.**—On Sunday, Turner lectured on "Co-operation." Landlord of club in chair. Meeting of lecturers stands over till next week.—W. G. E.

**BRADFORD.**—Jowett lectured at Exchange, City Road, on "Democracy and the Political Outlook" on 26th inst. Bland lectured on previous Saturday on "Criticisms on the Toynbee Institute Lectures." Good discussions both times.

**GLASGOW.**—On Thursday night, comrade Miller, of Kansas City, U.S., gave an account of the Socialist movement in that country. On Saturday, the members present in the rooms formed themselves into a committee to make arrangements for the celebration of the "Commune of Paris," by having a social meeting and concert on the 17th of March. On Sunday, Adams lectured to the Joseph Biggar branch of the I.N.L. on "Political Panaceas." A good discussion followed. At 5 o'clock, when the sleet and rain had cleared off, Glasier held a good meeting in Infirmary Square.—S. D.

**LEEDS.**—Since last report we have left the rooms in Chesham Street, and at present occupy a room in Lady Lane. During past month our numbers have doubled, and we are looking for larger premises. On Sunday, Feb. 11, Maguire lectured at Shipley on "Private Rights and Public Wrongs." Last Sunday night, Paylor spoke at the Hunslet Liberal Club on "Radicalism and Socialism."

**NORWICH.**—Sunday last, Mowbray spoke in Market Place; good crowd assembled, though weather was very bad. In evening, in Gordon Hall, Mowbray lectured on the "Anti-Statist Manifesto" in unavoidable absence of Houghton; Morley in chair. We are making arrangements for celebrating the Commune on the 19th of March; we hope to have a London speaker to take part.—S.

**WALSALL.**—On Monday, Feb. 20th, Butler (of Sedgely) lectured on "The Highlands of Scotland, the Evicted Crofters and Evicting Landlords." Sunday evening we held a tea meeting, Sanders presided. Addresses were given by Donald and Tarn (Birmingham). Recitations, songs, readings, etc., by Weaver, Deakin, and others. Meeting most successful of the kind we have held.—J. T. D.

**EDINBURGH.**—On 19th, a portion of Kirkup's "Inquiry" read and discussed. On 26th, Smith criticised the objections to Socialism in Donisthorpe's "Labour Capitalisation."

**DUBLIN.**—At Working-men's Club, Wellington Quay, Feb. 24, C. H. Oldham lectured on "The Position of the artisan class in Irish politics." He showed the relative proportions of the commercial, agricultural, and artisan classes in the United Kingdom, and that only by solidarity could the workers benefit themselves. An interesting discussion followed, in which J. Simmons (Trades' Council), W. Anderson, G. Coffey, B.L., and others took part. At Saturday Club on 27th, M. Kavanagh lectured on "Sunday Closing of Public Houses," advocating it as a means towards improving the condition of the workers. Fitzpatrick and others took the opposite view, looking upon the scheme as a tyrannical interference with the liberty of the individual.

## LECTURE DIARY.

## LONDON.

**Acton.**—17 High Street, Acton, W. (adjoining Purnell's Dining Rooms). Sunday March 4, at 8 p.m., J. Turner, "The Control of Capital."

**Bloomsbury.**—Communist Club, 49 Tottenham Street, Tottenham Court Road. Thursday March 1, Social Evening for members and friends. Thursday Mar. 8, Business meeting (members of the Concert Committee specially requested to attend).

**Clerkenwell.**—Hall of the Socialist League, 13 Farringdon Rd., E.C. Business meeting every Sunday at 7. Sunday March 4, at 8.30, Free Concert by Wm. Blundell and Friends. Wednesday Mar. 7, at 8.30, H. H. Sparling, "The Cato Street Conspiracy." Sun. 11. Mr. Touzeau Parris. Wed. 14. Thomas Shore, jun. (L.R.L.). Sun. 18. Commune Celebration—social evening, with short addresses, songs, etc.

**Fulham.**—8 Effie Road, Walham Green. Sunday at 8.

**Hackney.**—26 Percy Terrace, Victoria Road, Hackney Wick.

**Hammersmith.**—Kelmescott House, Upper Mall, W. Sunday March 4, at 8 p.m., Percival Chubb (Fabian Society), "The Ethical Aspect of Socialism."

**Hoxton (L.E.L.).**—C. J. Young, 8 Dunloe Street, Hackney Road, Secretary. Members please take up their membership cards for 1888.

**Mitcham.**—Corner of Merton Lane and Fountain Place. Club Room open Saturday, Sunday, and Monday

evenings from 7.30 till 11. W. E. Eden, 12 Palmerston Road, Wimbledon, Secretary.

**Mid-end and Bethnal Green.**—95 Boston St., Hackney Road. Business Meeting every Thursday at 9 p.m. Debating Class for members after Business Meeting.

## PROVINCES.

**Aberdeen (Scottish Section).**—Sunday night meetings in Baker Street Hall, at 6. Secretary, J. Leatham, 15 St. Nicholas Street.

**Birmingham.**—Meetings at Summer Row Coffee House every Saturday evening at 8.

**Bradford.**—Morris's Dining Rooms, 114 City Road. Wednesdays, at 8. On Sunday, Maguire (of Leeds) will lecture.

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

**Cowdenbeath (Scot. Sec).**—J. Duncan, 30 Arthur Pl., sec

**Dublin.**—Saturday Club, Central Lecture Hall, 12 Westmorland Street.

**Dundee (Scot. Sect.).**—Meetings every Sunday in the Trades Hall, opposite Tay Bridge Station. Political Economy class, 2 p.m. Lecture at 6.30.

**Edinburgh (Scottish Section).**—4 Park Street. Every Thursday at 8, class for study of Marx's 'Capital.' At Trades Hall, High Street, Sunday March 4, W. Davidson, "Wealth."

**Galashiels (Scot Sect).**—J. Walker, 6 Victoria St., sec.

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**Norwich.**—Gordon Hall, 5 Duke Street. Monday at 8, an Entertainment will be held. Tuesday at 8.30, Business meeting. Wednesday at 7.45, Band practice and Minstrel rehearsal. Thursday at 8, Discussion class (Gronlund) Friday and Saturday, Club premises open from 8 till 10.30. Lecture on Sunday at 8. Sunday next Paris Commune Committee meet at 4 in Gordon Hall.

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

## OPEN-AIR PROPAGANDA.

## LONDON—Sunday 4.

10.30... Acton—the Steyne ..... Acton Branch  
11.15... Starch Green ..... Hammersmith Branch  
11.30... Acton Green ..... The Branch  
11.30... Garrett—"Plough Inn" ..... The Branch  
11.30... Hoxton Ch, Pitfield St. ... Pope & Mrs. Schack  
11.30... Merton—Haydons Road ..... Kitz  
11.30... Mitcham Fair Green ..... Wardle  
11.30... Regent's Park ..... Nicoll & Allman  
11.30... St. Pancras Arches ..... Bloomsbury Branch  
11.30... Walham Green ..... Fulham Branch  
3 ... Hyde Park ..... Parker  
7 ... Acton—Priory ..... Acton Branch

## PROVINCES.

**Leeds.**—Sunday: Jack Lane End, Meadow Road, at 10.30 a.m. In Prince's Field, at 3 p.m.

**Norwich.**—Market Place, at 3 every Sunday.

**LONDON PATRIOTIC CLUB,** Clerkenwell Green.—Next Sunday morning, March 4, at 11.30, W. B. Parker will lecture on "Radicalism and Socialism." Discussion invited.

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# THE COMMONWEAL

The Official Journal of the Socialist League.

VOL. 4.—No. 113.

SATURDAY, MARCH 10, 1888.

WEEKLY; ONE PENNY.

## THE PARIS COMMUNE.

THE celebration of the anniversary organised by the English Socialist Societies will take place on

MONDAY MARCH 19,

at the

STORE STREET HALL,

Store Street, Tottenham Court Road, W.C.

The following speakers will address the meeting:—

ANNIE BESANT, JOHN BURNS, ELEANOR AVELING, WILLIAM MORRIS, CHARLOTTE WILSON, P. KROPOTKINE, F. KITZ, A. HEADINGLEY, F. HICKS, H. H. SPARLING, DR. MERLINO, BORDES, and others.

The Chair will be taken at 7.30, by

H. M. HYNDMAN.

The following is the resolution which will be moved at the meeting:

*"That this meeting expresses the deepest sympathy with the heroic attempt of the workers of Paris to overthrow the domination of the classes that live by the robbery of labour, and looks forward to the time when the distinction of classes will be abolished, and the hopes for which so many workers have sacrificed their lives will be realised in the true society of the workers of all countries."*

A Choir will attend and give a selection of appropriate music.

Comrades and friends are earnestly requested to take in hand the collection of money for the defrayal of expenses, for which purpose collection sheets have been issued. Donations may be sent to

G. CLIFTON (S.D.F.) Treasurer; or to  
H. A. BARKER (S.L.) Secretary,  
13 Farringdon Road, E.C.

## NOTES ON NEWS.

THE farce of bringing the matter of Trafalgar Square before the House of Commons, that is of asking the Government who ordered the arbitrary closure of it to consider what right they had to do so, was brought to an end on March 2nd. The Government very naturally put its foot down, and in order to put the screw on some of its supporters who used to be considered Liberals and even Radicals, announced their intention of making the vote one of confidence, thereby, of course, formally declaring their approval of all the acts of law and order. Nothing less was to be expected of them, and they would have been fools indeed if they had hesitated in avowing their complicity with Warren, especially after their victory at Deptford.

Sir C. Russell's speech was of little importance; he was bound by convention to make a sort of legal case for the right of use of the Square by the people, to which of course no Government need pay the least attention, since they have plenty of weapons in the legal armoury with which to annihilate any such right. Sir Charles finished fairly well by appealing to the true foundation of the right to speak in the Square, which is, in fact, simply public convenience—for which, of course, no Government cares one jot.

Mr. Matthews repeated the whole string of stale lies about the dangers of the unemployed meetings. He had the fatuity to quote some piece of speaking about the firing of London from an orator, whom Mr. Bradlaugh, interrupting him, said was an associate of the police. In the course of this speech, Sir C. Russell undid the effect of the whole of his action by admitting that the Government had a right to stop the meeting (in that case why not every other meeting?). His speech meant that Trafalgar Square is royal property, and that, whether or not, the executive had the right to stop any meeting they think fit to stop—as they certainly, at present, have the *might* to do.

It is this all-important fact which nullified Mr. Bradlaugh's powerful speech, which would otherwise have been effective and convincing. He was quite right in stating that besides the question as to whether the people had the right of free speech in the metropolis, the question as to whether they had the right of free speech in the country generally was before them; and the provincial Radicals who have paid no heed to this Trafalgar Square business should take note of the fact. Unfortunately, of what use is the verbal assertion of the right in face of a Parliamentary majority elected by the combined property and ignorance of the nation, and their committee, the Executive Government, who are holding their places on the condition that they will do the bidding of property and ignorance?

Mr. Bradlaugh on the 3rd brought the disgraceful fact of the assaults on prisoners by the police plainly and squarely before the House; but the Attorney-General showed by his speech that the Government understood too well the resources of law-and-order in the great body of professional witnesses at their command—whose idea of duty is to give the evidence that they are expected to give—to be much disquieted at his plain statement of facts. We can only hope that the country generally will take note of it.

Our friend, Cunninghame Graham, spoke as usual boldly and well, and did good service by pointing out the undoubted fact that the Government did their best to create a riot on Bloody Sunday, and that the "hazing" of the police by Warren was a good means of ensuring this. Of course, Matthews denied it; but also, of course, who would play such a game would deny it with the holiest horror. The fact remains true in spite of all denials.

Graham was received with what may be called House of Commons manners, that is to say, more brutally than if he were addressing a crew of drunken roughs at election time. What on earth *can* one say of men who jeer at a citizen for being ill from the effects of police brutality and prison torture? To call them blackguards has no meaning; to call them curs would be gross flattery, since I have known several curs (real ones with tails) of high moral worth and pleasing manners. How long are we to bear this disgrace, the House of Commons?

So, after all, there was a division on the question; and it may be said as the net gain of the debate that besides the calling the attention of the Committee to the police outrages, it consisted in forcing the respectable Liberals to commit themselves to something, though not much. Whether they will remember this when they come into office is another matter; they have plenty of loop-holes at which to climb out of. Apart from this small gain the matter remains exactly where it was before the debate; the Government are prepared to resist any attempts to speak in the Square by the usual machinery of law and order, police, soldiery, drum-head court-martials, professional witnesses, judge-directed juries, and the rest of it. Who could expect anything else?

The Welsh Anti-Tithe rioters got off very cheap—since they had to pay nothing. If they had done the same thing in London they would have had various terms of imprisonment, from four months to two years for their boldness. What is the explanation of this, if it means anything more than that Mr. Justice Willis is a very much better fellow than his brethren, as we will hope and believe? I cannot help thinking that it means a recognition of the power of the Nonconformists, who are the strength of the respectable Liberals. Anyhow, glad as we must be that these good fellows have got off, we are bound to point out once more what a ridiculous tyranny our law courts are. A crime in London is a peccadillo in Wales.

That absurd body, the Convocation of the Province of Canterbury, has been receiving a petition from some wise-acres as to the Sunday amusements of the upper classes. These amusements only concern us from the fact that they are paid for by misery of the *lower* classes. But the curious *non sequitur* of the petitioners that excursion trains on Sundays should *therefore* be stopped, shows the cloven hoof under the garment of religion, and lets us know what these anxious Christians would do to us if they could.

W. M.

"They manage these things better in France," though it be not a dictum that holds all round, at least appears to hold in the trial of

M. Wilson over the "decoration scandal." When may we hope to see the same kind of jobbery exposed here? And, when it is exposed, to hear an English magistrate or judge say to a prince or duke or that kind of person, that his offence was aggravated by his high position, and that therefore he must undergo a heavy punishment, where a less illustrious person might have got off with much less.

"They do these things better in Germany," might well be the cry of any ordinary patriotic Briton on reading that the Duke of Cambridge had smashed up the Wimbledon Volunteer Rifle-meeting, in order to heighten the rent on some of "his" land that lies behind the butts. The *Star* well contrasts this kind of jew-broker business with the behaviour of German generals, men of the same blood as the Umbrella Duke. "Imagine Moltke dealing a serious blow at his beloved *Landwehr* merely for the sake of obtaining a large rent for his estates!"

Can there be a plainer example of the spirit of our present system than this weakening of a national defence for the profit of an individual? The earl of Wemyss is not only a prominent Individualist, but also one of the chief originators, if not the chief, of the National Rifle Association. What has he to say in the matter?

Of course the "beastly flunkies" re-elected the Royal Grabber as their president, even after the kicking he had bestowed upon them!

A few numbers back in this column I spoke of King Ja Ja and his appeal to English justice. The whole affair has duly taken the course I predicted. He was promised protection, and has been deposed; guaranteed a fair trial on the spot, and hurried hundreds of miles away from it; allowed to call no witnesses, and sentenced on the bare word of his accusers. He is only another poor "protégé" of England who has found her honour to be that of a gambling hell, and her tender mercy that of a tiger. S.

### THE RICH FOOL.

*"The ground of a certain rich man brought forth plentifully. . . . And he said, . . . I will pull down my barns and build greater, and there will I bestow all my fruits and my goods. And I will say to my soul, Soul, thou hast much goods laid up for many years; take thine ease, eat, drink, and be merry. But God said unto him, Thou fool."*

In these ungodly days, when the howl of Radical "Reformers" against the Church and her ministers seems growing louder, all manner of Socialists, not to mention well-meaning but misguided men like John Ruskin, are never tired of showing that the political economy which the Christian sects of to-day practice is wholly at variance with the precepts of the religion which they profess; when the poor seem to be forsaking their divinely appointed shepherds, and joining the angry throng of agitators whose syren voice is leading them astray,—in such depressing times surely a word of encouragement to those two despised sects of Ministers of Religion and Professors of Political Economy will not be thrown away.

Let them, then, take heart of grace; for, after all, the centuries have not been wholly wasted,—something has been achieved; and thanks mainly to their energy, no man now is in danger (wherever else he may fail) of incurring, as this man in the parable did, the awful contempt of the Most High, and being called "Thou Fool" by Him, who is so jealous of the use of those dreadful words as to threaten any mortal who ventures to speak them with being "in danger of Hell fire."

For what rich man to-day, whose ground (note in passing how by these words divine sanction is given to private property in land) brings forth plentifully, would be so foolish as to think to store his crops, and to rejoice his soul, like any common labourer, on the mere bread and potatoes which would most likely form the product of his estates? And who, to gain this foolish end, would be so entirely devoid of common sense as actually to waste what ready money he had in pulling down his barns to build greater, in order that he might (ah, wretched folly!) live on his principal? No! thank Heaven, our Land-owners, and wealthy people generally, have learnt the lesson, and are become wise; they would "realise" their crops, let their barns to a tenant, and, after purchasing machinery for the future cultivation of their ground, invest the remainder of their money in some Limited Liability Co., or let it out in some other way, so that it might at the same time yield them a good interest and be quite secure from thieves breaking in to steal. And for purposes of making merry, have they not rich and dainty viands, and champagne, and every conceivable luxury? which indulgence (as Sir Henry Knight knows well) is entered to their credit as "charity," since it all makes work for the unemployed. Trouble me not with suggestions that perhaps there were no unemployed for this rich fool to find work for: to-day, when we have labour-saving machinery, there must and always will be poor who desire employment; and it is in dispensing charity to them that modern wealthy men find that ease for their souls which the rich fool of old vainly expected to find in eating and drinking. Therefore our Philanthropists lay up treasure in heaven by nobly sacrificing all that they do not require themselves to charitable purposes,—National Vigilance Societies, Hospitals, Missions, Soup Kitchens, and what not; and in confirmation of the divine saying "Give and it shall be given unto you," we see that for every pound they give away in charity, they receive an hundred-fold from the proper investment of that wealth which the rich fool of the parable stupidly thought to store up till he had consumed it.

Will the vile agitators, who trade on the necessities of the poor, remind me of that other Rich Man, who, although he allowed Lazarus to lie at his gate and eat the waste from his table, yet was consigned to Hell and eternal torments? or of him who was advised to "sell all that he had and give to the poor"? Do they tell me that "ye cannot serve God and Mammon," and bring up against the practice of investing money for interest the command to "lend to him of whom ye hope to receive nothing again," with all the passages pretending to be condemnatory of Interest in the Old Testament? Or will they ask what I have to say to that action of the early Christians, who, having land, sold it and laid the money at the feet of the apostles (the predecessors of our present spiritual Lords) and they had all things in common?

A certain Negro preacher, teaching his flock how at the creation God made Adam and Eve of clay, and leaned them up against a fence to dry, when interrupted by some sceptic with the question "Who made dat fence?" replied with crushing force, "Bredren, such questions as dese are enough to overturn any system of theology."

To these my carping critics I condescend no other answer than that of the negro minister. Inconsistencies and human failings of course our clergy and economists have—as what mortal has not?—but to them belongs the honour and spiritual satisfaction (glory they do not seek) of having taught the rich to "labour not for the gold that perisheth," since it is so much more easily acquired by Interest than by Labour; whilst at the same time they have impressed upon the poor the duty of being contented in that state of life unto which it has pleased God to call them.

Therefore let the Ministers of Religion and Political Economists labour on in harmony together, comforting themselves with the reflection that though they be despised and ridiculed by this wicked world, "that which is highly esteemed among men is abomination in the sight of God."

GEORGE STURT.

### CHATTEL SLAVERY v. WAGE SLAVERY.

In the Brazilian Empire there are 1,300,000 slaves, and their estimated value is about 436 dols. per head. A movement is on foot in Brazil to abolish slavery, and strange to say the leaders of the movement are the wealthy landowners. It has been found, by the experience of the Southern planters, that the wages system gives cheaper labour than chattel slavery did, and the Brazilians are profiting by the experience. When the Brazilian landowner has acquired a slave, to preserve his property he has to feed, clothe, and care for it, whether it is at work or not, and whether he can sell the product of his slave's labour at a profit or not. Modern industrialism has found a better method of slave-owning than this: it borrows the public slaves whenever it can make money out of them, and the day it finds the loan unprofitable it discharges them and sends them back to the public or to Old Scratch, which is about the same thing. The system is beautifully ingenious, and infinitely superior to the old system. Prior to the burst up of the Roman Empire all government and all social life was founded on slavery, and it is only within very recent periods that the old plan of chattel slavery has been superseded by wage slavery. Let us give just a minute or two to the subject. A chattel slave in Brazil is worth from 400 dols. to 700 dols., and he must be fed, clothed, and cared for whether or not he is at work. A wage slave in the States gets 365 dols. a-year, in England 300 dols., in Ireland 125 dols., and in India 20 dols. These are the ascertained average wages. According to the life assurance tables a healthy young man of twenty will on the average live about forty years. His average wage is, as we have seen, in the States 365 dols. a-year; this latter sum multiplied by forty therefore gives the market price of a man's life. This is 14,600 dols. There is nothing fanciful about this. It is plain matter-of-fact. For less than 15,000 dols. one may have the products of a life of labour for one's use or wasting—one can go into the market and buy just as many lives as one pleases at that price. When the clever arrangement of Protection enables a sugar refiner to make a profit of 30,000 dols. a week, it gives him the power of eating up the entire lives of 104 wage slaves every year. Is not the system an admirable one? Is not wage slavery, except to the wage-slave, a vast improvement on chattel slavery, and is it not easy to understand why the slave owners of Brazil are anxious to abolish chattel slavery and replace it with the wage-slavery of modern industrialism? There is only one disturbing circumstance in the arrangement—there is such a thing as a love of justice in the hearts of many people, and these demand a day of reckoning. About a hundred years ago one of those days of reckoning came in France. It was unpleasant while the reckoning was proceeding. Another such day is very near in America, when the wage-slaves will remonstrate with dynamite and protest with the torch. They have got the idea into their heads that they are entitled to what they earn, and that those who do not work should not be allowed to eat. They propose to reverse the present position, and become themselves the masters. They don't know exactly how to set about the business, but they will eventually try some rough and coarse plan, which may produce the required result or it may not. There is a hoarse sullen roar which can already distinctly be heard in this the office of Advanced Thought, and that roar increases in strength and volume from day to day. The wage-slave of the immediate future will demand something more than mere subsistence, and if he doesn't get it there will just be the most tremendous shindy the world has ever witnessed. We have warned the world in good time. If the world does not take the warning and act upon it, so much the worse for the world. If the world is wise it will accept our warning, and should it wish to consult us specially, our representative can be found any evening at the rink.—*The Bobcaygeou Independent*.

A FELLOW EXILE OF LEDRU-ROLLIN.—M. Octave Dupont, the friend and fellow exile of Ledru-Rollin, died on Friday 24th ult., while playing billiards at a Paris club. He was seventy-seven years of age. He took part in the Socialist rising of 1849, fled to England, and was sentenced by default to hard labour for life. He was for nearly twenty years professor of French in a military college in England. He retired on a pension, and on the fall of the Empire returned to Paris, and was for a time a municipal councillor.



INTERNATIONAL NOTES.

FRANCE.

The Marxist organ of our French Socialist comrades, *Le Socialiste*, has been obliged to stop its publication, owing to lack of financial support. Comrades Jules Guesde, Paul Lafargue, and Gabriel Deville, who have been very active in propagating the Communist doctrines of Marx and Engels, will no doubt find ere long the means of continuing their work in a new paper.

Our French colleague, *La Révolte*, has commenced in this week's literary supplement of its valuable organ the translation of comrade William Morris's striking Socialist interlude, 'The Tables Turned.' It will certainly incite some of our French comrades to make use of the theatre as a means of Socialist propaganda. We may add that the first instalment of this French translation is in every way an admirable one.

ITALY.

During the first week of April a new paper will be started at Mantua, entitled *L'amico del Popolo* (the People's Friend). It is to be a weekly Socialist organ for the defence and propagation of the ideas and doctrines put forward by the Italian working-men's party.

The unemployed of Rome are at the present time in a great state of excitement. They have asked for work, and instead of work Signor Crispi has sent the military to the spot, in order to settle the starvation question in the usual shameful way. Several people have been seriously injured and a great number of arrests have been made.

GERMANY.

The trial of the so-called Central Committee of the Socialist Party at Berlin has come to an end. Comrades Férkel, Apelt, Jahn, Schmidt, Wilschke, and Seelig have got three months, Scholz and Neumann two months' imprisonment, and several others have been dismissed. From the whole dreadful secret conspiracy there remains nothing; it was all police humbug, and the magistrates, for once, did not dare take on account the rather clumsy means and ways used by the interesting employés of his Excellency M. von Puttkammer.

Our readers are aware that at the St. Gallen Conference of the German Social-Democratic party it was decided to convene an International Socialist Congress to be held at London during the present year. But it so happened that about the same time the English Trades' Union Congress at Swansea also resolved to summon an international conference. The committee appointed by the St. Gallen Conference and the Parliamentary Committee of the trades unions thereupon entered into correspondence, in order to make it possible that only one general international congress should be organised. These negotiations have completely failed, and the St. Gallen committee, composed of all the deputies at the German Reichstag, have now decided to convene an international congress for the year 1889. In the next issue of this paper I shall give a complete translation of the circular issued by that committee, stating at some length the reasons for the failure of the said negotiations.

BELGIUM.

After the pardon which has been granted a fortnight ago to the ex-clerical M.P. of Brussels, Vandersmissen, sentenced to fifteen years' hard labour for the murder of his wife, it would have become an everlasting shame for the reactionary Belgian government to detain any longer in prison the victims of the strikes of March 1886. Last week Xavier Schmidt, sentenced to twenty years' hard labour for a crime which not he, but society, had committed, was released from jail. However, it is not a full amnesty which has been granted him, but only a provisory release for illness' sake. Nevertheless it is certain that our Belgian comrades won't rest until this has been changed to a definite one. It is said that in a few days, Oscar Falleur, who was also sentenced to twenty years' hard labour, will be set free. We earnestly hope and believe that all the other victims of the capitalistic exploitation, and the Belgian prisons are full of them, will no longer be detained, but one and all of them are equally innocent of the "crimes" for which they have been unjustly condemned. And our young and courageous comrade Jahn, is he not to be released too? Our Belgian friends would only do their duty by working for him as they have done for the victims of the March strikes.

The ironworkers of Sous-le-Bois (Aversnes district) have struck, asking 5 per cent. augmentation on their wages. The strikers are now 600 in number, but it is said that a general strike is imminent, and then there will be about 4000 men out of work. At the Providence works, at Haumont, 1100 workers are also on strike, and it is rumoured that several other thousands are likely to join in the struggle. The outlook in the whole district seems a very dark one.

Our readers will remember the quarrel which some time ago arose between the Belgian and the English fishermen at Ostend. The question was one of lawful exploitation of the poor fishermen by the rich boat-owners, and it was at once settled by the intervention of the military, who shot dead five workers, wounded a couple of dozen others, and finally imprisoned a good many of the hungry men. Sixty-nine of these have now been sentenced to various terms of imprisonment, amounting to fifty months, and fines to three thousand francs! The brutal force and the brutal justice are the two regulators and settlers of all social questions in our well-organised society! Proletariate of all countries, unite! and then, but then only, victory will become yours!

V. D.

EDINBURGH PLUMBERS.—At a meeting held in Edinburgh a local council was appointed to act in unison with the London Plumbers' Company, with the view of bringing about a national system of registration of plumbers.

On the whole, therefore, we honestly think that a committee of the thieftous denizens of Pentonville would be more likely to form an intelligent opinion regarding the cause and cure of the sweating system than the Select Committee of Inquiry which the Tory Government have consented to appoint.—*Reynolds*.

Every man is a consumer, and ought to be a producer. He fails to make his place good in the world unless he not only pays his debt, but also adds something to the common wealth.—*Emerson*.

Liberty, I am told is a divine thing. Liberty, when it becomes the "Liberty to die of starvation," is not so divine.—*Carlyle*.

EASY LESSONS.

[ELLEN MARY DOWNING. Reprinted from the *United Irishman*, April 22, 1848.]

"SPECIAL PLEADING."

The very subtlest eloquence  
That injured men can show,  
Is the pathos of a pikehead,  
And the logic of a blow.  
Hopes built upon fine talking  
Are like castles built on sand;  
But the pleadings of cold iron  
Not a tyrant can withstand!

"SERMONS IN STONES."

An ancient poet singeth  
Of a sermon in a stone,  
And Frenchmen thought it good enough  
For preaching to a throne.  
So piled they up the barricades  
With ready will and hand;  
For the preaching of a barricade  
A king can understand!

"MUSIC."

Now, citizens and countrymen,  
'Tis time for us to learn  
Aristocrats are kindest  
When democrats are stern.  
They talk us down and walk us down,  
Who cringe to their command;  
But the yell of our defiance  
Not a coronet can stand!

In The Great Metropolis.

[ARTHUR HUGH CLOUGH, D. 1861.]

Each for himself is still the rule;  
We learn it when we go to school—  
The devil take the hindmost, O!

And when the schoolboys grow to men  
In life they learn it o'er again—  
The devil takes the hindmost, O!

For in the church, and at the bar,  
On 'Change, at court, where'er they are,  
The devil takes the hindmost, O!

Husband for husband, wife for wife,  
Are careful that in married life  
The devil takes the hindmost, O!

From youth to age, whate'er the game,  
The unvarying practice is the same,  
The devil takes the hindmost, O!

And after death, we do not know,  
But scarce can doubt, where'er we go,  
The devil takes the hindmost, O!

Ti rol de rol, ti rol de ro,  
The devil take the hindmost, O!

"DERANGEMENT OF EPITAPHS."—A few days ago, says the *Pall Mall Gazette* on the 3rd, some verses were quoted in this paper from Mr. Lewis Morris's "Silver Wedding Ode" in *Murray's Magazine*, and Mr. Morris was referred to as "first favourite for the Laureateship," not of course *de jure*, but *de facto*, as this is the second occasion on which Lord Tennyson's duties have been devolved upon Mr. Morris. The *St. Stephen's Review* makes this delicious reference to the matter: "How the lucubrations of a Socialist poet will be received at Marlborough House and Windsor I have yet to learn." Such is fame! But perhaps the *St. Stephen's Review* thought that two blunders make a right, and thus tried to make amends to Mr. William Morris for the reference to him the other day in another Tory journal—the *St. James's Gazette*—as "Mr. Morice, the author of the 'Earthward Paradise.'"

IRISH EVICTION STATISTICS.—A parliamentary paper was issued on the 27th Feb., showing the number of tenants and sub-tenants evicted in Ireland during the quarter ended September 30, 1887, and the number readmitted as tenants or as caretakers on the day the decree was executed. The total number evicted was 4,033; readmitted as tenants or sub-tenants, 52; as caretakers, 2,330. For the various provinces the numbers are—Ulster, evicted, 538; readmitted as tenants or sub-tenants, 7; caretakers, 377. Leinster, evicted, 596; readmitted as tenants or sub-tenants, 17; caretakers, 213. Connaught, evicted, 1,006; readmitted as caretakers, 632. Munster, evicted, 1,893; readmitted as tenants or sub-tenants, 34; caretakers, 1,108. A return of evictions from agricultural holdings in Ireland during the same quarter for causes other than those included in the foregoing table, which were for non-payment of rent, non-title, or breach of covenant, shows that 162 persons were evicted, of whom 27 were readmitted as caretakers.—*Pall Mall Gazette*.



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

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

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

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Periodicals received during the week ending Wednesday March 7.

ENGLAND	UNITED STATES	Liege—L'Avenir
Bristol—Magpie	New York—Freiheit	ITALY
Church Reformer	Der Sozialist	Gazetta Operaia
Christian Socialist	Volkzeitung	Milan—Il Fascio Operaio
Croydon Echo	Chicago—Vorbote	SWITZERLAND
Democrat	Denver (Col.) Labor Enquirer	Geneva—Bulletin Continental
Jus	Douglasville (Ga.)—Roll Call	SPAIN
Justice	Fort Worth (Tex.)—South West	Barcelona—Acracia
Kettering Observer	Hammonton (N.J.)—Credit Foncier	Madrid—El Socialista
Leaflet Newspaper	Milwaukee (Wis.)—Volkblatt	PORTUGAL
London—Freie Presse	N Haven—Workmen's Advocate	Lisbon—O Protesto Operario
Norwich—Daylight	St. Louis (Mo.)—Die Parole	GERMANY
Our Corner	San Francisco Arbeiter-Zeitung	Berlin—Volks Tribune
Personal Rights Journal	FRANCE	AUSTRIA
Railway Review	Paris—Cri du Peuple (daily)	Vienna—Gleichheit
NEW SOUTH WALES	La Revolte	HUNGARY
Hamilton—Radical	Guise—Le Devoir	Arbeiter-Wochen-Chronik
INDIA	HOLLAND	SWEDEN
Bankipore—Behar Herald	Hague—Recht voor Allen	Stockholm, Social-Demokraten
Madras—People's Friend	BELGIUM	Malmö—Arbetet
	Seraing (Ougree)—Le Reveil	

## THIEVES.

"WHAT'S in a name?" asked Shakespeare, and we in these days can answer, "Everything's in a name."

"That which we call a thief  
Call him but (s)peculator, and the world  
Will bow before the fruit of his success."

In this age of unrealities we worship mere names. Old formalisms, that have lost whatever life was once in them, constitute our religion and pervade our social life. The old virtues are fled, and all that we have now is the hollow echo of glories that once were, the pretence where no possession is, a mockery of reality. In nothing is the miserable hypocrisy of the present day seen more plainly than in this name-worship. The identical same vice that is strongly condemned under one name is as loudly praised under another. Especially is this so with that huge vice—the effort to live without working by getting hold of the result of other people's work, *i.e.*, theft. Now it is the end and aim of the lives of our business classes to succeed in this action; our present system of society is built up on the foundation of the effort to carry it into effect. By theft I understand the taking of goods in the production of which the taker had no part, and for which he gives no equivalent to the producers; and this is precisely what is done by landlords and employers of labour every day; and yet when a thief arises who openly calls himself by his true name, he is instantly subjected to indignation and bad treatment from his veiled fellow-plunderers, who punish him for doing openly what they do underhandedly. So hypocritical is our society of thieves that it cannot endure that anything,—not even robbery, its favourite amusement and sole support,—should be done except under a cloak. There is work for an Ithuriel amongst these thieves who try to hide their knavery even from themselves by taking such names as capitalist, employer of labour, or landlord. At the touch of truth the devil will stand exposed in them all.

I do not say that every idler is really conscious of being a thief. In most instances his training has dulled his intellect too greatly to allow him to grasp the reality of things; but the reality of his robbery is there all the same. Born into a corrupt society, and educated on the orthodox plan of crushing out any tendency to independent thought, it is no wonder that he takes for granted the rightfulness of his position. "Do you call me a thief, young man?" a middle-class man indignantly asked me at a meeting on one occasion; and the question seemed to imply that no harm could be done by an evil if he who performed it did so unthinkingly, or was unconscious of its wrongfulness. The evil of robbery is the main principle in our class society, and it is no palliation of the evil to plead that the robbers call themselves by some other name, and blind even themselves to the real nature of their mode of

living. The old robber baron who sent out his troops of mercenaries to pillage, was no more a thief than the modern landlord who, with his troops of mercenaries—rent collectors, bailiffs, and (witness Ireland to-day), armed soldiery as well,—levies blackmail upon the tillers of the soil, attacks their homes with crowbar brigades or burns them with petroleum, and drives the wretched tenantry out, in many cases to die of exposure to the elements. Why, we have in our very midst the same old system of plunder, decked out in the same array of ruthless cruelty as we had in the old times, the recital of whose events fills us with a horror of their injustice!

"Ah," says the virtuous capitalist, "I am not as these are. Your attacks do not touch me. These landlord cruelties I do not practice." No? Your robbery is disguised under the garb and name of "commerce;" and if it be true that you do not practice these atrocities, what is the meaning of the burning villages of Burmah and other half-civilised countries? What do they mean if they are not the outcome of your greed, which sent your armed hirelings there to gain plunder for you? At home, too, are not the crowds of homeless unemployed a direct outcome of the robbery that your competitive system practises? Don't talk cheap sentiment about the "glory of the empire" and the "dignity of labour"; but if you are a man, be honest in your villainy, and confess that it is villainy.

It would be an interesting experiment to pass in review every one of those qualities that are the subject of adulation from our commercial classes: almost without exception they will be found to be vices which, under other names, are as loudly condemned. The virtuous middle class woman, under the veiling name of "marriage," prostitutes herself by taking for a partner a man, not because she loves him, but because he can give her a good position in society, and hypocrite (though often an unconscious one) as she is, looks with scorn upon her sister prostitute who openly proclaims what she is. The pious middle class will zealously refrain from lying, unless you call it "advertising" or "criticising a political opponent"; from murder, unless it is styled "maintaining the commerce of the country in foreign parts;" and from theft, unless you apply to it some such name as "business enterprise" or "commercial success."

Would again that some Ithuriel would touch the horrid shams and deceiving shapes under which the fraud and degradation of our present system has hidden itself, and show the real devil's nature of the brute!

FRED. HENDERSON.

## SOCIALISM FROM THE ROOT UP.

### CHAPTER XXII.—SOCIALISM MILITANT.

We have now arrived at the most exciting part of our subject, since it has to do with what we may fairly call the practical politics of Socialism, with matters which all who call themselves Socialists must of necessity consider, unless they chose to relegate themselves to the position of theorists pure and simple. What lies in the scope of these chapters is the giving some idea of the relative position of the attack and defence in the passing time, when armies are definitely gathering for the battle, and it is beginning to be perceived that Socialism is the one serious question of the epoch, since it covers every interest of modern life.

Let us turn our attention first of all to the defence; and we use the word advisedly, since the present proprietary and dominant class has absorbed into itself its old enemy the feudal proprietary class, and, since it has now no longer anything to attack, has taken the position once occupied by the latter. This indeed has been the position of the victorious middle-class for some time, but it is now at last waking up to the fact, and can see the enemy which is advancing to the attack. The middle-class is speedily getting to be no longer democratic even in appearance: it once wore that guise because it was confounded with the working-classes, whose position was then entirely subordinate to it. This condition of things was the high-water mark of the French Revolution, though there were from time to time indications of the coming solidarity of labour; and it lasted through the revolutionary period of 1848. Up to that time the triumphant middle-class, trampling down the last embers of the feudal opposition, saw nothing before it but a continued career of success; although the principles on which that success was founded were not of the kind that would allow it to have a definite aim beyond the point which it had already reached.

The first distinctive movement in England betokening a separate and aggressive community of feeling in the working-class itself, was the Chartist agitation; but this, as we have pointed out in preceding chapters, was swept away by the great wave of British commercial prosperity indicated by the success of the Cobden-Bright, or as it is called on the Continent, the Manchester School. The main result of this wave of prosperity was the enormous increase in the number and power of the middle-classes, and the corresponding rise in their standard of comfort. It is often alleged that the working-classes are in a better position than they were fifty years ago, and that this is the main work of the nineteenth century; but the improvement is doubtful and the inference drawn from it is false. The fact is, that the country fifty years ago was passing through a severe commercial revolution, that of the great machine industries, which, as before stated, brought for the time unexampled misery upon the workers, and that the settling down

of this crisis did to a certain extent relieve this special and temporary misery. But apart from that the condition of even the aristocracy of labour is little if any better than it was. What has really happened is just that increase in the numbers and prosperity of the *middle-classes* above spoken of. But this great and overwhelming prosperity of theirs is now seriously threatened. The increasing severity of competition in the world-market, accompanied by a ceaseless and rapid increase in the productivity of labour, acting and reacting on one another, are bringing about a fresh commercial revolution which will extinguish the small capitalist by reducing his profits to the vanishing-point; so that none but huge concerns, joint-stock or otherwise, will be able to survive, and the once small capitalist will have to become a manager, a servant of the great one. This process is already far advanced, and is creating a fresh lower middle-class entirely dependent on the commercial aristocracy. Under these conditions that very rise in the standard of middle-class comfort has become a snare to the class as a whole. The difficulty of ordinary well-to-do families in finding a "respectable" position for their children is now a sufficiently trite subject; all occupations endurable by a "refined" youth are overstocked; education is cheap and common, and has lost its old market-value, and even at the ancient seats of learning it has grown to be a matter of commercial competition.<sup>1</sup> The lower ranks of art and literature are crowded with persons drawn to these professions by the pleasantness of the pursuits in themselves, who soon find out the very low market value of the ordinary educated intellect. These, together with the commercial clerks, in whose occupation no special talent is required, form an intellectual proletariat, whose labour is "rewarded" on about the same scale as the lower portion of manual labour, as long as they are employed, but whose position is more precarious, and far less satisfactory.

On the whole, then, in spite of the rise in the standard of comfort of the middle-classes, it must be said that they have rather gained power than well-being, and that they are now being threatened with a loss of that power, their tenure of which, now that the working-classes are beginning to learn their solidarity, depends on the latter being apathetically contented with a position at the best inferior to that of the bourgeoisie.

But the bourgeois ideal of what that position of the workers might be at the best, has never been realised, nor ever can be; nor as above-said have the working-classes any special reason for being "contented" at the present time. The class of unskilled labourers are still, as they always must be in a system which forces them to compete with their fellows, in the position of earning a bare subsistence wage; and this class tends to increase more and more, as the introduction of fresh machines increases the productivity of skilled labour, makes it possible to substitute unskilled in its place, and thus drives the skilled artisan from his position and compels him to accept that of the unskilled labourer.

Elaborately arranged figures, therefore, by which is sought to show that the workmen in general are steadily improving their condition, where in themselves correct, which is by no means always the case, are only applicable to certain groups of workmen, and even then frequently do not prove what they are intended to: e.g., the average wages will be stated at such and such, but it never happens in any trade that all the workmen receive the full amount of the wages stated after all deductions are made; few workmen indeed are in constant employment, even when trade is flourishing; the estimated prices are the full wage laid down by the trade unions, but most workers unprotected by a union, and in bad times even men inside the union, often work for less than the full wage; some, as in the building trades, are never employed for a large part of the year; and in all trades it would be impossible to keep up the standard of wages without occasional strikes and lock outs. It must be remembered, too, that the workman is often taxed in the form of his subscription to his trades union or benefit society, which from one point of view means that he helps his master to pay his poor-rate. Moreover it is doubtful if the unions are strong enough pecuniarily to hold out against a continued depression of trade.

However, the question of this doubtful improvement in the position of the better-off workmen is by the way. The real point is, first, that there are many indications that this improvement cannot be sustained in the face of the continuous increase in the productivity of labour, and that the position of the skilled mechanic is a precarious one; and secondly, it is clear that however the workmen's position may have improved, they are growing discontented with it, since it is becoming manifest to them that it is one of inferiority, and quite unnecessarily so. And that especially since the management of *production* is less and less undertaken by the so-called manufacturers, who are more and more becoming mere financiers, or shareholders obviously living on the privilege of taxing labour, both that of the "hand" and of the manager.

All this has been gradually dawning on the workmen of the Continent, and especially of Germany (so much more intellectually advanced than the British workmen) since the bourgeois constitutional revolution of '48.

E. BELFORD BAX and WILLIAM MORRIS.

<sup>1</sup> A very old friend, who has been for many years engaged in tuition at Oxford, has told me that the pressure there has enormously increased since I was an undergraduate; that for instance the kind of man whose attainments would once have ensured him a mastership at Rugby or Harrow has now to put up with a place at a third-rate grammar school, and that the competition for quite insignificant posts is most severe.—W. M.

## CORRESPONDENCE.

### "PRACTICAL" SOCIALISTS.

SIR.—As comrade Binning has placed his side of the question before us I trust you may be able to find room for a few brief criticisms.

Is it not historically obvious that progress in any society is measured by the number of extremists, idealists, or men who "go the whole hog," and the activity of these in propagating their ideal views? We believe that by directly propagating and "focussing our views on the far distant future" we indirectly urge forward minor reforms; and that the latter is accelerated or restrained by just so much as we accelerate or restrain our activity in propagating our *ideal Socialism*. Does comrade Binning deny this historical truth? If our view is correct, he could not only afford to isolate himself from parliamentarianism, but in devoting his time to propagating his ideal Socialism he could draw many a useful (not necessarily "carping or cavilling criticism") lesson from the "blundering efforts" of the "palliative anti-nointers."

Such being the case, we cannot consent to alter our mode of procedure because a misunderstanding—born of ignorance—as to our action in this respect seeming to oppose reform, takes place in the minds of some.

It is that very "common action" which comrade Binning wishes us to take with minor reformers that is so reactionary, by tending to obscure the ultimate ideal.

TIM BOBBIN.

All "non-politicals" must have read comrade Binning's "counterblast" with an amount of mixed pleasure and regret. Morris's charge against "practical" Socialists was one of "want of perspective," or the too common fault of not being able to see beyond one's nose. T. Binning has proven Morris's charge, if not wholly, partly so, and the "tooters of penny whistles" have cause to be thankful.

Comrade Binning says: "It is with the bare and ugly present that I am concerned"; and again, "A true revolutionist is one who brings something to bear upon the ordinary everyday life of his own generation." All "non-politicals" will see at once the grave admission. I agree decidedly, but do not stop there, because it is impossible, although perhaps prophetic, to say right off that this is "the generation" which will benefit by Socialism. It is with "generations of peoples" that a true revolutionary Socialist must feel concerned. Surely our comrade Binning's "political" mind was dazed, or he would have recollected that this generation was severely suffering from the faults of past generations; and "political" programmes must intensify this evil for future generations while monopoly in the means of subsistence exists. Further on, those Socialists who do not believe in "practical" methods are charged with "a cowardly policy in standing aloof." This does not apply; it *could* be used by "non-politicals" in an opposite sense.

It is clearly the duty of revolutionary "non-politicals" not to "carp and cavil," but to "criticise" all "political" efforts; which efforts, we are told, will result in "foretastes" of Socialism. What are these foretastes? Are they part of the Social Democratic programme—viz., Adult Suffrage, Annual Parliaments, Proportional Representation, Payment of Members, etc., etc.? If these are what our comrade means by "foretastes," he surely can find a loop-hole for his efforts without casting charges of cowardice amongst the ranks of those who dub themselves "non-political." The new Society cannot be brought about by *legal and pacific methods*, and that is why I claim to be a revolutionary non-political Socialist.

The terms "impatient spirits" and "apostles of inaction" seem to me to be very contradictory. Again, "the main body of the workers must be leavened with the spirit of Socialism." Exactly; and that is the one thing, above all others, that non-politicals, the so-called "apostles of inaction," have set themselves to do. I disagree with your methods, not aim.

And now comes the text of our comrade's "counterblast": "I hold that a truly Socialist Society can only be established and administered by Socialists . . . a determined and intelligent minority prepared to take control." Surely this cannot be one of the foretastes? However, I cannot subscribe to the above text. A centralised minority-force of "Socialist" administrators, directors, or whatever name you may give them, will be as great an evil, if not worse, than those Governments dubbed Liberal and Tory. You must not forget for one moment the display of party spirit in all governments; and I guess, with some amount of certainty, that this "intelligent minority" would possess their share of party, to the detriment of the worker's interest; who, I suppose, our comrade imagines they would represent. It will be our bounden duty to combat such centralisation of minority-dictation.

And why? Let us find the answer out of Binning's own mouth. He charges non-political Socialists with being partisans of revolts, forgetting that the Socialist centralised administration (if it ever becomes full-blown) must of necessity be productive of revolts, and, says he, "revolts can achieve even at the utmost a mere change of governors." Just so, politically. He cannot mean socially. If he does, the charge does not stand. A mere change of party, of governors; and that is why we must criticise and combat the utility of such administration.

In conclusion, all Socialists, whether professing political or non-political methods, must assuredly agree that "monopoly in the means of subsistence" is a cardinal principle which must not be lost sight of. Now, if my comrade Binning admits that a "Socialist" Administration such as he speaks of is to be brought into existence and carried on before this cardinal principle has been obtained—viz., monopoly of all the means of subsistence abolished—I must give it as my opinion that the Administration is not worth working for. For my part I am content to work for the attainment of this principle, and that alone, outside all centralised forces; at the same time, as far as possible, educating my fellow-workers in the doctrines of International Revolutionary Non-Political Socialism. After this latter admission, I feel sure comrade Binning will feel much regret at having used the phrase "Apostles of Inaction." If not, I shall feel inclined to think he must be one of the "Impatient Spirits."

W. BLUNDELL.

The way to make a happy future is to make a happy present.—Ernest Jones.  
Ignorance is a disease, and a deadly and dangerous disease. There are few things in the world more costly than an ignorant man.—Ernest Jones.

In a valiant suffering for others, not a slothful making others suffer for us, did nobleness ever lie. The chief of men is he who stands in the van of men, fronting the peril which frightens back all others; which, if it be not vanquished, will devour the others. Every noble crown is, and on earth will for ever be, a crown of thorns.—Carlyle.



## THE LABOUR STRUGGLE.

BRITAIN.

The strike of the weavers at Colne is now in its sixteenth week. The employés remain steadfast, and are being well supported.

The fustian trade is very bad at Islam and Cadishead. The ship canal has given employment to a number of those out of work.

The weavers in Heywood and district are agitating for an advance of wages. Several firms are reported as paying below the standard list. The employés of one firm have already begun to take action.

The strike of engineers at Blackburn for an increase of 2s. per week settled on Monday, the men returning on an immediate advance of 1s. per week, and the promise of another shilling on the first week in June.

In consequence of the depression in trade, the associated masters of the Dean Forest coal trade have advised their agents that the various qualities of coal, except small, will be reduced sixpence per ton on March 1st. Notices have also been served on the colliers of 2½ per cent. reduction in wages, to commence at once.

**THE KIRKCALDY MINERS.**—The miners in the Kirkcaldy district have not resumed work, although in some instances the pits are being worked by men who have not come out on strike. Those who agreed to take a fortnight's holidays are now willing to return to work at the masters' reduction, and await the decision of the meeting of coalmasters to be held this week.

**TERMINATION OF THE HOE-MAKERS' STRIKE.**—The strike of the hoe-makers at the Brades Steelworks, Oldbury, reported in the *Commonweal* of 21st January, terminated on Tuesday, 28th February, and the whole of the men resumed work on Wednesday morning. The masters have conceded everything asked for by the men, and they are not only to be allowed for all waste made, but they are to have a substantial increase also.

**CRIBBING TIME.**—A determined effort is being made by Inspector Osborn to put a stop to the cribbing of time, which is notorious in the limited spinning companies in the Rochdale and Oldham districts. The number of cases which have been brought into court, notwithstanding the smallness of the fines imposed by partial magistrates, is producing a wholesome effect. The operatives ought certainly to do all in their power to aid the inspector in his somewhat difficult task.

**NUT AND BOLT MAKERS' STRIKE.**—On Saturday night a meeting of nut and bolt makers was held at Darlston. Mr. R. Juggins read a circular which was addressed to the employers, and pointed out that in 1885, when wages were reduced 5 per cent., the employers promised that 5 per cent. should be returned when trade had sufficiently improved and the workmen applied for the same. Several employers had already intimated their willingness to comply. It was decided to continue the strike and the levy in support of the men.

**END OF A STRIKE OF WORSTED WEAVERS.**—A strike which appeared to be assuming large dimensions was brought to a conclusion last week. It affected about 360 or 400 worsted coating weavers in the employ of Messrs. Merrall and Sons, of Lees and Ebor Mills, Haworth, and at Oxenhope. The terms finally offered by the masters were that the deductions should be returned, but that the rate per piece should be reduced 3d. A vote by ballot was taken, and, after some discussion, the men decided, by a majority of five votes, to accept the terms.

Reports from Lancashire show that great depression in trade still continues in several districts, both in the cotton and woollen industries. At Castleton, several of the mills are very slack, and the outlook in all branches of trade is gloomy. At Milnrow the whole of the hands employed at Messrs. Scholfield and Sons, woollen mills, are again reduced to working four days a week after only two or three weeks full time. At Higher Walton, the spinners at Messrs. G. and R. Dewhurst's are running short time, and the card hands have done very badly for the last six months. There are between 70,000 and 80,000 spindles at this mill.

**COLLAPSE OF THE FIFE MINERS STRIKE.**—The men resumed work on Monday after a three week's struggle. From reports to hand, it seems that the companies were getting cornered, notwithstanding the stocked coal; orders had been diverted from the Forth to the Tyne, thus giving promise of victory to the men if they had held out a little while longer. The reduction of 10 per cent. on the wages is most unwarrantable, as the dividends paid average 12½ per cent. It is most lamentable to see how the workers allow themselves to be defeated in detail instead of massing themselves against their tyrants.

**THE LOCK-MAKERS' STRIKE AT WILLENHALL.**—A deputation from the lock-makers on strike at the works of Messrs. Payton and Co., Willenhall, having requested that the list of prices paid by other makers in the district should be adopted by the firm, a notice was issued to the effect that "unless the workmen now on strike accept the terms we hereby offer—viz., rim-lock makers to return at prices previously paid, and mortise-lock makers at the list of prices arranged between our Mr. Cashin and William Turner—they one and all are discharged from our employ." It is stated that the list referred to was not adopted.

**COLLIERS' STRIKE.**—The whole of the men and boys employed at the Felling, Ulsworth, and Wardley collieries, on the south bank of the Tyne, are on strike under rather peculiar circumstances. A dispute arose as to some extra time of one of the workmen, named Wilson. Wilson being absent from the colliery, his brother acted as a substitute, and the men alleged that the brother worked and received pay for three extra "shifts." There is an arrangement among the men that no man shall work for more than twelve days in a fortnight, and as the manager refused to suspend Wilson the men came out on strike. On Wednesday 181 of the men were summoned for illegally absenting themselves from work, and 170 were fined 5s. per day and costs. They marched in procession to the court, joined by the Ulsworth workmen, who laid their pit idle for the day. For this they in their turn have been summoned. Meetings have been held, and it was decided not to pay the fines, and lay all the pits idle till the masters accede to their requests.

**THE NORWICH UNEMPLOYED.**—It was reported in these columns some weeks ago that the Norwich Corporation had resolved to look a little after its unemployed during this winter, and in the goodness of its heart had ordered a hundred tons of granite to be broken up, the mayor making a buttery little speech at the time, expressing great sympathy with the men. To those who think that sympathy is the real motive, the following little conversation, which I got from a councillor who heard it, may bring the matter into a new

light. Several Tory councillors, on the conclusion of the work, were speaking about the cost of it, and one of them asked how much more it had cost than it would have done had they bought the granite ready broken. After a little figuring, the answer was, "£150." "Well," replied the sympathetic gentleman, "none of us will grudge that. *Its a damned cheap price to have kept them quiet for.*" So that it seems, after all, that fear of a repetition of last year's rioting was the motive. Let the unemployed learn the lesson that this teaches.—F. H.

**STRIKE IN THE NORWICH SHOE TRADE.**—The committee of the local branch of the National Union of Operative Boot and Shoe Rivetters and Finishers have issued an appeal to their fellow-workmen in which they say—"We now take the opportunity of appealing to you to render us what assistance you can in our present struggle with the firm of Haldinstein and Sons, who have locked out men in consequence of their refusing to accept a series of reductions, direct and indirect, among which is a turned-in kid shoe at 5s. per dozen, also a glazed kid, button or ball, at 5s. 6d. per dozen. There are other things in dispute, but we think the above is sufficient to show we have a good cause. This firm has always been a source of trouble to both the Union and our branch, so much so, that we have had to spend the greater portion of our branch funds upon this firm. Not only this, but all the other firms in Norwich point to this as a pretext to justify themselves in offering reductions, and should these employers succeed in their object, we may expect to hear something from the other firms, who at present are paying considerably better wages." It is very much to be regretted that a very large proportion of the men affected are not members of the Union. This is one reason, no doubt, for the action of the firm, as of course the strain on the society's funds is very great. It is to be hoped that whether or not success attends the present effort of the employés, the outcome will result in greater solidarity amongst them in the future.

**PRESENT AND FUTURE.**—The present need is pressing, and daily bread must be looked after; but the future also takes up the thoughts of careful men. Socialism must not take our attention from the practical bearing of the facts of every-day life. Trades Unionism must not entirely absorb those facts alone.—*Miner.*

The sweater's employés are practically slaves, with all the disadvantages and few of the advantages of genuine servitude. And like slaves, they have, alas! in too many instances the characteristics of slaves. The iron of their miserable lot has so eaten into their very souls that they have seemingly lost the desire for emancipation.—*Reynolds.*

At Burton-on-Trent a working cooper, in the employment of Messrs. Allsopp, has been elected to the School Board at the head of the poll with 6,235 votes, and his employer, Mr. George Allsopp, M.P., who was chairman of the late Board, was ninth on the list of those elected, and only polled 3,418 votes. Burton-on-Trent is evidently getting democratic, in spite of beer.—*Democrat.*

Sir James King, Lord Provost of Glasgow, as a railway director, addressed a large assemblage of Caledonian Railway employés a few nights ago, and in the course of his interesting remarks estimated, pretty accurately, that nearly a million people got their daily bread from the railway interest. So far as some thousands of them are concerned the Lord Provost's remark is literally correct, for they are enabled to get bread and little else, by reason of their scanty wages. While they must eat their bread without butter, those who impose such terms upon them have theirs buttered on both sides, and are enabled to indulge in many other luxuries besides. It is surprising to find how railway men endure this sort of thing—but they do.—*Railway Review.*

**THE RAILWAY STRIKE IN AMERICA.**—NEW YORK, March 5.—At a meeting held yesterday of engineers representing all the railways running into New York, it was resolved to support the men on strike on the Burlington, Chicago, and Quincy Railway even to the extent of stopping all the railways in the country. The Brotherhood of Engineers and Firemen, numbering 100 men, employed on the Chicago, Burlington, and Northern Railway, have decided to strike to-night owing to the company's interchanging traffic with the Chicago, Burlington, and Quincy line. In the House of Representatives to-day a resolution was brought forward for the appointment of a committee to investigate the cause of the strike on the Chicago, Burlington, and Quincy Railroad, and act as mediators for securing an amicable settlement of the dispute.

**THE WORKLESS AND HUNGRY IN ROME.**—A serious agitation among the working classes, and especially among the masons, has manifested itself during the last few days in Rome, and assumed large proportions on Thursday 1st inst. In consequence of the economical crisis in Rome, several of the more important contractors have been compelled to suspend their works. Many workmen are unemployed, and are without means of subsistence. The bakers' shops in several quarters were threatened, and the unemployed assembled in various parts of the town and compelled their comrades to leave work. The troops had to be called out to keep order, and arrests were made on a large scale. The agitation throughout the town was considerable. The press urged the Government to take energetic measure to procure occupation for the unemployed by beginning several of the public works—such as the Tiber embankment, the law courts, and the new barracks.

**A "WOLF'S REASON."**—As one of the reasons why the German Reichstag felt bound to prolong the law against the Socialists, it was mentioned that they could not be prevented from preaching at their meetings murder, riot, and revolution! At the same time there existed another law throughout Germany which empowers the police to dissolve any meeting as soon as they think it necessary. Of this power use has been made very frequently already, even before the law against the Socialists was passed in the year 1878, and amongst other reasons why public meetings of workmen have been dissolved at Berlin and at other places, are recorded the following:—1. Because there was not a passage left free in the middle of the hall. 2. Because a window was open, and the watching official got the conviction that it was for that reason an open-air meeting. 3. Because people were standing outside a window looking into the hall, and the police-officer thought they might break the panes. 4. Because somebody in the hall during a speech shouted out "Ridiculous!" 5. Because some people laughed. 6. Because a dog came into the hall, etc., etc. For such empty motives every meeting, even of thousands of persons, can be dissolved; and then the bourgeoisie is not ashamed to bring forward as one of their reasons that they have not power enough to prevent public speakers from preaching "Bloody Revolution!"—G. Sch.

REVOLUTIONARY CALENDAR.

WEEK ENDING MARCH 17, 1888.

11	Sun.	1702. First London daily newspaper.
12	Mon.	1817. J. Cashman hanged for "treason" in connection with Spa Fields Riots.
13	Tues.	1733. Dr. Joseph Priestley born. 1848. Chartist Meeting on Kennington Common.—Open-air Demonstration at Berlin. 1879. William Broadhead died. 1881. Execution of Alexander II.
14	Wed.	1820. Gilbert McLeod transported for five years for sedition (a speech at a Radical meeting). 1848. Metternich expelled from Vienna. 1883. Karl Marx died.
15	Thur.	1812. D. J. Eaton imprisoned for publishing <i>Age of Reason</i> . 1881. Famous Article in the <i>Freiheit</i> . 1883. Explosion (nitro-glycerine) at office of Local Government Board, Whitehall, and at same time unsuccessful attempt on the <i>Times</i> office.
16	Fri.	1820. H. Hunt and others tried for conspiracy.
17	Sat.	1754. Madame Roland born. 1877. Public Funeral to George Odger. 1882. Meeting at Grafton Street to celebrate the Commune and death of Czar.

*Great Demonstration of Chartists on Kennington Common.*—1848 has been called the year of revolutions, it was certainly a year of public meetings. On the 6th of March, a meeting of the bourgeoisie was called in opposition to the income tax; it was called by one Cochrane, for Trafalgar Square; it was proclaimed by the Government, and Cochrane funked and tried to prevent the meeting. A man was found with pluck enough to preside, and a splendid Chartist meeting was the result, resolutions in favour of the Charter and the French revolutionists being enthusiastically passed, and no trouble would have arisen but for the action of some well-dressed rowdies who stirred up the police to baton the crowd who had followed the chairman to his house in Wellington Street, where he spoke from the balcony. G. W. M. Reynolds, the man who dared the Government, was not up till then known as a political speaker, but he by this action made his mark, and at the great demonstration on Kennington Common of the following week he took the chair, the other speakers being McGrath Williams, Clark Dixon, and Ernest Jones. Some 20,000 persons were present, and a strong police force, over 4,000, some being mounted and armed with sabres and pistols, and some in plain clothes in the body of the meeting. Special warnings were issued to dealers in powder and shot, and gunsmiths were requested to unscrew the barrels of their fire-arms. The Charter was unanimously adopted, and cheers were given for the French Revolution, the tricolored flag all the time waving from the platform. In the evening another great meeting was held, this time in the South London Hall, Blackfriars Road; and the next day yet another.—T. S.

*Alexander II. Romanov executed.*—On March 13, 1881, the execution took place at St. Petersburg of Alexander II. Romanow. This man united the vilest cruelty with the meanest hypocrisy; drenching for instance Poland in blood, having thousands of men killed at Plevna in celebration of his birthday, sending the best men and women of his country to die in prison holes, in Siberian mines and icy deserts, and on the gallows only for having Socialist opinions; all this while posing with his sham emancipation of the Russian peasants from serfdom as a "liberator," robbing Turkey under the pretext of fighting for the freedom of the Christian nations of that country, etc. He well deserved his fate. One of those who undertook to kill him was killed on the spot, another shot himself when the police broke into his home; Jesse Helfmann was left to die painfully and slowly in the Junglow dens; and five, Ryssakoff, Michailoff, Teliaboff, Kibultshish, Sofia Perofskaja went through a judicial farce, were sentenced to death, and afterwards submitted to tortures, a practice commonly exercised with political "criminals" in Russia; their dying voices, oversounded by the noise of drums, told that to the people. Their murder is described even by bourgeois correspondents as a most horrible scene, some being hanged twice or thrice and slowly strangled, struggling for many minutes with death. (Their murderer was to have met the same fate as his father six years afterwards, on March 13, 1887, but escaped for that time.)—Z. Z.

*'Freiheit' Prosecution.*—Englishmen whose liberties are now taken away one after the other, will do well to remember that from that same time the much-boasted of freedom of the press was practically done away with. John Most had made in the weekly German paper *Freiheit* (Freedom), in the issue of March 19th, some comments on the execution of the Russian despot, differing of course from the laudatory hymns of the hired capitalist press. Upon this, on the instigation of the German Government, whose most dangerous enemy the *Freiheit* was at all times, six ruffians invaded on March 30th the office of the *Freiheit* and arrested Most. He was put into Newgate and was shamefully ill-treated there, as well as afterwards in the House of Correction of Clerkenwell. The public prosecutor shifted his ground on every stage of the prosecution. Arrested on the charge of a libel on the late Emperor of Russia, Most was committed for trial at Bow Street for inciting to murder Continental rulers in general, but on the trial he was charged with inciting persons to murder William I. of Germany, the well-known "heldengreis," and Alexander III. of Russia. Evidently the Government feared he would prove the truth of the alleged libel on Alexander II. by showing the atrocious deeds of this man. Public opinion was raised against this attack of the "Liberal" Government, headed by Mr. Gladstone, on one of the most cherished English liberties. A defence committee was formed, and an English paper *Freiheit* was started, of which seven numbers appeared (April 24th to June 5th). Most was ably defended by the Irish M.P., Mr. A. M. Sullivan, who showed from English literature many examples of eulogy upon tyrannicide which nobody ever thought of prosecuting. The packed jury, of course, found Most guilty, and Lord Chief Justice Coleridge sentenced him to sixteen months imprisonment with hard labour, an outrageously severe sentence, the "crime" (which did not exist, indeed) being a political one, and Most having been imprisoned for months previous to the trial. He left the prison on October 26, 1882, and shortly afterwards went to America. The "Liberal" Government was not content with these exploits; they delivered letters and addresses stolen in the *Freiheit* office to the German and Austrian Governments, and the imprisonment and ruin of several comrades in these countries were the consequence of this deliberate denunciation by the Gladstonian Government. They also prosecuted the *Freiheit* again and again, imprisoned Schwelm and Merten, and made it impossible for the paper to be printed further in England, thus practically destroying the freedom of the press.—Z. Z.

*Death of Karl Marx.*—Karl Marx, often called the founder of scientific Socialism, was born at Treves on May 18, 1818. He studied at the Universities of Bonn and Berlin, and became a convinced partisan of the Hegelian school of philosophy, and in so doing showed that he had ceased to see things as eternally fixed categories, and observed the change in them, the evolution. Thus the more consequent thinkers of that school were soon led also in losing their blind respect for the now existing social and political institutions, held by silly people to have existed and to exist from everlasting to everlasting. They observed the

conditions of change, and found that the political, religious, etc., conditions of any epoch, are dependent on the economical conditions of that epoch. This theory is commonly called the "materialistic contemplation of history." Also the American, Morgan, working on quite a different field from Marx, came to these same conclusions. Marx edited a Radical paper at Cologne (*Rheinische Zeitung*, 1842-3); after its suppression by the Prussian Government, he carried on at Paris the *Deutsch-Französische Jahrbücher*, in which Socialist and Radical articles are mixed. He collaborated the *Vorwärts*, wrote several pamphlets together with his friend for life, Friedrich Engels; also a refutation of Proudhon's views, 1847, etc. At this time the *Kommunisten-Bund* (Union of the Communists) was formed, the first really International Socialist Society, and Marx and Engels wrote the celebrated Communist 'Manifesto,' probably the Socialist document which is widest spread and soonest translated into any language in which a Socialist literature, however small, exists at all. He and Engels lived afterwards in Belgium, editing the *Deutsche Brüssler Zeitung*, but were expelled by the Government of that country, which was then nearly as servile as it now is to the Prussian authorities. They went to Paris, but the revolution of 1848 flashing out they returned to Germany, and edited at Cologne the daily *Neue Rheinische Zeitung*, the most brisk and fervent Socialist paper of the many which sprang up then all over the country. It was suppressed in 1849; Engels went to Baden, Marx to Paris, and thence was forced to come away to London. Here the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* was edited for a short time as a review, printed at Hamburg, but soon died. The *Kommunisten-Bund*, many of whose members had been fighting in Germany and had finally fled to England, split not long afterwards, there being an authoritarian and a federalist party in it; Marx belonged to the former, or rather he was the head of that party. He lived from this time in London, writing pamphlets, corresponding for the *New York Tribune*, and doing his great work of research and study in political economy, history, etc. In 1859, he published a book, entitled *Zur Kritik der Politischen Oekonomie*, from which Lassalle afterwards took the bulk of his arguments. His chief work is *Das Kapital*, vol. i., 1867; vol. ii., 1885; the third volume announced to come out in one or two years. A Russian, French, and lately an English translation of that fundamental book for criticism of the present system of society, and many extracts and popularisations, for it is a rather tough lecture at first, have been published. Marx was intimately connected with the International Working-men's Association, founded in St. Martin's Hall, on Sept. 28, 1864, with the founding of which he had perhaps more to do than any other.—Y. Y.

TO THE EDITOR.

The Respectables (would-be) of Hackney and Bethnal Green are very busy in getting up petitions against meetings on Sundays in Victoria Park, the reason given is "because of the bad, seditious, blasphemous, and disgusting language used." If the Rads and the Reds of the neighbourhood don't soon wake up and take action they will find no place left them to air their grievances. The canvassers very kindly inform you that anyone can sign irrespective of age, therefore the petitions are largely filled up by children and women, who sign it mostly because someone else has signed.

T. R. COOPER.

Comrade Bolas asks us to say that comrade Burton who is spoken of in last number as "formerly a member of the Hamersmith Branch," is still a member; has lately paid up all subs., and expects to be back and working with us in about two years' time.

THE SOCIALIST LEAGUE.

OFFICES: 13 FARRINGDON ROAD, E.C.

Annual Conference.

The Fourth Annual Conference of the Socialist League will be held at 13 Farringdon Road, on Whitsunday, May 20. The attention of Branches is particularly referred to (1) Rule V. on the subject of the annual conference, pp. 3 and 4 of Constitution and Rules; and (2) that all branches wishing to be represented at the Conference must pay their subscription up to the 31st March by May 1st.

**Branch Subscriptions Paid.**—1887: Hastings, Nottingham, Pelsall—None. Bradford, Croydon, Glasgow, Hackney, Ipswich, Leeds, Marylebone, Merton, North London, Norwich—to end of March. Edinburgh—to end of May. Mitcham—to end of July. Walsall—to end of August. Hull—to end of September. Bloomsbury, Walham Green, Wednesbury—to end of October. Leicester—to end of November. Clerkenwell, Hammersmith, Hoxton, Mile-end, Oxford—to end of December.

"COMMONWEAL" PRINTING FUND.

Weekly Subscription—W. B., 6d.

**Strike Committee.**—Collected in Regent's Park, Sunday March 4th, 2s. 4d. —J. LANE.

REPORTS.

**ACTON.**—Good open-air meeting held at Steyne at 11 on Sunday by Day, Tochatti, and Maughan. Good sale of *Commonweal*. At 12, good meeting on Front Commons, Turnham Green, when Tochatti, Day, and Maughan spoke. Sold one quire of *Commonweal*. We have discontinued meeting on Acton Green, and intend to hold it in future on Front Common, at which we hope to have a larger audience. In the evening, J. Turner lectured at our rooms on "Control of Capital," before which Day and Maughan held a meeting outside.—H. J. D.

**BLOOMSBURY.**—Social evening held last Thursday at Communist Club by members of branch and their friends. Very successful.

**CLERKENWELL.**—On Wednesday, Feb. 29, Capt. Pfoundes spoke on "Voluntary Emigration." Good discussion. On Sunday, March 4, a very enjoyable "social" evening was spent by members and friends.—B.

**FULHAM.**—Sunday morning meeting addressed by Parker (of Norwich) and Catterson Smith. *Commonweal* sold well. One new member, and 2s. collected. Usual meeting outside rooms in evening. Parker, Tochatti, and Groser spoke; and Parker afterwards lectured on "The Labour Struggle and how to end it."—S. B. G.

**BRADFORD.**—Maguire, of Leeds, lectured at the Exchange last Sunday evening on "Private and Public Wrongs." Well received and good discussion. Gaskell lectured same time at Firth's Temperance Hotel on "Social Reconstruction of Society."

**NORWICH.**—Tuesday, Feb. 28, quarterly meeting of members held. Our membership has greatly increased during the last three months; in November it was 40, to-day we number 74. Sutton was elected secretary, F. Turner treasurer. Friday a paper opposing Socialism was read at one of the Sunday-schools in this town, when branch members were present in strong numbers and took part in the debate. On Sunday, a much larger meeting than usual was held in the

Market Place, owing to the strike in the shoe trade here. Mowbray addressed it, principally on the strike. In evening in Gordon Hall, Houghton lectured on "Malthusianism" to good audience, Turner in chair; Mowbray and Hardy took part in discussion.—S.

**WALSALL.**—Monday, Deakin lectured on "Technical Education." Good discussion. Last Sunday, Donald delivered fine address on "John Ruskin as a Moral Teacher;" well received. Saturday we visited Pelsall, and listened to lecture at the Wesleyan Mutual Improvement Society on "Unpractical Socialism." Sanders and Deakin spoke, and although allowed only a few minutes, succeeded in evoking manifestations of sympathy from a large number of the audience.—J. T. D.

**LONDON PATRIOTIC CLUB.**—On Sunday morning, W. B. Parker lectured here on "Radicalism and Socialism." Mr. J. Fuller took the chair. Good discussion.

## LECTURE DIARY.

### LONDON.

**Acton.**—17 High Street, Acton, W. (adjoining Purnell's Dining Rooms). Sunday March 11, at 8 p.m., Miss E. Wardlow on "Ireland."

**Bloomsbury.**—Communist Club, 49 Tottenham Street, Tottenham Court Road. Thursday Mar. 8, at 8.30, Business meeting (members of the Concert Committee are specially requested to attend). Thursday Mar. 15, at 8.30, Dr. Aveling will lecture on "The Gospel of Socialism."

**Clerkenwell.**—Hall of the Socialist League, 13 Farringdon Rd., E.C. Business meeting every Sunday at 7. Sunday March 11, at 8.30, Mr. Touzeau Parris. Wednesday March 14, at 8.30, Thomas Shore, jun. (L.R.L.). Sun. 18. Commune Celebration.

**Fulham.**—8 Effie Road, Walham Green. Sunday at 8, Mrs. Wilson, "The Social Revolution."

**Hackney.**—26 Percy Terrace, Victoria Road, Hackney Wick.

**Hammermith.**—Kelmiscott House, Upper Mall, W. Sun. at 8, J. Tochatii, Human Nature and Socialism.

**Hoxton (L.E.L.).**—C. J. Young, 8 Dunloe Street, Hackney Road, Secretary. Members please take up their membership cards for 1888.

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

**Mile-end and Bethnal Green.**—95 Boston St., Hackney Road. Business Meeting every Thursday at 9 p.m. Debating Class for members after Business Meeting.

### PROVINCES.

**Aberdeen (Scottish Section).**—Sunday night meetings in Baker Street Hall, at 6. Secretary, J. Leatham, 15 St. Nicholas Street.

**Birmingham.**—Meetings at Summer Row Coffee House every Saturday evening at 8.

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

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

**Cowdenbeath (Scot. Sec.).**—J. Duncan, 30 Arthur Pl., sec

**Dublin.**—Saturday Club, Central Lecture Hall, 12 Westmorland Street.

**Dundee (Scot. Sect.).**—Meetings every Sunday in the Trades Hall, opposite Tay Bridge Station. Political Economy class, 2 p.m. Lecture at 6.30.

**Edinburgh (Scottish Section).**—4 Park Street. Every Thursday at 8, class for study of Marx's 'Capital.' Trades Hall, High Street, Sunday March 11, Gilbert Hossack, "The Workers' Share of Civilisation."

**Galashiels (Scot Sect.).**—J. Walker, 6 Victoria St., sec.

**Gallatoun and Dysart (Scottish Section: Fife).**—Meet every Tuesday at 7 p.m. in Gallatoun Public School. Secretary, A. Paterson, 152 Rosslyn St.

**Glasgow.**—84 John St. Reading-room open 10 a.m. till 10 p.m. daily. Propaganda Committee, Mondays at 8. Discussion Class meets every Thursday evening at 8 p.m.

**Leeds.**—Lady Lane. Open every evening. Business meeting Fridays at 8. Address all communications to T. Paylor, 11 Sheldon Street, Holbeck, Leeds.

**Leicester.**—Hosiery Union, Horsefair St. Fridays at 8.

**Lochgelly (Scottish Section: Fife).**—Secs. (pro tem.), John Greig and Hugh Conway, The Square.

**Norwich.**—Gordon Hall, 5 Duke Street. Monday, Entertainment at 8 by the Minstrel Troupe. Tuesday, Members meeting at 8. Wednesday, Ways and Means Committee at 8.30. Thursday, Discussion class (Gronlund), 8. Friday, Literary Committee at 8. Band practice at 8.

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

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

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

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

## OPEN-AIR PROPAGANDA.

### LONDON—Sunday 11.

11 ...Acton—the Steyne .....Acton Branch  
11 ...Turnham Green—Front Common ...Acton Bch.  
11.30...Hoxton Church, Pitfield St. ....Pope & Wade  
11.30...Merton—Haydons Road.....The Branch  
11.30...Mitcham Fair Green .....Kitz & Eden  
11.30...Regent's Park .....Parker  
11.30...St. Pancras Arches .....Bloomsbury Branch  
11.30...Walham Green .....Fulham Branch  
3 ...Hyde Park .....Parker  
7 ...Acton—Priory .....Acton Branch

### PROVINCES.

**Leeds.**—Sunday: Jack Lane End, Meadow Road, at 10.30 a.m. In Prince's Field, at 3 p.m.  
**Norwich.**—Market Place, at 3 every Sunday.

On Thursday March 15 a Discussion will take place at 13 Farringdon Road, at 8.30 p.m., on Communist v. Individualist Anarchism, to be opened by Peter Kropotkin. Admission free; discussion invited.

**PROGRESSIVE ASSOCIATION,** Penton Hall, 81 Pentonville Road.—Sunday March 18, at 7 p.m., Percival Chubb, "Ethical Socialism in Practice."

**LEYTONSTONE WORKING MEN'S CLUB,** 1 Cathall Rd., Leytonstone.—Sunday March 25, 11.30 a.m., H. Halliday Sparring on "What Socialists Want."

**SHEFFIELD SOCIALISTS,** Commonwealth Café, Scotland Street, Sheffield.—Discussions or Lectures every Sunday evening at 7 o'clock. Free.

### Imprisonment of Gough.

Our comrade Gough will be released from Pentonville Prison on March 14th. Cantwell, Nicoll, and Parker are organising reception.

**The Strike Fund.**—Entertainments will be given on Saturday evenings in the Hall of the League, at 8 p.m., in aid of the above Fund. Friends wishing to assist with songs, recitations, instrumental music, etc., should at once communicate with W. B. Parker, at office of League. First Entertainment, March 24th.

**East-end Socialist Club.**—A Grand Vocal and Instrumental Concert will be given in Hall of League, at 8 p.m., on Easter Monday, April 2nd, in aid of funds of projected East-end Club.

### PARIS COMMUNE CELEBRATIONS.

**CLERKENWELL.**—Hall of the Socialist League, 13 Farringdon Road, E.C., on Sunday March 18, at 8.30. Social Evening, with short addresses, songs, etc.

**NORWICH.**—On Sunday March 18 a great meeting will be held in the Market Place, to celebrate Paris Commune. On Monday March 19 a Tea and Entertainment will be held in the Gordon Hall. Tickets 1s. each, to be had of the Secretary.

**BIRMINGHAM.**—It is intended to celebrate the Commune by a Dinner, etc., on March 19. Friends wish to join in the same please communicate with comrades Sketchley and Copeland, 8 Arthur Place, Parade, immediately.

**DUBLIN.**—The celebration of the anniversary of the Commune of Paris will be held, under the auspices of the Dublin Socialist Club, at 2 Bachelors Walk, on Sunday March 18th, at 8 p.m. Tickets 1s. each.

**SOCIALIST CO-OPERATIVE FEDERATION.**—Meeting at *Commonweal* Office, 13 Farringdon Road, on Sunday March 11, at 3.30 p.m.

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Soho—Gardmer, Lexington Street, near Wardour St. Demeleto, Compton Street.  
Oxford Street—Hall, Hanway Street.  
Tottenham Court Road—Autonomie Club, Windmill St. Boor, Cleveland Street. Manley, Cleveland St. Cleveland Hall, Cleveland Street. Goodblood, Foley Street, Cleveland St. Communist Club, 49 Tottenham St. Hoffman, Francis St. Hanstan, 51 Charlotte Street, Gooch Street.

### W.C.

King's Cross—Shirley, 169 King's Cross Road.  
Bloomsbury—A. C. Varley, 24 High Street.  
High Holborn—Truelove, 256.  
Chancery Lane—Smith, 14 Cursitor Street.

### E.C.

Old Street, St Lukes—Davidson, 75. Askey, 107. —, 166.  
St Lukes—Baker, Tabernacla Street. —, 36 Featherstone St.  
Sun Street—Lawrence, 48.  
Chiswell Street—James, 30. —, 51.  
Clerkenwell—Edwards, 119 Rosoman St. Trigg, Clerkenwell Green. Walker, 181 John Street Road. Hill, Compton St. Brightly, Spencer Street.

Finsbury—Cason, 37 Leonard Street.  
Farringdon Street—Forder, 28 Stonecutter Street.  
Fleet Street—Reeves, 185. Freethought Publishing Coy., 63. Marshall, Fleet Street. Farringdon, Fetter Lane. Brandon, Wine Office Court.

### E.

Whitechapel Road—Eades, 219.  
Hackney Road—Miller, 15. C. J. Bouchard, 157a Goldsmith Row. King, Goldsmith Row.  
Hackney—Barker, 16 Morning Lane.  
Homerton—Worledge, 52 High Street.

### S.E.

Blackfriars Road, Bridge End.  
Borough Road—Ketteridge, 117. Titcomb, 29.  
Borough—Laing, 5a St. Suffolk Street.  
Deptford—Coppard, Green Bank, Tooley Street, corner of Knoll Road. Taylor, 274 Lower Road. Pasco, 89 High Street. Chambers, Deptford Bridge. Clayton, 12 Clarence Place, Deptford Bridge.  
Greenwich—Chambers, 18 Church Street.  
Bermondsey—, 86 Snowsfield.  
Walworth Road—, 170. Mears, 328. Brown, 44 Deacon St. Blandford, Hill Street.  
Newington Butts—Cox, Draper Street.  
Battersea—Head, 290 York Road.

### S.W.

Tooting—, High Street.  
—, Dunts Hill, Earlsfield Railway Station.  
Wandsworth—Coleman, 181 High Street.  
Battersea Park Road—E. Beteux, 34 Abercrombie Street.  
Garret Lane—Clark, 7 Goodenor Terrace.  
Merton—Hinton, High Street. Meeron, Haydons Road.

And at all Branch Meeting-Places and Outdoor-Stations of the Socialist League.

[We publish this very incomplete list in the hope that friends will make it their business to supply us with fuller details. Newsagents not included here are requested to supply their names for publication.]

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# THE COMMONWEAL

The Official Journal of the Socialist League.

VOL. 4.—No. 114.

SATURDAY, MARCH 17, 1888.

WEEKLY; ONE PENNY.

## THE PARIS COMMUNE.

THE celebration of the anniversary organised by the English Socialist Societies will take place at the

STORE STREET HALL,  
Store Street, Tottenham Court Road, W.C.  
MONDAY MARCH 19.

The following speakers will address the meeting:—

ANNIE BESANT, JOHN BURNS, ELEANOR AVELING, WILLIAM MORRIS, CHARLOTTE WILSON, P. KROPOTKINE, F. KITZ, A. HEADINGLEY, F. HICKS, H. H. SPARLING, DR. MERLINO, BORDES, KAVTSKY, and others.

The Chair will be taken at 7.30, by

H. M. HYNDMAN.

The following is the resolution which will be moved at the meeting:

*"That this meeting expresses the deepest sympathy with the heroic attempt of the workers of Paris to overthrow the domination of the classes that live by the robbery of labour, and looks forward to the time when the distinction of classes will be abolished, and the hopes for which so many workers have sacrificed their lives will be realised in the true society of the workers of all countries."*

A Choir will attend and give a selection of appropriate music.

\* \* Members of the Choir and their friends are requested to attend for practice at 13 Farringdon Road, on Sunday at 5 p.m.

Comrades willing to act as stewards or to assist in the sale of literature are asked to send in their names at once.

Comrades and friends are earnestly requested to take in hand the collection of money for the defrayal of expenses, for which purpose collection sheets have been issued. Donations may be sent to

G. CLIFTON (S.D.F.) Treasurer; or to  
H. A. BARKER (S.L.) Secretary,  
13 Farringdon Road, E.C.

## VIVE LA COMMUNE!

A CARTOON BY WALTER CRANE,

Will be GIVEN AWAY with next week's COMMONWEAL.

\* \* Newsagents and others are requested to send their orders early, as a large demand is anticipated.

Copies on fine paper for framing, 2d.; post free, 2½d.

## DEAD AT LAST.

THE flood of cant and servility which has been poured out by the bourgeois press during the last few days, because the long-expected death of a tyrant of the old type embedded in a modern type of tyranny, has at last happened, disgusts one so much that at first one is tempted to keep silence in mere contempt for such degraded nonsense. Court mourning is always a preposterous spectacle, but here is a case where it is more preposterous than usual. Conventional universal grief, when scarcely any one is grieved at the event, no one whose interests do not suffer by it, most people are profoundly indifferent, and a great many cannot help being glad, although the death of this man may make no immediate difference in the condition of the people who suffered from his life—what can one say of this?

Yet though silence may be best in the abstract, it may be misunderstood at a time when even democratic papers, which are busy

advocating federalism, profess to share more or less in the sham sentiment of the day which weeps strange tears indeed over the death-bed of this tough specimen of the ancient absolutist lined by the modern centraliser. As a Socialist print, the *Commonweal* is an outlaw from the press, and its poverty and desolate freedom compels it to speech, though but of a few words.

For what the death of this sham mediæval tyrant calls our attention to is a weighty and serious matter enough in spite of the nothingness of the man himself. The ancient and obviously irrational absolutism is gone from Europe except for the tottering throne of the Czar of the Russias; but the house of Hohenzollern has gathered to itself whatever of dangerous and practical in absolutism still exists, and has built up of it a fortress of the new bureaucratic absolutism as a last refuge to the capitalistic civilisation of our day, and has put a face of rationality and business capacity on it, so that the scarcely less grievous tyranny of constitutional bureaucracy under which we suffer might reach out a hand to it unashamed; and so helpful have our masters felt this fortress to be to the system which enables them to rob the people at home, that even the elevation by its builders of the Germans into a holy race of military and commercial conquerors which may one day swallow them up also, has not scared them from accepting their friendship.

Abundance of patience, energy, skill, almost genius, have been expended in this attack on the progress of humanity, but not only these qualities were needed, and the most has been made of persons who could serve as instruments towards it, although they had no qualities but the blindness and dogged hardness inbred by their position. Of these instruments the person just dead was as fit for his post as might be, just as Bismark and Moltke have been fit for theirs; though the German centralising absolutism is modern, a monarch or figure-head of the modern type would not have suited it as well as what was ready to its hand for the purpose, a mere stupidly implacable soldier without any capacity for doubt or remorse. The man who began his career of "glory" by the slaughter of citizens in the streets of Berlin in '48, was a proper tool for the statesmen who saw the necessity of the system, which had bred them, of "educating" Germany by constant wars of ambition, and was not likely to shrink from the last success of a hideous race war, which will when all is said, lead to events that these pests of humanity were far from foreseeing.

Plainly then, the somewhat timid whitewashing by the Radical press of this figure-head of the most dangerous form of absolutism is a sorry business, and I must say sincerely that the German people are not likely to thank our press for it. Even the *Daily News* is compelled to allude to the Berlin massacres, though it speaks of them as an event to be lightly passed over, a venial offence, to be expected (as indeed it was) of a person in the position of its hero. But are the people of Berlin forgetting it? Are they really worshipping the memory of the pious hero of Sedan? If this is true of even a part of the population, it can only be said that it shows into what depths of degradation the vice of patriotism can lead people—of patriotism, that is, the cultivation of national rancour founded on the national development of selfish greed which is the basis of civilised society.

One thing, at least, we should not forget, and that is the protest of the German Socialists in the teeth of all the jingoism newly stirred up by the danger and excitement of the occasion, against the race-war which Bismark and his willing puppets were leading Germany into in the interests of law and order, to whom the death and suffering of hundreds of thousands of men, women and children, is a light matter, so only that the people may be kept down.

The Government are determined that we shall not lack sensation. Mr. Snelling's sentence to seven month's hard labour for speaking his mind in Ireland, is quite on all fours with the sentences in London on those who tried to speak their minds in Trafalgar Square. Really we must repeat our advice to the G.O.M. to show that he is in earnest by going over to Ireland, and daring the Government to arrest him.

The House of Commons has at the instigation of Mr. Labouchere been debating as to whether it would be advisable to abolish the hereditary element in the Upper House—whether it would be advisable to spend a pound or two in mending a bad sixpence. Here is comfort for the unemployed, the men on strike, the hewers of wood and drawers of water!

W. M.

## SOCIALISM FROM THE ROOT UP.

### CHAPTER XXII (continued)—SOCIALISM MILITANT.

(Continued from p 77.)

THE movement was begun in Germany by Lassalle<sup>1</sup> about 1863 as a national movement; it grew in that form after his death for some years. Meantime "the International" had been founded, and had gradually come under the guidance of Karl Marx and Frederic Engels, who won for themselves two energetic and able coadjutors in Liebknecht and Bebel, men untiring in gaining converts to the ideas of the International from the followers of Lassalle and of Schulze-Delitsch, the bourgeois co-operationist, to which latter party indeed Bebel himself once belonged.

The scope of this article prevents us from going into details as to the fortunes of the German party; it must be enough to say that the Marx party grew rapidly, and at the congress of Gotha in 1875 the Lassalle party amalgamated with them, formally renouncing the special tenets of Lassalle, notably the nationalist aims which formed a part of them. The party went on growing, and had a large newspaper press and some representation in the Reichstag. Then in 1878 came the "attempts" on the Emperor by Hödel and Nobeling, followed by the repressive laws against the Socialists, which destroyed their press at one swoop, and extinguished all open agitation in Germany. Nevertheless the growth of the party was not perceptibly checked by these arbitrary measures; the headquarters of its direction were transferred to Zurich, where they yet remain. At the Congress held last October at St. Gallen the revolutionary character of the party was sustained, in the teeth of some attempts at opportunism which came from a section of the representatives in the Reichstag. The temptation to this opportunism was the desire of some of the deputies to make the party felt in the Reichstag by forming alliances with other groups, whereas at present as a Socialist party they are quite powerless there. It may be added that there is a possibility in Germany, as in France, of a wave of "patriotism," founded on fear of the danger of actual invasion, checking for a time the rapidity of the advance of Socialism; though in the party itself the feeling for internationalism is overwhelming and past all question.

France has for the present rather fallen back from her position of leader in the revolutionary movement. The party itself is somewhat split up into sections, though the differences between rank and file are not serious and mainly have to do with matters of tactics. Socialist ideas have permeated the whole mass of the town workmen, who are more separated from the peasantry than in any other European country. The fact is, therefore, that the movement in France, though unorganised, still expands, especially as it is spreading to all manufacturing centres. In France Socialism is not definitely attacked by the government as it is in Germany, but only suffers, as it does in this country, from the ordinary repressive police system.

In Holland the movement, which has now reached extraordinary dimensions, was begun in the year 1882. The propaganda has been mainly the work of Domela Nieuwenhuis, formerly a popular preacher in Amsterdam, released recently from a term of imprisonment. The police in Holland have gone so far in attacking the Socialists as to stir up mob violence against them, even to the extent of breaking into their meeting places and threatening the lives of their leaders.

In Belgium the movement is progressing vigorously, in the teeth of the two opposed parties, and the feeling of the workmen generally is very revolutionary, stimulated especially by the miserable condition of the mining population, who in 1886 broke out into riots that almost attained to the proportions of a revolt. The party supports a daily paper in Brussels.

In Denmark the movement is so far advanced as to support two daily papers of large circulation, in spite of the smallness of the population. No doubt it is much helped there by the curious constitutional situation in which the Liberal majority and the Court party are holding each other at deadlock. This Danish movement has even penetrated to Sweden, and a Socialist party is growing up there.

In Russia, bureaucratic absolutism is blended with survivals of the mere barbaric absolutism, and as a consequence of the monstrous government which results from this, the movement seems now to be aiming at bringing about a constitutional revolution as a forerunner of the Social Revolution; and on the other hand this condition of things has so worked on the aspirations of the intelligent part of the people, that the movement there has been surrounded by a halo of personal heroism which has attracted universal admiration and respect even from its enemies.

In Austria, the faith of the masses generally is Socialism, but owing partly to the composite character of the Empire, which embraces such varied and rival races, and partly to the severity of the police measures of its Absolutist Government, there is no definite organisation.

In Italy, the movement is progressing, although hampered by the tail of the democratic, and especially the Mazzinian, ideas, which can see nothing beyond the abolition of priest and king.

In Spain, the followers of Bakounine's Anarchism have had much influence, and the movement consequently is mostly Anarchist in colouring. The party supports several small weekly papers.

In America, the movement till recently has been entirely in the hands of the German immigrants; but of late years there has been a remarkable development of the class-struggle there. The result of numerous and most violent disputes between the capitalists and wage-

earners has been the formation of an indigenous labour party, vague in aim and somewhat chaotic in action, but tending steadily towards a complete recognition of the solidarity of labour. The publication of Henry George's work, 'Progress and Poverty,' which created such sensation in this country, unsatisfactory as it was, has no doubt had its effect upon this movement, though its author in his quest for power and position has now practically recanted whatever opinions were of any value in it. One incident in the American movement is the formation of the gigantic trades' union called the Knights of Labour, which has more definite tendencies towards Socialism than those in this country; though Powderly's coquetting with the Catholic hierarchy has led to a split in the body, which leads to a hope that true Socialism may soon be generally accepted amongst the American working-classes. This will certainly be encouraged by the last act of the American capitalists, who in their dastardly fear of the possible combination of their wage-slaves, have murdered the Anarchist leaders at Chicago under the pretence of their being concerned in the throwing of a bomb-shell in the heat of a desperate labour-conflict in that city.

To get back again to this country, the movement is spreading much beyond the limits of the definite Socialist organisations, which are for the most part headquarters for knots of lecturers and speakers, and the publication of journals and pamphlets. In fact, it may be said that the strength of the movement here is on the intellectual side, and that organisation for action of any kind is very defective. Nevertheless, Socialist opinion is making itself felt widely as well as deeply; this is very marked in the effect it is having on the Radicals, since it is detaching a constantly increasing number of them from their old position as the left wing of the Liberals, which whom and under whose orders they have hitherto acted since the time when Gladstone became the leader of the party. The Irish movement being at bottom a rebellion, and illustrating very strongly one side of the economical disabilities of the working-classes, has done much to widen the breach between the Democratic Radicals and the Liberal Radicals, and has made them much more ready to listen to Socialist doctrines. The Trades' Unions also, which have acted as a safety valve for the discontent born of the economical situation, have been much shaken by the attention which so many of their members have given to Socialism, and show signs of a growing inclination to change their position from being a mere appendage to capitalism to being organisations for a definite attack upon it. The dead weight of their leaders, who look upon this feeling with the utmost disfavour, and have done their best to smother it, hampers the possible development of the Trades' Unions in this direction; but it ever breaks through these and other obvious obstacles. They will become most formidable allies of Socialism in this country. It must be remembered in estimating the force of the movement in the British Islands, that all this is taking place in a country which, whatever its economical position may be, is politically, ethically, and intellectually generally the headquarters of reaction.

E. BELFORT BAX and WILLIAM MORRIS.

## REVOLUTIONARY CALENDAR.

WEEK ENDING MARCH 24, 1888.

18	Sun.	1848. "Guns go off of themselves" at Berlin. 1871. Commune of Paris proclaimed. 1876. Ferdinand Freiligrath died.
19	Mon.	1848. Insurrection at Berlin.
20	Tues.	1875. John Mitchel died. 1871. Commune proclaimed at Marseilles.
21	Wed.	1763. W. J. McNevin born. 1832. Goethe died.
22	Thur.	1871. "Men of Order" demonstrate in Paris. 1873. Strike ended of 60,000 colliers in South Wales.
23	Fri.	1820. Sir F. Burdett tried for seditious libel. 1871. Commune proclaimed at Lyons.
24	Sat.	1794. Hébert guillotined.

"The Guns went off of themselves!"—The revolutionary waves of the year 1848 soon reached Berlin, and the news of the popular movement that was going on in the Rhenish provinces and smaller States of Germany stimulated the people of the capital to demand fresh concessions. At the great open-air meeting held on the 13th, a collision took place between people and soldiers. During the ensuing week Berlin was in an open state of revolution, and the people would no longer be satisfied with ambiguous and never-fulfilled promises. King Frederick became somewhat afraid, and on the 18th he issued a proclamation whereby he pledged himself to give to his beloved people all kinds of liberties and some other ones besides. On that very day the people assembled in the square before the royal palace, when a troop of dragoons came up and at once advanced against them. The soldiers were at first repulsed, but a sanguinary conflict began immediately afterwards. The battle lasted long, and was long doubtful. During the night of the 18th and 19th, King Frederick William wrote that immortal piece of hypocrisy and cowardice, which it will be well to preserve in these columns. It runs as follows: "To my beloved Berliners! By my patent of convocation this day, you have received the pledge of the faithful sentiments of your king towards you and towards the whole of the German nation. The shout of joy which greeted me from unnumbered faithful hearts still resounded in my ears, when a crowd of peace-breakers mingled with the loyal throng, making seditious and bold demands, and augmenting in numbers as the well-disposed withdrew. As their impetuous intrusion extended to the very portals of the palace with apprehended sinister views, and insults were offered to my valiant and faithful soldiers, the court-yard was cleared by the cavalry at a walking pace and with their weapons sheathed (!), and two guns of the infantry went off of themselves (!), without, thanks be to God, causing any injury. A band of wicked men, chiefly consisting of foreigners, who, although searched for, have succeeded in concealing themselves for more than a week (!), have converted this circumstance into a palpable untruth, and have filled the excited minds of my faithful and beloved Berliners with thoughts of vengeance for supposed (!) bloodshed; and thus have they become the criminal authors of bloodshed themselves. My troops, your brothers and fellow-countrymen, did not make use of their weapons till forced to do so by several shots fired at them

<sup>1</sup> Lassalle was killed in a duel in 1865.

from the Königstrasse. The victorious advance of the troops was the consequence. It is now yours, inhabitants of my beloved native city, to avert a fearful evil. Acknowledge your fatal error; your king, your trusting friend, enjoins you by all that is most sacred, to acknowledge your fatal error. Return to peace; remove the barricades which are still standing; and send to me men filled with the genuine ancient spirit of Berlin, speaking words which are seemly to your king; and I pledge you my royal truth that all the streets and squares shall be instantaneously cleared by the troops, and the military garrisons shall be confined solely to the most important buildings—to the Castle, the Arsenal, and a few others—and even here only for a brief space. Listen to the paternal voice of your king, ye inhabitants of my true and beautiful Berlin; and forget the past, as I shall forget it, for the sake of that great future which, under the peace-giving blessing of God, is dawning upon Prussia and through Prussia upon all Germany. Your loving queen, and truly your genuine mother and friend, who is lying on a sick bed, joins her heartfelt and tearful supplications to mine." He wrote some more things of that sort, until General von Wrangel made his famous proclamation, saying: "The troops are staunch. Their swords are sharpened, their arms loaded. . . . I bring you benefit with order. Anarchy must cease and it will cease. This must be changed, and it shall be changed. I swear this to you, and a Wrangel never belies his word." And the result proved that this was not an empty threat on the part of that reactionary soldier, and what Prussia and afterwards Germany became since, every one knows but too well!—V. D.

*Proclamation of the Paris Commune.*—Every Socialist knows what was the Commune, its nature, its *raison d'être*, and the ultimate aim it worked and struggled for. In the face of the most awful reaction which ever overcame France, Paris claimed the acknowledgment and the consolidation of the Republic, the only political form consistent with the rights of the people and the regular and free development of Society; the complete and absolute autonomy of the Commune, extended to all localities throughout France, assuring to each of them the integrity of its rights, and to each Frenchman in them the full exercise of his faculties and of his aptitudes in his threefold capacity as man, as citizen, and as worker; the autonomy of the Commune without any other limits than the equal right to autonomy for all the other Communes freely agreeing to the proposed contract; and all the Communes so freely organised and federated together constituting France. Each Commune establishes its budget, has the direction of all local services, organises its magistracy, its interior police, its public instruction, administers in one word all matters belonging to the Commune; chooses by election or by competition all its municipal delegates to every kind of public business; guarantees absolutely individual freedom, freedom of thought and freedom of work; invites permanent intervention of all citizens in all municipal matters through the free manifestation of their opinions, and the free defence of their own interests; organises its municipal guardianship, which elects itself and revokes its commanders, and becomes the sole maintainer of peace and order; introduces all administrative and economical changes claimed for by the citizens, in matters of public instruction, of production, consumption, exchange, property, etc.; Such a programme, even thoroughly carried out by a victorious Commune, and in turn, by all the federated Communes of France, would not have involved a complete Socialistic re-organisation of society, but certainly it would have been a first and gigantic step towards its realisation, and it is therefore that all Socialists throughout the world commemorate the 18th of March, 1871, as the glorious and undying forerunner of the Social Revolution, which it is now our duty to help to carry through in every country, for the greatest intellectual, material, and social benefit of the whole of mankind.—V. D.

*Commune proclaimed at Lyons.*—After the proclamation of the Paris Commune, several towns in France followed the good example. So did Lyons, where on the 23rd of March a revolt broke out. The battalions of the Guillotière (a district of Lyons) possessed themselves of the Town Hall, proclaimed the Commune, and installed a democratic Committee of Public Safety. But on the 25th the National Guard rebelled against the Committee, which was compelled to fly away, and delivered the Prefect Valentin who had been arrested. On the 30th of the following month, by occasion of the municipal elections, a new insurrection broke out at the Guillotière, but was again repressed; this time by the efforts of the Prefect Valentin and of Louis Andrieux, Public Prosecutor at Lyons, who became afterwards Police Prefect at Paris, reactionary deputy, and so forth. This Louis Andrieux has been member and secretary of the Lyons section of the International Working-men's Association, and a very advanced Socialist. He was also an Atheist.—V. D.

*Commune proclaimed at Marseilles.*—Gaston Crémieux was the promoter of the movement here, which could not stand against the reactionary forces. On the 4th of April, General Espivent attacked the Prefecture, which was bombarded. Marseilles was declared in a state of siege, the Republican press was suppressed, and several editors were imprisoned. Gaston Crémieux was sentenced to death, and shot on the 30th of November, 1871. He died most courageously, as a man fully convinced of the truth of the Cause for which he shed his blood.—V. D.

*Ferdinand Freiligrath.*—Born at Detmold, June 17, 1810; died March 18, 1876. In early life was clerk in commercial offices at Amsterdam and Bremen, but dreamed while making out invoices, and made poetry while posting the ledger. His first volume of poems, 1838, were so successful that he devoted himself henceforth to literature. Soon after his marriage, 1840, the King of Prussia gave him a pension of about £50, but the influence of Fallersleben, his friend, was making itself felt, and he resigned his pension and published his book of poems, the 'Confession of Faith,' which contained many of his revolutionary pieces. After 1848, he came to England, where he got his living once more in an office, and filled his leisure with the study of English and translating poems into German. In 1868 he returned to Germany, settling at Stuttgart. The most powerful, he was also among the most prolific of German poets of the revolution.—S.

*Death of John Mitchel.*—John Mitchel, one of the men of 1848, was born in 1815; he was the son of Rev. John Mitchel, Unitarian minister of Dungiven, County Derry; was educated at Trinity College, Dublin, a college which has supplied a large percentage of revolutionists. He contributed very soon in its history to the pages of the *Nation*, and on the death of Thomas Osborne Davis, in 1845, accepted an editorial chair on that journal, in conjunction with Charles Gavan Duffy, one of its founders, and Thomas Darcy McGee. The Unitarian Ulsterman soon proved too extreme for his immediate co-workers, who were for moral force only, while Mitchel had ideas of the French pattern—revolution, barricades, and Republic. He was the first for about forty years—from the death of Emmett, 1803—who dared talk right out of armed insurrection and separation. This caused his retirement from the *Nation* and then a split in the Irish Confederation, for Smith O'Brien declared that either he or Mitchel must quit the organisation. After a two day's debate the moral force party, headed by O'Brien, Gavan Duffy, and McGee, proved the stronger when the vote was taken, February 5, 1848, and Mitchel and the war party quitted. On the 12th of February he issued the *United Irishman*. The "year of revolutions" saw many extreme prints but not many more outspeaking than this, which openly preached rebellion, and gave details of street fighting and use of war material. The paper was only just afloat when M. Guizot and Louis Philippe were upspilt; this naturally re-acted on Irish politics, and so boomed Mitchel's ideas, that the men who had just voted him out caught the infection and were all a few weeks later either in prison or in hiding, after being concerned in armed rebellion; so little can time and place for revolutions be chosen. Mitchel was taken and put forward for conviction, to say trial is an insult to any ordinary intelligence, for

in spite of a pledge given by Lord John Russell for a fair trial the jury-packing was absolutely shameless. He was sentenced to fourteen years' transportation; so perfect were all the arrangements of this fair trial that a man-of-war aloop was ready with steam up all day, and every available soldier under arms and on duty, so that when taken from the dock and hurried on board there was no delay and no chance of rescue for John Mitchel. In 1854 he was enabled to escape from Australia, and for some years he lived in America. July 25, 1874, Mitchel landed in Ireland once more; his efforts for a seat in the House were not successful, and after a few months stay he returned to America. January, 1875, he was put up for Tipperary, and before he arrived was elected. His election was quashed on the grounds of being an unpardoned felon; a new writ was issued, and again he was elected by a large majority over a Conservative who polled enough votes to swear a return by. Before anything more could be done John Mitchel was seized by death, having just time to travel from the place of his history to his native home at Dromolane, in Ulster, dying there on March 20, 1875, "irreconcilable and defiant to the last." His 'History of Ireland' and his 'Last Conquest of Ireland (Perhaps?)' are two of his books which can be recommended to any person with a fondness for bragging about being "English you know."—T. S.

*Trial of Sir F. Burdett.*—"That on the 22nd of August, 1819, he did publish a certain libel," Sir F. Burdett was arraigned before the Leicester Assizes on March 23, 1820. The seditious libel for which he was tried consisted in a protest against the Peterloo massacre, written when "filled with shame, grief, and indignation at the account of the blood spilled at Manchester." After the cowardice and mealy-mouthed hypocrisy of the "representatives of the people" over Trafalgar Square, it is like a trumpet-call to read the words of the protest of one whom even Parliament could not paralyse: "It seems our fathers were not such fools as some would make us believe, in opposing the establishment of a standing army and sending King William's Dutch guards out of the country. Yet would to heaven they had been Dutchmen, or Switzers, or Hessians, or Hanoverians, or anything rather than Englishmen who have done such deeds. What! kill men unarmed, unresisting, and, gracious God! women too; disfigured, maimed, cut down, and trampled on. . . . Is this England? . . . A land of freedom? Can such things be and pass by us like a summer cloud unheeded? Forbid it every drop of English blood in every vein that does not proclaim his owner, bastard!" In speaking of the meeting of protest he called for, he cited the trial of the seven bishops and its results. He was found guilty but appealed, and great learning was expended on both sides, the case being argued through several terms; in Hilary Term, 1821, all objections to the verdict were over-ruled, and Burdett was sentenced to a fine of £2,000 and three months' imprisonment in the Marshalsea.—S.

*Jacques René Hébert* (often called *Père Duchesne*, from the title of a revolutionary paper of which he was editor).—Born at Alençon, November 15, 1757; beheaded at Paris, March 24, 1794. He was one of the most energetic and sincere of all the revolutionists of his time, and as frequently happens, one of the best calumniated and vilified men of the epoch in which he lived. In 1786, Hébert was in Paris comptroller at the Théâtre des Variétés, where he remained till 1788. In 1790 he wrote his first revolutionary pamphlet, and began the publication of his *Père Duchesne*. At the same time he entered the Club des Cordeliers, of which he soon became one of the principal members. On the 17th of July, 1791, he signed, at the Champ de Mars, the petition claiming the enthronement of Louis XVI., and took part in the revolution of August the 10th as a member of the Revolutionary Commune, which had been created in the night of that day by the different sections. On September 22, 1792, he was elected substitute to the Public Prosecutor of the Commune, and very ably discharged his duties in that capacity. After the death of Louis XVI., the two parties which divided the Convention became of course for ever irreconcilable; and Hébert attacked in his paper with the utmost energy and eagerness the party of the Girondins, who soon afterwards took advantage of a good opportunity to avenge themselves. Hébert was arrested on March 24, 1793, by order of a Committee instituted to enquire into a certain plot against the Girondins, but the popularity of Hébert was at once revealed to his enemies. The General Council of the Commune declares itself in a state of permanency; all sections in Paris become angry and threatening; the Club des Cordeliers is in a wild state of excitement; every one protests in messages and petitions to the National Convention against the attempt made on the "magistrate so beloved for his civic virtues." Four days afterwards Hébert was liberated, and his return to the Town Hall was a triumphant one. He was presented with a civic crown, which he placed upon the statue of J. J. Rousseau, declaring that such honours ought only to be rendered after their death to citizens who deserve them. The Girondins then fell exhausted, and Hébert wielded a very great influence, which became still greater after the death of Marat. He was then really the chief and the leader of the most advanced revolutionary party; his paper was the favourite one of all the suburbs, and the soldiers scarcely read any other one, as Bouchotte, the Minister for War, had ordered the paper to be distributed amongst the military. The *Père Duchesne*, in spite of its trivial language, which was at that time nearly a circumstantial necessity, has been one of the best productions of that revolutionary epoch. Those who attack it prove only that they have never read it. Its popularity was so great and its power so effective, that soon the party of the Hébertistes became one of the most important of the revolutionary period. Their principal members were, with Hébert, Chaumette, the Public Prosecutor of the Commune; Pache, the Maire of Paris; Bouchotte, Minister of War; Vincent, general secretary of the same department; Mouron, the famous printer; Ronsin, the general of the revolutionary army; Fouché, Carrier, Anacharsis Clootz, Collot d'Herbois, General Rossignol, and many others, who made of the Hébertistes an extremely powerful party. They took the initiative in nearly all the most extraordinary measures of public safety, such as the maximum, the arrest of the suspicious, the creation of the revolutionary army, etc. The general movement against the Catholic religion, and the installation of the feasts of Reason, were entirely due to their propaganda and influence. But reaction soon set in under the auspices of Robespierre, who had always been jealous of every one's popularity. Danton joined Robespierre in this damnable reactionary work against the advanced party, and it was decided by all means to destroy Hébert and his friends. The 14th of March, 1794, twenty were arrested on account of a report drawn up by St. Just, accusing them of being conspirators, agents of foreign powers (the most absurd but the most terrible of all charges). After a three day's trial, in which it was "proved" that the Hébertistes had tried to destroy public peace, to corrupt public morals, to reverse the principles of society, and so forth. Nineteen of them were sentenced to death; the twentieth having turned informer, was discharged. Hébert and the other members of the party were beheaded on the very day of their sentence. Hébert's wife, Françoise Goupille, was also beheaded twenty days after her husband, on the 18th of April, 1794.—V. D.

Carlyle's "French Revolution" can now be had in 3 vols. 6d. each, or 1 vol. at 1s., from Ward, Lock, and Co.

FELIX PYAT AND THE FRENCH CHAMBER.—At a by-election for Marseilles on Sunday, the veteran Revolutionist, Félix Pyat, headed the poll with over nineteen thousand votes. Although a second ballot will be necessary, there is no doubt of his being returned to a seat in the Chamber of Deputies. In his address to the electorate he gloried in having been the instigator of the pulling down of the Vendôme column and the burning of the Tuilleries.





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

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

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

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

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

D. F.—Michael Davitt's 'Leaves from a Prison Diary' was published in 2 vols. 8vo at 6s. by Chapman and Hall, June 1885, and at 1s. 6d. in October of the same year. It is also No. 2 of "Ford's National Library" (17 Barclay St., N. Y.), at 25 c. paper covers.

Periodicals received during the week ending Wednesday March 14.

ENGLAND	Boston—Woman's Journal	Brussels—L'Avant-Garde
Die Autonomie	Chicago—Vorbote	Liege—L'Avenir
Jus	Vorbote	SWITZERLAND
Leaflet Newspaper	Corning(Iowa) Revue Icarienne	Zurich—Sozial Demokrat
London—Freie Presse	Denver (Col.) Labor Enquirer	ITALY
Leicester—Countryman	Fort Worth (Tex)—South West	Gazetta Operaia
Labour Tribune	Hammonton(NJ)CreditFoncier	Milan—Il Fascio Operaio
Norwich—Daylight	Milwaukee (Wis.)—Volksblatt	Rome—L'Emancipazione
Railway Review	Paterson (N J) Labor Standard	Marsala—La Nuova Eta
Worker's Friend	San Francisco Arbeiter-Zeitung	SPAIN
SOUTH AUSTRALIA	Coast Seamen's Journal	Madrid—El Socialista
Adelaide—Our Commonwealth	Freethought	Cadiz—El Socialismo
INDIA	FRANCE	GERMANY
Bankipore—Behar Herald	Paris—Cri du Peuple (daily)	Berlin—Volks Tribune
Madras—People's Friend	La Revolte	AUSTRIA
UNITED STATES	Guise—Le Devoir	Arbeiterstimme
New York—Freiheit	HOLLAND	HUNGARY
Der Sozialist	Hague—Recht voor Allen	Arbeiter-Wochen-Chronik
Truthseeker	BELGIUM	SWEDEN
Volkszeitung	Antwerp—De Werker	Malmo—Arbetet

## VIVE LA COMMUNE!

In celebrating the Commune of Paris, and doing honour to its martyrs, one does not feel inclined to talk of their tactical mistakes or look upon their words and deeds from the standpoint of the "superior person." To a Socialist the Commune is the greatest event in the world's history, and the anniversary of its proclamation the most notable date in his calendar. It is enough at such a time as the present to say why this is, and to leave matters of administrative detail for discussion at a more convenient season. Looking back on the brilliant brief struggle that began on the 18th of March 1871, one is too deeply stirred by the strong heroism and wide humanity of the men who took part in it to weigh the wisdom of each act of theirs, or measure its consequences coolly.

Again and again has the proletariat in one place or another risen against its master-class for the time being, but never until the Commune was it a conscious attack upon class-domination. It was rather an attempt to ease the collar on their necks than to strike it off. The servile revolts of Rome or those of the Middle Ages were of this kind. It is true that some of the latter had a communist side, but this was more a survival of the old tribal feeling than anything else. At Münster the communism was definitely an imitation of that of the primitive Christians, as a preparation for heaven.

In the seventeenth century began the great series of rebellions against absolutism which has culminated in the world-wide supremacy of the bourgeoisie, and the absorption by it of the old feudal aristocracy. The great triumphs of bourgeois republicanism were won before the close of last century, but its realisation was not complete until '48. It was then that national patriotism as we know it attained its full growth; this sentiment was born during the Napoleonic wars and grew along with the growth of the commercial system and international trade rivalry. But the system and the sentiment alike, as they drew near to their maturity, carried within them the germs of a new order and a new ideal. Thus at the point of its realisation in '48 the bourgeois was alarmed by the manifest strength that the Socialist movement was even then beginning to develop, and which, while

aiding in the completion of the political revolution, tried to push it further on into the social phase.

As the years went on and wealth-production grew more and more complex and the world-market more and more brought within the scope of commercial competition, so also did the movement grow among the peoples. Already it had been long enough in existence to mould its interpreters, and first one and then another, among whom the chief place must be given to Karl Marx, came forward to formulate its principles and explain its aims.

Its first great half-conscious effort was made in '48, and in the intervening years it had so progressed in the minds of men that in '71 they stood forth consciously to grapple with bourgeois rule, with the dominion of the money-bag.

Of course it failed. The folk were not ripe for it; and we are often asked why we take pride in a defeat. Well! for nineteen hundred years there has been celebrated with rejoicing the birth of one who was "despised and rejected of men," who was an outcast from society, and who died the death of a malefactor; and this because the name of that outcast became the watchword of millions, and his cross the symbol of their faith. So also we commemorate the birth of the Commune, although for the two months of its existence it was decried and cursed by all the forces of convention and respectability, and fell at length, and was bloodily stamped out—for the time. By the struggle and sacrifice through which it kept the flag of the proletariat flying; by the terrible resistance it offered to the forces of capital and privilege; by the desperate war it waged on behalf of the down-trodden of all countries,—Paris placed the Red Flag upon a height from which no strength could pluck it down. The Revolution beaten under in one place but grew the fiercer and more swift the world over; and though its heel was wounded, it had struck a death-blow at the head of Capital, and given a wound from which it can never recover. Dying for human solidarity and happiness as they did, the martyrs of the Commune drew the proletariat more forward than it is conceivable they could have done by a hundred victories.

They fought and died for the right of the people to control their own lives, to administer the land on which they laboured, and the means of labour whereby they lived. They saw, as we see, that without this all hope of liberty is an illusion; that the owners of the means of life are the owners of those who live by them. It rests with us to carry on their work, to press forward into the breach they opened, to end the work so well begun; and when the day comes to us, to be ready for it—ready to achieve "the Freedom of the People and the Brotherhood of Man."

S.

## SCARING THE CAPITALISTS.

I WAS not long ago at a Socialist lecture, where I heard the wrongs of the workers explained and the tyranny of the capitalist fiercely denounced. From my own experience, I knew that the workman's position is by no means a pleasant one. I, though as well educated as the best of workmen, receive very low wages, and often am on short time; and most of my companions are in the same state. But I thought it was just possible that if the Socialists denounced the capitalists too much, that these last would leave the country and take their capital with them, and so make our position worse than it is to-day; so I put a question to the lecturer, asking him whether it was not unwise to frighten capitalists, as if they got alarmed they would leave the country and take their capital with them. The lecturer replied very vigorously that it would be a good thing if the capitalists would go, and take with them what little ready money they had; but as for taking their capital, it was impossible. How could they ship a railway, a tunnel, a cotton or woollen mill, or a coal mine or a blast furnace? Let them go, by all means, said he; they are so many mouths whose hands won't work and whom we have to support. I was not convinced just at the moment, but thought carefully over the matter as I went home; and when I fell asleep I had a remarkable dream, which I very vividly remembered in the morning. The workmen had been continually holding meetings in Lancaster—the town where I work—and all over the country they seem to have been doing the same, to such an extent that the capitalists were alarmed and called a conference at Lancaster to consider the position. I was at work in the hall where they met and had an opportunity of seeing the whole performance. As usual, there was a great dinner, to which some five or six hundred of the richest men in England sat down. The conference went on over the dinner, and the idea was that the best way to teach the men a lesson was for a few of the largest employers to leave the country for a time. "No doubt," said one fat old fellow with a red nose, most likely a City of London alderman, "the men will soon want us back, and we will be able to make our own terms."

"Oh, but," objected one, "what is to become of my mills in the meantime suppose I go?"

"Oh, you must take your capital with you."

"Confound it! I can't ship bricks and mortar, and the machinery. Why, taking it down, shipping, and fitting it up again would cost more than it's worth. I don't see that would do at all."

"Well," said another, "so far as I can see, we are quite at the mercy of these fellows of ours. It's that confounded education. I always said that was a bad thing. I knew that the people would find out at last, if we gave them anything of an education, that they could do without us. I think we'll have to give in and do our share of the work."

"That's all humbug," said a hook-nosed, dapper little man. "The workmen's committee have sent a deputation to confer with us; we can humbug them a little longer."

"They are not such fools as you think."

"Leave them to me."

In came the deputation. The men had an independent air, as if they were masters of the situation, and did not intend to be trifled with. The capitalists drew themselves up and looked in their most imposing manner at the members of the deputation, hoping no doubt to frighten them as they had often done before. However, little impression was made on the men, so at last the little hook-nosed man opened the proceedings.

"Well, men, I understand you have come to a better state of mind."

"Exactly," said the deputation.

"You now understand what our position is?"

"We do."

"And consequently are ready to accept our terms?"

"Oh no, we understand your position now."

"Well, so you see you can't do without us?"

"Not at all. We have discovered that we can not only do without you, but have found out that you are a useless burden, which we don't intend to be troubled any longer with."

"What, you blockhead!" roared a pursy-mouthed old blow-hard, whom I noticed a little while before stuffing himself at an alarming rate with venison in aspic, from Lewis deer-forest very likely. "What would you do without us? who would employ you? Why, my dinner gives employment to half a dozen men every day: what would they do if I were to go?"

"They would have more time to prepare their own."

"Where would they get the money from?"

"From their labour."

"But if I go I will take all my capital with me. I have my portmanteau with me, and if you are not prepared to submit to my terms I shall leave the country."

"All right, old boy, you hook it, and take your portmanteau with you."

"I certainly will, if you continue so impudent; but I will show you what is in it, so that you may understand what my going really means." The fussy old gent opened his portmanteau, which was full of deeds, mortgages, consol certificates. "See," he said, "I'll take all these with me."

"Very well, sir, they'll do to light the fire with."

"What!" roared the old swell, "they are worth half a million."

"Oh, I would not give half a crown for the lot, mister. If you are only going to take these old papers with you, we won't raise any objections."

"Why, man, you must be mad," said the old usurer, holding up a piece of parchment; "do you see that? why, that represents the largest coal mine in Durham."

"Oh, you can't get much coal out of it, though. You are not going to take the mine with you, are you?"

"What? but I'll shut it up."

"Oh, you will. Are you going to do it yourself?"

"Me do it! Of course not; I'll pay some one to attend to that."

"Oh," interrupted the capitalist that had previously advised the company to submit to the workers' terms, "don't you know that you can't hire men in Durham to obey your orders?"

"Can't I!" he retorted, incredulously.

"No, of course not. You don't seem to understand, sir, how extremely serious the crisis is. The workers absolutely decline to support us any longer; they ignore all our orders, and treat our parchments as so much waste paper."

"You have described the position exactly," said the spokesman of the workmen's delegation.

"What about the Government?" roared the corpulent gentleman; "are they going to do nothing to protect our property?"

"What can they do? half the soldiers have taken sides with the people, the other half are by no means anxious to risk their lives, and the police are all under the order of the municipalities, and won't carry out any Government instructions. Besides I hear that elections are going on, and a Socialist government in process of formation."

"Well, in that case I'll certainly leave the country." "And I, too," "I, too," was shouted from all parts of the hall.

"Well, you can go if you like, gentlemen," said a delegate, "if you can get any one to carry you across the ocean, but I may say we will be glad if you will stay with us and earn your living. We don't intend swindling you as you swindled us."

"I never swindled a man in my life," said the stout man, evidently much hurt.

"We won't quarrel about words. You made what you called a profit out of us, which comes to the same thing. Now if you like to stay with us you will get all you earn for yourself; all we propose doing is to prevent you taking any of our earnings."

"Now, sir, I won't be trifled with any longer. Do you know whom you are addressing? Do you know that I am the largest mine-owner in the North?"

"No, I don't. You were, but that you know, Sir Jabez, is all over now."

"My mines confiscated, you mean. By what authority? The Government will deal with you and those like you very severely—"

"We won't waste time, Sir Jabez, discussing about our authority. The people have resumed, so I prefer to phrase it, possession of their mines, mills, lands, etc., and have resolved that all able-bodied adults shall earn their living. Are you an able-bodied man, Sir Jabez?"

"I am; of course you see I am."

"Well, then our ultimatum is that you and those like you must earn your living if you are to remain in England."

"I shall leave the country!"

"Well, gentlemen, are you all going to follow Sir Jabez's example?"

Loud cries of "Yes! Yes!" "No! No!" "We will, of course; we'll follow Sir Jabez!"

The din was indescribable, very like a row in the Stock Exchange I once saw when I was repairing the roof at a time when the market was excited; no one could judge what the feeling of the majority was; so a member of the conference suggested that some one should propose a motion to the meeting.

It was a long time before this person could get the meeting to proceed in an orderly manner, but at last Sir Jabez moved "that the proprietied classes should leave the country." The Hon. Auberon Herbert moved, and the Rt. Hon. Charles Bradlaugh seconded an amendment to the effect "that they should stay and organise to defend their property." One of the intending emigrants asked the movers of the amendment what forces they could command. Mr. Bradlaugh stated that on a previous occasion at a

demonstration in Hyde Park he had armed the N.S.S. with cudgels, and could do it again; but on further enquiry the information was elicited that the Rt. Hon. Gent. had had his cudgel taken from him on that occasion, and was rather maltreated with his own weapon. Another amendment found more supporters, "That the terms of the men should be accepted;" but there was a large number of dissentients. Amendment after amendment was proposed, until it became evident that the capitalists were hopelessly divided, and that no common basis for action could be found. The delegates were highly amused at the antics of their recent bosses, but the time had come for them to take action.

"Gentlemen," said the spokesman peremptorily, "you must immediately come to a decision, and in order that you may have full information I may tell you that news has just been received of strong risings of the people in the large cities of the United States and France, so that if you go there you will be treated just the same as if you remain here."

By far the greater number agreed to the second amendment, but a small group were seen in one corner frantically gesticulating about the rights of property, among whom I noticed the Earl of Wemyss, A. J. Balfour, Auberon Herbert, George Howell, and Mr. Bradlaugh. The idea of Mr. Bradlaugh being in such odd company made me laugh so much that my dream came to an abrupt conclusion. I was very sorry, because I should have liked to have been able to have followed the tactics of this queer group in its war against the Commonwealth.

Altogether, the dream was an interesting psychological study. I often attended meetings, and sometimes dreamed of them. Evidently it was the curious turn given to my thoughts by reflecting on the differences between capitalists and capital caused by the Socialist lecturer's speech, together with the alarming state of the country, that caused me to have such a strange dream. Now that I am quite awake, I feel that my ideas regarding capitalists have materially altered; I no longer see them to be so essential for the production of wealth as I used to, and I have little doubt that a careful enquiry will induce me to accept many more of the Socialist's positions when I get to understand them, and I venture to urge on my fellow-workmen the necessity of looking themselves into these matters, and not leaving all their thinking to be done by money-bags and scheming agitators, who have done and are doing the country so much harm. D.

### ADVERTISING EXTRAORDINARY.

ONE is prepared for almost anything in the advertising line nowadays, but surely it has reached its climax in the Halfpenny Letter Post Company, Limited; Capital, £100,000; Directors: Sir Robert —, G.M.C.K., A.B.C., etc.; Col. H. A. —; Lieut.-Col. W. R. T. B. —; with four Esquires; also bankers, brokers, solicitors, auditors, secretary, etc.

This company is formed to take over the patent rights of one J. Hertz (useful man this: ought to be knighted) for improved envelope and paper in one sheet, "whereby," as the company's prospectus says, "with a novel method of advertising, the public will be able to enjoy the advantage of a halfpenny letter postage without any loss to the revenue. By the great principle of co-operation, a halfpenny letter-post will, on the floating of this company, become an accomplished fact."

This wonderful patent, invented by that useful man J. Hertz (whose genius doubtless would have never been called out but for the stimulus of competition: Socialists take warning!) consists of a piece of paper, three sides of which are left blank for writing upon, while the fourth is covered with advertisements of cod-liver oil, soap, etc. This sheet of paper is attached to an envelope with a hole in, through which an embossed stamp on the paper shows, so that the contrivance can only be used by folding in the correct way, so as to give the advertisements a good show. These latter of course pay for the paper envelope and half the postage, besides remunerating the distinguished directors, finding profit for the shareholders, and last but not least, rewarding that great benefactor of his race, J. Hertz, for the industry, ability—not to say philanthropy—displayed in the great patent, which he generously offers to the company for £20,000 in cash and 2,000 deferred shares, which are to receive half the net profits of the company in all countries except England, and here to receive half after the ordinary shares have been paid 15 per cent. I fear Socialists will not be able to offer such substantial encouragement to inventors!

I quote one more paragraph of the prospectus: "The Hertz envelope is equally available for letters, circulars, etc.; . . . and at the festive seasons of the year its advantages are manifest, for Christmas, New Year, and Easter cards can be sent at half the present cost for postage alone."

It is hard to imagine vulgarity and meanness greater than this, not to say anything of personal dignity. Business firms have already lost all personal dignity, and can hardly stoop to meanness and vulgarity greater than their present level; but the idea of sending Christmas greeting in an advertising medium to save a halfpenny is too repulsive. Fancy the inspiration one would derive, in writing to one's friends, by having one's eyes attracted at every pause by advertisements of cod-liver oil, soap, or tooth-powder! I devoutly hope that we may soon see the company in the bankruptcy court, paying one HALFPENNY in the pound! Would it not be possible to help them by cutting off the stamps and using them on ordinary paper? Or would the post-office authorities come to their rescue by not passing such stamps? One bit of comfort we may take, for surely our industrial system is on its last legs when it has to resort to such tricks as these. R. U.

EMIGRATION RETURNS.—The report of Mr. Giffen to the Board of Trade on emigration from and immigration to the United Kingdom during the last year, was issued on the 6th inst. The total number of emigrants of British and Irish origin showed an increase, compared with 1886, of 65,693. The number of British and Irish emigrants was the largest yet reached since the nationality of emigrants has been distinguished, with the exception of 1883. The number of immigrants during the year showed an increase of 10,134. By far the greater number of emigrants proceed to the United States. Since 1853 nearly 4½ millions of persons of British and Irish origin have left the United Kingdom for the United States. The Registrar-General for Ireland reported next day that the number of emigrants from Ireland last year was 83,200, an increase of 19,786 on the preceding year, the males being 43,378, or 11,237 more than in the previous year, and the females showing an increase of 8,549. Nearly 80 per cent. were between the ages of fifteen and thirty-five. Of the males 77 per cent. were labourers, over 84 per cent. went to the United States of America, the rest to Canada, Australia, and New Zealand.

# THE LABOUR STRUGGLE.

BRITAIN.

The Cradley Heath and District Chainmakers' Association offer £20 reward "to any person or persons giving such information as shall lead to the conviction of any chain master or others violating the Truck Act."

**STOPPAGE OF A TIN-PLATE WORKS.**—Owing to a dispute as to the wage rate, the whole of the tin-plate works at Cwmauon owned by the Copper Miners' Tin-plate Company were closed on the 10th, the men coming out on strike.

The colliers of the West Houghton Coal Co., Bolton, struck last week owing to a dispute as to the allowance for "dirt" sent up with the coal. It was expected that many other collieries in the district would follow; but the firm having made concessions, the men returned to work on the 9th.

Mr. Baumann gave notice in the House of Commons on Friday that four weeks hence he will move, "That in the present condition of the labour market it is expedient, with a view to give employment to a larger number of workmen, to discontinue the practice of working overtime in Government yards, shops, and factories."

A meeting will be held in Manchester shortly by representatives of the Operative Amalgamated Spinners Association to consider, along with other business, the wages question. The margin between the raw material and that of yarn is better than for a long time back, and amply justifies the workers in demanding an advance.

**REDUCTIONS AT PEMBROKE DOCKYARD.**—Despite the encouraging rumours that have gone forth with regard to the probable reductions in the Pembroke Dockyard, another batch of men is under orders to leave, and the announcement that the Navy Estimates for the ensuing year show a decrease of nearly a million sterling makes matters appear anything but encouraging.

**NO COMPULSION.**—A correspondent states that Mr. William Aucott, President of the Amalgamated Steel and Ironworkers, is likely to suffer for his leadership of the workmen. Employers of labour, feeling the effect of the agitation for labour's rights, have moved the Corporation of Wednesbury, in the heart of the Black Country, to ask Mr. Aucott to "consider his position" as a servant of the Corporation.

A strike of cardroom workers at Oldham has been settled upon the operatives' terms. An attempt was made by the directors to victimise five of the strikers, three men and two women, because of some disturbance arising out of the fact that hostile demonstrations were made against certain relatives of the officials who had remained at work. Negotiations were carried on by the Cardroom Association, and eventually, as three out of the five had obtained employment elsewhere, the mill was reopened unconditionally.

**THREATENED STRIKE IN THE STEEL TRADE.**—The Clydesdale Iron and Steel Company, near Holytown, gave notice of dismissal a fortnight ago to two of their workmen in consequence, it is reported, of their having joined the Steel Smelters' Trade Society. The men tendered fourteen days' notice, stating, however, that they are prepared to resume work on its expiry, provided the firm pay the same rates as the Steel Company of Scotland and other leading firms. It is stated that of the two dismissed men—the supposed ringleaders—one of them had not even become a member of the society.

The miners employed at the Rowley Hall Colliery, in the Birmingham district, refused to start work on Friday, in consequence of a notice posted up that any man or boy absenting himself from work would be expected to pay for the damage caused to the pit. The men consider that the Act of Parliament is stringent enough without imposing additional conditions. A mass meeting was held on Monday as the objectionable notice had not been withdrawn and Mr. Winwood, the miners' agent, was requested to have an interview with the masters.

**THE PENALTY OF POVERTY.**—Discharged from Chatham Dockyard with many more some time ago, Alfred Smith journeyed through the country in search of work. At last he came to Berwick. Here he was sentenced to fourteen days' imprisonment with hard labour for refusing to do the task allotted to him as a vagrant inmate of Berwick Workhouse. The work consisted of breaking 12 cwt. of stones. His case is only one of hundreds, and shows the easy conversion of an honest worker into the cruellest society creation, the outcast casual.

**THE PICKARD LIBEL CASE.**—The damages and costs in this case have been paid. It is noteworthy that had the collection depended on the "men in the mine" whom Mr. Pickard represents, it is not at all unlikely that his seat would have been vacant, as the appeal for funds received very little support from them. The House of Commons subscribed the bulk of the money. The present labour representatives are very much respected in the House, but perhaps for that reason, are losing favour with the workers, who do not believe that one can hunt with the hounds and be friendly with the hare at the same time.

**LANCASHIRE WEAVERS.**—A number of attempts have been made since the commencement of the present year by some of the leading manufacturers in North-East Lancashire, more particularly in the Burnley district, to reduce the weavers' wages. The operatives employed in the coloured goods trade have demanded an advance in their wages, which has been refused, and in consequence the weavers have decided to strike all round early in the spring. The employers have formed a Masters' Association, which has been joined by all the coloured goods employers in Colne, Nelson, and district; its object being to prevent as far as possible the weavers from attacking individual employers.

**THE MINES REGULATION ACT.**—The secretary of the North Yorkshire and Cleveland Miners' Association has but cold comfort to administer to those who are looking to the Mines Regulation Act of last year to diminish the terrible list of casualties under ground. That its tendency will be in the right direction he does not doubt, but he declares his conviction that such is the nature of Cleveland mining that no number of Acts of Parliament and no amount of inspection on the part of the Government will prevent accidents or even materially reduce them. "The awful pressure," we are told, "of a grinding struggle for existence" under our present system, has made the men intensely anxious to obtain as large an output as possible in the limited number of shifts they are allowed to work. It is a painfully significant fact that the mines which yield the largest output are the most fruitful in accidents.

**THE EIGHT HOUR QUESTION.**—The Midland Trades Federation, in which are represented nail-makers, miners, rivet-makers, lock-makers, nut and bolt makers, and kindred societies, have met to consider the eight hour question

Mr. Juggins, the secretary, who led the discussion on the subject, pointed out that if made compulsory such a plan would find work for the men wandering about the streets and hanging on to the funds of the societies. The Federation resolved: "That this meeting is of opinion that an Eight Hour Bill passed by the Government would be the means of finding employment for the thousands of men who are out; that we request the Parliamentary Committee to support the same; and further, that we request the members of Parliament of our various constituencies to support such a Bill." In the iron trades the question of the hour is the eight hours' movement. This idea of eight hours limit a-day seems to receive the support of the men in all the large industries.

**PAYMENT OF MEMBERS OF PARLIAMENT.**—Mr. Fenwick has put down for the 23rd inst. a resolution in favour of reviving the ancient custom of paying members of Parliament for their services. Of course there is no reason why M.P.'s should not be paid. At the same time it will not affect the grumbling of those who are dissatisfied with the attitude of the present labour representatives, whether the money be State-provided or otherwise; but when the workers pay directly for an article, they have a right to their money's worth. There is a feeling among the miners that their labour M.P.'s are dear at their price. The glorification of party politics by Mr. Burt in his address to the miners, commended by the flabby *Daily News*, gives emphasis to the views constantly expressed in these columns: it also fully justifies the action of those who object to pay for the maintenance in Parliament of such a very safe, genteel, and "unobtrusive" party man as Mr. Burt.

**THE INTERNATIONAL TRADES UNION CONGRESS.**—The *Star* prints the following: "A great amount of interest is being shown in the north of England on the question of the international combination of workmen. A series of meetings are being held in Lancashire and Yorkshire on this subject. On Thursday evening a meeting took place at Southport, and a resolution was passed expressing pleasure at the holding of the International Trades Congress in London next November, and hoping every facility will be given to a full and free representation of the foreign trades. Similar meetings will be held during this week in Manchester, Liverpool, and other northern centres of industry. These indications all testify to the importance of the conference in the eyes of the trade unionists, and also show that the gathering will be numerously attended by English delegates." Everyone interested in the cause of the workers must feel, in some degree, gratified that the latest successful venture in evening journalism at least tries to do something in the way of supplying information on labour questions. It is this endeavour that makes Socialists, or even advanced trades unionists, disappointed that the column should contain no policy. The merest repetition of newspaper pars are often the only items. In the case of the International Trades Union Congress, it is the most common information that the trades of the Continent—because Continental labour combination takes a different form—are to be boycotted by the clique of the Trades Congress, and in consequence there is little hope that representatives of other than the most flabby "Broadhurst" views will stand much chance of admittance.

**METROPOLITAN PAUPERISM.**—Periodically are published returns showing the amount of pauperism and the number of casuals, etc. These accounts often compare favourably with other years, and are referred to in order to show that the poor are either not so numerous, or manage to subsist without appealing to Bumble. The following account of the treatment of a poor homeless worker gives one reason why there is a decrease of pauperism:—Henry Horne, 36, no home, labourer, was charged before Mr. Slade with refusing to perform his allotted task of work whilst an inmate of the casual ward of St. George's Workhouse, Southwark. David Welsh, labour master, stated that the prisoner applied for admission to the ward on Sunday night, and was put to break stones on Monday morning, and performed his work all right. Being liable to detention for three days he was set a similar task on Tuesday, but refused to perform it, and when spoken to said he would break no more; he wanted to give his legs a rest. Witness consequently gave him into custody. In answer to the magistrate, the prisoner said his hands were blistered from the work he did on the previous day, and he could not hold the hammer. Prisoner showed his hands, which were covered with blisters, and Mr. Slade ordered him to be put back and examined by the divisional surgeon. On the case being re-called, Dr. Evans stated that he examined the prisoner, and found that his hands were in such a condition that he was physically incapable of breaking stones. Mr. Slade thereupon discharged the prisoner.

**"STRAINING AT A GNAT," ETC.**—Much indignation is said to be felt amongst the workmen of the Manchester, Sheffield, and Lincolnshire Railway at the form of blackmailing to which they are at present being subjected. A circular bearing the names of no less than fifty of the leading officials is being disseminated appealing for subscriptions in aid of the widow and family of the late chief signal inspector who died rather suddenly in January after a few days' illness. According to the *Railway Review*, something approaching deception is used in the circular, "as it states that there are six 'children' left. Our information as to the ages of these 'children' is that they are 21, 18, 16, 12, 7, and 4 respectively. True they are six, but only half of them can lay claim to title of children." The deceased is said to have been in receipt of £4 per week, whereas the wages of the bulk of the employés will scarcely amount to more than that sum per month, and under the circumstances they resent the pressure put upon them to wring subscriptions that would not otherwise be forthcoming. Readers of the *Commonweal* may perhaps recollect that a few months back, under the heading of "The Fox and the Geese," I had occasion to ridicule the folly and subserviency of the employés on this same railway for their proposal to give a week's pay towards paying the company's expenses of the Hexthorpe collision. It does seem something like "straining at a gnat" for those who were prepared to subscribe a guinea to swell the dividends of wealthy shareholders, to make a fuss about giving a trifle to help the widow of a tolerably well-paid official. But it may be the employés are becoming wiser. "Experience teaches fools," and according to reports the engine-drivers at any rate by the harsh treatment they are receiving, are proving how worthless was the hollow clap-trap about "equality," "identity of interests," etc., indulged in by Sir E. Watkin and the other directors to the deputation which waited upon them to make the proposal to which I have alluded. It is said that the drivers are being fined heavily or dismissed for the most trivial offences, and are kept in a continual state of worry which "unstrings the nerves of the men affected and renders them more liable to err than they otherwise would be." Well, until the workers learn thoroughly the lesson constantly taught in these columns, that "an injury to one is the concern of all," little can be done to lessen these and the countless other tyrannies and indignities to which they are constantly subjected.

T. BIRNING.



**THE PROPOSED INTERNATIONAL WORKING MEN'S CONFERENCE.**

The following is a translation of the circular issued by the Socialist members of the German Reichstag, to which we referred in our last week's notes:

**"TO OUR SOCIALIST COMRADES AND THE WORKERS OF ALL COUNTRIES.**

"On the 5th October 1887, the Conference of the Socialist Working-men's Party of Germany, assembled at St. Gallen (Switzerland), resolved to entrust us, the undersigned Socialist members of the German Reichstag, in common with the representatives of the working-men's associations of other countries, with the duty of convoking, in the course of the year 1888, a Universal International Workers Congress, for the special purpose of examining what steps should be taken with a view to the establishment of a practically efficient international legislation of work.

"Inasmuch as shortly before the Conference held at St. Gallen the English Trades Union Congress at Swansea had passed a similar resolution, we thought it expedient to communicate with the leaders of the English trades unions, namely the Parliamentary Committee, whose secretary is Mr. Broadhurst, for the purpose of arranging about the calling of a congress. We stated to the Parliamentary Committee that, for our part, we should be prepared to abandon the idea of convoking a congress ourselves if the Parliamentary Committee were willing to consent to the following conditions:

"1. That the invitation to a congress should not issue in the English and French languages alone (as resolved by the Parliamentary Committee), but in the German language as well.

"2. That the terms of such invitation should be wide enough to admit of German and Austrian working men being represented at the congress, notwithstanding the restrictive laws in their respective countries, affecting the establishment of unions and the right of free meeting, and notwithstanding exceptional legislation directed against Socialism.

"3. That the parliamentary representatives of a working-men's party shall, as such, be allowed to attend the congress as representing their party.

"We sought to explain the motives of our wishes in this respect by reference to the political conditions of Germany and Austria; besides which we pointed out that the objects of the congress could be fully and entirely attained only if the working classes were represented at such a congress without regard to organisation or political attitude.

"That an international working-men's congress at which German and Austrian working men were not represented would be a mere cave congress is self-evident. One would have thought, therefore, that the Parliamentary Committee would willingly accept the proffered hand and make, in the interest of the cause, these reasonable concessions.

"At the commencement, Mr. Broadhurst thought he might promise that the Parliamentary Committee would endeavour to meet our views to the best of their ability. Later on, however, he declared in his letter of 25th January, 1888, addressed to our comrade Weiler at London, whom, in conjunction with comrade K. Kautsky, we had charged with interviewing the Parliamentary Committee, that the Parliamentary Committee could not entertain our conditions; the international congress to be convoked was to be a trades union congress exclusively, wherefore also the delegates would have to observe the standing orders as framed by them, the English.

"Thus the agreement so necessary in the interests of the cause was rendered impossible, and that not through any fault of ours.

"While we now truthfully publish the position of affairs, we would entreat our comrades, as also the working classes in all countries, not to attend the congress to be held next November at the invitation of the Parliamentary Committee of the English Trades Unions, but rather to reserve their strength and make up their minds to attend in all the greater numbers a Universal International Working-men's Congress which is to be convened for the year 1889.

"The attitude of the Parliamentary Committee in this matter is not worthy of a body claiming to represent working men and having at heart the real interests of their class.

"We need not here enter upon the motives and tactics leading the Parliamentary Committee to assume this attitude, but we take leave to doubt, until further evidence is forthcoming, that the refusal of the Parliamentary Committee was given in the interest and by consent of the Committee's constituents—namely, the delegates of the English working men at the Trades' Union Congress held at Swansea.

"We have now resolved, in common with the representatives of the working classes in every country, to call a Universal International Working-men's Congress for the year 1889, and we request that all resolutions and communications on the subject be addressed to W. Liebknecht, at Borsdorf, near Leipzig.

"The Socialist press in every country is requested to reproduce the present declaration.

"Berlin, March 1st, 1888.

**"BEBEL. DIETZ. FROHME. GRILLENBERGER.  
HARM. KRACKER. MEISTER. SABOR.  
SCHUMACHER, and SINGER.**

"Social-Democratic Section, German Reichstag."

**LITERARY NOTES.**

Stepniak has in the press a work of an exhaustive character on the present condition of the Russian peasant.

A series of papers on economical subjects by Kropotkin will appear in the *Nineteenth Century* shortly. The first will be on "The Integration of States."

Articles of interest to Socialists in the March reviews:—*Nineteenth Century*: "A Plea for the Worthless," Cardinal Manning; "The Swarming of Men," Leonard Courtney, M.P.; "The Invasion of Pauper Foreigners," Arnold White; "Local Government," Lord Thring; *Life on Weekly Wages*—(1) "On 30s. a-week," Miss Miranda Hill; (2) "On a Guinea a-week," W. Roberts; "A Few Words on French Revolutionary Models," John Morley, M.P. *Contemporary Review*: "Further Notes and Queries on the Irish Demand," W. E. Gladstone, M.P.; "Garibaldi's Memoirs," Karl Blind; "Recent Economic Literature," John Rae; "The Negro Question in the United States," George W. Cable. *Fortnightly Review*: "Social Problems and Remedies," Archdeacon Farrar; "State Colonisation," Lord Monkswell; "Home Rule in the Western Pyrenees," Wentworth Webster; "Domestic Service and Democracy," Edward Salmon; "Mr. Herbert Spencer as a Moralist," W. S. Lilly. *National Review*: "Disestablishment in Wales," Matthew Arnold; "Free Trade and the Economists," C. A. Cripps.

**A SONG FOR SOCIALISM.**

Are ye willing to work and to wait,  
To work and to wait for the day  
When brotherhood and mirth shall beautify the earth,  
And weariness and want be away?

When leisure and pleasure shall be free,  
And hardship and hunger shall go,  
When the worker has his place at the top of the tree,  
And the loafer is somewhere down below,  
Below, below,  
And the loafer is somewhere down below.

Keep clear of the poison of the press,  
Let your grand old misleaders alone;  
It will pay for all your pains to educate your brains,  
And do a little thinking of your own.

For leisure and pleasure, etc.

Hold fast your own idea of Right and Wrong,  
Don't take it from the gospel-grinding band,  
For the "truth" they preach to you is very seldom true,  
And what is true they do not understand.

But leisure and pleasure, etc.

Have justice for ever in your eye,  
Steer wide of the charitable sneak  
Who, to lull the cry of toil, spares a trifle from the spoil  
He has wrung from the wreckage of the weak.

For leisure and pleasure, etc.

Don't play into the stock-jobber's hand;  
'Tis masters, not men, are our foes;  
'Tis because the workers' band is busy linking every land,  
That the tyrants are shaking in their shoes.

For leisure and pleasure, etc.

Have done at last with haggling for a wage;  
Too long you've nursed the swindler and the drone;  
Why labour at a loss for the profit of a boss?  
Get ready now to labour for your own.

For leisure and pleasure, etc.

C. W. BECKETT.

**THE SOCIALIST LEAGUE.**

OFFICES: 13 FARRINGTON ROAD, E.C.

**Annual Conference.**

The Fourth Annual Conference of the Socialist League will be held at 13 Farringdon Road, on Whitsunday, May 20. The attention of Branches is particularly referred to (1) Rule V. on the subject of the annual conference, pp. 3 and 4 of Constitution and Rules; and (2) that all branches wishing to be represented at the Conference must pay their subscription up to the 31st March by May 1st.

**Branch Subscriptions Paid.**—1887: Hastings, Nottingham, Pelsall—None. Bradford, Croydon, Glasgow, Hackney, Ipswich, Leeds, Marylebone, Merton, North London, Norwich—to end of March. Edinburgh—to end of May. Mitcham—to end of July. Walsall—to end of August. Hull—to end of September. Bloomsbury, Walham Green, Wednesday—to end of October. Leicester—to end of November. Clerkenwell, Hammersmith, Hoxton, Mile-end, Oxford—to end of December.

**London Members.**—The London Members' Meeting will, owing to Easter Holidays, be held on Monday April 9th.

**The Executive** will meet on Sunday next at 3.30 p.m. (sharp), instead of Monday, the Commune celebration being held that day.

**A Demonstration** will be held by the Socialist League on Good Friday, on Hampstead Heath. Further particulars will be given next week.

**"COMMONWEAL" PRINTING FUND.**

Herbert Hookey, 2s. 6d. A. B., 3s. *Weekly Subscriptions*—C. J. F., 2s. 6d. K. F., 1s. Langley, 2s. P. W., 6d. Oxford Branch, 2s. W. B., 6d.

**Commune Celebration.**—Fuller, 6d. Medical Student, 2s. 6d.

**REPORTS.**

**CLERKENWELL.**—On Wednesday, March 7, H. H. Sparling gave an interesting lecture on "The Cato Street Conspiracy." Good discussion. On Sunday, March 11, Touzeau Parris lectured on "The Evolution of Society." This was decidedly instructive, and branch members were exceedingly pleased with the lecturer's very pointed and amusing style. Other branches would not do amiss in inviting him for this lecture.—B.

**FULHAM.**—Tuesday evening, good meeting held opposite Liberal Club; Day, Maughan, Tochetti, and Grosier spoke. Sunday morning, on account of weather, usual outdoor meeting not held; but in rooms, Parker (of Norwich) addressed a fair audience. Sunday evening, Mrs. Wilson lectured on "The Social Revolution" to an excellent audience.—S. B. G.

**HACKNEY.**—A general meeting of the members of the Hackney branch was held on Monday, March 12, at Berners Street International Club. Good attendance, and some new members made. Arrangements were made for recommencing the work of the branch. W. Lefevre was elected treasurer, G. Cores secretary, and E. Lefevre librarian. The next meeting of members will be held at same place Monday week at 9 p.m.

**BRADFORD.**—Sir Henry Mitchell lectured on "Socialism" at the Barkerend Adult School, on Sunday afternoon, March 11, and several of us went to hear him. Sir Henry is a Tory, and we expected severe criticisms, instead of which he simply deprecated State Socialism and preached the moralisation of the capitalists. Scott (S.D.F.) from Manchester, and J. Mitchell of Bradford, showed the futility of that, and after good discussion the president of the school invited us to go as often as we can, and they will give us opportunity of discussing Socialism point by point. Bland lectured on "Socialism v. Individualism" at Laycock's Temperance Hotel, to a large audience; Scott (S.D.F.), Mitchell, and Mintz taking part in a good discussion.—P. B.

GLASGOW.—On Tuesday night, in the Renfield Street U.P. Church Literary Association, Pollock maintained the affirmative in the debate "Is Socialism Just?" On Thursday night, McLean delivered a powerful lecture to the Kilsyth Literary Society on "Socialism Vindicated;" the discussion that followed showed that the good seed sown by our comrades last summer had taken root, and that our cause was progressing favourably in the district. Glasier on Sunday lectured to the Irish N.S. in Kilsyth on "Socialism Inevitable," and demonstrated to a large and appreciative audience the inadequacy of Nationalism or Radicalism to benefit the people permanently. On Sunday, Adams and McCulloch attempted to hold our usual outdoor meeting at Paisley Road Toll, but had to abandon it through the inclemency of the weather.—S. D.

NORWICH.—On Thursday last a large meeting was held by the lock-out men in the shoe trade here, which was supported by members of this branch. Mowbray spoke at some length. The same evening a Co-operative Clothing Association was formed in the Gordon Hall. Saturday evening a mass meeting of the lock-out men was held on the Haymarket, and Mowbray again took part; we are doing some good propaganda by this means. On Sunday, good meetings in Gordon Hall morning and evening. Good sale of *Commonweal*.—S.

SOUTH SUSSEX.—Several new converts recently made, and slight rustling in local mutual improvement dovecots, via papers, lectures, and discussion. Hall will make an assault on the villages lying under the shadow of the South Sussex Castles shortly, although threatened with vague consequences. The condition of these village serfs is indescribably awful, many large families having "lived" through the winter on 5s. a-week, the rate of pay for seasonable rural labour.

WALSALL.—Last Monday, Russell delivered an interesting address on "Why I am a Socialist." Lively discussion. On Saturday, Sanders addressed a good open-air meeting on The Bridge. Questions were put at the close, and answered to entire satisfaction of the audience.—J. T. D.

DUBLIN.—At Saturday Club, A. Upward, B.L., lectured on the "Next Home Rule Bill," outlining a thoroughly Democratic Constitution for Ireland. Conlan, Karpel, O'Toole, and Kavanagh (Socialists), made interesting contributions to the debate, giving the audience glimpses of the ideal society towards which we work.

LONDON PATRIOTIC CLUB.—On Sunday evening, a debate took place at this club on Lane's 'Anti-Statist Communist Manifesto,' between Mr. Hardaker and the author of the manifesto. The debate was fairly well sustained. A lively discussion followed, in which several well-known members of the Socialist League took part. Mr. J. Fuller took the chair.

JUNIOR SOCIALIST EDUCATIONAL SOCIETY.—On Sat. Feb. 25th Cooper's paper on "The Reward of Labour" was read, and good discussion followed. The meeting was held at Mrs. Aveling's, 65 Chancery Lane.—On March 10th, at 14 Kempford Gardens, Mary Gosling read a short but very interesting paper on "The Emancipation of Woman."—Next Saturday, March 17, Mrs. Aveling will lecture on "The Woman Question," at 65 Chancery Lane, 8 o'clock sharp. Members and friends only.—H. M. F.

#### Scottish Land and Labour League.

EDINBURGH.—On 4th, Davidson lectured on "Scientific Socialism," and on 11th Hossack read a paper on "The Worker's Share of Civilisation." On the 8th Mavor delivered his second lecture, "Industry in Modern Times," to the St. Cuthbert's Co-operative Society. The trustees of the Gray's Prize Fund are this year offering prizes of £20, £10, and £5 for the best three essays on "Socialism in the Nineteenth Century." Competitors must be students of Edinburgh University.

CARNOUSTIE.—On Tuesday the 6th, weekly meeting held, when Steven read paper on "The Progress of Socialism in Carnoustie;" good discussion. Afterwards the forthcoming School Board election was discussed, when it was resolved that the members use all their influence in order to secure fit and proper persons to represent the ratepayers on that body.—H. M.C.

### LECTURE DIARY.

#### LONDON.

- Acton.—17 High Street, Acton, W. (adjoining Purcell's Dining Rooms). Sunday March 18, at 8 p.m.,  
 Bloomsbury.—Communist Club, 49 Tottenham Street, Tottenham Court Road. Thursday March 15, Meeting of Concert Committee at 7.45. Dr. Aveling will lecture on "The Gospel of Socialism" at 8.30. Thursday 22nd, Special Business Meeting for members of Branch only.  
 Clerkenwell.—Hall of the Socialist League, 13 Farringdon Rd., E.C. Business meeting every Sunday at 7. Sunday March 18, at 8.30, Commune Celebration. Wednesday 21, at 8.30, W. H. Utley, "Liberty, Equality, and Fraternity."  
 Fulham.—8 Effie Road, Walham Green. Sunday at 8,  
 Hackney.—28 Percy Terrace, Victoria Road, Hackney Wick.  
 Hammersmith.—Kelmescott House, Upper Mall, W. Sunday at 8.

Hoxton (L.E.L.).—C. J. Young, 8 Dunloe Street, Hackney Road, Secretary. Members please take up their membership cards for 1888.

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

Mile-end and Bethnal Green.—95 Boston St., Hackney Road. Business Meeting every Thursday at 9 p.m. Debating Class for members after Business Meeting.

#### PROVINCES.

Aberdeen (Scottish Section).—Sunday night meetings in Baker Street Hall, at 6. Secretary, J. Leatham, 15 St. Nicholas Street.

Birmingham.—Meetings at Summer Row Coffee House every Saturday evening at 8.

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

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

Cowdenbeath (Scot. Sec).—J. Duncan, 30 Arthur Pl., sec  
 Dublin.—Saturday Club, Central Lecture Hall, 12 Westmorland Street.

Dundee (Scot. Sect.).—Meetings every Sunday in the Trades Hall, opposite Tay Bridge Station. Political Economy class, 2 p.m. Lecture at 6.30.

Edinburgh (Scottish Section).—4 Park Street. Every Thursday at 8, class for study of Marx's 'Capital.' Trades Hall, 142 High Street, Sunday March 18, at 6.30 p.m., C. W. Tuke, "The Religion of Socialism." In Oddfellows Hall, Forest Road, on 22nd, 8 p.m., Rev. John Glasie, "The Relation of Socialism to Co-operation." On 26th, William Morris, "The Society of the Future."

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

Glasgow.—84 John St. Reading-room open 10 a.m. till 10 p.m. daily. Propaganda Committee, Mondays at 8. Discussion Class meets every Thursday evening at 8 p.m.

Leeds.—Lady Lane. Open every evening. Business meeting Fridays at 8. Address all communications to T. Paylor, 11 Sheldon Street, Holbeck, Leeds.

Leicester.—Hosiery Union, Horsefair St. Fridays at 8.

Lochgelly (Scottish Section: Fife).—Secs. (pro tem.), John Greig and Hugh Conway, The Square.

Norwich.—Gordon Hall, 5 Duke Street. Monday, day, Members meeting at 8.30. Wednesday, Ways and Means Committee at 8.30. Thursday, Discussion class (Gronlund), 8. Friday, Literary Commune—Tea and Entertainment, 1s. Tuesday at 8; Band practice at 8. On Thursday March 22, a special Entertainment will be given by the Musical Troupe, on behalf of the funds of the men that are on strike.

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

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

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

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

#### OPEN-AIR PROPAGANDA.

LONDON—Sunday 18.

- |       |                             |                       |
|-------|-----------------------------|-----------------------|
| 11    | Acton—the Steyne            | Acton Branch          |
| 11    | Turnham Green—Front Common  | Hamrsmith             |
| 11.30 | Hoxton Church, Pitfield St. | Nicoll                |
| 11.30 | Merton—Haydons Road         | The Branch            |
| 11.30 | Regent's Park               | Parker                |
| 11.30 | St. Pancras Arches          | Bloomsbury Branch     |
| 11.30 | Walham Green                | Fulham Branch         |
| 3.30  | Hyde Park                   | Mainwaring and others |
| 7     | Acton—Priory                | Acton Branch          |

#### PROVINCES.

Leeds.—Sunday: Jack Lane End, Meadow Road, at 10.30 a.m. In Prince's Field, at 3 p.m.  
 Norwich.—Market Place, at 3 every Sunday.

PROGRESSIVE ASSOCIATION, Penton Hall, 81 Pentonville Road.—Sunday March 18, at 7 p.m., Percival Chubb, "Ethical Socialism in Practice."

LEYTONSTONE WORKING MEN'S CLUB, 1 Cathall Rd., Leytonstone.—Sunday March 25, 11.30 a.m., H. Halliday Sparling on "What Socialists Want."

SHEFFIELD SOCIALISTS, Commonwealth Café, Scotland Street, Sheffield.—Discussions or Lectures every Sunday evening at 7 o'clock. Free.

The Strike Fund.—Entertainments will be given on Saturday evenings in the Hall of the League, at 8 p.m., in aid of the above Fund. Friends wishing to assist with songs, recitations, instrumental music, etc., should at once communicate with W. B. Parker, at office of League. First Entertainment, March 24th.

East-end Socialist Club.—A Grand Vocal and Instrumental Concert will be given in Hall of League, at 8 p.m., on Easter Monday, April 2nd, in aid of funds of projected East-end Club.

SPECIAL NOTICE.—The members and delegates of the four Branches—viz., Hoxton, Hackney, Mile-end, and Stamford Hill—will meet on Friday evening the 16th inst. in the *Commonweal* Office—time, 8.30. Important business.

#### PARIS COMMUNE CELEBRATIONS.

CLERKENWELL.—Hall of the Socialist League, 13 Farringdon Road, E.C., on Sunday March 18, at 8.30. Short addresses by Mrs. Schack, H. A. Barker, F. Kitz, J. Turner, and W. Blundell. Songs, etc.

BIRMINGHAM.—It is intended to celebrate the Commune by a Dinner, etc., on March 19. Friends wish to join in the same please communicate with comrades Sketchley and Copeland, 8 Arthur Place, Parade, immediately.

NORWICH.—On Sunday March 18, at 3, a great meeting will be held in the Market Place, to celebrate Paris Commune. Addresses by Mark Manly (of London), and others. Other out-door meetings will be held during the day. On Monday 19th a Tea and Entertainment will be held in the Gordon Hall. Tickets 1s. each, to be had of the Secretary.

NOTTINGHAM.—Socialist Club, Tokenhouse Yard, Bridlesmith Gate.—To celebrate the Commune, a Tea and Social Evening, with short addresses, songs, etc., will be held in the Club Rooms on Saturday 17, at 6 o'clock. Tickets 6d. each.

DUBLIN.—The celebration of the anniversary of the Commune of Paris will be held, under the auspices of the Dublin Socialist Club, at 2 Bachelors Walk, on Sunday March 18th, at 8 p.m. Tickets 1s. each.

SOCIALIST CO-OPERATIVE FEDERATION.—Meeting at *Commonweal* Office, 13 Farringdon Road, on Sunday March 25, at 3.30 p.m.

WANTED—Cheap, perfect: 'Anarcharis Cloutz, l'Orateur du genre humain; par Georges Avenel,' 2 vols. 8vo. This book was given during 1885 to subscribers to *Le Question Sociale* (Paris, monthly) as a special prize. Address: T. S., care of H. H. Sparling, *Commonweal* Office.

## THE TABLES TURNED.

### ENGAGEMENTS.

Friday March 23 . . . . . BERNERS STREET

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# THE COMMONWEAL

The Official Journal of the Socialist League.

VOL. 4.—No. 115.

SATURDAY, MARCH 24, 1888.

WEEKLY; ONE PENNY.

## NOTES ON NEWS.

MR. BRADLAUGH'S Oaths Bill has been carried at length, and Radicals are jubilant. That can hardly be wondered at, but the triumph looks a good deal smaller when it is remembered how the Social Question has come to the front during the five or six years that have passed since "Iconoclast" was flung out of the House by thirteen stalwart moral miracles, and how it has relegated to the background those forms and ceremonies over which men used to fight so.

Property needs all the aid it can get now to resist the onrush of "Spoliation"—otherwise resumption by the people of their own—and the vote of an Atheist is worth as much on a division as that of an Archbishop.

A delightfully old-fashioned air was given to the debate by some speakers, among them Mr. Sydney Gedge, who objected to the Bill because, among other reasons, "the common people were not afraid of a subsequent and problematical prosecution for perjury, but they were afraid of being damned; and it was to their interest to encourage this salutary fear of future punishment." We are used to this policy, but it is not often so frankly avowed.

When one remembers the Radical jubiliations over the Allotments Act, and the way in which our criticism was resented, it is interesting to note that our words are being found true. A meeting of agricultural labourers was lately held at Spalding, to consider the possibility of taking further action to put the Allotments Act in force in the district. The speakers stated that labourers had repeatedly and vainly applied for allotments to the local authorities and individuals. The meeting appointed a committee of six labourers to act on their behalf, and they have since addressed a letter to the Allotments Association declaring the Act a delusion and a sham, and expressing satisfaction that Mr. Jesse Collings, "who combined with the Tories to pass the miserable sham," had been removed from the chairmanship of the association.

Sir Charles Russell, leader of the English Bar and Liberal Attorney-General, who prosecuted Hyndman and others for their share in the riot of February 1886, is now so much further on as to demand that the State should undertake the responsibility of maintaining all the aged poor. Here are his words: He claimed that it was the duty of the entire community that had received the benefits of the youth and manhood of the men who ultimately became the subjects of relief, to recognise as an obligation resting upon them relief of those who had in their day and according to their measure, worked for the general good of the community; and further, that there should be no degradation or humiliation accompanying the receipt of relief out of the public taxation of the country; and also that such should have their full share of the help to which they had become entitled.

Of course, his utterance may mean anything or nothing, according to the way in which the political wind blows, but that the wily lawyer should speak so plainly marks which way it is blowing now. It is one of the straws that show how fast the Socialist movement is pushing along the people of all parties.

At the Middlesex Sessions on Saturday 10th Major Borrowes was found guilty of having assaulted Lord Howard de Walden, causing actual bodily harm. He was ordered by Mr. Injustice Edin to pay a fine of £400 to the Crown, to pay costs and expenses of the prosecution, and to enter into his recognizances in £500, and find two sureties each of £250 for keeping the peace, especially towards Lord Howard de Walden, for twelve months.

It may be as well to recall the fact that what he is punished for is protecting a woman's life against her husband, who is in the "eye of the law" her proprietor and "natural protector," even when it happens that he is a drunken ruffian. The "sanctity of the marriage tie" must be preserved!

Contrast with this the "justice" meted by two Liverpool magistrates on the 16th to a woman for cruelly illtreating an orphan child aged thirteen. The girl had been an inmate of the Kirkdale Industrial Schools up to about eight months ago, when she was taken out by the

defendant, who kept a stationer's shop. After she had got into defendant's service, defendant began to beat her in the mornings, and send her out with papers.

One morning the girl got up at half-past five o'clock and opened the shop, but having been late up the night before, she fell asleep on the sofa, and the defendant beat her about the face and head, kicked her, and broke her arm. She ran out of the house, and a police-officer took her to the hospital. The medical evidence was that, besides the broken arm the child had two black eyes, and bruises on the head and various parts of the body. On paying £5 compensation to the child, and the costs, the magistrates allowed the defendant to leave the court.

You see, it was only an orphan pauper, and she a servant, so that while interference with vested rights in a woman's body must be atoned for by a heavy punishment, interference with the poor liberty of life and limb of a pauper may be cheaply paid for!

An exception to the general rule of ineptitude and brutality among those who "adorn the judicial bench" seems to be Mr. Justice Matthew, who in charging the Bristol grand jury, endorsed Mr. Justice Day's opinion that for minor offences against person or property sentences of long imprisonment were inexpedient. "They were unjust to the individual and impolitic from a public point of view. He trusted that the remarks falling from the bench generally on the subject would be attended to throughout the country."

Afterwards, in sentencing an old woman to one day for petty larceny, he said, "she had been frequently convicted for small thefts, and had been sentenced to seven and eight years' penal servitude for little offences. These sentences were unjust and absurd." We cannot hope that his brethren will follow his example, but it is interesting to note that he classed "person and property" together, and further that it was a theft he gave the small punishment for.

Most of his "learned brothers" give thrice the punishment for a theft that they do for a brutal assault, and reckon a dead worker at less than a stolen turnip.

Socialists who smoke cigarettes should look up a small society established by workmen for cigarette-making at 157 Houndsditch, E.C., about a year and a half ago. I smoke a pipe usually, and cigarettes very rarely indeed, and fear I must wait a good while before I can find a co-operative smoking-tobacco manufactory, and so feel that no capitalist is making a profit on my favourite weakness. S.

There is a sort of feeling of expectation in the air of something to happen in Germany, now that the ignominious old man who has so long filled the joss-seat has gone. Some hope that the new Emperor will go further than merely doing his best to keep the peace of Europe unbroken; that he will inaugurate "reforms" in Germany itself, relax the oppressive laws just re-enacted against the Socialists. An article in the *Pall Mall Gazette* dwelt on the solemn position of the Emperor Frederick, placed as he is between the new throne and probable speedy death, and seemed to think that his acts would be the more conscientious and beneficent for that reason.

I don't know: I cannot help thinking that he will rather feel himself an *ad interim* Emperor whose business it is to do nothing. Besides, I doubt the effect of illness as a stimulus to action: it seems to me that people who are ill and drawing near their death are rather apt to think more about their illness than anything else. It is from those who are vigorously alive that one expects vigorous action.

And after all, is it to be believed that it will be so easy for this one man and the clique in the Court that follows him to break through the strength given by the long years of the Bismarkian policy?

Finally, in no case, even if Kaiser Frederick lives and inaugurates the reign of reform, will it be good for the cause of the people or bad for it. May it not bring about a state of things not better but only more plausible? a state of things like that which we have so long "enjoyed" here; in which people are free—to starve; free also to speak—so long as their speaking does not annoy their masters too much. These are questions which we cannot help asking ourselves.

W. M.



## THE MAN IN THE OFFICE.

To assert that officials are persons of more than ordinary forbearance, is to assert that which no one except officials themselves believe. The popular conception of them is that they are heartless monsters. My own impression is that like other men they are neither all good nor all bad, and that among them are to be found the affable and sympathetic as well as the stony-hearted. But whatever my opinion may be, the general belief is that they are bad to a man. The reason for this belief may arise from the fact that the majority of mankind expect to find in the official the ideal man, and consequently one above the frailties of human nature, and, in short, the very incarnation of all the known virtues. But even if the popular view be correct, judging by my own experience as a man in office, when it is considered what trials and tortures officials are compelled to undergo, there is no cause for wonder even if they are all bad.

"Your experience!" says Mr. Sarcastic.

"Yes, my experience," I repeat. "Here am I as savage as a caged lion puzzling over the most extraordinary problems that ever beset the mind of man. Here, for example, is one that has frequently engaged my attention, and which I have given up in despair more than once. Perhaps Mr. Sarcastic can help me to its solution?"

"Dear Sir,—I am to deliver a lecture on 'Socialism' on Wednesday next, at K—. I intend to completely smash up its opponents. Please send me a list of the best arguments to use for that purpose, as I have not yet had time to study the question.—Yours in the Cause, "X—."

When I first took office, to make a *satisfactory* reply to this sort of thing was quite beyond me. I tried but invariably failed to do so. Whether I wrote short essays, sent packets of pamphlets, or referred my correspondent to the best known books on the subject, it was all one, I could not supply the right article. My correspondents seemed to have an idea that I was a small god, who on being applied to could supply them with a magic composition which they had only to repeat to completely outwit all who ventured to question the wisdom of their discourses. But the result proved them to be mistaken, and caused their estimate of me and my products to undergo a complete revolution. I usually learned this by receiving something like the following:—

"Sir,—I have to thank you for making me the fool you did last night. Your arguments (?) were knocked into a cocked hat. The audience could not understand them, and neither could I, though I did my best to defend them. What on earth do you mean by an 'economic revolution,' and such terms as 'bourgeoisie,' 'proletariat,' 'social equality,' etc.?"

"In your future correspondence with me I must request you to give a plain answer to a simple question.—Yours in the Cause, "X—."

These plain answers to simple questions I have already expressed my inability to supply, and although in the early days of my official career I manfully strove to do so, experience taught me that I was attempting the impossible, and that to ignore them was the only way out of the difficulty.

Although generally successful this expedient has sometimes failed, for a correspondent crops up now and then who will insist on having an answer, and about the third day after the receipt of his precious missive a post-card turns up with:—

"Sir,—I have received no answer to my enquiry of the —th inst. Reply per return.—Yours fraternally, "X—,"

written thereon. "Reply per return"! How the deuce can I reply per return as to:—

"What are the writings of Marx? Have they any reference to Socialism? and if so, what? Who are Proudhon, Lassalle, and Bakounine? What place, if any, have they in the Socialist movement? Is there a paper edited by a Mr. Morris called the *Co-operative Commonwealth*? If there is please send me a copy, and I will forward stamps for it on receipt. What are your views on the marriage question? Are you in favour of free love? Would not its adoption lead to the most disastrous consequences?"

To these queries I send a packet of pamphlets, and a short note recommending besides their perusal certain well-known books as the best answer I can give. But this method of treating the correspondent that *will* be answered does not satisfy, you are again reminded by him, this time by letter, that:—

"The pamphlets you send are not answers to the questions. What has 'Useful Work,' 'Organised Labour,' 'Plea for Socialism,' 'The Anti-Statist Communist Manifesto,' the 'Manifesto of the Socialist League,' and the 'Aims of Art' to do with them?"

"I don't want to buy Marx or Bebel's 'Woman,' nor any of the other books you mention. The paper you sent me called the *Commonweal* is a most revolutionary publication, and not what I asked you to get me. I return it with this post. Please send what I ordered. I do not wonder at the unpopularity of Socialism if mine is the treatment earnest enquirers receive. You either can or you cannot answer my questions; if you can't I shall know what to think of Socialism."

To tell him to think what he liked is what any one free from the trammels of office would do, but the man in office must not do so, but must answer his correspondent in the politest manner.

This forbearance generally acts as an inducement to the correspondent to exhibit to the full his prowess in the science of controversy, his superior intelligence completely pulverising that of the poor puny official. But as there are limits to human endurance, it sometimes happens that his "superior intelligence" is requested to take itself to a region where the temperature is reputed to be somewhat above that of the rest of the universe.

I think that examples enough have been given of the *simple* questions that the man in the office is called upon to answer by his numerous correspondents, but before leaving them I may mention that besides

these there are numerous other puzzlers which have to be dealt with, such as: "Was Carlyle a Socialist?" and "How can one best, taking into consideration the circumstances of to-day, act up to the Socialist ideal?"

There is, however, a class of persons that continually haunt the office, beside which the correspondent, to use a time-honoured phrase, pales into insignificance; and this is the "Caller." There are several orders of the class "Caller," for example:

1. Those you are all wrong and I can put you right individuals.
2. Currency-mongers.
3. Editor-hunters.

Here is a specimen of the first-named order, addressing the man in the office:—

*Specimen of 1st Order:* "You Socialists are all wrong. All your talk about Social Revolution is nonsense."

*Man in the Office to Specimen:* "Well, nonsense or not, it is coming."

*S. of 1st O.:* "Yes, that's the confounded twaddle you agitators are always preaching! Now look here (*impressively*), if you people go on ranting about equality for a thousand years you will never bring it about. Its impossible; no two men are exactly the same size. Besides, even if you *could* realise your dreams, think what 'a beautiful continuity of sameness it would be,' in short, 'a divine monotony.' Just fancy now a state of society in which all the houses were built exactly the same height and shape, and where everybody ate the same kind of food and wore the same kind of clothes! Why, it's preposterous! And let me tell you this, that abuse the wealthy classes as much as you like they are the best friends the working-classes have. If you want their generosity you must leave off spouting about and abusing them; and I can assure you that your talk of revolution and equality is the very thing to make them button up their pockets and let you starve rather than help you. And serve you right!"

*M. in the O.:* "But we don't want their generosity. We want to get possession of the means of subsistence, and we shall before our agitation ceases."

*S. of 1st O.:* "You mean you want to rob the rich people!"

The Man in the Office endeavoured to explain what it was Socialists wanted, but all to no purpose, for the specimen rushed from the office exclaiming as he went, "A set of blockheads and rascals!" and left the man in the office—smiling (?).

Now, a specimen of the second-named order is a different kind of being altogether. He has usually written a book on the great "Currency Question," and this he will insist on explaining in the most detailed manner whenever he makes his appearance.

A novel specimen of this order turned up the other day; a shortish, thin, and excitable person he was. Red hot he bounced into the office and gasped out:—

"Are you Mr. —?"

I replied that I was.

"Oh," said he, "have you seen my book on the 'Currency Question'?"

"I have not had that pleasure," I answered.

"What a pity," he went on; "if you had I am sure you would see the necessity for the change it advocates; because it clearly shows that what is wanted is not Socialism but a proper system of currency."

"But," said I, "I don't see that a change in the currency system would do away with the necessity for Socialism. Because—"

"Ah!" he interrupted, "you haven't read my book. Look here, page 21 clearly proves that if the change I advocate were adopted, capital might be so employed that the men now out of work could be set to work and the employer at the same time reap a good profit. It's quite simple."

"But we Socialists," I answered, "don't believe in employers getting profit."

"But you surely don't mean that seriously?" he interrogated.

"I do," said I.

"But how are they to live then?" he asked.

"I'm afraid," I answered, "that you haven't studied Socialism. Here is a paper which will tell you something about it, and here are some pamphlets. Will you please read them?"

"Ah! well!" said he, "perhaps I will, but I don't see the use of doing so. Socialism may be all very well in its way, but what is wanted is the change in the currency system which I advocate."

"Well, I shall have much pleasure in reading your book or in handing a copy of it to our editor," said I, anxious to draw the conversation to a close.

My mention of the editor had an effect on the currency man which I did not anticipate. He wanted to know who the editor was, where he lived, would he grant him an interview, etc., etc. To all these questions I replied as best I could, and whether he has yet encountered the editor I know not. Having satisfied him as to the editor, I put out my hand and bade him "Good-day!" He grasped it firmly, and holding it in his he looked me straight in the face and said:

"Good-bye, you read my book and you'll soon come to the conclusion that its not Socialism that is wanted but the change which I advocate in the currency."

With this he bounced out and flew down two flights of stairs into the street in less time than it takes to write it.

The third named order of the class "Caller" is so well known that it is unnecessary to particularise; the editor is well acquainted with it, but not nearly so well as that unfortunate individual—the man in the office. He it is whom the numerous genera of the editor-hunting order besiege with a thousand and one enquiries—not the proverbial thousand and one—as to the editor and every conceivable thing connected therewith. But without going further I think it has been conclusively proved that the life of the sour-visaged man-in-the-office is not one of undisturbed serenity, but is full of care and anxiety. This being so is it not absurd to expect him to be "above the frailties of human nature and the incarnation of virtue?"

H. A. BARKER.

THE NEW YORK UNION CIGARMAKERS.—The strike of the union cigar-makers of New York against a reduction of wages and the tenement house system is still in progress. Extensive preparations are being made to effectually boycott Jacoby & Bookman, the firm who evicted a large number of tenants recently. The union's committee has a list of the firm's customers, and they will no doubt have some dealings with union committees which will not particularly increase Jacoby & Bookman's trade. An interesting feature of the prosecution of this boycott will be the distribution of lithographic reproductions of photographic views of the eviction of the twenty-two families by the greedy firm with the assistance of the organised capitalists' obedient servants, the notorious clubbers for which New York is famous. These pictures will be sent to labour organisations throughout the country with the boycott circulars and list of the scab firm's brands.—*Workmen's Advocate*.

INTERNATIONAL NOTES.

BELGIUM.

On the 1st and 2nd of April, the Belgian Workingmen's Party will hold their annual Congress. The Federations of Verviers, Dison, Ensival, Pepinster, Seraing, the Centre, Brussels, Louvain, Malines, Ghendt, Antwerp, Charleroi, and Mons will attend at the Congress, which is to be held this year at Liege, and the members of the party at Brussels seem to foresee that a reconciliation between the several fractions might possibly take place. The following questions are to be discussed:—1. Universal suffrage, and tactics to be adopted at electioneering time; 2. Minimum wages and reduction of hours of labour; 3. General amnesty. On the same date the Socialists of Seraing, near Liege, will open their new premises built on purpose for them.

It appears that contrary to the wish expressed by the Socialist fraction of the German Reichstag in their circular published in last week's issue of this paper, the Belgian Working-men's Party intend to send delegates to the English Trades' Union Congress to be convened this year at London. At any rate they will be represented at the International Socialist-Congress of 1889 as well.

HOLLAND.

At the Hague the meeting held to celebrate the tenth anniversary of the publication of *Recht voor Allen*, the Social Democratic organ of the Dutch workers, has proved a fair success. Domela Nieuwenhuis gave a vivid history of the paper, which at first appeared as a weekly, soon afterwards was published twice and since last year three times a week, and the Socialists are now looking forward to transform it into a daily organ. He pointed out specially that a very great part of the success was to be attributed to the energetic pushing of the workers themselves, who were indefatigable in selling it,—a hint to those who sell the *Weal*. A considerable subscription was also made during the meeting for the strikers of Almelo, who had already received through the paper a sum of nearly three thousand guilders.

The Socialist propaganda circles of the Southern Dutch provinces have decided to publish, from April the 1st a fortnightly paper which will chiefly deal with economical and social questions. It will be entitled *de Volkstem* (The Voice of the People) and is to appear at Middleburg. In that part of Holland, where the reaction has its strongest fortress, the new paper will do a considerable deal of good and we hope that its editors may be well supported by their more advanced friends of the Northern provinces, for the common benefit of Socialism in Holland.

FRANCE.

The *Parti Ouvrier* (Working-men's Party) of France issue a weekly organ, entitled *Le Proletariat*; they have a share in the editorship of a political daily paper, *Le Cri du Peuple* (the People's Cry); and they possess a fortnightly literary and artistic review, called *Le Coup de Feu* (the Gun Shot). They are now going to issue a monthly review, under the editorship of Henri Galiment. It will be entitled *Revue du Socialisme Scientifique* (Review of Scientific Socialism), and the first number will appear in the month of May.

Another weekly exponent of revolutionary Socialism appeared on the 18th inst. at St. Etienne (Loire Department), under the title of *Le Dshérité* (the Disinherited). Among other topics it intends to give every week a full record of the revolutionary events in all parts of the world, a quite new feature in French journalism.

A third paper will appear at the end of this month at Paris, and is to be entitled *Terre et Liberté* (Land and Freedom). This organ, published by the Anarchist groups of Paris, will also devote its careful attention to the international movement, and have original correspondence from several countries, both in Europe and in America. Besides, in order to represent as accurately as possible the opinions generally prevailing among Anarchists, the entrance to the editor's offices will be free to all combatants of the Cause, and everything will be submitted before its publication to the comrades assembled.

We have been asked to reproduce the following appeal from the political prisoners now in jail at Paris to the working men of all Europe:

"Paris, Pélagie Prison, March 9, 1888.

"WORKING-MEN OF ALL COUNTRIES.—The Emperor William is dead; the Crown Prince, the personal enemy of Bismark, the only one who in Germany might have opposed the bellicose tendencies of the Chancellor, need hardly be counted among the living.

"At this present moment, the working-men in many lands are asking themselves with anguish in their hearts, What are we to expect, peace or war? and the masses answer, War!—so convinced are they in every camp that the 'saviours' of the people are already designated: here it is Moltke, there Boulanger, others elsewhere.

"Therefore we must not deceive ourselves; it is a very grave situation, and most assuredly the day is not far distant when the trumpet will sound summoning the gathering of innumerable human herds, which the 'shepherds' will devote to death, with this difference, that at the slaughter-houses they are bled by the butcher, while on the battle-field it is the victims who slay one another.

"Once again, Shall it be so? That depends.

"In Germany the Socialists of every shade number about a million and a half of men convinced in their creed, one-sixth of the adult population of that country.

"If they wish it, war will not take place; but for that purpose they must not satisfy themselves with mere protests, as in 1870. If war be declared, they must prevent it. Let them take up a decided attitude, and raise without fear or weakness difficulties for the Chancellor; let them agitate, and fight if necessary, to reconquer the autonomy and independence of the smaller States of the confederation; let them sow broadcast the seeds of the revolutionary idea; refuse to bear arms against France, while turning them without hesitation if needs be against their oppressors; let them vigorously propagate Socialist revolutionary doctrines, forget their dissensions between sects and schools, that they may be united to shake off the iron yoke that weighs them down, and the French revolutionists may be relied upon, at least we hope so, to neglect for the moment all doctrinal questions and turn their attention only to the social war.

"The Italian revolutionists, who are no way minded to assist Crispi, the cantankerous, in his adventures, would not be slow to follow this example and tie the hands of their Government in such manner as to render it incapable of intervening in favour of its master Bismark, if not to send him flying altogether one of these days.

"In this way the grave that is again being prepared to swallow up the

proletarian revendications, might not improbably be dug to put out of the way for evermore the privileged and their monstrous monopolies.

"Well now, comrades in every land, at this critical moment, in the face of this alternative of life and death, let us ask whether the time has not come to close our ranks and to prepare for a final effort? To that end should not all our theoretical disputes be put aside, to make room for fraternal feelings only? Is it not high time at last—and this we repeat without asking anyone to sacrifice his personal preferences—to bring about the union of all the Socialist revolutionary forces and to cease to annihilate one another by internecine strife?

"Is it not our duty the rather to bring together all our strength and all our energy for the struggle and the victory?

"Let the governing classes seek wars of extermination between the peoples, but at the same time let it not be forgotten that it is the duty of revolutionaries to meet such excitations by an agreement between the workers in all countries, that on the day when the despots would seek to lead them into the slaughter they may be prepared to answer the provocations of the so-called directing classes by the class war, a social war which is destined to free mankind!

"DEVERTUS, of the staff of the *Cri du Peuple*; A. BALL, saddler; E. ODIN, staff *Révolution Cosmopolite*; P. PONS, manager of the *Révolution Cosmopolite*; G. DEHERME, staff of the *Autonomie Individuelle*."

ROUMANIA.

A rather strong Socialist movement is beginning in Roumania, but strange to say the recruits are mostly middle-class men, professors, teachers, functionaries, solicitors, officers in the army, pressmen, etc. The reason for this curious phenomenon is that the working-classes are, as yet, extremely ignorant, but of course this ignorance will gradually disappear; and it is to be hoped that here, as everywhere else, the emancipation of the workers will become the work of the labourers themselves. Anyhow, at the present time two solicitors of Bucharest, Mille and Ganesco, are endeavouring to organise the workers in various societies. They have formed unions of metal-workers, of wood-carvers, of shoemakers, and a general Labour Emancipation Union, "Circle Muncitor" (the Worker's Society), which has already its weekly organ, entitled *Desrobiera* (Enfranchisement). At Roman, another Socialist of the well-to-do class, comrade Mortun, has been elected member of the Roumanian Parliament. He is co-editor, in conjunction with a former professor at the University, of three papers, *Revista Sociala* (Social Review); *Contemporarul* (the Contemporary), a scientific organ; and *Muncitor* (the Worker), defending the interests of the labouring classes. All three are published at Jassy, the capital of Moldavia, and seem to have considerable influence all over the country. V. D.

SPAIN.

TARRASA.—A strike of about 500 men is reported here. A correspondent writing to a Barcelona journal, says that the sanitary inspectors of the town having made a visit of inspection to the factories, found the gas of such bad quality and so injurious to the weavers, that they at once ordered the suspension of work during the hours which would necessitate artificial light. The employers on seeking to make up for the loss of time involved by extra long hours when the light was improved, were met by a refusal from the workers, whereupon those who were foremost in refusing were dismissed. A strike was the result, and several meetings held among the workmen, resolutions drawn up and a strike fund set on foot, and so forth.

ITALY.

CATANIA.—An important demonstration has taken place in this town, in which the working-men have demanded food and labour of the municipality. This coming close upon the Roman agitation, is yet another among the many signs of the times coming on us.

MONZA.—Philanthropy is rampant in Monza, though certainly its workings are somewhat ludicrous. We hear that a certain influential firm in the town bethought them on a sudden of giving a small umbrella or parasol to every one of their work-people, to keep their poor heads from the ardours of the summer sun. Is this a reminiscence of the immortal burlesque electioneering scene at Eatanswill, familiar to faithful students of Dickens, where it will be remembered the town was flooded with green silk parasols as one among the several delicate and poetic means taken to bring over the populace to the Slumkey interest?

How history repeats itself! We hear, too, in this town of another labour-owner, who is quite the conventional type of high-handed autocratic Italian business man. One pay-day he handed to one of his employes something less than his stipulated wage, and on the man protesting threw the balance due on the table, and informed him that in his establishment the work-folk were to take what he chose to give them, and gave him notice that he might find work elsewhere. I only instance this little scene as a type of many, and as such not wholly insignificant.

ITALIAN POINTSMEN.—The pointsman (*deviatore*) on the Italian railways, that most responsible and important factor in railway organisations, living with eye and ear always on the strain—well, he is treated with an unjustifiable indifference (as it appears to me) by the companies, who, through him, are responsible for so much human life. For instance, one article in the *Service Regulations* lays down that "the duration of the day's service is so regulated that the pointsman may get 'at least' 7 hours uninterrupted rest, besides 'at least' 2 hours in the day during the interval of trains passing." Now practically this comes to 17 hours work, for one may guess pretty well that the 2 hours extra repose gets usually absorbed in some unforeseen way, and, whether or no, an hour or so while on duty is not much help physically or mentally. For this arduous work about 50s. a month is an average wage for a man who has been in the service for a long while. The regulations also fix the amount of bonuses which vary between 12s. 6d. and 1s. 8d. per month. "But," says the *Fascio*, "the regulations that are so short and concise as regards payment, are quite otherwise interminable when touching fines and punishments. Five pages are devoted to the classification of punishments to be inflicted on this unlucky staff, who while loaded by a liberal hand with so many benefits, should venture through overpowering hunger or sleep to be found wanting in their fulfilment of the duties prescribed by the *Service Regulations*. The fines begin at 1 lira and rise to 10 lira, without counting reductions, degradations, etc. Such is the largesse conceded by the railway regulations in action since Feb. 1st, 1888. But it farther seems that those entering the service since then will not be allowed to benefit by the pension fund instituted in 1867." The *Fascio* concludes by urging all the railway staffs to unite for their own defence, and join the Socialist ranks for the furtherance of the emancipation of labour. M. M.



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

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

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

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

**Subscriptions.**—For Europe and United States, including postage, per year, 6s. six months, 3s.; three months, 1s. 6d.

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

#### Periodicals received during the week ending Wednesday March 21.

<b>ENGLAND</b>	Boston—Woman's Journal	Brussels—L'Avant-Garde
Die Autonomie	Chicago—Vorbote	Liege—L'Avenir
Jus	Vorbote	SWITZERLAND
Leaflet Newspaper	Corning(Iowa) Revue Icarienne	Zurich—Sozial Demokrat
London—Freie Presse	Denver (Col.) Labor Enquirer	ITALY
Leicester—Countryman	Fort Worth (Tex.)—South West	Gazetta Operaia
Labour Tribune	Hammon(NJ) Credit Foncier	Milan—Il Fascio Operaio
Norwich—Daylight	Milwaukee (Wis.)—Volkblatt	Rome—L'Emancipazione
Railway Review	Paterson (N J) Labor Standard	Marsala—La Nuova Eta
Worker's Friend	San Francisco Arbeiter-Zeitung	SPAIN
<b>SOUTH AUSTRALIA</b>	Coast Seamen's Journal,	Madrid—El Socialista
Adelaide—Our Commonwealth	Freethought	Cadiz—El Socialismo
<b>INDIA</b>	FRANCE	GERMANY
Bankipore—Behar Herald	Paris—Cri du Peuple (daily)	Berlin—Volks Tribune
Madras—People's Friend	La Revolte	AUSTRIA
<b>UNITED STATES</b>	Guise—Le Devoir	Arbeiterstimme
New York—Freiheit	HOLLAND	HUNGARY
Der Sozialist	Hague—Recht voor Allen	Arbeiter-Wochen-Chronik
Truthseeker	BELGIUM	SWEDEN
Volkszeitung	Antwerp—De Werker	Malmö—Arbetet

## CELEBRATING THE COMMUNE.

THE London Socialists celebrated the seventeenth anniversary of the Commune of Paris by holding a meeting in Store Street Hall. In spite of the unfavourable weather, the hall was filled to overflowing with Socialists of all shades of opinion and of all nationalities. While the meeting was assembling the sale of literature was pushed in an energetic manner; large numbers of Walter Crane's "Cartoon," and of the 'Speeches of the Chicago Martyrs,' being put into circulation. One or two banners of the different organisations taking part in the celebration were displayed. The proceedings began with singing of "No Master" by the Socialist League choir, after which the chairman—comrade Hyndman—explained the object of the meeting, and expressed his gratification at the fact of the general co-operation of all the Socialist organisations. Whatever personal jealousies may have existed or did exist, were sunk on the occasion, and that was an earnest of what would happen in the event of the Socialists of London being called to do more arduous work than that of demonstrating. Quite a shoal of letters and telegrams were read. In Britain meetings were held at Dundee, Edinburgh, Birmingham, Walsall, Norwich, and Dublin, all of whom sent greetings. A letter came from the New York workmen, expressing the solidarity of the American Socialists; another from the Workmen's Party of Belgium, and one from the workmen of Paris. These international greetings show that the spirit that removed the Vendome Column, animates the Socialists of to-day more than ever. The same feeling was shown in the selection of speakers, and none of the English representatives had better receptions than our Russian comrade Peter Kropotkin, or our Austrian comrade Kautsky.

The resolution was moved by Kitz, who pointed out how the real significance of the Commune was gradually dawning on the working-classes. The upper classes have known all along that it meant free labour and social equality, and hence their bitter and virulent attacks upon it; but in spite of the lies of hireling journalists, and the mouthing of political hacks, the action of the Paris workmen of 1871 is becoming better understood every year.

John Burns pointed out to those people who thought that the horrible carnival of blood which closed the Commune would not occur in this country, that the recent behaviour of the police and military in Trafalgar Square, the present brutality of the Government in Ireland, and the Scottish Highlands, showed that the privileged classes of England were prepared to act exactly like the plutocrats of France, and if need be drown in a sea of blood all who denied their right to live in idleness and luxury at the expense of the toiling masses.

Kautsky pointed out how the Commune was but one of a series of attempts on the part of the workers to rend their chains, and how time after time brute force had been called to the aid of the plun-

derers. The people did not forget how their fathers were slaughtered, and were not prepared to be put off with fair words. Now the people in the provinces of France understood better the political juggle, and every year the education of the proletariat in the social question advanced with rapid strides—so that in the event of another rising, the men of the provinces would be with the workmen of Paris, and would fight to the bitter end; because, not mere dynastic or political reforms would result from victory, but real freedom and social equality.

Mrs. Wilson told how heroically many of the working-women of Paris behaved. She insisted that it was not the mere election of a democratic town council that made her celebrate the Commune, but the fact that it was an attempt on the part of the people to be really free in the full sense of the word.

Mrs. Aveling delivered a most eloquent speech, and showed how real an immortality the martyrs of the Commune have,—how the heroism of Delescluze still lives in the memory of the masses, and how all are urged on to do nobler deeds, because of the devotion of those dead ones.

Comrade Morris declined to call the Commune a failure. There is a time, he said, when men must be prepared to fight for their principles, and most certainly the time most suitable for the proclamation of the social republic and the solidarity of nations was when those principles were being trampled under foot by the hordes of the privileged ones of the earth in 1871 before the intellectual capital of the world. We had progressed since then, because of the action of the men of the Commune. What a blank there would be in history were there no Commune of Paris! Gradually the veil was being torn down, and the oppressors and the oppressed were coming to look one another in the face. The beginning of the end was perhaps not far off; the revolution was not something to come, we were in the midst of it.

Sparling pointed out how the Communists laid down their lives in the cause of humanity, and told the people that while it was very likely many present would be ready to fight bravely, he was afraid that they were lacking in the steadfast everyday devotion necessary for educating and organising the masses.

Kropotkin showed how the time had come round for another revolution in France. Seventeen years had come and gone since the Commune, and dynasties seldom lasted longer in France. When it comes, he hopes the people will seize the means of production, and not allow themselves to be cheated with mere political tinkering.

Mrs. Hicks dwelt on the necessity of the Socialist party organising all its forces, moral and intellectual as well as physical.

The speeches were listened to in the most attentive manner. The utmost enthusiasm prevailed. This was markedly manifest during the singing of the "Carmagnole," and one could easily see that the sentiment of "the republic of humanity" pervaded the minds of all; even the detectives once or twice were carried away by the enthusiasm, and vigorously applauded, in spite of themselves. After the speeches were over, the vast audience stood up and uncovered in memory of the dead. The meeting was closed with three cheers and one cheer more for the social revolution.

A. K. DONALD.

## SECRETARY'S REPORT.

The working-men the civilised world over have been this week celebrating the Paris Commune. This is evidenced by the fact that at the Store Street Hall on Monday night, telegrams and letters of sympathy and greeting were read from Brussels, the National Committee of the French Workmen's Party, Paris; the Socialistic Labour Party, New York; the Federation of Socialists, Paris; Ireland (two); Glasgow, Dundee, and Edinburgh; Ryde, Isle of Wight, Birmingham (two), Hull, Norwich, Bolton, Nottingham, and others. Altogether in England there has been some 20 celebrations.

The grand meeting at the Store Street Hall was organised by the S.D.F., S.L., F.S., and F.G., and is the first occasion that a distinctively English celebration has been held. We notice in consequence of it the London press has changed its manner of attack; formerly the celebrations were sneered at as the incoherent ravings of foreign refugees. This dodge, however, would not do this year, and so we find the *Press* devoting itself to a criticism of the cut of the clothes of the speakers. Even the organ of the great Radical Party, the *Star*, sent a reporter with a tailor's eye, for it is perfectly evident from the report that he concentrated almost all his attention on the *dress*, etc., of the speakers. He did, however, allow himself to wander once from the clothes. He attempted to estimate the number present, and his method of calculation appears to have been based on the assumption that twice two are one—a very different method to that usually adopted by the same journal when reporting Home Rule meetings.

However, whatever the press may say—and the *Echo*, *Evening News*, *Star*, and others, all devote considerable space to it—the phenomenal success of the meeting marks the beginning of a new era of Socialism. Numerically and financially it exceeded the most sanguine anticipations. It was truly a meeting of the working-men of London, so much so that from out of their pockets they paid its cost.

**Receipts.**—Collected at Store Street, £7 1s. 8½d.; C. J. F., 2s.; P. W., 2s.; H. R., 2s. 6d.; R. Molero, 5s.; and Raymond Unwin, 1s. Total, £7 14s. 2½d.

Complete Balance Sheet next week.

H. A. BARKER, Secretary.

MADRID.—*El Productor* says: "Distress reigns in Madrid side by side with opulence, although it has not the same power of manifesting itself. For example when at every moment the press offers for our reading notices of grand parties and banquets among the aristocracy and bourgeoisie, there appears once a week such a notice as the following: 'To-day there passed through several of the streets of this capital a crowd of men numbering a hundred or so, in demand of work. Their attitude was entirely peaceful.' Decidedly Madrid has not yet become Socialist. And again: 'The men at work on the National Library in course of construction, declared themselves on strike the other day, demanding, it appears, a rise in wages. The strikers retired quietly to their respective dwellings.' There is, however, nothing to be disquieted about in this news, for we read next day that the strikers go back to their work under the same conditions as before."

M.



**A Speech from the Dock.**

OUR comrade John Burn's speech before Mr. Justice Charles has been printed in full. It is one of those documents which will one day be eagerly sought after as illustrating a remarkable period in the Social Revolution in which we are now all of us taking a part. It is called a speech in defence of the defendant, but in point of fact, considering the nature of the evidence brought forward in support of the ridiculous charges made against our friends Burns and Graham, no defence was needed, except against the legal quibble by which the defendants were found guilty of illegal assembly and sent to jail for having committed this crime. Under these circumstances Burns' speech really took the form of an indictment against the society which had been terrified by the meeting of a few of its victims under the name of the unemployed; and which in its terror, egged on by the bourgeois press, eager to make a sensation of anything that came handy, and the tradesmen of London who pretended to think their trade was in danger, got the meeting of the 13th November proclaimed and manufactured the riots of Bloody Sunday.

Socialists may well be glad this speech has been printed, in which Burns has clearly shown that this fear of the unemployed was the genuine cause of the closing of Trafalgar Square, since it has been the fashion of the half-hearted Radical, and no-hearted Liberal M.P.'s who have been driven to take up the matter, to dwell on the point that the meeting on the 13th was a genuine political meeting and was on a different footing to those that had been held there before during last autumn. Whatever significance there was about that meeting was given to it by the previous meetings and the treatment they had met with; and I repeat that a meeting merely to protest against Irish wrongs would not have been proclaimed. Burns and Graham went to jail on behalf of the unemployed, and for the matter of that for the employed also; those who are employed to produce wealth which their employers and not themselves enjoy. Our comrade did well then to keep their case so stoutly before the court, and to take coolly whatever might befall him from the partisan judge who tried him. All Socialists should be well acquainted with their comrade's defence, not of himself but of them.

W. M.

**CORRESPONDENCE.**

**ABOUT METHODS.**

As Socialists, we must look to it that sectarianism does not get amongst us. We all have practically the same ideal, but there is room among us for honest differences of opinion as to method. There is, however, no room for sarcasms about "penny whistles" or "not being able to see beyond one's nose." This kind of horse-play is apt to lead to worse.

With our aim acknowledged to be the same, why cannot each throw himself into the work that lies nearest to his hand, remembering that the work of others may not be the same as his? If he must gain recruits for his own particular regiment, let him try to draw them from outsiders. Instead of preaching to his fellow Socialists, let him visit the surrounding heathen, and he will have plenty to do there.

We all seek the most effective way of realising our ideal. "Political" say that to do this we must send men to Parliament; that though they be as voices crying in the wilderness, yet they act as propagandists. "Non-political" believe the disadvantages to more than outweigh this. The fact of such a difference of opinion existing proves that the time is not yet ripe for concerted Parliamentary action. Until we see clearly that such action is the nearest way to our common goal, then it is not the nearest way for us.

Socialists must remember that they are not mere political reformers. Reforms they have every opportunity to assist in, in their capacity of citizens and voters, and such reforms will be more readily attained if Socialism is kept out of sight. Numberless reforms have been failures, and there is no reason why Socialism, as such, should interfere, perhaps to its discredit, with what is really not Socialism at all. Though we are reformers, we are revolutionists first, parliamentary or otherwise. Let us educate and agitate ceaselessly, for there is a wide field of work before us. Then when we find that parliamentary action is clearly and unquestionably the shortest course to our goal, there will be no need to urge Socialists to political action.

Those who in their prophetic vision see no place for parliamentary action, do not, I think, recognise the many-sided aspects of the struggle. They see that mere evolution can never bring health to the body politic. Disease is on us, and its evolution is Death. As evolution is not always an advance, so evolution of our present society means degradation and retrogression. The conclusion drawn that legality must be thrown aside and only physical force used is unsound. If parliamentary action is to be rejected for ever, then ultimately a line of bayonets will have to be faced. A good general always tries to take the enemy in rear, and with a majority in Parliament we will have got behind the line of steel, and by holding the purse-strings can make the figure harmless. The final struggle will perhaps be in Parliament, and then the babble of legislators pretending to rule will sink into much desired and everlasting silence, and the new era will have begun.

W. A. CARLILE.

[This letter must close the discussion.—Eds.]

**CARDINAL MANNING ON THE WORD "PROLETARIAT."**

SIR.—Reading the other day a pamphlet by Cardinal Manning, entitled 'The Rights and Dignity of Labour,' I came across the following passage descriptive of a term in almost constant use at all Socialist and kindred meetings when the workers are spoken of:

"There are some people who are trying to force into the mouth of Englishmen a very long word—the *proletariat*. I have no doubt you have all heard it and all read it. When I see it in a book, I suspect the book at once. When a man says it to me, I doubt whether he is an Englishman. Our old mother-tongue has

a great many more monosyllables than polysyllables in it, and I love it all the more for that, for I think our old Saxon monosyllables have the strength of a strong race in them. Now, I had ten thousand times rather be called a working man than a proletaire. I will tell you my reasons against the name of proletaire. It is pedantry; it is paganism; it is false; and it is an indignity to the working man. It is pedantry, because it was dug up out of the old Roman law by certain French writers, chiefly in or about the time of the first French Revolution; and that accounts, perhaps, for its paganism in its revived state, and I will tell you why. The population of Rome was distinguished into classes. There were those who were called in legal phrase *capite censi*, or men told by the head. They were mere numbers; they possessed nothing; they were nothing; they could do nothing; they had two eyes and two hands and two feet, and they were entered in the poll-tax by the tale. These were the lowest of the Roman population. Next to them were *proletarii*, or men who had homes and families—if you call a home a roof or shelter where a man could lie down—but they were destitute of property. They had nothing but their children. They could only serve the State by themselves and by their children in military service, or something of that sort. Moreover, they were slaves, or to a great extent they were slaves. They were the greatest of idlers, and the most profligate and the most dependent of the Roman populace. They lived on alms; or what is worse, they were the followers and flatterers of those who had anything to give them. Well, now, I ask whether it is not an indignity to English working men to call them *proletaires*?"

Certainly if this description holds good it should not be a difficult matter to hit on a word already formed, or for the matter of that to coin one, which would be more in harmony with the idea our comrades would like to be formed of them. Perhaps some comrade may be able to give another and better description of the abused proletariat, in case the Cardinal has misread the meaning of the word.

E. W. ANDREWS.

[It seems to us that the Cardinal has proved too much for his own case. Is not the present system forcing the working-class into the position which he describes as that of the *proletarii*?—Eds.]

**MR. THOMAS KIRKUP AND "FREE ENQUIRY."**

COMRADE.—Those critics of political Socialism (as distinct from its active colour-bearers) who attempt to deal with the question of forces and methods of attainment—perhaps often from personal pusillanimity, sometimes from a plethora of half-science, mostly from painful innocence of the common-places of the life of live men and women—very generally betray the serious fault of ignoring the *literal* truism of the evils they can expatiate about on paper with so much dignity. Removed in the latter case from conditions they therefore cannot correctly analyse, they only perceive things, as through a glass, very darkly. Indeed the arm-chair Socialist "don't know he's living," and current existence—except in its philistine phase—has for him much more of romance than realism. The quasi-scientific revolutionist, in his anxiety to be very largely within the mark, fails to do justice to his case. As an instance in point, is his wretched superstition *re* "free enquiry" and its grasp on revolutionary propagandist work; as to the rude real business of which work, they are as intelligent as sucking-babes. If it were a harmless superstition, it would suffice to allow the gentle hands of time and experience their legitimate province in washing the colour out of it—but it isn't. It is distinctly misleading to those who are as green as its apostles, and, since it means the ignoring of that sort of facts which reverse premises, it is also unscientific. Mr. Kirkup merely records a bourgeois fetish that is infinitely too popular when he remarks with quite pathetic conviction, in connection with a paragraph on militant Socialism ('Inquiry,' p. 116), "In our country happily this discussion is an idle one. We have long enjoyed the right of free enquiry"!! Even if he meant merely legal toleration, he is sufficiently inaccurate, and on the other hand I suppose it is satisfactory—in spite of the Greek sage—to think that, socially, so amiable a writer has never personally felt the dismal variance of realities with the almost cynically comfortable creed confessed in these words. Mr. Kirkup does not repudiate (p. 113) the necessity of violent policy in certain (Continental) conditions, "where free enquiry and discussion have been mercilessly repressed," and he sympathetically admits the plausibility in the nature of things that "the violent forms of Socialism have flourished chiefly where free discussion and the reasonable right of combination among working men have been prohibited." Believing him to be sincere, it is only conceivable that the writer of the above enjoys a personal inexperience of the average Britisher's life that is altogether phenomenal. In comparatively modern politics at most it is but a question of degree. Take what I and every Socialist propagandist in the country (outside the atmosphere of well-furnished studies) know to be an every-day illustration of the falsehood of the "free enquiry" fad: I am pretty intimate with a young Socialist who has been "sacked" from successive situations four times within three years—that is to say, deprived of the means of life—simply for his by no means riotous expressions of opinion. This person happens to be fortunate enough to have so far escaped, more or less, that vengeance of labour-competition which, however, wrecks itself every day on thousands of less lucky others—dismissed, gagged, ostracised, or, if they are not crocodiles, made miserable, as a reward for the practice of the "free inquiry and discussion" which Mr. Kirkup's fancy sketch gratuitously vouchsafes us. Maybe all this is not "merciless repression." But if not, I have yet to learn the meaning of language. Then as to the myth of "free discussion and reasonable right of combination," I need not remind any student of contemporary history of the significance of Mitchelstown, Trafalgar Square, Chicago, etc., even if such a student be blind to the circumstance that the legally theoretic affirmation of these liberties is hourly belied and mocked at by the absolutely dictatorial economic powers that be.

LEONARD HALL.

What is holy? what is sacred? I reply that human happiness is holy, human rights are holy. The body and soul of man—these are sacred. The liberty of man is of far more importance than any book—the rights of man more sacred than any religion, than any scriptures, whether inspired or not.—*Ingersoll*.

Call ye that a society where there is no longer any social idea extant, not so much as the idea of a common home, but only that of a common over-crowded lodging-house? where each, isolated, regardless of his neighbour, turned against his neighbour, clutches what he can get, and cries "*Mine!*" and calls it Peace, because in the cut-purse and cut-throat scramble, no steel knives, but only a far cunninger sort can be employed—where friendship, communion, has become an incredible tradition, and your holiest sacramental supper is a smoking tavern dinner, with cook for evangelist? where your priest has no tongue but for plate-licking, and your high gaudes and governors cannot guide; but on all hands hear it passionately proclaimed, *Laissez-faire!* Leave us alone of your guidance—such light is darker than darkness—eat your wages and sleep.—*Carlyle*.

## THE LABOUR STRUGGLE.

### BRITAIN.

**STOPPAGE OF TIN WORKS.**—The Abercarn Tin-plate Works (with the exception of a water mill) are closed until further notice. The works have been kept going on day to day contracts for some time. Hence only 12 hours' notice to cease work was required.

**THE EIGHT HOURS' DAY.**—The whole of the members of the Perth branch of the Amalgamated Society of Railway Servants, with one exception only, have unanimously given their votes in favour of the eight hours' limit; and by a majority of three to one have declared in favour of Parliament enforcing the eight hours' limit; and by a majority of three to one have declared in favour of Parliament enforcing the eight hours' day by law.

**MORE TRAMPS.**—Instructions have been received at Sheerness Dockyard for an extensive reduction, to be made in the boiler-making department, where work has been slack for months past, on account of the determination of the Admiralty not to refit the obsolete sloops and gun-vessels lately returned from foreign service. New ships are being built to replace them, but as their machinery is supplied by contract, no work is provided for the boiler-making staff.

**THREATENED STRIKE IN THE BOTTLE TRADE.**—The glass bottle-makers of Lancashire, chiefly in St. Helens and Newton districts, are disputing with their employers as to the rate of remuneration, and a strike is threatened. Owing to depression two years ago the wages were reduced 2s. per week and 1s. for overtime, and the men say there was a promise that the reduction would be removed when the state of trade warranted it. They now apply for an advance, and the masters have offered 2s., but refuse the 1s. overtime.

**STRIKE OF BOLTON COLLIERIES.**—There are about four hundred colliers out on strike at Darsy-Lever Coal Company's pits, Bolton. The manager alleging that the men were sending up excessive quantities of dirt in the tubs, had an examination, and knocked sixty pounds' weight off every waggon coming up. This made a difference of nearly four shillings per week in the earnings of some of the men. They resisted the reduction, but the manager remained firm, and the men have struck work in consequence.

**THE SWEATING SYSTEM IN NEWCASTLE.**—The committee of the Newcastle branch of the Amalgamated Society of Tailors have issued a circular dealing with the "Sweating System, and the Spread of Contagious Diseases." In this an appeal is made to the public to consider not only the evils entailed by the system on those obliged to labour under it, but the danger to those wearing the clothes made. A public meeting will be held under the auspices of the Newcastle, Gateshead, and District Trades Council, in the Central Hall, Hood Street, Newcastle, on Wednesday, March 21st, at which the Mayor of Newcastle will preside, "in order to expose the above most obnoxious and degrading system."

**"THOSE WHO WOULD BE FREE."**—The Amalgamated Society of Engineers state that the heavy claims upon its funds makes it impossible at present to make grants to any other trade society engaged in disputes with their employers. Neither can they recommend a levy upon their members, already overburdened owing to the high rate of contributions. Perhaps this will help to make unionists realise the necessity of federating and of establishing a common fund, instead of relying, as is too often the case at present, upon precarious subscriptions from outsiders. The begging system is a very poor basis upon which to fight. If the workers won't pay to create sufficient funds to support them in their struggles, then they must put up with the consequences.

**THREATENED STRIKE OF STEELWORKERS.**—The workmen engaged in the steel smelting department of the Gowerton and Panteg works are now working their notice. This course has been taken by the workmen in order to get back the last two reductions. When the last reduction was made, it is stated that Mr. Wright, one of the partners in the firm, promised that whenever tin bars rose 2s. 6d. in price, he would give back the reduction without being asked for it. Tin bars since that time have risen in price at least 7s. 6d. per ton. The request for an advance has been lodged with the firm by the general secretary of the British Steel Smelters' Association, on behalf of the workmen employed in the above department. Recently a general all-round advance of wages took place all over the steel trade in Scotland and the North of England.

**CRIBBING TIME.**—The raid by the factory inspectors in the Rochdale and Oldham district is producing excellent results, as evidenced by the squealing of the culprits, who are loudly complaining of "officiousness," etc. The operatives' leaders are acting heartily in conjunction with the inspectors, and the alliance is striking terror into the culprits. In some cases, unfortunately, the workers themselves connive at these breaches of the law, and it is found necessary to proceed against them. This happened lately at Bradford, Manchester, when Inspector Platt summoned Messrs. Marsland and Co., cotton-spinners, for employing two young persons for cleaning persons during meal hours. The firm summoned an operative in their employ as the actual offender, and eventually the case against the firm was dismissed and the man was fined £1 and costs in one case and 10s. in costs in the other. Often, however, the workman has no option but to break the law or to lose his place. What the workers ought to do, therefore, in order to safeguard themselves, is to agitate for an alteration in the law whereby the whole responsibility shall be laid upon the shoulders of the employers.

**AGRICULTURAL LABOURERS.**—The annual meeting of the members of the Kent and Sussex Agricultural Labourers' Union was held last week at Canterbury. Mr. T. Pilcher, of Folkstone, presided, and about two hundred and fifty of the branches of the organisation were represented. In presenting the sixteenth annual report, the Executive deplore the continued severe depression in agriculture and trade, and the fall in the rate of wages in several districts. The executive think a measure for the establishment of small holdings and a Compulsory Cultivation of the Land Bill are urgently needed to bring back the labourer to the soil and land into more active cultivation. Where voluntary arrangement for the acquisition of land cannot be effected, compulsory powers should be enforced, and the executive would urge upon land reformers a more general extension of this system. During the past few months the executive have done much to encourage and assist members to put into force the Allotments Act of last year, but they say the results are rather disappointing, as the local authorities, more especially the Poor-law Guardians, which are composed principally of farmers, appear to have a desire to evade the Act, rather than afford labourers the benefit it provides. The Act, it is urged, is too permissive in its character, and certain local bodies shelter themselves behind its provisions to prevent or delay the labourer from being placed upon the soil.

**THE NORTHUMBERLAND MINERS.**—In the circular which he has issued on the subject of the payment of members of Parliament Mr. Burt says: "I was elected when we were on the crest of a wave of prosperity unprecedented in our history. Wages were higher than ever they had been before, or than ever they have been since. From that time till now trade has gone from bad to worse, until, with low wages and irregularity of employment, your struggle for life is at present of the keenest kind. During this prolonged depression repeated reductions in your wages have been demanded and enforced. In the condition of trade, resistance meant suffering, misery, and disaster. It also meant defeat, the acceptance at last of worse terms than were available at the beginning. I was often bound, therefore, to do what is, and always must be, unpopular with workmen, namely, to advise you, as the less evil, to submit to a reduction." This fact, no doubt, to some extent explains the attitude of the miners. The present representatives, however, though no doubt very good officials (in times of peace), and well able to manage the affairs of a trade-union on the orthodox lines, are absolutely without initiative, and too weak-kneed to push on towards a radical change in the condition of the workers. The status quo of master and servant is taken as impossible of alteration. No hope of any change is held out to the struggling miners but the Micawberian possibility that "something may turn up."

**SWEATING BY GOVERNMENT.**—We draw our readers' attention, says the *Star* of the 16th, to a remarkable case of sweating in which the Government are the culprits. On 13th February last a number of tenders were sent in contracting for the keeping of Government offices in London in repair. The contract was eventually given to Messrs. Brass and Co., it having previously been held by Messrs. Perry, who had enjoyed the contract for the last three and a half years. Before the Messrs. Perry came Messrs. Mowlem held it for three years, and we are correct in stating that during a long period the prices of this work have been steadily going down. It is the custom of all contractors to offer large discounts on the nominal prices sent in, and this discount has been gradually increasing. Messrs. Perry, for instance, the former contractors, allowed 15½ per cent discount. How this affected the wages of their men can be seen by a reference to the schedule of prices. For instance, the standard rate of wages for ordinary plumbers is 10d. per hour. In their schedule Messrs. Perry fixed the rate of plumbers' wages at 11d. per hour, but they allowed a discount of 15½ per cent., which reduced the rate to considerably below the standard. Now, however, the tenders have, as we have said, fallen into the hands of Messrs. Brass and Co., who have offered a discount of 16½ per cent. upon the nominal tender, or 1 per cent. more than their predecessors. This reduces the wages of plumbers still lower, and makes the drop a very considerable one. The point is that, according to our information, several officials connected with the Office of Works openly expressed their belief that the work could not be properly executed for the price tendered by Messrs. Brass. On this point we express no opinion. All we say is, that the Government in accepting the tender have made themselves parties to the lowering of the rate of wages of a large body of working men considerably below the ordinary standard.

**THE WAGE-FUND BOGEY AGAIN.**—Mr. Bradlaugh has been down to Newcastle again, where he talked an "infinite deal of nothing" on the labour struggle. The following almost incredible bit of nonsense is from a report in the *Labour Tribune*, a journal devoted to the deification of Mr. Bradlaugh and other so-called labour leaders. Speaking against the movement for an eight-hour working day, he said: "If a man worked nine hours a day at tenpence an hour, he got nine tenpences. If tenpence was taken off his wages how was he to be better off? The unemployed could not be absorbed more than the tenpence worth. At the best, there could be no change except that the men who got formerly nine tenpences would only get eight, and that one tenpence would be taken from each eight of these and given to another. To make a change it would be necessary to provide a new employment, and not to divide employment already existing. Strikes had not done any good in the past, and would not do any good in the future." It seems almost a work of supererogation to analyse such stuff as this. But unfortunately there are so many men who "put out their thinking," and receive as gospel the utterance of any quack if he blows his trumpet loudly enough. In the above instance the speaker, in his new capacity of an advocate for the capitalists, has overshot the mark. If there is any validity in the reasoning that wages must necessarily fall, and in the same ratio with the decrease of the hours worked, then surely that is what should have happened when the nine-hour system was adopted. Yet there must have been many amongst Mr. Bradlaugh's hearers whose personal experience proved the fallacy of his assumption. In my own calling, that of compositor, as in many others, not only was there no decrease of wages following the adoption of the nine-hour day, but on the contrary in several instances, owing to the absorption of surplus labour, the employes were able to enforce better terms. Even, however, should a diminution in wages follow from a decrease in the hours of work, there is to be set off against this the greater security of employment, and also the lessening of the tax for the support of the unemployed, to say nothing of the saving of labour-force; and surely if the workers are anything more than mere wealth-producing machines, their leisure-hours should be worth something for their own sake. It is quite conceivable, after all, that a man might have tenpence taken off his wage, and yet not be a loser. Mr. Bradlaugh appears to have arrived at the conclusion that the present rate of wages are absolutely perfect, and any change will only upset the delightful equilibrium at which we have arrived. He argues from the ridiculous theory of a fixed wage-fund. That is to say, the "margin for profit" or the difference between, say, 15 and 5 per cent. dividend on tramways, match-making, etc., is sacred, and cannot be utilised in employing those out of work or in lessening the toil of those working 12, 14, and 15 hours per day. In other words, the bulk of the workers must be content to be fleeced and overworked and the remainder to become paupers, tramps—outcasts of society. As to the concluding sentence as to strikes, it is constantly urged by Socialists that strikes are costly, cumbersome, and ineffective remedies, as a solution of the labour question; but in the unqualified way in which Mr. Bradlaugh speaks, I as a worker can only say the statement as reported is an absolute lie.

T. BINNING.

One monster there is in the world—the idle man.—*Carlyle*.

To live on the unpaid labour of other men—that is blasphemy. To enslave your fellow-man, to put chains upon his body—that is blasphemy.—*Ingersoll*.

Give the people food and justice, and the trade of demagogue is at an end.—*Ernest Jones*.

Access to what is necessary for the well-being of all should never depend on the self-interest of one. No man has a right to take more from society than the value of what he confers on society.—*Ernest Jones*.

REVOLUTIONARY CALENDAR.

WEEK ENDING MARCH 24, 1888.

25	Sun.	1812. Alex. Herzen born. 1879. Attempted Execution of Drenteln.
26	Mon.	1848. Insurrection at Madrid. 1869. Memorial Meeting for Ernest Jones in Trafalgar Square.
27	Tues.	1820. Hunt and others tried for their conduct at Peterloo. 1875. Edgar Quinet died.
28	Wed.	1757. Damiens Executed. 1883. Ten Members of the Irish "Patriotic Brotherhood" sentenced. 1884. Socialist Congress at Roubaix, France.
29	Thur.	1875. John Martin died. 1879. Lock-out at Pimlico Army Clothing Factory. 1884. Riots at Cincinnati.
30	Fri.	1135. Maimonides born. 1870. Negro Suffrage in United States. 1874. Rochefort escapes from New Caledonia. 1881. Arrest of John Most and committal for trial, seizure of <i>Freiheit</i> plant, etc. 1882. Execution of Strelnikoff at Odessa.
31	Sat.	1883. Sentries posted at New Law Courts, Somerset House, etc., hitherto unguarded.

*Death of Edgar Quinet.*—Edgar Quinet, philosopher, poet, historian, and politician, was born at Bourg (Ain Department), February 17, 1803; died at Versailles, March 27, 1875. In 1823, he published his first work, 'Tablettes du Juif Errant' (Notes of the Wandering Jew), and two years afterwards he translated Herder's 'Ideas on the Philosophy of Universal History,' opening it by a masterly introduction, which was enthusiastically received and recommended by Goethe. In 1827, he went to Germany in order to study philology, and became acquainted with Niebuhr, Schlegel, Tieck, Uhland, Daub, and Fr. Creutzer. As a result of his studies he wrote an 'Essay on the Works of Herder,' and a book entitled, 'Origin of Gods.' On his return he was sent to Greece by the French Government, and assisted in the resurrection of that heroic little folk; 1830 he published 'Greece in its Relations to Antiquity.' He warmly acknowledged the Revolution of July in France, and began to write his first political works, continuing therewith his literary and philosophical writings. Successively appeared: 'Revolution and Philosophy,' 'Philosophy in its Relations to Political History,' 'Germany and the Revolution,' 'Political System of Germany,' 'The Bohemian Epopees,' 'The Genius of the Epic Traditions of Northern Germany,' and 'Art in Germany.' These were followed by a wonderful work, "The Unedited Epopees of the XII. Century," revealing to France three centuries of its literary history. In his 'Warning to the Monarchy of 1830' he affirmed his democratic and republican ideas, prophesying seventeen years beforehand the decay and the fall of the bourgeois kingdom and the coming of the Republic of 1848. In his work on 'The Future of Religions' he concluded at the annihilation of all the old religious dogmas, and put forward justice and freedom as sole creed worthy of mankind. Then came 'Ahasuerus,' a somewhat nebulous poem in prose; 'The Poets of Germany,' 'Homer,' 'The Latin Epopee,' 'Epic Poetry,' 'French Epopee,' 'Indian Epopee,' 'Unity of Modern Literature,' 'The Genius of Art,' and 'History of Epic Poetry.' On April 10, 1839, he was elected professor of foreign literature at the Faculté des Lettres of Lyons, and in July, 1841, the minister Villeman created purposely for him the class of meridional literature at the *Collège de France* at Paris. There, in conjunction with Michelet and Mickiewicz, the Polish exile, he fought bravely for the cause of religious and philosophical freedom, and experimented in energetic and masterly language the deadly mortal influence of the Jesuits upon the peoples of Southern Europe. His book, 'The Jesuits,' which appeared in 1848, was an event of European importance, and was soon translated in every tongue. The professor was denounced by reactionaries all over Europe. In 1842, he edited the 'Genius of Religions,' and the following year, after a visit to Spain and Portugal, 'The Inquisition and the Secret Societies in Spain,' and in 1844 'Ultramontanism, or Modern Society and the Roman Church.' In 1846, Guizot ordered his lessons to be suppressed. On the revolution of February 24, Quinet was soon a soldier, and entered armed to the Tuileries. The Parisian voters elected him to the National Assembly by 55,000 votes. He behaved himself very courageously during the insurrection of June. Being elected again to the legislative Assembly, he predicted the dictature and the *coup d'état* of December, 1851. As a matter of fact the new Emperor proscribed him, and he lived an exile at Brussels from 1851 to 1858, and in Switzerland at Vevaux from 1858 to 1871. In Belgium he wrote his 'History of the Foundation of the United Provinces,' 'Marnix de St. Aldegonde,' the 'Philosophy of the History of France,' and afterwards an autobiography entitled 'History of my Ideas.' In Switzerland he wrote 'Merlin the Enchanter,' the 'History of the Campaign of 1815,' 'Poland and Rome,' 'France and Italy.' In 1868 appeared 'The Revolution,' which provoked numerous political and historical controversies, to which he answered successfully. In February, 1871, Paris elected him by 200,000 votes. His last years were not very eventful. As poet he was mediocre, as philosopher somewhat nebulous and mystical, but he was a prominent historian and a far-seeing politician, and fond of justice and freedom. As a mere author he is a poetical, warm, eloquent, and vigorous writer.—V. D.

*Death of John Martin.*—John Martin, Nationalist M.P. for Meath. Like his friend John Mitchel, Martin was of Ulster; by religion a Presbyterian, and one of the men of '48 who was by force of events driven to take a course which brought him in conflict with the representatives of law and order, and secured for him transportation. In a fortnight from Mitchel's trial was issued the *Irish Tribune*, and a fortnight after that appeared one of the ablest of the papers produced to advocate the Irish cause, this was the *Irish Felon*. Its editor and proprietor was John Martin, a quiet country gentleman of County Down; he had hitherto been one of the quiet steady workers in all the national movements, but the scandalous proceedings of Mitchel's trial, and the fever of the times had affected Martin as most others. The Government adopted similar tactics to those lately tried by Balfour the Brave (?), the police had orders to seize the vendors and stop the sale anyhow, the offices were raided, presses seized and type smashed, and papers and documents taken. On August 14th, Martin was sentenced to 10 years' transportation; as also was O'Doherty of the *Tribune*. In 1858 he returned to Ireland, and for some time took very little part in public matters; in 1864 he was busy helping to form the National League, with the idea of effecting by open and constitutional means the reforms which were necessary, and which the Fenian organisation headed by Stephens hoped to effect by secret and forcible methods. On December 8th, 1867, Dublin was the scene of an immense funeral demonstration in memory of Allen Larkin and O'Brien, hanged at Salford for the Manchester rescue business; for taking part in this John Martin, A. M. Sullivan, J. J. Lalor, and T. Bracken were summoned as being seditious persons, and only after a severe fight were freed by disagreement of the jury. In December, 1869, Martin was put forward as Nationalist candidate for Longford, in opposition to Mr. Greville Nugent, and although Martin was badly beaten (he was in America), it was one of the most important election fights on record, as it was a fight against priestly dictation as well as for a seat.

In May, 1870, Martin took part in the formation of "The Home Government Association of Ireland." At this meeting Isaac Butt proposed the great resolution, and from then became the Irish leader. At the bye-election, 1871, Martin was returned M.P. for Meath, and at the general election of 1874 he was re-elected, and sat until his death, which was hastened if not caused by his affection for his life-long friend, John Mitchel. Martin was in London exceedingly ill when the news was received of Mitchel's illness. In spite of the protests of friends he left for Ireland, followed Mitchel to the grave, and before a week he, like his elder revolutionist, was done with revolution. He died aged 63, deeply respected by even his opponents and loved by his colleagues. Into his place stepped Charles Stewart Parnell, a similar rebel only more so.—T. S.

NATIONAL ANTHEM.

GOD save me, great John Bull!  
Long keep my pocket full!  
God save John Bull!  
Ever victorious,  
Haughty, vain-glorious,  
Snobbish, censorious,  
God save John Bull!

O Lords, our gods arise!  
Tax all our enemies!  
Make tariffs fall!  
Confound French politics,  
Frustrate all Russian tricks,  
Get Germans in a fix,  
God bless them all!

Interview with regard to the Report drawn up by a leading Member of the Disorderly House Committee, and presented to the Vestry of St. George's, Hanover Square.

For ten weeks had we waited for Warren's reply  
To the letter we wrote,  
Looking eagerly out as the postman went by  
And brought never a note.  
"How is that for politeness?" said Hobbhouse and I.

It was not as if nothing had happened before  
That could make us expect  
That the man on good manners would set little store;  
For one must recollect  
He'd behaved like a Bruin whose head-piece is sore.

You'll remember he suddenly altered the plan  
That with never a break  
Had been working for years with success, and began  
Such excuses to make  
As had taught us to measure the mind of the man.

So we sought Mr. Matthews, and begged him to say  
If he really supposed  
It was right to let Warren go on in this way;  
And the interview closed  
With a snub that his worship was bound to obey.

You'd have thought this would settle the question, but no,  
Not a bit of it, Sir;  
For no sooner than Matthews had turned him to go,  
This incurable cur  
Gat him back to his vomit, if I may say so.

And since all we are offered for bread is a stone,  
My Lord Hobbhouse and I  
Think it best for the Vestry to let it alone;  
For it's useless to try  
To get anything out of Sir Charles, we must own.

He pretends what we ask for is not in his beat;  
And it surely were hard  
For unfairness elsewhere to find ought to compete  
With our own Scotland Yard.  
Dublin Castle henceforth, Sir, must take a back seat.

But the wrath of the public is now on the swell,  
For Sir Charles has supplied  
By his own good intents a new pavement in hell,  
And ere long will its tide  
Sweep himself to perdition and Matthews as well.

J. L. J.

THE SOCIALIST LEAGUE.

OFFICES: 13 FARRINGTON ROAD, E.C.

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

**London Members.**—The London Members' Meeting will, owing to Easter Holidays, be held on Monday April 9th.

**Branch Subscriptions Paid.**—1887: Hastings, Nottingham, Pelsall—Nov. Bradford, Croydon, Glasgow, Hackney, Ipswich, Leeds, Marylebone, Meath, North London, Norwich—to end of March. Edinburgh—to end of May. Mitcham—to end of July. Walsall—to end of August. Hull—to end of September. Bloomsbury, Walham Green, Wednesday—to end of October. Leicester—to end of November. Clerkenwell, Hammersmith, Hoxton, Mile-end, Oxford—to end of December.

Annual Conference.

The Fourth Annual Conference of the Socialist League will be held at 13 Farrington Road, on Whitsunday, May 20. The attention of Branches is particularly referred to (1) Rule V. on the subject of the annual conference, pp. 3 and 4 of Constitution and Rules; and (2) that all branches wishing to be represented at the Conference must pay their subscription up to the 31st March by May 1st.

"COMMONWEAL" PRINTING FUND.

Rayment, 2s. 6d. *Weekly Subscriptions*—Omitted on March 10th: C. J. F., 2s. 6d.; K. F., 1s.; Langley, 2s.; P. W., 6d.; Oxford Branch, 2s. For March 24th: C. J. F., 2s. 6d.; K. F., 1s.; Langley, 2s.; P. W., 6d.; Oxford Branch, 2s.; W. B., 6d.



## REPORTS.

**CLERKENWELL.**—On Sunday, March 18, we held a very successful Commune celebration, short speeches being given by Mrs. Schack, J. Turner, J. Pope, Dan Chatterton, H. A. Barker, and W. Blundell. Songs and recitations, interspersed with music, were given by members and friends. The singing of the 'Marseillaise,' and three cheers for the Social Revolution, concluded a pleasant celebration.—B.

**HACKNEY.**—For several weeks past some members of the Hackney branch have been attending at Swaby's discussion rooms, Mile End Road. As a result, G. Cores was invited to open a discussion on the "Land Question" on Sunday evening last. No real opposition was given, the audience being very sympathetic. Comrades W. and E. Lefevre also spoke. Some pamphlets were sold, and a good number of leaflets distributed. The discussion is to be continued next Sunday evening by a Land Nationaliser.

**BIRMINGHAM.**—The French and English Socialists celebrated the Commune on Monday evening by a dinner, with speeches, the 'Marseillaise,' and other songs. This is the first celebration held in Birmingham, and we intend carrying it out on a larger scale next year.—A. T.

**LEEDS.**—Sunday last we commemorated the Paris Commune. Speeches delivered in English and Jewish. Comrades from Huddersfield paid us a visit.

**LEICESTER.**—Sunday last, 23 sat down to tea at 26, King Street. After tea a short address on the Paris Commune was given, and Barclay, Robson, Fowkes, Warner, Holmes, and others joined in discussion. Several ladies and Nottingham friends were present, and names and subscriptions were taken towards the formation of a Socialist club.

**GLASGOW.**—The heroic effort of the workers of Paris in 1871 to rid themselves of the domination of the selfish and privileged classes, was celebrated on Saturday in our rooms. Many appropriate songs and speeches from comrades and friends. On Sunday, by the holding of three very successful outdoor meetings at St. George's Cross 3 p.m., Paisley Road Toll at 5; and Infirmary Square at 7, the speakers being Gilbert, Glasier, Pollock, McLean, and Downie.—S. D.

**NOTTINGHAM.**—Celebration of the Commune on Saturday very successful. After tea Wame took the chair and gave a good account of the Commune. Proctor followed, and moved that the resolution in *Commonweal* be sent to papers; Doleman seconded. Songs, etc., during the evening by Messrs. Osborn, Dunn, and Drinkwater, and Mrs. Dunn closed with the 'Marseillaise.'—W. D.

**NORWICH.**—Large meetings at Ber Street in the morning and in the Market in afternoon, addressed by Mowbray and Mark Manley (of London). In Gordon Hall in the evening, Manley lectured on the Commune. Resolution which appeared in *Commonweal* carried unanimously. On Monday, successful tea in Gordon Hall, after which speeches, interspersed with revolutionary songs and music by the branch band.

**WALSALL.**—Monday night, Sanders lectured on "The Meaning of Socialism." On Saturday we celebrated the Commune, Sketchley (Birmingham) delivering address; Sanders and Guillemand (a French comrade) also spoke; Deakin in chair. An open-air meeting was held previous to indoor one.—J. T. D.

**LONDON PATRIOTIC CLUB.**—Last Sunday evening, some members of the Socialist League choir attended at this club, and sang revolutionary songs in commemoration of the Paris Commune of 1871.

**DUBLIN.**—The Dublin Socialist Club celebrated anniversary of the Commune last Sunday, at 2, Bachelor's Walk. Large attendance; T. Fitzpatrick in chair. Addresses explaining the principles and aims of the Paris Commune by chairman, King, O'Gorman, O'Connor, Swords, and Cculon. At close of meeting Coulon sang the 'Marseillaise' in French. A telegram of greeting from the Socialist League, London, was read amid great applause.

**EDINBURGH.**—On 18th, Tuke lectured on "The Religion of Socialism." Brisk discussion, in which the indefatigable Job Bone, a pillar of capitalism well known to Socialist lecturers, was severely handled.

**SHEFFIELD SOCIALISTS.**—Monday the 12th, met at St. Barnabas Club-room, when Raymond Unwin lectured on "Socialism and Happiness." After the lecture a question referring to co-operative manufacture very ably replied to.—M. A. M.

## LECTURE DIARY.

## LONDON.

- Acton.**—17 High Street, Acton, W. (adjoining Purcell's Dining Rooms). Sunday March 25, at 8 p.m.
- Bloomsbury.**—Communist Club, 49 Tottenham Street, Tottenham Court Road. Thursday March 22, Special Business Meeting for Branch only.
- Clerkenwell.**—Hall of the Socialist League, 13 Farringdon Rd., E.C. Business meeting every Sunday at 7. Sunday March 25, at 8.30, A. K. Donald, "Punishment and Prevention of Crime." Wednesday 23, at 8.30, H. H. Sparling, "The Last Revolution."
- Fulham.**—8 Effie Road, Walham Green. Sunday at 8.
- Hackney.**—28 Percy Terrace, Victoria Road, Hackney Wick. SPECIAL NOTICE.—All members are requested to attend at Berners Street Club at 9 p.m. Important business.
- Hammersmith.**—Kelmecott House, Upper Mall, W. Sunday at 8.

**Hoxton (L.E.L.).**—New premises, 1 Hoxton Square. C. J. Young, 8 Dunloe St., Hackney Rd., Secretary.

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

**Mile-end and Bethnal Green.**—95 Boston St., Hackney Road. Business Meeting every Thursday at 9 p.m. Debating Class for members after Business Meeting.

## PROVINCES.

**Aberdeen (Scottish Section).**—Sunday night meetings in Baker Street Hall, at 6. Secretary, J. Leatham, 15 St. Nicholas Street.

**Birmingham.**—Meetings at Summer Row Coffee House every Saturday evening at 8.

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

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

**Cowdenbeath (Scot. Sec.).**—J. Duncan, 30 Arthur Pl., sec

**Dublin.**—Saturday Club, Central Lecture Hall, 12 Westmorland Street.

**Dundee (Scot. Sect.).**—William Morris will lecture in the Barrack Street Hall on Tuesday 27th.

**Edinburgh (Scottish Section).**—4 Park Street. Every Thursday at 8, class for study of Marx's 'Capital.' On Friday 23rd, 8 p.m., William Morris will lecture in Assembly Rooms, Constitution Street, Leith, on "Monopoly"; and on Monday 26th, 8 p.m., in Trades Hall, 142 High Street, Edinburgh, on "The Society of the Future." Admission 1s., 6d., and 3d.

**Galashiels (Scot Sect.).**—J. Walker, 6 Victoria St., sec.

**Gallatown and Dysart (Scottish Section: Fife).**—Meet every Tuesday at 7 p.m. in Gallatown Public School. Secretary, A. Paterson, 152 Rosslyn St.

**Glasgow.**—84 John St. Reading-room open 10 a.m. till 10 p.m. daily. On Sunday March 25, at 7 p.m., William Morris will lecture in the Waterloo Grand Hall, on "Art and Industry in the Fourteenth Century." Tickets 3d., 6d., and 1s. Those desirous of meeting comrade Morris will be in Rooms at 12 o'clock on Sunday.

**Leeds.**—Lady Lane. Open every evening. Business meeting Fridays at 8. Address all communications to T. Paylor, 11 Sheldon Street, Holbeck, Leeds.

**Leicester.**—Hosiery Union, Horsefair St. Fridays at 8.

**Lochgelly (Scottish Section: Fife).**—Secs. (pro tem.), John Greig and Hugh Conway, The Square.

**Norwich.**—Gordon Hall, 5 Duke Street. Monday at 8, Entertainment by the Minstrel Troupe, on behalf of the funds of the lock-out men—tickets, 3d. Tuesday at 8.30, Members meeting. Wednesday at 8.30, Ways and Means Committee. Thursday at 8, Band practice. Friday at 8.30, Literary Committee. Saturday, open from 8 till 10.30.

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

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

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

**West Calder (Scottish Section).**—Sec., Robert Lindsay, West Calder. William Morris will lecture on Saturday 24th, at 7.30 p.m., in Peoples' Hall.

## OPEN-AIR PROPAGANDA.

## LONDON—Sunday 25.

- 11 ... Acton—the Steyne ..... Aston Branch
- 11 ... Turnham Green—Front Common ..... Ham'smith
- 11.30... Hoxton Church, Pitfield St. .... Nicol
- 11.30... Merton—Haydons Road..... The Branch
- 11.30... Regent's Park ..... Parker
- 11.30... St. Pancras Arches ..... Bloomsbury Branch
- 11.30... Walham Green ..... Fulham Branch
- 3.30... Hyde Park ..... Mainwarding and others
- 7 ... Acton—Priory ..... Acton Branch

## PROVINCES.

**Norwich.**—Market Place, at 3 every Sunday.

**The Strike Fund.**—Entertainments will be given on Saturday evenings in the Hall of the League, at 8 p.m., in aid of the above Fund. Friends wishing to assist with songs, recitations, instrumental music, etc., should at once communicate with W. B. Parker, at office of League. First Entertainment, March 24th.

**East-end Socialist Club.**—A Grand Vocal and Instrumental Concert will be given in Hall of League, at 8 p.m., on Easter Monday, April 2nd, in aid of funds of projected East-end Club.

**SPECIAL NOTICE.**—The members and delegates of the East-end Branches will meet on Sunday evening the 25th inst. at 1 Hoxton Square, Hoxton, 6 o'clock.

**PROGRESSIVE ASSOCIATION,** Penton Hall, 81 Pentonville Road.—Sunday March 25, at 7 p.m., Rev. Stewart Headlam, "Sins that Cause Poverty."

**LEYTONSTONE WORKING MEN'S CLUB,** 1 Cathall Rd., Leytonstone.—Sunday March 25, 11.30 a.m., H. Halliday Sparling on "What Socialists Want."

**INTERNATIONAL WORKING MEN'S EDUCATIONAL CLUB,** 40 Berner Street, Commercial Road, E.—On Tuesday March 27th a Grand Concert and Dramatic Entertainment will take place at the above in aid of

the *Workers' Friend*, on which occasion the *Commonweal* Company will perform "The Tables Turned, or Nupkins Awakened," by Wm. Morris. Programmes, 6d. each, can be had of the Secretary of the S. L. and at the Club.

**SOCIALIST CO-OPERATIVE FEDERATION.**—Meeting at *Commonweal* Office, 13 Farringdon Road, on Sunday March 25, at 3.30 p.m.

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ENGAGEMENTS.

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And at all Branch Meeting-Places and Outdoor-Stations of the Socialist League.

[We publish this very incomplete list in the hope that friends will make it their business to supply us with fuller details. Newsagents not included here are requested to supply their names for publication.]

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# THE COMMONWEAL

The Official Journal of the Socialist League.

VOL. 4.—No. 116.

SATURDAY, MARCH 31, 1888.

WEEKLY; ONE PENNY.

## NOTES ON NEWS.

THE most noticeable event of the past week in England has been the introduction of Mr. Ritchie's County Government Bill, and the discussion thereupon. This great attempt at decentralisation is perhaps more interesting to us, because it shows how revolutionary all parties are now compelled to be, than for any other reason. Upon the ordinary political press it has come as a great surprise, and as a result the organs of "public opinion" have for the most part sought refuge in platitude, and wait for the swing of the tide.

So far-reaching and "revolutionary" is the measure, and so inchoate withal, that it will take a good deal of thrashing out in Committee before we can quite see how much grain will come out and what of it is mere chaff.

No doubt a certain proportion of the Bill is mere "deck-load," put there on the chance of going through, and ready to go overboard when rough weather begins, but the bulk of it clearly shows that Mr. Ritchie is, up to his light, an honest and painstaking man, who has tried in all ways to be fair all round. With such a multitude of conflicting interests as he has had to consider, it is no marvel that his Bill looks by no means like an organic whole.

Publicans and teetotallers have, of course, at once fallen out over the clauses affecting them, and are, if we may trust their manifestoes, going to "fight to the death" in the matter. The Board of Works does not seem to have any fight in it; its impending fate seeming even to it, mayhap, to be richly deserved. Other "interests" will be heard from later on.

Against the proposal to leave the metropolitan police in the hands of the Government for the time being, our Radical friends may be trusted to strive with all their might; but in view of the fact that a Liberal Government would find such a weapon just as useful as do the Tories, and have done so many a time, and that all the forces of law'n-order will be arrayed against any proposal for placing the moral-miracles under popular control, there is little hope that they can succeed.

Meanwhile, the necessity of such control is being proved over and over again with every week that passes. On the 21st, "I, Warren," the Christian swashbuckler and bravo, who has been lately boasting of his divine mission to "save society" (*à la* Gallifet, apparently), met with a public rebuke from the mild lips of Matthews for his "want of decorum and good taste" in the case of St. Bloy. In the mouth of a man it would have been a stern rebuke, from the official it came as an apologetic reproach.

"I, Warren" had held an "impartial secret inquiry" into the conduct of a policeman, in which only police evidence was taken, and on the strength of this had insulted a magistrate for hearing other witnesses when they contradicted a moral-miracle. Upon enquiry, Mr. Matthews wriggled and shuffled and would not answer, but had it forced from him that Warren had shown a "want of decorum and good taste."

Just before this happened, another magistrate—Mr. Vaughan, of all men!—had fined a constable named Poole, and made him pay for damage done to a girl's dress. In doing so, he strongly commented on the "singular inhumanity" of the moral-miracle, together with other agreeable graces that will no doubt soon place Poole, along with Endacott and Bloy, on the roll of those whom Warren delighteth to honour.

A couple of days afterwards at the Thames Police-court, the name of Dales was added to the list. In arresting a man for an alleged assault, he had beaten his victim's face into a ghastly mass of cuts and bruises. His plea was that the prisoner "resisted and assaulted" him, but he was unable to show a single mark of said "resistance and assault," or call a witness. Whereupon Mr. Bennett censured the constable and discharged the prisoner.

Having set his hand to the plough, of course the servant of the Lord(s) of the land may not look back. Or, in less Biblical phrase, having taken in hand the task, for a consideration, of beating out rebellious brains, he cannot afford to lose any chance of strengthening

and making irresponsible the tools of his work. Wherefore we may look for more "secret and impartial" enquiries and further breaches of "decorum and good taste."

If his eye was on Ireland the other day he might have noticed a genius worthy to be enrolled a defender of Trafalgar Square—District-Inspector Hamilton, who "considered cheering for Mr. Blunt and Lady Anne Blunt worse than using sticks and stones!" And of such is the Arm of the Law!

At the meeting of the Ballinasloe Guardians on the 21st, the case of Peggy Dillon, the Aughrim midwife, was brought before them, as she had applied for outdoor relief. She is a highly respectable woman and a good midwife and could live very well until Balfour the Brave destroyed her livelihood for the sake of a rhetorical point. What a comment on the meanness of this "ruler of men"! His itching vanity can stoop to crush a poor woman to show his power and to repeat in parrot-fashion the "reasons" for his action put into his mouth by paid informers and men fitted to be even *his* tools!

In Dublin when he was there lately, a little story was floating about, which if *non vero* is at least *ben trovato*. Balfour is, or affects to be, under the impression that the whole Irish people is groaning under the "tyranny of the League," and that he is their true deliverer. Meeting at dinner a Bishop well-known for his wide knowledge of the land and people, he asked if it were true that the Irish people disliked him, whereon quoth the Bishop, "If they but hated the devil as they hate you, my profession would be gone!"

At the Mansion House on the 22nd, a "largely-attended meeting" was held on behalf of the "Irish Distressed Ladies Fund." The position of these poor people is, no doubt, pathetic; brought up from infancy to look for food without work, and now thrown upon the chance of charity. But one is constrained to think of the thousands, *not* ladies, who are distressed and starving in Ireland and England also, to whom no Mansion House is open wherein to beg or be begged for.

Mr. W. E. H. Lecky made an ill-omened remark in the course of his speech. "He thought that the distress resembled in some degree that which occurred a hundred years ago when French refugees flocked to England." And none who heard him said *Absit omen!* at least, aloud.

*Jus* takes a new departure in the last number that will make some of its readers sit up. I am glad to see that the smart pens which do the leaders for *Jus* are no longer to be trammelled by respect for the prejudices and selfish greed of the large majority of the L.P.D.L. An honest enemy is the very thing that we need most, and if *Jus* can only cut loose from the Lords of Land and Lust, and stand out squarely on Individualist lines, pandering to no man's pride, and paltering to no man's prejudice, it will receive no heartier welcome than from the men it seeks to oppose. The extract in another column looks as if this were to happen. S.

## THE NATIONAL DEBT AND ITS CONVERSION.

It has been well said that Usury is the grand means by which nations are plundered and peoples enslaved. It has been the curse and scourge of the human race. It was one of the primary causes of the ruin of all the States of antiquity, and it is ruining all the States of Europe. It binds the nations in a bondage more iniquitous than that of the Israelites of old, and dooms to slavery tens of millions yet unborn. And all for the benefit of a few great vampires.

As the question of the English debt is so prominently before the public, it may be as well to take a glance at the debt and see whether repudiation would not be the proper course to pursue.

Many people believe that the National Debt represents so much really lent to the Government. And the money having been lent to the Government—for whatever purpose—it is a debt of honour, and ought to be held sacred. Even the measure of Goschen is condemned as an act of injustice towards the fund-holders, as an act which working men above all ought to condemn. Nay, even working men condemn the measure as one of robbery, of wilful spoliation. That any men, and especially working men, should be so blind to their own interests, so ignorant of the facts of history, indicates at once the great need

there is for a thorough examination of the various means by which the wealth-producing classes are robbed of the great mass of the wealth produced by their labour. Very many years ago, it was pointed out by the old Radicals that while the army and navy belong to the Crown, the Church to the Crown and the aristocracy, and the land with all its minerals to the aristocracy, the Debt belonged to the people. The people need to bear these facts in mind when talking about this debt and its conversion.

The national debt, with the modern funding system, dates from the period of the revolution of 1688, and was the result of the great "No Rent" manifesto of 1660, when the landlords in Parliament assembled, repudiated their feudal obligations, and placed on the shoulders of the people the expenses of government. One feature in the funding system is that the lender is always credited with more than he lends, and the nation always has to pay interest on money the government never received. As, for instance, during the reign of William III. the government borrowed £34,034,518, but the lenders were credited with £44,100,795, and the nation had to pay interest on the latter sum. Take the case of Turkey. In 1874, her debt amounted to £182,981,782, but over fifty-seven millions of that she never received. As samples, take the three great loans. In 1865, there was a loan of £36,363,362, of which she received only £17,272,717. In 1873, another loan of £28,000,000, of which she got £18,240,000. And in 1874, a loan of £40,000,000, of which she only received £16,140,000. But if we turn to Egypt the case is even worse. Up to 1882 the total amount received by the Egyptian Government was only a little over *forty-nine millions*. She had repaid over *seventy millions*, and still owed over *ninety-eight millions*.

Let us now take the English debt. In January 1816 the funded debt was returned at £816,311,939. But no one pretended for a moment that the Government had received that amount. Still for many years the country knew but little about what the Government did receive. It was known that the stock representing the old debt up to 1792 had been converted into new stock, and the eight hundred and odd millions really represented new debt. The late Thos. Attwood and other leading authorities always contended that the debt did not really represent more than four hundred and eighty millions, but when the accounts were published the case was even worse, and stood as follows:

Funded Debt	...	...	£816,311,939
Paid into Exchequer	...	...	476,721,058
Difference	...	...	£339,590,881
Forming a large part of the debt was what were termed the Three Per Cents, amounting to	...	...	£580,916,019
Paid into the Exchequer	...	...	348,519,612
Difference	...	...	£232,396,407

The arrangement was this. Every person lending to the Government £60 was credited with having lent £100, but lent at 3 per cent. But in paying them off, £100 (and not £60) was to be paid.

Again, the great bulk of the debt was incurred when all the necessities of life were at famine prices; or in other words, the bulk of the debt was contracted in a depreciated currency, when cash payments were suspended, and the country flooded with a paper currency, to enable the Government to carry on the war against Napoleon. But the bondholders had to be paid the interest in gold, and after 1823 cash payments were resumed and the £1 notes in England withdrawn. Prices of all commodities were brought down and the wages of labour everywhere reduced. Rents also fell, but not in proportion to the fall in prices. But the debt was kept up to its full nominal amount. In 1856 Mr. Ed. C. Cayley, of the Inner Temple, in the second volume of his *European Revolutions*, shows that the debt, if it had been reduced to a gold standard like everything else, the £476,000,000 paid into the Exchequer ought to have represented about 40 per cent. less, when the debt of £816,000,000 would have represented only £332,000,000. Yet see how the matter stood in 1881: Interest paid, 1801 to 1881, £2,231,900,000, and debt still due £768,703,692. Since then we have about £174,000,000 more, and still the debt remains. Here is plunder on a gigantic scale! More than £2,405,000,000 paid on a debt of £332,000,000, and about £760,000,000 still owing!

And what is conversion? A practical recognition that the debt is not a just one. In 1717 the 6 per cents were reduced to 5; in 1727, to 4; and in 1749, to 3, reducing the charge for the debt £1,230,000 a-year. In 1822 £152,000,000 of 5 per cents were reduced to 4½, and by 1854 to 3 per cents. In 1824 another £75,000,000 of 4 per cents reduced to 3½, and in 1854 to 3 per cents. These and other reductions reduced the charge from £32,100,000 to £27,550,000, being a saving of £4,550,000 annually. In 1873-74 Gladstone dealt with nearly £200,000,000, and now Goschen proposes to deal with £458,000,000, which will take from the bondholders another £2,800,000 per annum. Now, all these conversions are so many repudiations. And if a part can be repudiated, so can the whole. And as the interest paid already amounts to more than *seven times* the amount of the debt when reduced to a gold standard, in which the interest is paid, it is a total and not a partial repudiation that ought to take place.

As to the mass of the population, it had no voice whatever in the matter. Even as far as parliamentary representation went, it was simply a sham. Out of 658 in 1830, 87 English peers returned, 218 members, 21 Scotch peers, 31 members, and 36 Irish peers, 51. Thus 144 nobles returned, 300 members to the House of Commons. Then 171 more were returned by 123 great commoners, and the government nominated 16.

Nor could the people protest by public meetings or otherwise. The Habeas Corpus Act was suspended for nine months in each of the years 1794, 1795, 1798, 1799. In 1800 for nine months; in 1803 for six months; and in 1806 for six months. The press, too, was gagged in the most effectual manner in 1795. Neither by public meeting nor through the press could the people protest.

The people, then, are under no obligation with regard to the debt. They never sanctioned it, they never recognised it. And even on the old constitutional principle that taxation without representation is tyranny, the debt ought to be swept away.

The funding system is a gross swindle, a gigantic scheme for the plunder of the workers. Coupled therewith is the whole system of usury, which takes from the people at least *two hundred and fifty millions a-year*, the profits of the Stock Exchange alone, according to Mulhall, taking *one hundred and fifty-five millions six hundred thousand a-year*.

J. SKETCHLEY.

## REVOLUTIONARY CALENDAR.

WEEK ENDING APRIL 7, 1888.

1	Sun.	1282. Sicilian Vespers. 1815. Bismark born. 1820. Radical disturbances in Glasgow. 1848. Republican attempted Invasion of Belgium. 1872. F. D. Maurice died. 1878. Greek Insurrection.
2	Mon.	1793. Great Slave Trade Debate. 1865. Richard Cobden died. 1871. Versailles attack Paris. 1878. Lord Leitrim killed.
3	Tues.	1854. Wendell Phillips and Theodore Parker tried for aiding runaway slaves. 1871. Gustave Flourens killed.
4	Wed.	1774. Goldsmith died.
5	Thur.	1794. Danton and Desmoulins died. 1814. Napoleon banished to Elba. 1820. Battle of Bonnybridge.
6	Fri.	1669. Rousseau born. 1780. Commons vote that influence of Crown should be diminished. 1809. Arrest of Sir F. Burdett.
7	Sat.	1772. Fourier born. 1820. Klapka born. 1881. Irish Land Bill introduced.

*Radical Disturbances.*—As a demonstration in favour of reform, the working-classes of Glasgow and its neighbourhood, for the most part struck work on April 1, 1820. Weavers, colliers, cotton-spinners, machine-makers, and founders all came out. Thereupon great "military precautions" were taken, the "mob" harassed in a hundred ways, and the "ring-leaders" arrested, in order to provoke a riot. As, however, they failed to do more than get up a passing disturbance, the people never losing their self-control, the "saviours of society" made the remark now grown so familiar, that if they had been in earnest they would not have been so quiet!—S.

*Republican attempt to invade Belgium.*—The Republican attempt to invade Belgium in order to overthrow the Monarchy is known in history under the name of the Affair of Risquous-tout, the little frontier village where the whole affair was fought out. Lamartine, the head of the French Government, having allowed all the unemployed foreigners living at Paris to be sent back to their respective countries at the expense of the French Budget, some 2,000 Belgians intended to return home; but, imbued as they were with the new ideas prevailing in France, they tried to enter their native country determined to proclaim a Belgian Republic. Delescluze, later a member of the Paris Commune, being at that time General Commissioner of the French Republic in the North Department, ordered guns to be distributed to the Belgian legion as it came through Lille and Valenciennes. However, the Belgian Government having been informed of the attempt by the very commander of the legion, Colonel Belvaque, sent to the spot a regiment of infantry and some two or three batteries of artillery, under the command of General Fleury-Duray. They met at the village of Risquous-tout, and the Republicans were easily defeated. The battle only lasted half-an-hour, with a few dead and a few wounded on both sides. In its issue of April 3, 1848, the *Débat Social*, a Radical paper issued at Brussels, publicly accused M. Frère-Orban, then Minister of Public Works, of having concocted the whole affair with Colonel Belvaque, but he, of course, emphatically denied the statement. Thirty-six years afterwards, in 1884, the same Frère-Orban, then Premier of Belgium, openly avowed in the Belgian Chamber that he really had bribed Belvaque, and by so doing had "saved" his beloved country from the horrors of a Republican invasion!—V. D.

*Death of F. D. Maurice.*—John Frederick Denison Maurice, born at Normanston, near Lowestoft, Suffolk, 1805; the son of a Unitarian minister. Entered at 18, Trinity College, Cambridge, but not caring to subscribe to the 39 Articles, left without going up for his degree; repented of this, however, and took his B.A. in 1831 and his M.A. in 1855; was appointed chaplain and reader at Lincoln's Inn, and then theological professor in King's College, London, 1846, but his hell, not being hot enough for the very orthodox, the usual cry of the bigot was raised and he retired. He was a voluminous writer. One biographer says "he published too much; he had a very imperfect sense of historical development and his theological works . . . are very difficult to understand," perhaps holding the professorship of moral philosophy and giving a course of "Lectures on Casuistry" may account for the mental fog. Our chief concern with Maurice is that in conjunction with Tom Hughes, Kingsley, Gerald Massey, and others, he was concerned in the "Christian Socialist" movement of 1848-50, which did so much directly for the co-operative movement and indirectly for Socialism. With the men just mentioned he was concerned in publishing *Politics for the People*—of which seventeen numbers appeared—and the *Christian Socialist*. He was one of the prime movers in founding the Working-men's College, Great Ormond Street, which has done a really great work in popularising education; also in founding Queen's College for women. In 1828 was for a short time editor of the *Athenæum*; in 1839 editor of the *Educational Magazine*. After a busy life, pretty equally divided between doing away with our hell upon earth competition civilisation, and preaching away a possible hell after earth, he died April 1st, 1872, and was buried at Highgate Cemetery.—T. S.

*Death of Richard Cobden.*—Richard Cobden was born on June 3, 1804, at Heyshott, near Midhurst, Sussex. He was fourth of a family of eleven. His father, a small farmer, was an affectionate but somewhat too easy going sort of man to deal successfully with short crops and a long family, which in 1813 was broken up by ruin and sale of the farm. By this, Richard's spells of dame-school and sheep-tending were ended, and he was sent by an uncle to Yorkshire, where for five years he received "a disgusting mockery of an education." Next he was some five years in the counting-house of the same uncle, and in 1825 was promoted to the position of commercial traveller and saw much of the United



Kingdom. With two others he soon began business, and in a letter by himself dealing with this part of his life, is a passage which should give a shock to some of the people who talk so much of what can be done by "thrift":—"We introduced ourselves to Fort Bros., and we told our tale honestly, concealing nothing. In less than two years from 1830, we owed them £40,000 for goods which they had sent to us in Watling Street, upon no other security than our characters and knowledge of our business." . . . "Not possessed of £200 each." The venture turned out all right, but "thrift" had not much of a show there. That besides being a busy, shrewd business man, he was an earnest student there can be no doubt. Thorold Rogers says: "If exact and careful knowledge of history constitutes learning, Cobden was during the years of his political life the most learned speaker in the House of Commons," not that he confined himself to history, for his field covered political economy, international commerce, and general politics. He was also an accomplished linguist, and well read in several foreign literatures. In 1833 he visited France, the next year France and Switzerland; in 1835 he crossed to America; and in 1836 he had a six month's tour to Lisbon, Cadiz, Cairo, Egypt, and Turkey. In this same year he published a pamphlet on Russia, giving anonymously some rather novel views on the Russo-Turko-Anglo question, which excited much attention. Up to the time of issuing this work, he had not done very much public work except quite locally on municipal and educational affairs, but in 1837 he was candidate for Stockport, and fairly launched in public life. He was badly beaten at this election, only receiving 418 votes, although, just as if to show what representative government was in 1837, 17,000 people subscribed one penny each for a testimonial to him. At the presentation of the piece of plate Dan O'Connell was one of the speakers. Naturally, Cobden spoke much on the need of "vote by ballot." In the autumn of 1837, Cobden conceived the idea of using the Manchester Chamber of Commerce as an organisation against the Corn Laws, but later on it seemed better to form an association for the special purpose, and on the 10th January, 1839, a meeting was held which was really the formation of the "Anti-Corn Law League." Cobden recommended those present to invest part of their property, to save the rest from confiscation, and the advice was so far taken that £1,800 was at once subscribed, raised within a month to £6,136 10s. This shows there is warrant for saying that the Anti-Corn Law movement materially helped to break up the Chartist movement, and favoured the "Bagman's Millennium" of Free Trade, to the disadvantage of the greater changes aimed at by the Chartists and the Owenites. Compared with the Chartists, Cobden and his co-workers were as butter-milk to nitric acid; yet in the eyes of some to repeal the Corn Laws was revolution. In 1839, a deputation was emphatically told by a nobleman on whom they waited, that they would "as soon overturn the monarchy as effect the repeal of the Corn Laws." In seven years one job was done; pity not born. However one may regret the effect the Corn Law agitation had in killing the Chartist agitation, there can only be admiration for the splendid manner in which Cobden and his colleagues carried their work on; there has never been a movement with so small a scope and aim that has had the support, financial and otherwise, accorded to this; men of the ablest, and money without stint; at one meeting, for instance, £60,000 subscribed in an hour and a-half, and inside a month £150,000 raised. In 1841, Cobden was returned for Stockport. The first division on Mr. Villiers' annual motion against the Corn Duty after Cobden's return to the House, the Repealers were beaten by the tremendous odds of 393 to 30. "Impossible!" "Impracticable!" "Robbers!" "Murderers!" "Assassins!" Such were the greetings and charges, yet 26th of June, 1846, Cobden wrote to his wife, "Hurrah! hurrah! the Corn Bill is law, and now my work is done." In this last he was wrong, for he was concerned in many other important matters. The Free Trade Hall, Manchester, stands on the ground where in 1819 was done the massacre of Peterloo. Cobden bought and gave this site, and the hall was opened in 1848 with a League meeting. Cobden was a pretty constant opponent to England's "Jingo policy," and in 1857 had the honour of beating Palmerston's Ministry and causing a general election, which resulted in Cobden, Bright, and others of the Peace Policy being left out in the cold. Financial trouble fell upon Cobden just now, and the great hold he had on his co-workers' esteem was proved in the subscription of £40,531 odd, which was very privately subscribed to repair his losses, made by railway speculations in America. He had had £76,757 presented to him in 1846. In 1859 he was re-elected, and pressed by Palmerston and Russell to enter the Cabinet, but refused. His next great work was the commercial treaty with France. His was the influence which did away with the need for British subjects to carry passports in France, and reduced cost of postage. On several occasions he was proffered government place and pay, but refused. He died on Sunday, April 2, 1865, and is buried at Lavington, near a much loved son who had died young in 1856. About a year after his death his friends and co-workers founded the Cobden Club, "to encourage the growth and diffusion of those economical and political principles with which Mr. Cobden's name is associated." To estimate how much the Cobden Club is behind Cobden, it is only necessary to recall that the Duke of Argyll is one of their pamphleteers, expressing views which would make Cobden squirm in his grave could he but know. There is no doubt but that Cobden was far in front of most of the annual Cobden diners of to-day; so is a good man scorned by his admirers.—T. S.

**Lord Leitrim.**—A hard landlord, exacting from his tenants not only their rent to the uttermost farthing, but a more shameful tribute from their wives and daughters; pitiless and revengeful when thwarted, Lord Leitrim had made himself the best-hated man in Ireland. He had been a lieutenant-colonel in the army, and was physically daring, always went heavily armed, and had escaped former attempts. This time the "doers of wild justice" were determined to make sure, and esconced themselves in Cratlaghwood, a plantation four or five miles from Milford on the road to Derry. Lord Leitrim, with his confidential clerk, was being driven on an outside car to Derry to consult his solicitor—no doubt on more devil's work to be done on his estate. His valet, following in another car about a mile behind, came up to find the landlord and his clerk dead and the car-driver dying. The slayers meanwhile had escaped in a boat across Mulroy Bay, and were never traced. The whole country-side was with them.—S.

**Bonnybridge.**—On the morning of April 5, 1820, a member of the Kilsyth Stirlingshire Yeomanry, going to join his troop at Falkirk, was stooped by an armed party of Radicals who demanded his arms, which he refused and fled back to Kilsyth. From the commanding officer there he obtained ten men and a sergeant of the 10th Hussars, and the same number of Yeomanry to escort him, and an orderly who was going to Stirling on their way. They found that the Radicals had taken post on Bonnymuir, and when called on to surrender said they had come to fight. The Radicals then advanced to a stone dyke between two heights and fired some shots. The cavalry horses would not leap the dyke, and had to seek a gap; here the two parties met and a fierce fight began. After a good many wounds had been given and taken, the Radicals broke and ran, several being taken prisoners.—S.

**Trial of Socialists.**—At the Old Bailey, before Mr. Justice Cave, began the trial of John Burns, Henry Hyde Champion, Henry Mayers Hyndman, and John Edward Williams, for uttering seditious words and conspiring together to utter seditious words on February 8th in Trafalgar Square. Attorney-General (Sir Charles Russell, Q.C.), R. S. Wright, and Charles Matthews conducted the prosecution on the part of the Crown. Let their names be knitted in. W. Thompson appeared in defence of Burns and Williams; Champion and Hyndman fought their own fight. Mr. Justice Cave proved himself an impartial judge, and after a five day's effective Socialist propagandist exhibition, reported

by the column in every sort of paper, the accused were declared "Not Guilty," and Socialists scored once more against Government. (See REV. CAL., *Commonwealth*, 11-2-'88, Feb. 17th).—T. S.

**Irish Land Bill introduced by W. E. Gladstone.**—Ruin, famine, revolt, coercion, and grudging concession—such is the cycle of what is called "Government" in Ireland. Doses of murder by starvation and its fever, alternating with murder outright by bullet and bludgeon; "Don't hesitate to shoot." In 1870, a really important Act was passed, important in conception and draft, but minimised much by self-interest; between 1871 and 1880, 28 or 30 different bills were introduced by the Irish party to secure a reality of justice to their constituents, all without avail. In 1879 Ireland's people were again in the pangs of famine. In 1876 the potatoe crop was valued at £12,464,382; in 1879 the value was £3,341,028! In weight the average for ten years was 60,752,910 cwts., while in 1879 the yield was only 22,273,520 cwt. Well might Cobbett call the potatoe "a cursed lazy treacherous root." The natural outcome of this was fearful suffering throughout the whole of Ireland, some struggles against death—crime, outrage—and then more outrage—this time called Law and Order. The Land League is formed and gets strong. Suddenly, March, 1880, having been doored over the Water Monopoly Swindle, Disraeli appeals to the country with a violent Anti-Irish Manifesto, and gets a worse knock-down blow, for May, 1880, saw Gladstone Prime Minister once more, and a stronger Irish party ready to make things lively for the Irish Secretary, and Buckshot Forster ready to make things lively for the Irish party, which he did—as the State-trials record shows. Thursday, January 6, 1881, a new Session begins, begins in the maddest fashion ever man conceived—a positive threat of a strong Coercion Bill, and a positive promise of a sound Land Bill; ushers in the bitterest struggle since members of Parliament held the Speaker in his chair. Suspensions carried on wholesale and retail; members named one after the other and then done by batches, suspending even some miles away; such is Parliamentary representation under a brute majority, and so is another Coercion Act passed. This done Mr. Gladstone gives the sugar candy to take the taste away. From April 7th to July 29th another fight, and then is passed on to the Lords the very worst pill that they ever had to take since they were abolished totally. They slaughtered the Bill—naturally—sent it back to the Commons—who restored it to its former shape—and then the Lords, scared by the rumble of coming revolution, which, in spite of the new Coercion Act grew louder and yet louder, passed the Bill on August 22nd, and broke the back of landlordism.—T. S.

People who do not work have plenty of time to hatch up schemes by which to secure the earnings of those who do, and they call this business.—*New Zealand Watchman*.

**CAPITAL'S CURE-ALL.**—Having clubbed and bludgeoned the unemployed out of Trafalgar Square and forced them into hiding, the "better classes" of London are now declaring that there is no unemployed class. The scores having been hidden from sight, it is now in order to declare that Lazarus's wounds were mythical.—*Canadian Labour Reformer*.

**"TIME BRINGS REVENGE."**—"If this kind of thing goes on, I shall change my name." Such is the bitter cry of Mr. Lewis Morris in the columns of the *Manchester Examiner*, which has been attributing to the author of the 'Epic of Hades' certain "extreme" views lately propounded by the author of the 'Earthly Paradise.' It is too bad, certainly; but the hardship is not all on one side, for was not Mr. William Morris recently taunted by another journal for that he, a Socialist, had been inditing a 'Silver Wedding Ode'?—*Pall Mall Gazette*.

**MR. BRADLAUGH ON CAPITAL AND LABOUR.**—Mr. Bradlaugh, M.P., lectured recently concerning "Labour Problems," and remarked that "there was a very dangerous tendency on the part of a very large number of working men, and a still more dangerous inclination on the part of those who assumed the position of their leaders—Cardinal Manning for example—to look to the State to provide employment for the unemployed. The workers could alone effectively improve their condition by voluntary association and organisation; and it was a regrettable fact that, taking labour all through Great Britain and Ireland, the large proportion of labourers did not belong to any trade organisation at all. A limitation of output in the case of mines, and of shorter time in the case of factories, were suggested as remedies for existing evils; but it was questionable whether a lessened production might prove remunerative to the capitalist for the wear and tear of plant involved and the amount of capital embarked. Some men said capital ought to have nothing, but in that case they would have neither machinery nor mines. It was quite possible that if they destroyed all remuneration to capital they would destroy the capitalists; but they could only do this by reverting to barbarism themselves." That is to say, Mr. Bradlaugh first tells working men not to ask the State to help them, and next tells them not to help themselves, lest they hurt the capitalist. Sound reasoning, truly!—*The Miner*.

"*Jus* has from first to last spoken out frankly and unequivocally against State-backed religion. And for this reason it has been boycotted by an influential section of the Liberty and Property Defence League. It is true that *Jus* is represented on the Council of that body; but the position seems to be a false one. Half-hearted and one-sided individualism is not the doctrine we have set ourselves out to preach. If the doctrine is good for anything, it is good for everything. A body which flaunts the flag only on suitable occasions, when the rich, the strong, and the privileged may benefit by the adoption of the principle, but which remains silent when it cuts the other way, cannot be expected to welcome an organ of the press which positively declines to stoop to political dodgery. If it is true, as its enemies declare, that the League has got into the hands of large landowners, who intend to square individualism with hereditary legislative privilege, with strict settlements and bolstered-up families and estates, and with State-fomented superstition for the degradation and enchainment of the people—well, the sooner it speaks out clearly the better. Anyhow, *Jus* will not hesitate. If the League has really made up its mind to pervert the noble principles of liberty and property to ignoble uses, it will do well to dispense with an organ of the press altogether. Diplomacy and duplicity and chicanery and insincerity and hypocrisy are more suited to the platform than to the press. 'O, that mine enemy would write a book,' is the wish of one who knows his enemy to be dishonest. The honest have nothing to fear from writing a book. Similarly, the society which fears to commit its present contentions to print tacitly admits that it may be convenient to express the contrary opinions to-morrow. If the League sinks again into silence, its attitude will not be misconstrued. It has turned its back on the Individualist Club from its earliest foundation, and working-class individualists understand the reason. If the League survives the calumnies of its enemies, as we trust it will, it will also have to survive the counsels of some of its friends."—*Jus* (March 23).



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

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

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

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

RECEIVED with thanks, but found unsuitable for various reasons—A Working Woman; G. T. (Norwich); T. L. (Glasgow). T. M. (Leeds).—Poem accepted; with thanks; article waits Morris's return. We have not seen the comrade you ask for since about a week after he came up.

Periodicals received during the week ending Wednesday March 28.

ENGLAND	Chicago (Ill.)—Knights of Labor	Milan—Il Fascio Operaio
Die Autonomie	Denver (Col.)—Labor Enquirer	Marsala—La Nuova Eta
Jus	Fort Worth (Tex.)—South West	Cremona—La Feccia
Justice	Milwaukee (Wis.)—Volksblatt	Bani—Municipaliu
Leaflet Newspaper	N. Haven—Workmen's Advocate	SPAIN
London—Freie Presse	St. Louis (Mo.)—Die Parole	El Productor
Labour Tribune	San Francisco—Arbeiter-Zeitung	Madrid—El Socialista
The Miner	Coast Seamen's Journal	PORTUGAL
Norwich—Daylight	Freethought	Porto—A Revolucao Social
Railway Review	FRANCE	GERMANY
Worker's Friend	Paris—Cri du Peuple (daily)	Berlin—Volks Tribune
NEW SOUTH WALES	La Revolte	AUSTRIA
Hamilton—Radical	L'Autonomie Individuelle	Arbeiterstimme
INDIA	Le Coup de Feu	Brunn—Volksfreund
Bankipore—Behar Herald	Journal du Peuple	Vienna—Gleichheit
Madras—People's Friend	Guise—Le Devoir	HUNGARY
UNITED STATES	HOLLAND	Arbeiter-Wochen-Chronik
People	Hague—Recht voor Allen	DENMARK
New York—Freiheit	BEELGIUM	Social-Demokraten
Der Sozialist	Ghent—Vooruit	SWEDEN
Truthseeker	Liege—L'Avenir	Stockholm, Social-Demokraten
Volkzeitung	SWITZERLAND	Malmo—Arbetet
Boston—Woman's Journal	Zurich—Sozial Demokrat	NORWAY
Liberty	Pzedsurt	Kristiania—Social-Demokraten
Chicago—Labor Enquirer	ITALY	
Vorbote	Gazetta Operaia	

## SOCIALISM IN SOLUTION.

WHILE fully agreeing with those Socialists who would avail themselves of all, even the most apparently trifling, efforts tending to raise the present condition of the working classes, and which are therefore Socialistic in tendency, if not in fact; yet nevertheless I think too strong a protest cannot be raised against the habit of either blinking or minimising the ideal which all true Socialists (*i.e.*, all who are not using the word Socialism as a tag—*pace* Sir William Harcourt's "We are all Socialists nowadays") have in view. It is undeniable that there are certain well-meaning but "philistine" persons who are for ever going about with tongue and pen trying to convince weak-minded and timid hearers or readers that the modern proletarian mountain is after all only pregnant with a sort of big mouse. The way they do this is sometimes specious, and hence it is difficult to convict them *in flagrante delicto*. For instance, their first proceeding is to draw a ring-fence round economics and insist that Socialism is economical and has nothing to say on any other aspect of human life than that of the production and distribution of wealth. Now it is so far true that modern Socialism is a theory of human society based on an economic evolution—that is, it sees in economics the keystone of the social arch. But that is a very different thing from being itself simply an economical theory and nothing beyond, as it is commonly represented to be. Then when this position is granted they proceed elaborately to whittle down the economic revolution itself till they have succeeded in reducing Socialism to modern civilised society with some trifling changes in detail. Mr. Kirkup's 'Enquiry into Socialism' in many respects illustrates both these tendencies.<sup>1</sup>

It would be unfair to deny that there is much useful information to those unacquainted with the subject in the book or that the preface and sundry other passages give hopes of better things than is made good by its general tenour, with its painful and laborious effort to prove that Socialism means nothing in particular.

Let us take Mr. Kirkup's chapter on Current Views on Socialism. (1) Mr. Kirkup starts with the marriage question. The opposition between the "bourgeois property marriage" and that which will take its place is of course sought to be toned down. While admitting that most leading Socialists have attacked the modern or Christian marriage

with its indissolubility or quasi-indissolubility, Mr. Kirkup "cannot see that as a theory of economic organisation Socialism can have any special teaching adverse to marriage and the family." (The italics in this passage are our own.) Now this is because Mr. Kirkup chooses to set up his ring-fence again, ignoring his own definition of Socialism given above as "a theory of social organisation, based on a new scheme of economic organisation." The passage quoted above implies that there is only one form of marriage and the family, that of the modern Christian and bourgeois. Of course, as a "theory of economic organisation," "Socialism need not have any special teaching adverse" to this; but as a matter of practice the modern marriage and modern family is sustained by the modern system of property, and when the latter gives place to something else, so must the former: but what special form the new institutions will take neither Socialists nor any one else can tell. It is also not true to say that the views on this question of the "leading Socialist writers" referred to as attacking the present marriage system, have been "strenuously opposed within the Socialist schools." I challenge Mr. Kirkup to show a single case in point. But I shall have occasion to revert to this again directly.

(2) Socialism is "by many" believed to be hostile to Christianity, etc. Of course here Mr. Kirkup must step in and plead that "the connection with views of this nature is purely accidental." It is on a par with the attempt in the 'Britannica' article (vol. xxii. p. 220) to make out that Socialism is not more international than any other movement (artistic or literary, for example). So here, Mr. Kirkup trots out his favourite notion about Socialism not being more hostile to Christianity than Continental Liberalism. It is difficult to believe that a man of Mr. Kirkup's reading can fail to see that the Internationalism, like the anti-Christianism of Socialism, is a very different thing from the Internationalism of art or commerce, or the anti-clericalism of the Radical. Of course, having drawn his ring-fence round the economical theory of Socialism, it naturally follows that he can exclude everything else but pure economics from the essence of Socialism. But this economic-and-nothing-but-economic Socialism is a "metaphysical abstraction." One of the greatest insights of Marx was that of the connection of the economic with the other aspects of human life. And Socialism as a revolutionary theory of society implies an ethical, religious, and political revolution as a consequence of the economic one. As such its opposition to the *present* forms of these things, which in their turn are based on the economics of present society, is a matter of Socialistic principle and in nowise "non-essential" or merely a question of temporary policy as with the Continental Liberal, who, for the rest, never contemplates anything but the curtailment of clerical influence. I would put it to Mr. Kirkup and those other professors of the "science of Socialism made easy to the middle-class philistine," whether they think it would be compatible with Socialism to have a clerical class setting themselves up as spiritual teachers and living on the labour of others or even to allow the small minority (the *bulk* of whom Mr. Kirkup must allow would be hostile to the economic change) who habitually frequent "places of worship" to monopolise lands and buildings for the purpose of their cultus. As to Internationalism, Mr. Kirkup ought to know by this time that the formal and explicit recognition of the solidarity of labour irrespective of frontier, and as definitely opposed to bourgeois patriotism, forms part of every Socialist pronouncement in which the subject of external politics is touched upon at all; and further that this international question was the great cause of antagonism between the Lasallians and the Eisenachers, an antagonism which was only overcome by the adoption by the former of the international principle, as embodied in the programme of the present German Social Democratic party.

Mr. Kirkup further states that Socialism "has also been associated with Christianity, Catholic, and Protestant." Now in how far is this true? In the same sense in which it has been associated with orthodox views as to the family, etc. The fact of the matter is this: Socialism has by a process of natural selection become the name for a great movement beginning with the present century having for its end the re-organisation of human life, moral and material, on a basis of equality of rights and duties. This movement, on its theoretical no less than on its practical side, is distinguished by certain well-marked stages. The theory of Socialism as a coherent doctrine began with the three great utopist systems of Robert Owen, Fourier, and St. Simon. Not one of these systems took what I may term the abstract-economic view of the subject. They all regarded human life as an integral system, and never dreamt of separating its several aspects. They were all anti-Christian, all opposed to the modern form of marriage, and if not explicitly international they were at least implicitly so. The later schools of French Socialism have always had something to say in the same sense on the subjects of religion, marriage, and racial boundaries, that is, always in a sense hostile to the existing forms of these institutions. Finally, modern "scientific" Socialism, while accentuating the economical revolution implied in the word, has none the less insisted on the fact that the other aspects of human life must undergo a corresponding change.

So much for the growth of Socialist theory. But—and here lies the *equivocal* of Mr. Kirkup's position—concurrently with the later forms of this development of true theoretical Socialism there has been a series of spurious and bastard systems, clearly distinguishable as such, and which have sprung consciously, or unconsciously for the most part, from a dread of the true economic change. They may be known by this very sign, that they appear to adopt the economic side of Socialism while overtly rejecting the notion of the other social changes which that side implies. But when more nearly viewed, it will be found that they do not really accept the economic revolution at all,

<sup>1</sup> 'An Enquiry into Socialism.' By Thomas Kirkup. Longmans.

but merely some scheme which can be made to bear a superficial resemblance to it. Like Pharaoh's soothsayers, the bourgeois also "did so with their enchantments." "Christian Socialism" such as that of the Comte de Mun in France on the side of Catholicism, or of Herr Stöcker in Germany on the side of Protestantism, the various co-operative schemes with which the working-classes have been from time to time deceived, belong to this spurious Socialism. As the devil of mediæval fancy, on Walpurgis night, travestied the proceedings supposed to take place before the judgment-seat of God, so the modern bourgeois travesties the aspiration of the real proletarian movement in a series of artificially produced counter-movements. In this sense only can it be said that Socialism has been "associated with Christianity both Catholic and Protestant." Is it not easy to understand that those desirous of maintaining a class society, and recognising the importance and "danger" of Socialism, think that if they but hold the proletariat in leash tied to three venerable institutions, "the hearth, the throne, and the altar," or any one of them, that that proletariat is by the very fact rendered harmless. "Oh, drudge, where is thy sting? oh, slave, where is thy victory?" Not under the ægis of Christian, philanthropic, or co-operative "Socialism" we may rest assured.

And now, let us enter Mr. Kirkup's economic enclosure, and see what we find there. On page 96 we read, "It is even quite consistent with the theory of Socialism that there should be private ownership of land and capital, provided it be under collective and equitable control." This may be a new development of Henry Georgism, but it will hardly be recognised by most people as Socialism. The most extraordinary statement, however, is to be met with on pages 102-3, and is as follows: "Though Socialism most naturally allies itself with the advancing democracy, there is no absolute reason why the actual control of the movement should be democratic (!). In Germany it is quite possible to imagine with Rodbertus that it might proceed from the Emperor (!). . . Such an empire served by capable officials like the present (*sic*), and supported by a people and army inspired with the enthusiasm of a better social order, might find its strength and stability immeasurably increased" (!!!). Further criticism is surely unnecessary!

I have desired under the form of a review of Mr. Kirkup's new book, where the practice appears in its rankest form, to call attention to the illegitimacy of the attempt so often made nowadays to limit the word Socialism, in a mechanical manner, to the sphere of economics—while objection is taken to its being applied to what the economical change implies in other departments of human activity. Such a limitation is neither logically nor historically valid. As before said, economics taken by themselves are an abstraction. In the real world they are only present as an element in a whole—to wit, human life and society. Historically, as I have pointed out, the word Socialism, which originated with Robert Owen, has never been used in this abstractedly limited sense until quite recently. If Socialism is what Mr. Kirkup represents it to be in certain passages of his book (which it is only fair to say are quite inconsistent with the wider view taken in other passages), then we can readily understand why "we are all Socialists now-a-days," since in this case there is no special reason why Rothschild, Vanderbilt, or Jay Gould should not turn Socialist on the spot. On the whole, we would advise those who hold "current views on Socialism" to stick fast to them until they get something better than Mr. Kirkup's rectification. E. BELFORT DAX.

## TOWARDS REVOLUTION.

### I.

HAVE you not heard the new gospel we are preaching?  
We will not reproach you, brother, once we had not heard it;  
Though now it seems our breath of life, the world's one hope,  
Once it was strange to us as it is strange to you.

Or perhaps you have been told that it means violence, strife, class-hatred,  
A loosing of the bonds that hold Society together,  
A sudden and complete destruction of all the marvellous slow upbuilding of  
centuries,  
A swift return to barbarism, each man's hand against his neighbour.

Nay, but it means something far different from this,  
It means that the secret strife of the present shall be open, declared, final;  
It means that the false bonds be severed, the true bonds made manifest,  
A destruction of all that in civilisation which is artificial,  
A return to that which is natural, and the recognition of human relationship.

### II.

See here, it is strange if you have overlooked us, we are everywhere,  
Where civilisation spreads, we spread, its mortal foe,  
Evolved out of its own bosom, its foe and yet its friend,  
For we accept all that which is good in it, rejecting only that which is bad,  
We take the honey and leave the sting.

And slowly but surely that which we believe is becoming that which all believe,  
Consciously or unconsciously people are looking to it as the only true solution.  
It is in the air, it is everywhere, it filters through the world as the morning  
twilight,  
It moulds and colours our thoughts, speech, acts, aspirations,  
It finds its way where it has so long been a stranger, into the pulpit, press,  
platform, Parliament,  
It is the issue to which all things are tending.

### III.

I tell you that all that has gone before has been but a preparation for this,  
That all the early savagery, fierce hunger and thirst, tribal feuds, despotisms,  
All the oppressions and exactions of kings and nobles, the wars, civil wars, and  
popular insurrections,

Have had no other object for their existence than to render this finally possible.

In the earliest ages of the world man did not consciously distinguish himself  
from his fellows,  
He shared in common with the rest of his kin their lot of pain and pleasure,  
But as Society grew more complex, and each individual became more distinct,  
and his sphere more distinct,  
The individual became more and more the end and object of his own existence.

But now in the process of time this individualism has wrought its own contra-  
diction,  
The separation of class from class, of man from man, has intensified and grown  
unendurable,  
And now men's hearts are wildly throbbing for a newer Society of fellowship,  
When the primitive community will again be realised, but on a higher level,  
Each man conscious of himself, but joyfully merging himself in his fellows.

### IV.

Let the Revolution come as soon as it may,  
It will not come before it is wanted.

For ours is a society of slaves and slave-owners, whatever is said to the contrary  
The rich who produce nothing and possess everything, but cannot enjoy it;  
The poor who produce everything and possess nothing, and are miserable of  
necessity.

And see how from this initial injustice spring all other injustices:  
Our wars, crimes, murders, thefts, gluttonies, adulteries, prostitutions;  
The refusal of our wares to those who need them and have made them;  
The feverish eagerness to thrust them by force upon the simple savages, who  
despise them;  
The deadly competition of man with man, of master with master, of nation with  
nation;  
The poverty, filth, overcrowding, disease, anxiety, vice of the poor;  
The langour, selfishness, arrogance, emptiness, cynicism of the rich;  
The unhappiness of both classes, neither living wholesome human lives—  
Only relieved by the blind longing for something clearer and better.

### V.

Fruitful mother of all social evils,  
Long lying hidden beneath shows of religious, legal, and political tyranny,  
Social inequality comes forth stripped bare and recognised at last,  
Holding in thrall the earth and the riches of the earth,  
Made by all or by none, by which all alone all must live,  
Giving to him who possesses them power over the lives of the people.

This initial inequality abolished,  
What will happen but the disappearance of all the evils that flow from it?  
What will happen but that a community of free friends will grow up on the earth?

Labour and pain will be common, but not grievous; joy and leisure also common;  
Only that will be made which is needed, only that will be needed which is rational;  
The hand of one man will no longer be against the hand of another;  
One class will no more envy or despise another class (you shall look for classes  
and you shall not find them);  
One nation will no more provoke another nation, for all nations will desire peace  
and the result of peace;  
One by one the outlying peoples will adopt our mode of life, so winning, so clearly  
to their advantage:  
The world will become a brotherhood of freemen.

### VI.

Doubtless to reach this many of us will have to undergo privation;  
The social isolation, the prison, the false charge, the armed resistance, are  
doubtless waiting for us.  
That which is worth having is not to be had for nothing.

Nevertheless we know that the stars in their courses fight for us;  
The Power behind Evolution has decreed the thing that we strive for;  
Failure on failure may seem to defeat us: ultimate failure is impossible.

Seeing what is to be done, then, seeing what the reward is,  
Seeing what the terms are, are you willing to join us?  
Will you lend us the aid of your voice, your money, your sympathy?  
May we take you by the hand and call you comrade?

REGINALD A. BECKETT.

## CORRESPONDENCE.

Is the course proposed by F. Kitz in your issue for March 3rd the way to  
help or to hinder the sale of *Commonweal*? And (what is more important)  
is it the way to fight or to foster narrowness and intolerance? I had hoped  
to see some answer to the recommendation that we should boycott hostile  
news-vendors. As none has appeared, may I suggest that (to put the matter  
on the lowest ground) by neglecting to encourage, or rather to gently force,  
the newsagents who "would like to see the whole lot of us put down" to  
supply "customers who deal with them for other articles" with *Commonweal*,  
we not only lose new converts, but *deserve* to lose them? If the man who  
"won't have it seen in his place" is paid back in his own coin, he will be as  
hopeless an enemy (and as ignorant a one) this time next year as he is to-day.  
May I further call your attention to the discrepancy between the two  
views of "splitting the party" held by the writer of the paragraph (March  
3rd, too) about George Odger? In lines 17, 18, 19 Odger is "shamefully  
sacrificed" to the false god of party; in lines 20, 21 Waterlow, who refuses  
to listen to the cry "Don't split the party," and so prevents Odger's winning  
Southwark, is a very wicked person indeed! WILLIAM THOMPSON.  
Nottingham, March 18.

## LITERARY NOTES.

'An American Journey,' by Edward Aveling (Reeves, Fleet Street, 1s. 6d.),  
is a rather sketchy but eminently readable account of the sights he saw and  
the things he heard in his recent lecturing tour in the States. It strips  
away a good many of the illusions created by the ordinary travellers' tales,  
and gives a striking and unpleasant view of the American bourgeois, who  
seems to be far worse than even his English congener.  
'The Progress of Socialism,' by Sidney Webb, LL.B. (Modern Press, 1d.),  
is an eloquent and searching study of the subject its title tells of.



## THE LABOUR STRUGGLE.

### BRITAIN.

There is no improvement in the velvet trade at Oldham.

The moulders of Warrington have decided to strike for an advance of two shillings weekly in their wages.

The outlook for the weavers at Clayton-le-Moors is reported as very serious, several pairs of mules having been stopped at Victoria Mill during the past week.

The strike of weavers at Messrs. Smith and Wiseman's still continues, with no prospect of an early settlement. The knobsticks are guarded by police.

The strike of twisters at the Albany Mill, Oldham, has collapsed. Owing to the weakness of their organisation, the workers have accepted the employer's terms.

The strike of weavers at Victoria Works, Rossendale, still continues. The company are said to be incurring heavy loss through the stoppage of the machinery, whilst the increase sought is very slight.

A strike of miners at Ardsley Colliery, near Leeds, which commenced last November, has terminated by the men accepting the reduction proposed by the masters.

The wages paid at the Clarence Mills, Bollington, are reported to be very unsatisfactory, in some portions of the spinning room being so low as 10s. per week for 2,500 spindles. The Spinners' Association have the matter under consideration.

The Bolton and District General Labourers and Drillers' Union, recently formed in Bolton as a result of the late strike in the iron trade, is progressing satisfactorily. The Secretary is Mr. Ralph Howcroft, 10 Winders Court, off Slater Street, Bolton.

DISCHARGE OF GOVERNMENT EMPLOYEES.—Two hundred and twenty-five workmen who have been employed in connection with the Royal Alexandra Victualling Yard at Haulbowline have received written notices that their services will be dispensed with from Saturday next.

SOUTH STAFFORDSHIRE IRON TRADE.—The Bilston ironworks of Messrs. W. and J. S. Sparrow have been permanently closed, owing, it is said, to low prices and severe competition. Trade is very bad throughout the whole of the district.

THREATENED STRIKE IN THE COTTON TRADE.—There is great dissatisfaction at several mills at Bolton, owing to the bad material supplied to the spinners and the consequent low wages. At one place notice has already been tendered, and it is expected others will follow unless some arrangement is made.

CLOSING IRONWORKS IN WALES.—The iron and steel works at Gowerton, belonging to Messrs. Wright, Butler, & Co., were closed on Tuesday and all the workmen paid off in consequence of the continued depression in trade. The ironworks of the New British Iron Company at Ruabon are also permanently closed. Several hundred workmen are thrown out of employment by these stoppages.

EXTENSIVE DISCHARGE OF WORKMEN AT SHEERNESS.—An Admiralty Order was received at Sheerness Dockyard on Saturday morning directing an extensive discharge of men employed in the yard craft department. The Admiralty consider the vessels attached to the various dockyards are over-manned compared with steamers in the mercantile marine, and have directed that their crews be reduced by one-fourth, which will effect a saving of over £7000 per annum.

AMALGAMATION.—It is with very great pleasure I learn that a fusion has taken place of the Shaw Cord and Blowing Room Association with the Oldham Province. Strained relations have for some time existed between the two associations, arising out of misunderstanding during the late strike; since which time the Shaw association resolved itself into a thoroughly independent organisation. It has been admirably managed, and at the present time has 500 members. Negotiations have been going on, and the Oldham society has on two occasions sent deputations to confer with the committee of the Shaw association. The gratifying result has been that old scores have been wiped off, and at a large meeting held last week at Crompton the proposal for amalgamation was adopted almost unanimously.

ANOTHER "SELF-HELP" COTTON SPINNING COMPANY.—Another co-operative company has been started in Burnley. This makes the fourth got together during the last two years. All the weavers and others employed must either be shareholders to commence with, or become so soon after starting, on terms similar to which people become members of distributive co-operative stores. This is a form of self-help infinitely better than the mean, selfish struggle to "get on" associated with the names of Samuel Smiles, Samuel Smith, Iago, and other eminent individualists. It is in this direction of self-employment that the workers should devote all their energies, preparing the way for the Social Revolution, which will once for all get rid of the odious relationship of master and servant, to replace it with the only one consistent with human dignity—that of citizens of a Co-operative Commonwealth.

WALSALL DISTRICT IRONWORKERS.—On Saturday night a largely attended meeting of ironworkers belonging to the Walsall district was held at the Priory Hotel, Mr. Ray presiding. Mr. Kirkham proposed, "That this meeting of the Walsall district is of opinion that the time has arrived for a reconsideration of the wages with a view to an advance and hereby instructs its district representative on the Board to give the requisite notice." He urged that wages should be fixed by the selling price of iron free of deductions. The resolution was carried unanimously, as was another appointing Mr. Jno. Williams, of Pelsall, as the representative of the district. Mr. E. Trow delivered a stirring speech, condemning both Liberals and Tories and urging the men to back up their representatives with a powerful organisation, so that they might be the more able to meet the employers and make the Board a reality and not a sham as at present. A unanimous vote of confidence in Mr. Trow was passed. Mr. Capper afterwards addressed the meeting.

UNION AGAINST UNION.—The necessity for federation is once more shown by what is just now taking place in Blackburn in the engineering trade. Until a week or two ago a strike had been going on amongst the mechanics of a firm in Blackburn for an advance of 2s. per week. Recently the firm offered to pay 1s. per week to commence with, and the other some time in June. This arrangement was accepted by the Steam-Engine Makers' Society, and its members resumed work. The Association of Amalgamated Engineers have, however, a number of members employed at the firm, and as the

executive were not consulted on the terms of settlement, they have sent down word that their members must come out until the 2s. are granted. This the men have done. Now, both the societies are connected with the same business, and the members work side by side in almost every workshop. It is therefore very regrettable to find them pulling different ways. This is a very serious hindrance to the cause of labour emancipation, and it is to be hoped that those who have the cause at heart will strive to bring about an understanding quickly. United we stand. Divided we fall.

THE LOCKOUT IN THE NORWICH SHOE TRADE.—At a meeting of the men locked out by Messrs. Haldenstein & Sons, a resolution was passed "That we the riveters and finishers and citizens of Norwich deplore the action taken by Messrs. Haldenstein & Sons at this critical season of the year, and desire a settlement by arbitration." Whilst, under the circumstances, supporting the resolution, E. Burgess and C. W. Mowbray forcibly pointed out the unsatisfactory action of Boards of Arbitration in securing favourable terms for the workmen. It is foolish of the workers to trust to the generosity of the masters or to find fault with their action. The relation of Labour and Capital is that of war, and till the workers combine to conquer their rights, they will have to submit to whatever terms are imposed upon them. I hear that another firm, that of Messrs. Holblacks Brothers, have taken advantage of the fact that a large proportion of their men are non-unionists, to effect a reduction in prices. My informant calls the men "poor fellows." I agree with him; they are indeed very "poor fellows" if they have not brains and brotherhood enough to support their trade society.

RAILWAY EMPLOYEES AND THEIR HOURS OF DUTY.—Copies have been issued of a return, moved for in the House of Lords by Earl Delawarr, giving a number of statistics in connection with railway servants who were, during the months of July 1886, and January 1887, on duty at the railways of the United Kingdom for more than 12 hours at a time, or who, after being on duty more than 12 hours, were allowed to resume work with less than eight hours' rest. The following companies employed drivers and firemen for eighteen hours and upwards: Eastern and Midlands, 90 occasions; Furness Railway, 101; Great Eastern, 3,102; Great Northern, 2,271; Great Western, 1,107; London and North Western, 1,002; London and South Western, nil; London, Brighton, and South Coast, 597; London, Chatham, and Dover, 440 (in this case there are only 633 such servants employed altogether by the company); Manchester, Sheffield, and Lincolnshire, 983; Metropolitan Railway, nil; Metropolitan District Railway, nil; Midland Railway Company, 2,481; North Eastern, 1,876; North London Railway, 14; Caledonian, 723; and the North British Railway, 1,487. A large number of the men have also been employed between 12 and 18 hours; and the occasions on which signalmen have been employed for 18 hours and upwards are far too numerous to be compatible with the public safety.

THE PEOPLE'S BREAD COMPANY.—The inevitable tendency of the present industrial system to crush out the small capitalists and middleman on the one hand and to displace human by machine-labour on the other, although apparently denied by Mr. Bradlaugh in his debate with our comrade, Bax in the pages of the *Commonweal* last July, is pretty evident to ordinary mortals who study the signs of the times. One of the latest manifestations of the system of "big fish eat little fish" is the formation of "The People's Bread Company, Limited," which swallows up 43 old-established bakers' businesses and a flour mill. The promoters estimate that by the economy in administration and by the use of machinery the profits of the company will admit of dividends of from 20 to 30 per cent. on the capital. We see here again an instance of the one-sided co-operation upon which capitalism is based. The socialisation of labour produces enormous wealth, but the people as a whole do not participate in the advantages accruing. On the contrary, as a rule big dividends and low wages go together. Nor do the consumers benefit, or but slightly if at all, by any cheapening of the products by so-called "People's" companies, which are floated and controlled by dividend-sharks and the usual crowd of highly-paid directors, secretaries, brokers, solicitors, etc. As showing the remunerative character of bread companies, the prospectus before me states that the last dividend paid by the Arated Bread Company amounts to 22½ per cent., and that the Bristol Bread Company pays 35 per cent. per annum. Meanwhile the operative bakers are among the worst paid, over-worked, and badly treated of the working classes. I venture, therefore, to think, in spite of Mr. Bradlaugh, that they have some claim to share in the profits they have created, both in the form of increased leisure and higher remuneration. In other words, that the comfort and well-being of the workers and the satisfaction of the needs of the community must not be sacrificed in order to make big dividends for a comparatively small minority of the people.

MAGISTRATES AND CLEANING DURING MEAL HOURS.—Last week referred to the crusade being carried on by the Lancashire factory inspectors against the practice of cribbing time, and cited an instance of a employé being fined for allowing two young persons to clean the machinery during meal hours. It seems to be a common dodge for employers to shift responsibility by putting up bogus notices in the mills, and then when the inspector brings a case, the magistrates (who are frequently interested in cases they have to adjudicate upon) tell him that he should have summoned the spinner instead of the employer. The *Cotton Factory Times* in an article on the subject, says: "Now, what does such advice mean? It means that the operative spinner must be held responsible for that which his employer compels him to do, or to leave his employment, and thus give a wrong for one who will strictly conform to instructions, regardless of the right or wrong of the thing. Employers in the cotton trade know, or ought to know, that it is an utter impossibility for the operative spinners to do all the requisite cleaning and oiling of the machinery during the meal hour. They also know that the spinners are not allowed to stop their mules during engine hours for the purposes named, except in special cases, and they are also aware that the spinners are required to run the mules ever, so that they can enable them to get out the requisite number of hanks which they require off the mules. Knowing these facts, they wink at the practices which have to be resorted to in order that their desires may be gratified, and to make it appear that they don't countenance boys, girls, and women working in the meal hours, they put up notices prohibiting them from performing any labour in the mills during meal times, and they pretend to hold the overlookers in the various departments responsible for the due observance of the Acts by those employed under them. They declare that such notices are mere shams, and are only intended to throw dust in the eyes of the inspectors. Both employers, managers, and overlookers are fully aware that the boys, girls, and women are compelled to do prohibited work during meal hours, and there is not a magistrate who is a cotton spinner, but insists upon such work being done. It is the magistrates who recommended the inspector to summon the operative spinners, and not the employers, we are informed the little piece are compelled to

work, and that this is done with the knowledge and assent of the employers and their managers. It is all moonshine for magistrates to air their innocence of the practices which they pretend to condemn when on the bench, and for a magistrate to declare that employers have as much difficulty as an inspector in trying to put a stop to infringements of the Act is more than we are prepared to accept as genuine, and we rather incline to think that the only anxiety which troubles employers is the anxiety how to prevent the inspector from detecting them in the act of evading the law. We hope the inspectors in Lancashire will not be deterred in the least from the active path of duty which they have pursued during the past year, notwithstanding the discouragement which they so often receive from magistrates who are employers of labour. Reports from all quarters testify to the wonderful improvement effected in the carrying out of the Act, in comparison to what obtained a few years ago." T. BINNING.

INTERNATIONAL NOTES.

BELGIUM.

The Brussels Federation of the *Parti ouvrier* has instructed their Committee of Legislation to publish a pamphlet on the question of *Minimum Wages* which is now very anxiously discussed among all the Belgian working-men's organisations. The work is nearly done, and will consist of one hundred pages, at the price of twopence. The contents will be: Introduction; history of the question; intervention of public authorities in economical matters; foreign competition; law of offer and demand; the wages and the labour prices; self-help; minimum wages at St. Josse, St. Gilles, Molenbeek, and Brussels.

On the 18th inst. a *rationalistic* feast was offered at Brussels to the children who do not wish to follow the mummeries of the Catholic Church. The *fête* was organised by the Section of Socialist women, and consisted, among other items, in refreshments being offered to the young lads and young girls; in an extraordinary meeting at the *Maison du Peuple* (the People's House), where V. Arnould, the chairman of the Freethought Society of Brussels, lectured on a subject fitted to the circumstances; and lastly in the presentation of diplomas to all those young people who have now promised to combat against all religious superstition and never to take part themselves in any ceremony whatever of a religious character.

On the 15th of May the Belgian organ of the Working-men's Party, *L'Avant Garde* (the Vanguard) will be transformed into a monthly review, to be entitled, "*Avant-Garde*, monthly review of international Socialism." Unlike the paper, which was of more polemical nature, this review intends to deal in an exhaustive manner with all the scientific questions of contemporary Socialism, the mere local and actual forthcomings in Socialistic life being left to be treated in the daily organ of the Working-men's Party, *Le Peuple* (the People) which appears at Brussels.

HOLLAND.

Comrade Domela Nieuwenhuis has been elected member of the Dutch Parliament for the district of Schoterland (province of Friesland) by 1167 suffrages, the numbers of the voters being 2203. The Dutch Parliament will now be composed of 1 Socialist, 45 Liberals, and 54 Catholic or Protestant reactionaries. In a few lines which appear in the last issue of *Recht voor Allen* (Justice to All), Domela Nieuwenhuis declares frankly that it will be impossible for him to do anything of practical use for the cause of Socialism in that Dutch Parliament composed of one Socialist and 99 reactionaries of all shades. But one thing at least he will do, so he says, and that is to protest on all possible occasions against arbitrary ruling and injustice. "My real place," he finally adds, "will always continue to be in the very ranks of the masses, and not at all in the files of these gentlemen who do not in the least represent the people of Holland." Now that our comrade has got a seat in that Dutch law-shop, we wish him to protest so loudly that all Europe shall hear it, and so he may do some good, although we must say our hopes are not very sanguine. V. D.

SPAIN.

NAVARRÉ.—The distress is great among the working population of this province, and we hear of the functionaries of the various parishes, while seeking somewhat to alleviate the hunger of some of the parishioners by doling out daily rations of bread and soup, at the same time informing them that some small sum must be paid for these rations in the autumn. This arrangement, we suppose, is to spare the feelings of the poor folk, for it is well known that indiscriminate charity is "demoralising and degrading." The delicacy of these local functionaries is most praiseworthy. We recommend them to the notice of our British C. O. S.

TARAGONA.—The late disturbances in this town have been the outcome of the long season of deprivation and hunger endured too long in silence by the working class. Even now, during the manifestations of distress, a local journal praises the manifestants for their "respect of private property" during the agitation. What, then! Do the army of the starved come out of their holes to manifest their submission and weakness, rather than their strength? that the slave-owners may laugh and say, "See these folk, they are starving, and yet so submissive to tradition and our will that they dare not harm us or ours! Much we have to fear from them, in truth!" The province of Oviedo has also passed a terrible winter. M. M.

PORTUGAL.

The Portuguese workingmen's movement has in the last ten years lost much of its former straightforward Socialist character. The party leaders, to get influence in politics, have made compromises with the Republican party, and led the movement astray by devoting their forces to the organisation of co-operative experiments. Some of these last have been of a peculiar character, for it is said that in the Co-operative Industrial Social of Lisbon the workers were forced to strike, etc. At the same time the Portuguese people is not devoid of revolutionary spirit; revolts against overtaxation, etc., are frequent. The latest occurred at Cantanhede, and just now the government is doing its best to stir the people up; for a law has been passed enacting that every worker must take out a licence allowing him to work or else he will be fined or imprisoned. Meetings of protest against this unpopular measure are being held at Lisbon, Porto, etc. The Socialist press of Portugal consisted until lately of some lukewarm Socialist organs inclining to mere Radicalism; only one or two years ago more advanced papers—*A Gazeta*, and its successor *O Revoltado* of Lisbon, began to appear, but have since died. Since January 15th, 1888, however, a frankly Communist-

Anarchist paper, *A Revolução Social* is edited by the group of Porto, in which numerous translations of French articles on anarchist principles, a long record of the Chicago events besides local notes and polemics appear.

Just now the young Anarchist party is working under great difficulties, caused by the following events. A capitalist journalist, of Lisbon, Mr. Pinheiro Chagas, who had always insulted Socialism, published on January 25th an article in which he exulted over the cowardly attack made at Havre on Louise Michel, and glorified her assaulter. Enraged by this, a Lisbon Anarchist, Manoel Joaquim Pinto, fired two shots at and wounded him. This act of an individual, done at his own risk, provoked by the cowardly insults of Chagas, was of course the signal for a raging of the bourgeois press against the whole Anarchist party and their paper. Several other comrades were arrested, and the authorities would evidently like to imitate Chicago.

SWEDEN.

The prosecutions of Socialists have begun in this country also. Palm, who has for some years been the chief propagandist in Sweden, was lately imprisoned some months, and now Danielson, the editor of the Socialist paper of Southern Sweden, the *Arbetet* (Labour) of Malmo, is sentenced to twelve months, because he had dared to criticise the scandalous action of the same court of justice which condemned him, in discharging the director of a prison who had stolen 5000 kr. from the result of the labour of the prisoners. Probably they intended to cut the life of the paper by this; it is, however, announced that *Arbetet*, hitherto weekly, will be issued thrice a-week from April 1st. There are now three other Social-Democratic papers in Sweden—viz., *Social-demokraten* (Stockholm), *Folkets Röst* (Voice of the People: Göteborg since 1887), and *Proletären* (Norrköping, since 1888). The 18th of March was celebrated this year the first time in Sweden by a public meeting in Stockholm. Z. Z.

THE NEW LABOUR PROBLEM.

THE problem of competition with "Chinese cheap labour" is about to be sprung upon the people of the British Islands in a way that seems to be eminently practical, and may prove even more vexatious than the form in which it has been presented on the Pacific Coast of the United States. It is reported that an association of English capitalists is in process of formation, if not already organised, for the purpose of establishing manufactures on a large scale in China, at or near Hong Kong. It is the intention to produce textile fabrics and metallic goods into which labour enters as the chief element of cost, so as to permit the importation of raw material, if need be, and still allow the enjoyment of a great advantage in competing with the products of Western Europe both in their home and in foreign markets. It is well known that the price of labour in China is exceedingly low, even as compared with those countries in Europe where it is the cheapest. A single cent is sufficient compensation for a day's labour in the interior of the Flowery Kingdom, and a few cents per head will hire all the labour that may be needed on the sea-coast in that country of perfect "protection" against foreign commerce, abundant population, and cheap living. Then the ingenuity of the Chinese in working to a pattern is notorious. They are said to excel the ordinary Caucasian workman in that respect, though incapable of originating new processes and slow at any kind of labour which is not strictly the following of a copy.

It is claimed that from the new vantage ground the proprietors of these factories will be able to make an immense profit though offering their goods at prices which defy British competition abroad and underselling the English manufacturer at his own doors. If this be found possible on a moderate scale at first, there need be no doubt as to its indefinite extension within the next few years. The capital of other countries will gravitate towards the place where it can be employed to the best advantage, and the labour which it now keeps busy will be obliged to follow the same road or submit to a radical reduction in the wage scale at home. The people of the old country are thus brought face to face with the question in a way that both trades' unions and combinations of employers will be alike unable to meet successfully. They may, perhaps, obtain protection from home invasion by these Chinese products by resorting to means already in force on the Continent of Europe, but this would be a reversal of the free-trade policy of more than forty years' standing under which they have attained a prominence and power that could never have been achieved by force of arms. And this would not conserve to them their foreign markets, the supplying of which has furnished the money required to buy nearly half the food of the nation from abroad. It is difficult to say what will be the outcome of these new conditions, but it can scarcely be other than a complete revolution in industrial processes, social and class gradations, and form of government.—*The Chicago Tribune.*

COMMUNE CELEBRATION FUND.

RECEIPTS.		EXPENDITURE.	
Collected at Store St. Hall	£7 1 2	Hire of Store Street Hall	£4 4 0
Jones	0 1 0	Ribbons for Stewards	0 3 0
G.	0 0 6	200 Posters	0 12 0
Fuller	0 0 6	Handbills	0 10 0
Medical Student	0 2 6	Platform Tickets	0 0 9
P. W.	0 2 0	Postage, Stationery, etc.	1 0 0
C. J. F.	0 2 0	Hallkeeper, fares, etc.	0 5 0
H. R.	0 2 6	Balance	1 6 8
R. Molero	0 5 0		
R. Unwin	0 1 0		
F. W. Broderick	0 2 0		
Clerkenwell Branch S.D.F.	0 1 3		
	£8 1 5		£8 1 5

(Signed) G. CLIFTON, Hon. Treasurer.  
H. A. BARKER, Hon. Sec.

"COMMONWEAL" PRINTING FUND.

W. B., 6d. "A long lane without no turning," 2s. F. W. Broderick, 5s. C. J. F., 2s. 6d. K. F., 1s. Langley, 2s. P. W., 6d. Oxford Branch, 2s.



OFFICES: 13 FARRINGTON ROAD, E.C.

**London Members.**—The London Members' Meeting will, owing to Easter Holidays, be held on Monday April 9th. Council also adjourned to same date.

**Annual Conference.**

The Fourth Annual Conference of the Socialist League will be held at 13 Farringdon Road, on Whit Sunday, May 20. The attention of Branches is particularly referred to (1) Rule V. on the subject of the annual conference, pp. 3 and 4 of Constitution and Rules; and (2) that all branches wishing to be represented at the Conference must pay their subscription up to the 31st March by May 1st.

**REPORTS.**

**CLERKENWELL.**—On Wednesday, March 21, W. H. Utley lectured on "Liberty, Equality, Fraternity." Sunday, March 25, A. K. Donald on "Punishment and Prevention of Crime." Brisk discussions.—B.

**FULHAM.**—Sunday morning, Catterson Smith spoke at Walham Green. Fair sale of *Commonweal*. In evening, Day (of the Acton branch) spoke in rooms on "Socialism, its Aims and Methods." Fair audience considering weather; several questions asked and answered.—S. B. G.

**BRADFORD.**—Mitchell lectured on 25th inst. at Debating Club in Chrontha Street on "Socialism v. Commercialism." Opposition easily disposed of. We intend having a reunion of Leeds and Bradford members on Easter Monday.—P. B.

**GLASGOW.**—On Saturday, Glasier, Pollock, and Downie held an outdoor meeting on Jail Square; and on Sunday, notwithstanding the severity of the snow-storm, 500 people came to a meeting in Waterloo Hall to hear William Morris lecture on "Art and Industry in the 14th Century." A resolution put from the platform, expressing the necessity for developing the communal spirit of the times, the overthrow of our present society and the realisation of a Socialist system, was carried unanimously.—S. D.

**NORWICH.**—Saturday last, branch members attended a meeting of the lock-out men in the boot trade, addressed by Mowbray. Sunday morning no meeting at Ber Street owing to wet; in afternoon good meeting in Market Place, addressed by Mowbray; no meeting in Gordon Hall owing to it being let that evening for another purpose. We held an outdoor meeting instead in the Market Place, Mowbray spoke on Socialism to a good audience, and was assisted by another branch comrade. Fair sale of *Commonweal*.

**WALSALL.**—Last Monday, Sanders opened a debate at our meeting-room on "Socialism: Political, Christian, and Spiritual," in answer to some recent remarks of a Town Councillor. Good discussion followed, and debate was adjourned until Monday next. On Saturday a large audience was addressed by Sanders in the open-air, and a good impression made. Fair sale of literature.—J. T. D.

**THE STRIKE FUND.**—The first of a series of weekly entertainments took place last Saturday evening. Notwithstanding the stormy weather, a very enjoyable evening was passed by the small audience who had the courage to come through a drenching rain. Don't forget next Saturday evening.

**EDINBURGH.**—On 22nd, Rev. John Glasse lectured on "The Relation of Socialism to Co-operation," and treated the subject from the point of view of a sound, robust Socialist, and did not hesitate to say plainly wherein co-operation is wanting. On 25th, Bain lectured on "Our Social Condition." Animated discussion the causes of trade depression. On 26th, in the Trades' Hall, comrade Morris had a fairly large and very appreciative audience, which received him with rounds of applause. He gave a delightful sketch of life as it should and might be; and though he asked his hearers to hold no one but himself responsible for his "dream" of the Society of the future, it was evident that not only the Socialists but many others were carried away by the beauty of that ideal of his, and were eager to adopt it and defend it as their own.—J. H. S.

**LECTURE DIARY.**

**LONDON.**

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

**Bloomsbury.**—Communist Club, 49 Tottenham Street, Tottenham Court Road. Thursday March 29, at 8.30, adjourned members' business meeting.

**Clerkenwell.**—Hall of the Socialist League, 13 Farringdon Rd., E.C. Business meeting every Sunday at 7. Sunday April 1st, at 8.30, Free Concert by Wm. Blundell and Friends.

**Fulham.**—8 Effie Road, Walham Green. Sunday at 8.

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

**Hammersmith.**—Kelmescott House, Upper Mall, W. Sunday April 1st, at 8. Miss E. Warlow, "The

**Crofter Question.**—8th. John Burns (S. D.F.), "Six Weeks in Pentonville." 15th. William Morris.

**Hoxton (L. E. L.).**—New premises, 1 Hoxton Square. C. J. Young, 8 Dunloe St., Hackney Rd., Secretary.

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

**Mile-end and Bethnal Green.**—95 Boston St., Hackney Road. Business Meeting every Thursday at 9 p.m. Debating Class for members after Business Meeting.

**PROVINCES.**

**Aberdeen (Scottish Section).**—Sunday night meetings in Baker Street Hall, at 6. Secretary, J. Leatham, 15 St. Nicholas Street.

**Birmingham.**—Meetings at Summer Row Coffee House every Saturday evening at 8.

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

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

**Cowdenbeath (Scot. Sec.).**—J. Duncan, 30 Arthur Pl., sec

**Dublin.**—Saturday Club, Central Lecture Hall, 12 Westmorland Street.

**Dundee (Scot. Sect.).**—Meetings every Sunday in the Trades Hall, opposite Tay Bridge Station.

**Edinburgh (Scottish Section).**—4 Park Street. Every Thursday at 8, class for study of Marx's 'Capital.'

**Galashiels (Scot Sect.).**—J. Walker, 6 Victoria St., sec.

**Gallatown and Dysart (Scottish Section: Fife).**—Meet every Tuesday at 7 p.m. in Gallatown Public School. Secretary, A. Paterson, 152 Rosslyn St.

**Glasgow.**—84 John St. Reading-room open 10 a.m. till 10 p.m. daily.

**Leeds.**—Lady Lane. Open every evening. Business meeting Fridays at 8. Address all communications to T. Paylor, 11 Sheldon Street, Holbeck, Leeds.

**Leicester.**—Hosiery Union, Horsefair St. Fridays at 8.

**Lochgelly (Scottish Section: Fife).**—Secs. (*pro tem.*), John Greig and Hugh Conway, The Square.

**Norwich.**—Good Friday—Market Place at 3. On Sunday will be held the second anniversary meetings of this Branch as follows:

- 11 —St. Faith's—comrade Mowbray.
- 11.45—Ber St. Fountain—Mark Manly, of London.
- 3 —Market Place—Mark Manly and Mowbray.
- 7 —Agricultural Hall Plain—Mowbray.
- 8 —Gordon Hall—lecture by Mark Manly.

Meetings will also be held on Monday being Bank Holiday. Tues. at 8.30, Members meeting. Wednesday at 8.30, Ways and Means Committee. Thursday at 8, Band practice. Friday at 8.30, Literary Committee. Saturday, open from 8 till 10.30.

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

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

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

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

**OPEN-AIR PROPAGANDA.**

**LONDON—Sunday 1.**

- 11 ...Acton—the Steyne ..... Acton Branch
- 11 ...Turnham Green—Front Common... Hammersmith
- 11.30...Hoxton Church, Pittfield St. .... Nicoll
- 11.30...Merton—Haydons Road..... The Branch
- 11.30...Regent's Park ..... Parker
- 11.30...St. Pancras Arches ..... Bloomsbury Branch
- 11.30...Walham Green ..... Fulham Branch
- 3.30...Hyde Park ..... Mainwaring and others
- 7 ...Acton—Priory ..... Acton Branch

**East-end Socialist Club.**—A Grand Vocal and Instrumental Concert will be given in Hall of League, at 8 p.m., on Easter Monday, April 2nd, in aid of funds of East-end Club.

**The Strike Fund.**—Entertainments will be given on Saturday evenings in the Hall of the League, at 8 p.m., in aid of the above Fund. Friends wishing to assist with songs, recitations, instrumental music, etc., should at once communicate with W. B. Parker, at office of League. Second Entertainment, March 31.

**SOCIALIST CO-OPERATIVE FEDERATION.**—Meeting at *Commonweal* Office, 13 Farringdon Road, on Sunday April 1st, at 3.30 p.m.

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# THE COMMONWEAL

The Official Journal of the Socialist League.

VOL. 4.—No. 117.

SATURDAY, APRIL 7, 1888.

WEEKLY; ONE PENNY.

## NOTES ON NEWS.

Mr. Ritchie's Local Government Bill is accepted everywhere as a progressive measure, and surprise is often expressed that such a measure should come from a Tory government. It is hardly worth while for us to go into its details, especially since it is more than possible that, whatever Mr. Ritchie's intentions may be, the Government generally does not intend that it shall pass intact. Meanwhile the putting forward by the Tories of a measure which would have been thought bold by the Liberals, points to that confusion of parties amongst our governing classes which is the sure forerunner of the emergence of the great popular party—Socialism, as the only real opposition to the sham Toryism and sham Liberalism that are now really but one party, the Obstructionists.

It must also be said that since undoubtedly this Bill is intended as a dishing measure and a bid for the popular vote at the next election, this betokens that the feeling for decentralisation, which has made the present form of agitation for Home Rule possible, is on the increase. It was understood by the Tories to be a certain bait, which it would not have been if the feeling in favour of decentralisation were not strong. Doubtless they also think it a *safe* measure; let us hope that it will turn out not to be quite so safe, and that it will be used for other purposes than electioneering.

Great news! An amnesty proclaimed in Berlin as the first-fruits of the new Kaiser's accession. "It chiefly applies to political offences," says the press; "but is not extended to persons sentenced under the Socialist Laws, nor to those imprisoned for high treason." To whom is it extended then in the name of patience? and how many first-class carriages would the non-Socialist political offenders fill? The Socialists, who are no doubt not at all surprised at this act of mercy, must feel themselves much honoured by the exception. Well, well! so ends any hope that may have been founded on the Liberal Kaiser—poor devil!

The consistent supporter of coercion in England, the *Daily News*, in reviewing the prospects for the hatching of that bad egg, the Liberal Party, says that "when Parliament met on the 9th February the Liberal cause had been seriously compromised by the follies of Trafalgar Square." This is an Easter Monday paragraph, and no doubt in such holiday times the production of a paper has to depend on at least its *second-rate* writers, and I think we may fairly suppose that the writer in question has as good a right to give us his views about folly as a blind man has about blindness, or a lame man about lameness.

Yet one must agree with the words of our coercionist booby, if not with his meaning. Balaam's ass has spoken, and spoken truth too; the Liberal cause has been seriously compromised by the follies of Trafalgar Square. Such a folly as that committed by Mr. Gladstone and his followers has rarely been met with, when they fell into the Tory trap by not resisting coercion in England while they were going about bawling over the horrors of coercion in Ireland. Trafalgar Square has been the touch-stone of their genuineness, and has found them out, and they now stand proclaimed as mere politicians and humbugs, who have taken up the Irish question because Mr. Parnell forced their hand by making his party vote against them in 1885. They will find out their mistake at the next election and bitterly regret "The Follies of Trafalgar Square," as given for the first time by the G. O. M. and his world-renowned company.

W. M.

## THE SUPREMACY OF THE FINANCIAL ARISTOCRACY.

THE lords of usury rule supreme throughout the world. They rule supreme in the councils of the nations, and hold in bondage the wealth-producing millions. They direct and control the press of the world, and the pulpit is everywhere their humble servant. Schomburg tells us that in the king are centred all the riches, and power, and wisdom of the nation, and we are assured that the gods of finance are the worlds benefactors, without whose beneficent presence the toiling millions would perish.

We have seen some little of the doings of the financial aristocracy in connection with the so-called English national debt, and the claim they have on the labour of the English workers. But their power is becoming equally great in all the States of Europe; whatever the form of government, the usurer is there. He is a kind of omnipresent vampire—he is here, he is there, he is everywhere—a ubiquitous monster living on the vitals of the people.

If we turn to France we find the public debt increased from £221,000,000 in 1852 to £911,000,000 in 1882, with an annual charge of over £39,000,000. This was the outcome of the Imperialism of Napoleon and the Franco-German war. What a rich field here for the gods of finance! We must remember, too, that France is far less rich than England, the annual income being nearly £10 per head less in France than in England. If we turn to Germany, a still poorer country, its public debt rose from £82,000,000 in 1852 to £271,000,000 in 1882, the annual income of Germany being only about half what it is in England per head of her population, viz., £18 7s. 0d. per head to £35 2s. 6d. in the United Kingdom. If we turn to Austria-Hungary, the case is even worse. In the thirty years ending 1882, her debt rose from £118,000,000 to £458,000,000, with an annual charge of over £20,000,000. And in Austria-Hungary the national income is more than £2 per head less than in Germany. If we go to Italy the case is worse still. There, with a national income of only £12 per head per annum, her debt has gone up from £68,000,000 in 1852 to £353,000,000 in 1882. But if we go to the icy regions of St. Petersburg, the case is even worse. There we find the debt rose from £95,000,000 in 1852 to £553,000,000 in 1882; and the national annual income of Russia is only equal to £9 9s. per head of the population. And the debts of all these States are increasing from year to year, and the taxation of the several States increases in the same proportion.

We have heard a great deal of late of the loss the world has sustained by the death of the old Imperial hypocrite of Germany. We have been told of the glories of his reign, and its immense benefits to the whole of Europe. But from the date of his accession to the throne of Prussia to 1887, the revenues of the European States had been raised from £390,000,000 to £773,000,000, while the public debts of these States had increased from £2,626,000,000 to £4,862,000,000. The result of the warlike policy he at once inaugurated and the imperial spirit of jingoism he and his man of blood and iron created, is that Europe to-day is one vast military camp, the peace establishments having over four millions of men under arms, and in case of a general war nearly seventeen millions of men would be placed under arms. What a commentary on the glorious reign of the late "peace-loving" Emperor!

But we have to look at the gods of finance in other directions as well as in connection with the public debts of the European States. If we go to the United States of America the same system prevails. There the Government borrowed one thousand three hundred million dollars. Up to 1880 it paid in interest two thousand seven hundred and eighty million dollars, in principal one thousand two hundred millions, and then owed one thousand eight hundred millions. In the large sums she borrowed from European capitalists she not only gave them credit for £100 for every £40 received, but agreed to pay them in a gold currency. Since 1880 more than 800,000,000 dollars more have been paid as principal and interest. It is true the Government has reduced the debt from 2,844,000,000 dollars to about a third, but the enormous sums paid and that will be paid before the whole debt is cleared off is a disgrace alike to the Government and people where manhood suffrage exists.

Let us see these gold kings in the capacity of bankers, and the powers they possess to plunder the people.

The Bank of England so called, has the power to issue £16,200,000 in notes without an ounce of gold as security. The shareholders are

guaranteed not less than 10 per cent. per annum, but as much more as they can get. In January, 1876, at a meeting of the Statistical Society, London, at which almost all the leading bankers were present, Mr. R. Baxter read a paper on the effects of the rate of interest, in which he stated that by raising the rate one per cent., and maintaining that increased rate for twelve months, it increased the profits of the bankers eight millions sterling. Now, here is a grand field for plunder. But it has been shown over and over again that while the bankers would thus increase their profits to the extent of eight millions a-year, they would cripple the trade of the country to the extent of fifty millions a-year. The Government also plays into the hands of the Bank of England every year. It borrows from the Bank perhaps two or three millions in the year, for which it gives as security exchequer bonds. The bank lends these out at interest, but the notes it gives the Government do not bear interest. The security for the Government bonds is the revenue of the whole country, while the security for the notes of the bank is only the share capital of the company. Again, if at any time the Bank cannot meet its notes, the Government steps in and authorises the Bank to suspend cash payments, thus protecting the bank against its creditors. This has happened many times.

During the Civil War in America the banks lent the Government 197,780,000 dollars, for which they received 410,000,000 dollars in Government bonds. The notes of the banks cost them nothing but the paper and printing, while the government bonds bore 6 per cent. interest, amounting to 24,600,000 dollars per annum. The banks also got the privilege of charging 7 per cent. on their own issues, amounting to 350,000,000 dollars, bringing them another 31,500,000 dollars. It also secured them a profit of 4½ per cent. on 600,000,000 dollars as deposits, or 27,000,000 more. The banks thus got 83,100,000 dollars per annum because they lent the government 197,780,000 in notes, which, at 6 per cent., would have only brought them 11,866,800 dollars, being additional profit to the amount of 71,233,200 annually. Here was plunder with a vengeance; and the same thing goes on in all the States of the European Continent, nay, throughout the civilised world.

The power of the lords of finance is far greater now than it was in 1848. Yet, even at that time, such was the power of the financial aristocracy that they killed the revolution of France, which in turn destroyed the hopes of all the revolutionary parties on the Continent. Nor will any revolutionary movement ever succeed in any country, whether in Europe or America, that does not at once and for ever destroy the supremacy of gold with the present private banking system, on which the power and very existence of the present capitalistic system depend.

How, it may be asked, does the financial aristocracy thus become master of the situation, master of both governments and peoples. By compelling them to adopt more or less a gold standard, in which the interest shall be paid, if need be. England had to do so in 1823, which produced the terrible panic of 1824-25, and which, by the contraction of the currency, virtually doubled the debts of the country. Almost all the European States have had to do so, and all of them at immense sacrifices. America had to do so in 1873; in four years wages were reduced nearly 40 per cent, and in 1878-79 over two millions of workers were out of work as the natural and inevitable result of the contraction of the currency.

Look at the position to-day of the leading countries. France is compelled to keep a stock of gold at from £190,000,000 to £200,000,000. The United Kingdom about £120,000,000 to £130,000,000; Germany about £70,000,000; while Russia with £22,000,000, Austria with £10,000,000, and Italy with £15,000,000, are struggling on in the best way they can to increase their stock of gold to give confidence to the bondholders. In 1873 America had but £29,000,000 in gold, but she had to bring it up to over £100,000,000 at the pleasure of her creditors. In all the States of Europe and America the gold-mongers rule supreme.

The conditions of society to-day everywhere depend on the plunder of the people; and from the terrible but inevitable effects of that plunder, the Revolution alone can free the workers.

J. SKETCHLEY.

The 18th March has been celebrated in all the centres of the Socialist and labour parties of Italy by meetings and speech-makings, besides the lighter and less weighty pleasures of "social evenings," "teas" and "banquets." At Rome on the morning of the 18th, numerous scraps and ribbons red and black were found attached to the telegraph posts and wires.

LONDON PAUPERS.—The weekly return of metropolitan pauperism shows that the total number of paupers relieved in the third week of last month was 110,698, of whom 60,733 were indoor and 49,965 outdoor paupers. The total number relieved shows an increase of 6,984 over the corresponding week of last year, 7,165 over 1886, and 6,013 over 1885. The total number of vagrants relieved on the last day of the week was 1,323, of whom 1,162 were men, 148 women, and 13 children under sixteen.

WHERE PROFITS GO.—"Who is making the money?" That is what the people are asking who have to foot the bills. "How much is coal worth?" is asked of the superintendent of the mines. "Two dollars and a quarter a ton." "How much is coal worth?" is a question put to the great mining and transportation companies at their palatial office in New York city. "Five dollars a ton." "How much is coal worth?" rings in the ears of the retail dealer along the river front. "Seven dollars and a half a ton." "How much is coal worth?" asks the housewife of a grocer. "Thirty cents a bushel, ma'am." That is nine dollars a ton. "How much is coal worth?" comes from a widow to the peddler in the street. "Twelve cents a scuttle, or eight cents a pail ma'am." That is twelve dollars a ton.—*Beaumont Free Speech.*

## SOCIALISM MILITANT IN SCOTLAND.

SINCE a year may make a good deal of difference in the position of a party, even when it is being carried on by quiet propaganda, I give a brief account of my lecturing tour in Scotland and my impressions of the position of Socialism there. On the 21st March I lectured at Kilmarnock, a not very important town on the edge of the mining district. The chief industry in the town itself is that of the railway works—a tolerably good indication, by the way, of labour being cheap in the neighbourhood; accordingly I was informed that the iron-miners in the neighbourhood are earning about nine shillings a-week working four days a-week, and that the coal-miners in the neighbourhood are not much better off. I spoke in the church of Mr. Forrest, my inviter. The audience was fair as to numbers; they were not demonstrative, and it was found impossible to get them to ask any questions; they were, however, very attentive, and showed their interest in the subject by buying over 10s. worth of literature. A large proportion of the audience seemed to me to be of the middle-classes. A branch of the Scottish Land and Labour League has just been formed here, but I was told that the town was hard to move.

The following Friday produced a failure. Our Edinburgh comrades had taken a large hall for my lecture in Leith (not being able to get a smaller one), but only five persons turned up besides the branch, who showed up well; so the money was returned and we gave it up. However, seeing plenty of people hanging about in the street as we went homeward rather sadly, we started an open-air meeting, and got together upwards of 200 persons, who listened for an hour and a half to me and some of the members of the branch, though the snow presently began to come down fast.

The next day I went to West Calder, a mining village some half-hour's railway ride from Edinburgh. We did not expect much of a meeting on a Saturday evening in such a place, especially as a very moderate amount of advertising had been used; but some of our Edinburgh comrades got down there, and did their best to get an audience by beginning in the open air; the bell-man—or rather, the bell-boy—was sent round also, and we got together some sixty persons, all workmen, into the room, which was thought very good considering the circumstances. They made an excellent audience as to attention and spirit. In the ensuing discussion, one person put forward as an objection a point which I see is made the most of by a well-known hand in *To-day*—to wit, that Socialism will produce wealth so abundantly and easily that we should not find work enough to do, and should deteriorate in consequence. The audience, mostly miners, obviously thought that this was an objection which might be passed over for the present, and were much tickled by the objector's persistency in his threats of a life of ease.

The Edinburgh Whig rag, the *Scotsman*, by the way, paid me the compliment of publishing a paragraph on this meeting, which implied that I could not get an audience and came away with nothing done; and when I wrote to contradict its statement, favoured its readers with an explanation which was a model of the suppression of truth and suggestion of untruth. It is a matter of course that this journal goes out of its way to treat our friends unfairly.

On Sunday I went to Glasgow; and here I had every reason to damn "the nature of things" as heartily as Porson did when he hit his head against the doorpost; for it came on to snow at about one o'clock and snowed till the time of meeting harder than I ever saw it snow, so that by 7.30 Glasgow streets were more than ankle-deep in half-frozen slush, and I made up my mind to an audience of fifty in a big hall: however it was not as bad as that, for it mustered over 500, who passed *nem. con.* a resolution in favour of Socialism. Owing to the weather, our comrades could not attempt the preliminary open-air meetings which they had intended to do; so I passed the day with them in their rooms in John Street, very much to my own pleasure, as without flattery they were, as I have always found them, hearty good fellows and thorough Socialists. All political parties in Glasgow have been depressed of late, they told me, and the Socialists have partly shared in this depression, though not as much as other bodies; but the knowledge of the movement and sympathy with it have grown very much, and our comrades are in good heart about it. The first novelty of the subject has worn off, and those who attend the meetings now are those who look upon the matter seriously. This is the view taken by our comrades wherever I went, and from all I could see I thought it the accurate one.

Perhaps the next day's meeting (Monday) at Edinburgh tended to show this. It was a miserable night again, and we did not expect an audience of dilettanti—and did not get it. It was about as numerous as I got last year under better circumstances, but differed from that in having scarcely any middle-class persons in it. As to quality, it was one of the very best audiences I ever spoke to, and missed no point in the lecture. In fact in Edinburgh at least I seem to have exhausted the sympathies (?) of those who came at first to amuse themselves over the eccentricities of a literary man, and only those are left who really want to take counsel about the one question worth considering—how to free our minds and bodies from capitalistic tyranny. We had the usual treat afforded us by one Mr. Job Bone, who attends and opposes all meetings, and who used to be thought a nuisance, but is now accepted as a convenient shoeing-horn to a discussion, and whose malicious folly is useful in drawing out the lecturer to explain matters that might otherwise remain unnoticed.

The next day I went to Dundee, where I had much the same kind of audience, except that there were more middle-class persons amongst

it, who made themselves useful by asking questions easily answered, but (I hope) in a way not satisfactory to them, though very much so to the working-men present. One of the questioners was the sub-editor of the Radical paper, and I answered an unfair question of his with some warmth, so I was not surprised at getting a very curt report next morning; whereas the Tory journal reported us fairly and well. The audience was very hearty and appreciative. There is a branch here of the Scottish Land and Labour League, manned by energetic workers, whose work, however, is difficult, because ordinary party politics run high in Dundee, and the Radicals there have not got further than the Gladstoneite programme, if it can be called a programme.

From Dundee I went to Aberdeen, where I found another branch of the S. L. L. L., including some energetic and intelligent men, a good deal kept down, as might be expected, by the ordinary Radicalism of the place, and some of whom, I think I may say consequently, are rather eager to try parliamentary agitation. Another stormy and wretched evening made me expect a thin audience; but the hall, which was a small one, was filled. The audience was mostly middle-class here, and rather heavy to lift, though attentive and not disposed to carp. The press reported the meeting carefully and well next morning.

If I could have, I would have visited Carnoustie, a mere village between Aberdeen and Dundee, but which has a good branch; but time was getting on, and I had promised to assist at a social gathering of our Edinburgh comrades on Thursday evening. I had a pleasant and interesting evening with them; and so finished what I came to do.

On the whole, in spite of some poor audiences (though the weather largely accounts for that), I was very favourably impressed by the outlook for Socialism in Scotland. There can be no doubt that much progress has been made since last year, in the teeth of great difficulties. As aforesaid, the novelty has worn off; respectability is beginning to see what Socialism really means, and doesn't like the look of it at all; the press is deadly hostile, and not ashamed of any meanness in its treatment of the movement; those who are dependent on "employers" need expect no mercy from them if they are spotted as Socialists; the traditional puritanism of the country throws additional obstacles in the way of propaganda,—and with all this the movement is gaining ground steadily, and has an appearance of solidity about it which is most encouraging. I saw most of our Edinburgh comrades, and they seem to me to have entered on a new stage of the movement, and to promise to be as staunch as may be. The progress they have made since last year is remarkable.

WILLIAM MORRIS.

### THE CAPITALIST'S CREED.

(With Apologies to the Early Fathers.)

I believe in Capital, the power Omnipotent, Creator of labour and brains.

And in Landlordism, his only-begotten son, our right-hand supporter, who was conceived in Slavery and born of Rapine. Suffered through the opposition of the landless masses, who were crucified, and imprisoned. Descended to bloodshed, cant, and corruption. Weathered the attacks of Socialists and Land Nationalists; and, assisted by "law and order" arose triumphantly from the conflict. Ascended into the Nirvana of wealth and luxury, and sitteth at the right hand of Capitalism. From whence we shall come with bludgeons, bayonets, gatling guns, and fossilised falsehoods, to judge the claims of the proletariat.

I believe in the power of Mammon, the holy congregation of Usurers and Jay Gouldites, the communion of Monopolists, the forgiveness of wholesale murder and exploitation, the resurrection of the rich, and damnation everlasting to Socialists, Radicals, Democrats, and all who oppose our beneficent rule. Amen.

W. H. McNAMARA, in the Sydney Radical.

### LITERARY NOTES.

Articles of interest to Socialists in April reviews:—*Westminster*: "Local and Imperial Taxes: Who Pays Them?" *Law Quarterly*: "Public Meetings and Public Order—(1) "Belgium," by H. Lenz, Ministry of Justice; (2) "France," Albert Gigot, sometime Prefect of Police; (3) "Switzerland," Prof. K. G. König. "The Canadian Constitution," J. E. C. Munro. *Nineteenth Century*: "Civilisation in the United States," Matthew Arnold; "The Breakdown of our Industrial System," Kropotkin; "A Model Factory," Earl of Meath; "The Chinese in Australia," Sir John Pope Hennessey. *Fortnightly Review*: "The Destruction of Self-Government," T. G. Bowles; "Healthy Homes for the Working Classes," D. F. Schloss. *National Review*: "Education in Agriculture," Prof. Wallace; "Free Trade and the Economists," Earl of Pembroke. *Blackwood's*: "The Central African Question"; "The Police of the North Sea," W. Morris Colles. *Contemporary Review*: "Fredrick III.," Max Müller; "Old Jacobinism and New Morality," Prof. A. V. Dicey; "A Glance at North Africa," Grant Allen; "Islam and Civilisation," Canon MacColl; "Socialism and the Unemployed," Arthur Arnold; "The Irish Landlords' Appeal for Compensation," Michael Davitt. *Temple Bar*: "Recollections of Charles Dickens." *Journal of Education*: "James Cotter Morison," Edmund Gosse. *Macmillan's*: "The Laws of Property," Lord Coleridge. *Longman's*: "The Endowment of the Daughter," Walter Besant.

Not a Paternal State but a Fraternal state is what Socialists want? You growlers for individualism, can't you see a difference?—*The People*.

An action is being brought against Andrea Costa, the Socialist deputy to the Italian Camera at Mantua for incitement to riot in the late demonstrations at Rome.

### THE IMAGE BREAKER.

WHEN the traditional gods once trusted most  
Grow meaningless dull idols to the sight,  
When loathing stretches forth its hand to smite  
Some coveted sweetness secretly engrossed;  
When the light fails upon an unknown coast  
And weak limbs vainly wander through the night,  
What hope of him in the world's war to fight  
Whose heart is ready to give up the ghost?

But he whose soul is resolute yet shall trace  
Sure paths in sunshine, well content at last  
To share the joys and sorrows of his race;  
And seeing the gods—whose symbols in the past  
He ignorantly worshipped—face to face,  
Become a pitiless iconoclast.

REGINALD A. BECKET.

### THE DISPOSAL OF THE UNFITTEST.

"Emigrate! Emigrate!"  
Cry the Captains of the State,  
"Though in far colonial fields  
Life no better promise yields;  
Though all's one abroad or here,  
Wages low and living dear;  
Where the devil you're to go  
How should we profess to know?  
Still, to ease us of a weight,  
Emigrate! emigrate!"

"Emigrate! emigrate!"  
Are we mad that we should bate  
Aught of our accustomed spoil  
Of the produce of your toil?  
Since that toil no more affords

Easy gains to us your lords,  
Worn-out workers, don't you see?  
We dismiss you, you are free,  
Free to seek a fairer fate,  
Emigrate! emigrate!"

Emigrate! emigrate!  
Thus the scoundrels ply the bait.  
"Hold," the victim might reply,  
"You were better spared than I;  
Go, yourselves; take share and scrip  
To amuse you on the trip,  
Take your cash-box; we demand  
Nothing more than tools and land.  
Though you leave us desolate,  
Emigrate! emigrate!"

C. W. BECKETT.

### CORRESPONDENCE.

#### A CAPTIOUS CRITIC.

William Thompson seems to me to be a somewhat captious critic. I am a man of peace, but there comes to my mind a short passage in Lord Macaulay's article on "John Hampden," which seems worth quotation, "Hampden, on the other hand, was for vigorous and decisive measures. . . He had shown that he knew better than any public man of his time how to value and how to practise moderation. But he knew that the essence of war is violence, and that moderation in war is imbecility." Perhaps it is no part of my business to defend Kitz, but it is just a trifle tiresome to see such twopenny-halfpenny quibbling as that in last week's *Weal*.

I maintain that shopkeepers, as shopkeepers, are simply public servants, and nothing else, that it is no part of their business to act as press censors, and that when they do so it is a duty to teach them better morals. If a man refuses to sell to me a copy of the *Commonweal* and persists in thrusting on me the *Rock*, it is not only common sense to deal with some more obliging tradesman, but it is also something of a duty to encourage the more obliging of the two and give him the whole of whatever advantage may accrue to him for his accommodating method of business, and therefore to purchase all my papers of him.

Now for my own bone with our curious friend. What in thunder is the matter with and where is the discrepancy in the note *re* Odger. There is a simple fact stated. I do not find it stated anywhere that Waterlow "is a very wicked person indeed." It is a matter of simple fact and arithmetic. The Tory polled 4686, Odger polled 4382, 304 less than the Tory. Waterlow an absolute outsider and without any real chance from the start, therefore wasted 2966 votes, of which less than a ninth part—which would assuredly have gone to Odger, Waterlow absent—would have put Odger top of the poll; if that is not a shameful offering up of the labour candidate to the "Sir," I don't know what is. Try again, friend Thompson. T. S.

When the people sleep on their rights they die.—*Ernest Jones*.

THE COST OF A RICH MAN.—"At the smallest average for the making of a single rich man we make a thousand whose life long is one flood of misery. The charnel houses of poverty are in the shadow of the palace, and as one is splendid, so is the other dark, poisonous, degraded. How can a man grow rich except on the spoils of others' labour? His boasted prudence and economy, what is it but the most skilfully availing himself of their necessities, most resolutely closing up his heart against their cries to him for help?"—*J. A. Froude in 'Nemesis of Faith.'*

THE BLESSINGS OF CIVILISATION.—"Anyone who is acquainted with the state of the population of all great industrial centres, whether in this or other countries, is aware that amidst a large and increasing body of that population there reigns supreme . . . that condition which the French call *la misère*—a word for which I do not think there is an exact English equivalent. It is a condition in which the food, warmth, and clothing which are necessary for the mere maintenance of the functions of the body in their normal state cannot be obtained, in which men, women, and children are forced to crowd into dens wherein decency is abolished and the most ordinary conditions of healthful existence are impossible of attainment—in which the pleasures within reach are reduced to brutality and drunkenness—in which the pains accumulate at compound interest, in the shape of starvation, disease, stunted development, and moral degradation—in which the prospect of even steady and honest industry is a life of unsuccessful battling with hunger, rounded by a pauper's grave. When the organisation of society, instead of mitigating this tendency, tends to continue and intensify it, when a given social order plainly makes for evil and not for good, men naturally enough begin to think it high time to try a fresh experiment. I take it to be a mere plain truth that throughout industrial Europe there is not a single large manufacturing city which is free from a vast mass of people whose condition is exactly that described, and from a still greater mass who, living just on the edge of the social swamp, are liable to be precipitated into it."—*Professor Huxley in Nineteenth Century for February.*





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

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

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

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

G. M'L.—Thanks. Our poetry file is so full that we cannot reprint the lines.

Periodicals received during the week ending Wednesday April 4.

<b>ENGLAND</b>	Chicago (Ill.)—Knights of Labor	Milan—Il Fascio Operaio
Die Autonomie	Denver (Col.) Labor Enquirer	Marsala—La Nuova Eta
Jus	Fort Worth (Tex.)—South West	Cremona—La Feccia
Justice	Milwaukee (Wis.)—Volkblatt	Bani—Municipiorul
Leaflet Newspaper	N Haven—Workmen's Advocate	<b>SPAIN</b>
Labour Tribune	St. Louis (Mo.)—Die Parole	El Productor
The Miner	San Francisco Arbeiter-Zeitung	Madrid—El Socialista
Norwich—Daylight	Coast Seamen's Journal	<b>PORTUGAL</b>
Railway Review	Freethought	Porto—A Revolucao Social
Worker's Friend	<b>FRANCE</b>	<b>GERMANY</b>
<b>NEW SOUTH WALES</b>	Paris—Cri du Peuple (daily)	Berlin—Volks Tribune
Hamilton—Radical	La Revolte	<b>AUSTRIA</b>
<b>INDIA</b>	L'Autonomie Individuelle	Arbeiterstimme
Bankipore—Behar Herald	Le Coup de Feu	Brunn—Volksfreund
Madras—People's Friend	Journal du Peuple	Vienna—Gleichheit
<b>UNITED STATES</b>	Guise—Le Devoir	<b>HUNGARY</b>
People	<b>HOLLAND</b>	Arbeiter-Wochen-Chronik
New York—Freiheit	Hague—Recht voor Allen	<b>DENMARK</b>
Der Sozialist	<b>BELGIUM</b>	Social-Demokraten
Truthseeker	Ghent—Vooruit	<b>SWEDEN</b>
Volkszeitung	Liege—L'Avenir	Stockholm, Social-Demokraten
Boston—Woman's Journal	<b>SWITZERLAND</b>	Malmö—Arbetet
Liberty	Zurich—Social Demokrat	<b>NORWAY</b>
Chicago—Labor Enquirer	Przedsturt	Kristiania—Social-Demokraten
Vorbote	<b>ITALY</b>	
	Gazetta Operaia	

## HURRY UP!

SOME people are never tired of praising the wonderful development of quickness in all branches of industry nowadays. They tell you with pride that this is a lightning age: the telegraph will carry your thoughts across the world in a twinkling; the railway will whirl you at marvellous speed from end to end of the country; inventions of machinery enable men to produce goods a thousand times more quickly than before. In the mad race for markets, "every hour must sweat its sixty minutes to the death." We have no time to rest; there is no ceasing, night or day, in this struggle for profits. And middle-classdom looks on, and praises this high pressure of unceasing expenditure of force as one of the great benefits of modern civilisation.

I have come to look very doubtfully on the blessings of civilisation; considering them, indeed, to be no blessings at all, not even in disguise, but mainly curses, whose influence for evil it is well-nigh impossible to compute. And in spite of the praises that our commercial classes shower upon it, I can see no blessing whatever in this vastly increased intensity, this power of ceaseless hurrying that characterises our lives to-day. For what good can there be in passing our time in toil, and leaving ourselves no leisure to enjoy the result of that toil? Of course the privilege of living in a constant and life-long expenditure of force pertains only to the workers; leisure and the full enjoyment of the product of labour do exist, but not for those who create the means of that enjoyment. Notice, too, that the praises of the system are loudest in the mouths of those who enjoy its results without sharing the work of producing them.

Here, then, is a sight for civilised man to boast of: myriads of men toiling day and night; piling up wealth, but never stopping to enjoy it; hurrying themselves into the grave, as if the mere effort of work were in itself the aim of life. Their toil is not performed in order that they may sit down quietly after it is done and enjoy its results, but solely to give a bare sufficiency of the necessities of life to enable them to repeat the toil on the morrow; and so on year after year, till the toil ends only with the life.

Hurry up!—that is our plan of action now. Accidents innumerable happen,—there is no time to take proper precautions against them. Hundreds of lives are lost every year on our railways, because there is no time for the signalman to rest or relax his strained attention for a moment, and, in the nervousness that overtaxed exertion brings on, a mistake is made, too often fraught with awful fatality. According to the journal of the mission to deep-sea fishermen, about 50 per cent. of the men on board the North Sea fleets suffer from various kinds of

accidents, owing to the fact that for weeks together they know no rest; sleep is taken in hurried snatches, and the overwrought frame falls a victim to some mistake, the cause of which is aggravated by the perilous surroundings of the work. In our factories, what wonder is it that the unresting machinery claims so many victims? There is no time for the machinery to stop; it must be oiled and cleaned while going, and very often the worker is entrapped to death by the system of hurry that forces him to thus risk himself. There is no time to allow boilers to cool; they must be cleaned at the peril of a worker's life. No time for anything except the unceasing production of goods for others to enjoy!

The greater intensity of machine work over handicraft, and the fearful strain of long hours, have produced nervous diseases in the worker, and wear out his frame far more rapidly than ever,—an advance in rapidity that our middle-class enthusiasts for civilisation forget most conveniently when they are recounting the glorious wonders of "our increased powers of working quickly." Not only can we produce goods more quickly, but in the process we can destroy men with an equal quickness. If this system could only bring out its dead for men to look upon, there were an argument that would surely show us how much too dearly we have paid for the privilege of increased production; an argument appealing at any rate to those who consider that the welfare of its members, and not its balance at the banker's, is the standard of the success of a system of society.

The workers of the world do not know what life really is: true, they exist—some of them—from day to day; but life, full of glorious possibilities, is far more than mere existence, and ought, to be real life, to include all those pleasurable emotions that education amongst beautiful things and full development of one's nature can give. From this real life the worker is shut out by the beneficent civilisation that surrounds him in this age of hurry. Even the domestic delights that are proverbially supposed to gather round the home life are forbidden to him. There are men, a great number of them, who never see their children during the winter except by candle-light; the little ones are abed before the father gets home from work, and not awake until he is gone in the morning. His time off work is just long enough to allow him to take the food and sleep needed to brace him up for the next day; and every next day the same. This is not life; swine can enjoy as wide an existence as this.

Under the rule of commerce there is but one standard by which all things are judged. "Will it pay?" To this standard commercialism brings everything; love, honour, beauty, manliness—will they pay? If not, then love, honour, and beauty may go to the devil; commercialism will have nothing to do with them unless it can make a profit out of them. There is no time to be wasted on such sentimental foolishness as making the world brighter, unless a good sound percentage comes of it. It is surely no wonder that under such principles Art should leave us, and every spark of generous feeling should die out, leaving but the cold ashes of formalism behind. The workman, when he was a workman and not a mere machine, had leisure to make his work real and to beautify it: now we have no time for reality made beautiful but only for machine-made shoddy, as ugly as one could ill imagine, whose quality matters nothing, seeing that it is made to sell quickly and not to use well.

One day the world may perhaps grow wise enough to learn that there are many things to be done on this side of death, and the chiefest of them is to be happy. A wise society aims at the happiness of its members, and labours only for the sake of producing the means of this happiness. Fools that we are to-day, we have builded but entered not in; have sacrificed the end of life to a constant effort to get at the means to that end, and having the means, never dream of using them to their proper end. We have been producing so much of the means of happiness, that the effort has left us no time to be happy!

FRED HENDERSON.

## SOCIALISM AND PROGRESS.

ONE of the commonest objections urged against Socialism is that it will take away all stimulus to progress, that we should settle down into a quiet monotonous existence, eating, working, and sleeping without care and without any stimulus to invention, and with no competition to force men to seek new methods of cheapening production.

Now in arguing with opponents, there is one thing which we have to remember—namely, that an argument is no use unless it is based upon some ground which our opponent will admit. One often uses arguments which, were we to place ourselves in our opponent's position, we should be obliged to acknowledge would not have much effect upon us. For example, what is the use of trying to convert secularists to Christianity by arguments drawn from the Bible, which are based on the assumption of the special inspiration of those who wrote it, while all the time the people whom it is sought to convert deny the inspiration? And yet how often do we hear this done. Or, for the sake of impartiality, to give the other side, how often do we hear secularists using arguments to convert Christians which only apply to a particularly narrow evangelical creed which many Christians dislike as heartily as they do. In the same way, we Socialists must not be content with an argument if it satisfies us, but we must try to place ourselves in the position occupied by our opponents and see if we can give our arguments a form that will appeal to them, see if we can base them on some ground which they will be likely to admit. In trying to meet this very common objection about the lack of stimulus, it is not enough

to say that our objector is mistaken; that competition crushes rather than stimulates the best individual enterprise and invention; that, far from any lack of invention resulting from Socialism, the conditions will be such as to give scope for a large number of inventors who are at present kept out of sight. All this may be true—probably it is; but it is just what our objector does not believe, he believes that all our inventors are stimulated by the hope of making great gains out of their inventions, and he thinks that if we take away that stimulus they will give over inventing.

Well, there are several points that we may take up and consider without begging the question. First, then, how far is it true that the chance of gain is held out as an inducement to all classes of discoverers sufficiently obviously for us to be justified in looking upon that as the probable motive for their efforts? Here a division at once occurs to us between the class of discoverers who make original researches and the class who apply the results of these researches to practical industrial uses. With regard to the first class, we may, I think, fairly contend that the chance of their reaping pecuniary reward is so small that it would be absurd to regard it as their chief motive. How seldom do we hear of an original researcher who makes any pecuniary gain out of his labour! The microscopist poring for days over his work discovers some minute creature which is harmful to man; he finds out what are the conditions favourable to its growth and what to its destruction, thus conferring a great benefit on mankind; but there is no pecuniary result for him to look forward to. In the same way, the discoverers of almost all the properties and laws of matter, of water, and of gases, upon which our wonderful industrial forces and arts are based—these men have not reaped great fortunes; they have often been poor enthusiasts, neglecting even the necessities of their own existence in their eager desire to find out the unknown. To say that competition or the desire for wealth have stimulated such men is, I think, not only untrue, but absurdly so.

We now come to the second class—those who have made practical applications of the discoveries of the former class. Here I think we may admit that competition and the love of gain have done something in stimulating invention, though hardly as much as our opponents make out. Supposing the scientist has discovered after years of patient study some chemical means of filtering certain noxious properties out of water; although the love of gain has not influenced him, yet it may be the stimulus which sets someone contriving and producing a handy practical filter embodying the discovery of the unpaid scientist. I may remark, in passing, on the manifest injustice, from our opponents' point of view even, of the way this stimulus acts. The men who toil patiently and faithfully for years seeking knowledge reap none of this pecuniary reward, while the man who comes in at the last point, and, taking advantage of all these discoveries made by generations of patient workers, adds the last touch to embody the result in a cheap and marketable form, he it is who gets the pecuniary reward—sometimes! For it is quite as often reserved for the man who chances to have capital enough to place the article in large quantities on the market!

But even of this class of inventions a large number are the result of other circumstances; as when Humphrey Potter invented an automatic method of opening and shutting the valves of the engine he was in charge of, it was not the love of gain or the force of competition which prompted the invention, but the desire for time to play. There is no doubt that a great many improvements have been prompted in a similar way by the desire of a man to ease himself of part of his work by making the machine do it for him.

I think we may fairly say that only a portion of the inventions connected with the practical application of discoveries to industrial purposes can be considered to have been stimulated by our present competitive system. We may now further consider whether this system has any tendency to prevent certain classes of inventors from coming to the fore. I think in one respect particularly we may expect that it has had such influence: I mean in the sort of invention workmen are likely to make to ease their own work. There is no doubt that when a man is constantly employed at certain work he will be very likely to think whether he could save himself in the amount of his work, supposing that such saving would be an advantage to him. But under the present condition of things can it be said that the workers have any idea that a reduction in the amount of work would be an advantage to them? On the contrary, they are more inclined to make work, and look with dislike rather than with favour upon any new labour-saving appliances. I am not an inventor of machinery myself, but as a designer I must say that it is often a trial to me to be set to design machinery for the express purpose of displacing labour, and I certainly should not feel disposed to give my spare time to trying to invent any such. For I cannot but think, in spite of the economists' reasoning to the contrary, that labour displaced by machinery is not always taken on in another quarter to an equal extent. However that may be, it is certain that the experience of the last fifty years has not altered the workman's opinion that machinery is his rival rather than his servant, and this feeling, I am sure, must have acted to check invention.

Another point, which our opponent will, I think, hardly deny, is that some men are moved more by one stimulus and some by another; and that even if we grant to him that a large part of the inventions of modern times have been stimulated by the present competition and race for wealth, that we may at least expect that if we change the system there will be found many men who might be stimulated by other motives under new conditions. *E.g.*, if it became apparent to all that an invention would be a benefit to the workers in lightening their toil, instead of being, as is now thought, a rival to them, many

men would be stimulated by the wish for the good of their fellows—the general gratitude which would be accorded to one evidently a benefactor—who are now not stimulated by competition or greed. Moreover the new conditions which would obtain under Socialism would leave greater leisure for all and so more time to devote to inventive work, and they would give a chance to many quiet thoughtful inventors, who now have not the requisite amount of self-assertion to bring an invention to the front in a competitive market.

There is one branch of science even now where a man is not allowed to use his discoveries for his own gain, but must make them the common property of the faculty. I allude, of course, to medical science. A doctor who kept his discovery to himself and traded on it would be boycotted by the whole profession. In this way much of the ordinary stimulus of private gain is taken away, and yet it cannot be said that there is no progress in the medical faculty; nor do I think it could be shown that progress was at all retarded by this lack of stimulus.

To sum up more concisely the line of argument which may be taken with those whose chief difficulty is this question of lack of stimulus—and they form a large class—we may fairly claim that in the department of original scientific research the stimulus of competition and love of gain is practically inoperative, so that the most important part of our subject is put out of the reach of our opponents' argument, for we must all agree that the great foundation discoveries are of more importance than the practical applications arising from them; these latter will be almost sure to arise sooner or later when once the principles and properties have been discovered. The conditions of Socialism, by giving greater leisure to all and relieving men of their anxiety about getting a living, will be favourable rather than otherwise to original research. Man is an inquisitive animal; give him a chance and he will seek the unknown in all directions. In the line of practical application, we may admit that a good number of modern inventions have been due to the stimulus of competition; at the same time, we may claim that the conditions resulting from this competition have tended to discourage workmen from inventing in some ways. We may also fairly expect that the new conditions under Socialism, which will take away the stimulus of competition and greed, will put in their place the gratitude of the people to a manifest benefactor, and the desire to benefit our fellows and lighten their toil, which we may hope will appeal to as large and as useful a class of inventors.

But even supposing that the event should prove that the men with capacity for practically applying discoveries to the useful arts can only be appealed to by the stimulus of pecuniary gain, there would be nothing to hinder a Socialist community from offering a reward to the best practical application of some discovery. As a rule, a thing is known in the laboratory a long time before any practical (which generally means sufficiently cheap) way of applying it is invented. The electric light was known long before it could be made cheaply enough to become a practically useful light.

The Ordnance Survey department of our Government is a standing proof that discoveries and improvements do not depend entirely on competition. The arts of surveying, map-making, and map-printing have been greatly improved by this department, and some very important processes discovered by men almost as much outside the reach of the stimulus of competition as if they had lived in a Socialist community.

We are apt to over estimate the amount due to the last inventor in any machine or process who brings it practically into use. It is as though we should give great credit for the making of a locomotive to the man who finally oils it and starts it: he but sets going a machine made and perfected by others. Very often the inventor who gets all the credit and the gain from a discovery does little more than set it going; he perhaps simplifies it a little or cheapens its production, thus bringing what was already discovered within the range of commercial or industrial utility.

It so often occurs that the same discovery or invention is made by several people at once in different parts of the world, that it is in some cases only chance which gives the credit and gain to one man; if he hadn't done it another would.

On the whole, I think there is no great ground to fear lack of inventive work under Socialism; it is such a plastic system that it will be able to accommodate itself in details to the conditions which it will in part cause. If certain classes of inventors will not work without pecuniary stimulus, Socialism will be able to give it. The Government of France frequently, I believe, takes in hand various questions and stimulates by various means their solution. But I think it will be found that the best and most useful inventors will do as good work for the sake of benefitting their fellow-men and earning their gratitude as they now do for the sake of gain. And even if we do not go on inventing cheaper and more varied fabrics to the extent that we have done in the past, it will be some compensation that every one at least will have the wherewithal to clothe himself. And if our power generally of producing the means of living should not increase so rapidly under Socialism as it has done under competition, it will be no small set off if we can all have a chance of learning how to use wisely what we do produce—in short, how to *live*; and after all, "The life is more than meat and the body than raiment." RAYMOND UNWIN.

We look forward to a time when society will no longer be divided into the idle and the industrious; when the rule that they who do not work shall not eat, will be applied, not to paupers only, but impartially to all; and when the division of the produce of labour will be made by concert on an acknowledged principle of justice.—*J. S. Mill.*

# THE LABOUR STRUGGLE.

## BRITAIN.

The Edinburgh masons have voted by a large majority in favour of an eight hours' day to be secured by Act of Parliament.

The men at Penston colliery in East Lothian, have got warning of a 10 per cent. break. Notices to that effect were posted on their pit-heads at the beginning of last week.

**DOMESTIC SERVANTS.**—Thirty-one thousand domestic servants are computed officially to have emigrated from England last year. It is calculated that there are to-day an equal number of trained servants out of employ in the Metropolis alone.

**STOPPAGE OF A FACTORY.**—It is stated that the works which belonged to the firm of Messrs. Morison, Anderson, and Butchart, Dundee, will in all likelihood be closed after the machinery has been cleared of the material presently in process of manufacture. About 800 or 900 hands will thus be thrown out of employment.

**SMELTERS' STRIKE AT HOLYTOWN.**—The dispute at Clydesdale Iron Works still continues. In support of the position taken up by the steel-smelters, a demonstration was got up on Saturday, in which sympathisers from Blocharn and other works took part. The police (who had been on duty since the previous Monday, when a slight collision occurred among the strikers) were present in considerable force, but nothing requiring their interference occurred.

**LINLITHGOW SHOEMAKERS.**—Considerable distress at present prevails among the shoemakers of Linlithgow consequent on the failure of employers to secure, as formerly, a share of Government contracts for the manufacture of military boots. Large numbers of workmen are now idle, and while many have gone elsewhere in quest of employment, nevertheless the effects of dull trade are being keenly felt on all hands. A goodly number of the workmen have been employed for some time past by the Police Commissioners breaking metal for the streets; but even at this but a small pittance is obtained. So far there are no signs of an improvement in the leather trade.

**BOILERMAKERS AND IRON SHIPBUILDERS.**—The annual report for 1877 of the United Society of Boilermakers and Iron Shipbuilders has just been published. The list of unemployed members is conclusive as to the effect of the terrible depression which commenced in 1883. The total income for the year amounted to £70,551, 11s. 10d., while the expenditure included £22,165, 6s. 6d. paid to the unemployed—an element that had cost them £170,410 during the past four years—£17,165, 9s. 5d. for sick benefit, £3149, 17s. 2d. in benevolence, £4657, 16s. 4d. for superannuation, and £3485, 10s. for funeral benefit. Their disputes during the year had only cost them £1131, 16s. 3d. The total expenditure for the year amounted to £67,445, 11s. 11d., leaving a balance of £25,001, 5s. 2d. The society at present consists of 214 branches, with 24,860 members, a decrease in the membership for the year of 481.

**SWEATING IN THE SHOE TRADE.**—A representative of the *Shoe and Leather Record* has been making some inquiries in the East-end which reveals the wretchedness of the lives of many whose existence is dependent upon the boot and shoe trade. One room he entered he thus describes: "Besides the six workers there were in the room two women and two little girls. The latter appeared to be waiting for some fish that the mother was cooking for supper in the same room in the small hours of the morning. The master (he is a master sweater) showed me one pair which he had back from shop because the bottoms were not clean enough. I have seen some rubbish in guise of boots and shoes, but these were the worst I have ever seen. It is horrible and pitiful to think that men should wear out their lives in the manufacture of such wastrel products. Here are some of the prices: Girls' kid button, strip waist, 2s. 3d. per doz.; women's kid shoes, strip waist, 3s. 9d. doz.; mock kid shoes, black waists, 2s. 6d.; lasting S.S., paper heels, 2s. 3d.; children's leather-lined, 1s. 6d. doz." The writer's informant, whose name, of course, he does not give, used some strong expletives in condemning the conduct of his employer, whose constant threat seems to be that if his unfortunate slaves don't come to his terms he can get others who will.

**SCIENTIFIC DRESSMAKERS.**—A Trade and Benefit Society for Scientific Dressmakers has been formed. Lady Dilke is treasurer; A. E. Sparke, secretary. Offices 27 Margaret Street, London, W. The entrance fee is 1s., and the weekly payment twopence and fourpence. Those paying twopence will be entitled to 5s. per week in case of sickness or out of work; those paying fourpence 10s. per week. There will also be provision made for old age. As the society is to be a real trades union and not a semi-philanthropic scheme the contributions appear too small to cover expenses. It is to be hoped, however, that the dressmakers will largely avail themselves of such a much-needed opportunity for improving their social condition. Women are now ceasing to be regarded for the most part merely as chattels to be bought and sold in the marriage market, and are more and more taking their share as individuals in the labour struggle. As yet, however, they do not understand very clearly that their so-called liberty is really a sham; that like the emancipated negroes of South America, they are but exchanging servitude to a master to become the slaves of a class. By their lack of solidarity they are almost completely at the mercy of the employing classes, thereby not only having to work long hours for scant pay, but tending to lower the level of subsistence for the whole of the workers. Women have too often in the past been willing tools in opposing the efforts of their brothers to better the conditions of labour, e.g., the Factory Acts; and therefore I gladly welcome everything that will help to bring about a common understanding between the workers, irrespective of sex and occupation.

**CLEANING MACHINERY DURING MEAL HOURS.**—An employer in the Shaw districts, near Oldham, has proposed to the spinners that if they will sign a declaration stating that they hold themselves responsible if any of their piecers are caught by the factory inspector performing any kind of work during prohibited hours, that he on his part will undertake to allow the spinners to stop their mules during the engine hours for the purpose of performing all the necessary cleaning and oiling which has been done in the meal hours. This is an excellent proposition, and one that the workers ought heartily to welcome. Unfortunately, the system of piece-work is a great hindrance in putting an end to the objectionable and slavish practice of working during meal-hours. The spinners are forced to shine one against the other to produce the full tally of yarn turned out by the best man in the mill for fear of dismissal, and in order to stand well with the overlookers. The consequence is that they have to run their mules every minute it is possible to do. At another mill in the same district, an instance has

occurred of the selfishness engendered by the competitive wage-system in connection with this matter of cleaning. The employer conceded the right of the men to stop their mules during engine-hours to do all the requisite cleaning, and in order that they might not lose by the change, granted them an increase in the piece-work price. The consequence was that in the course of a few weeks, first one spinner, then another, commenced to do their cleaning in the meal hours and to compel the piecers to assist them, all for the sake of earning a shilling or so more per week. The employer hearing of the matter at once reduced the piece-work price, and the old system was reverted to. "In such a case," says the *Cotton Factory Times*, "it was a pity the employer did not discharge the spinners who broke through the arrangement. If he had done so it would have been a suitable warning to others, and perhaps have been the means of inducing other employers to follow his example. When spinners are given such a chance as the employers referred to offered their men of dispensing with the necessity of piecers having to work during meal times, and they don't avail themselves of the opportunity, by all means they should be held responsible, and made to feel their responsibility by being summoned in all cases where the inspectors may find their piecers at work during prohibited hours."

## REVOLUTIONARY CALENDAR.

WEEK ENDING APRIL 14, 1888.

8	Sun.	1848. Trial of "Chartist" rioters. 1884. Labour Riots at Kidderminster.
9	Mon.	1626. Lord Bacon died. 1747. Lord Lovat beheaded for complicity in the '45 rebellion.
10	Tues.	1820. Sir Chas. Wolsey and Rev. M. Harrison tried for sedition. 1848. The Chartist Demonstration on Kennington Common. 1883. Trial of "Invincibles" began at Dublin.
11	Wed.	1814. Napoleon abdicated. 1887. Anti-Coercion Demonstration in Hyde Park.
12	Thur.	1793. Phillips imprisoned for selling 'Rights of Man.' 1871. Pierre Leroux died. 1879. Nihilist Address to the Czar. 1885. Eight Hours' Labour-day Demonstration held in London.
13	Fri.	1812. Luddite Riot at Leeds. 1829. Catholic Emancipation Bill passed. 1861. Taking of Fort Sumter begins American Civil War. 1872. Samuel Bamford died.
14	Sat.	1865. Abraham Lincoln assassinated. 1879. Solovieff's attempt upon the Czar.

*Labour Riots at Kidderminster.*—Certain employers whose workmen were on strike, imported weavers from other parts of the country. Whereupon serious rioting took place, considerable damage was done, and many persons injured on both sides. "Order" was at length "restored" by a cavalry regiment, and things went on as before.—S.

*Francis Bacon died.*—Francis Bacon, Baron Verulam and Viscount St. Albans. How many of the thousands who day after day pass along Gray's Inn Road and under the shadow of one of the ugliest masses of brickwork in the whole of London, connect "Verulam" Buildings with one of the world's greatest philosophers? He was born at York House, in the Strand, January 22, 1561; the youngest son of Sir Nicholas Bacon, Keeper of the Great Seal for twenty years of Elizabeth's reign. Nicholas Bacon marks a very important period in English history, he being one of the first "professional" statesmen England produced. A form of "sub-division of labour (?) and "specialisation" for which we have no great reason to be thankful, despite their "reforming" ideas; which set some to be priests, some soldiers, and some statesmen; and which has made as Volney says "a privileged class distinct from the people, who acquire wealth by taking pains to govern," and swindle and betray. In Francis Bacon the principle of "heredity" seems to tell largely; his father was of considerable talent and his mother one of the most learned women of the period, and although after his father's very sudden death in 1580 Francis passed through some years in obscurity, he ultimately passed his father in dignity of offices and renown. Francis was probably one of the youngest students who ever entered Trinity College, Cambridge, which he did at the age of thirteen; staying there some three years and then going to Paris and travelling France. A newspaper writer recently remarked on the fact that Mr. Gladstone's private secretaries are almost always men of talent who make a name, while Lord Salisbury's don't. The Cecil's of Bacon's time seem to have likewise had much dread of talent, and for years Bacon was kept back by their jealousy. In 1590 he was sworn Queen's Counsel; 1593 he was M.P. for Middlesex. In 1597, he first appeared as author. On February, 1601, Earl of Essex was executed, to which end Bacon largely contributed after years of lavish favours at the hands of Essex. March, 1603, Elizabeth died; James VI. of Scotland became James I. of England, and Bacon's sun began to rise. He was knighted and married; 1604 appointed King's Counsel, 1607 Solicitor-General, and in 1612 Attorney-General. He was largely responsible for Union of Scotland with England. In 1616 he was sworn as Privy Councillor, and in 1617 Keeper of the Great Seal, and little later Lord Chancellor. In spite of all this he found time to do such literary and philosophical work as will live years after the memory of his shameful fall shall have almost died out. It is a strange commentary on human nature, that the man who could act as a vigorous prosecutor for a tyrant, as in the case of Earl of Essex and the Star Chamber villainies, could attend a prisoner under torture to wring some incriminating word, as in the case of Rev. Mr. Peacham, could, or years accept bribes for his legal decisions, should study and write as he did "to multiply human enjoyments and mitigate human sufferings." As a philosopher he will rank as one of the most worthy of honour; as a statesman, lawyer, and judge as one of the worst on record, a mean, cowardly lickspittle and traitor to his best friend. To Socialists he is somewhat interesting as author of "Atlantis," which, however, is a very imperfect social scheme. He was the great apostle of experimental philosophy and its martyr, for he caught a cold while stuffing a fowl with snow, having conceived the idea of meat preservation by freezing. He died at Highgate, April 9, 1626.—T. S.

*The Great Chartist Demonstration.*—On Kennington Common, April 10, 1848, was one of those days which seem to be made to just exactly show how very different the English are to the French. Given three or four months of excitement and ferment, red hot oratory and friction between authorities and people, given such a gang of tricksters and bullies as Parliament then was, and then given such a meeting of people as gathered on the Common that day, given then in France with their practise in upspilling governments, there would have been such a clearing of the political atmosphere as would have been to the advantage of the whole world. That the government guessed something of this can be seen by the preparations made. Troops from Windsor, Hounslow, Chichester, Chatham, and even Dover and Winchester, were poured into London. Heavy artillery from Woolwich; the Marines at the Admiralty. Broad swords and



pistols served out to the police, and two thousand stand of arms served out to the clerks at the post-offices. Dock labourers sworn as specials, churches turned into barracks and filled with troops; public vehicles prohibited running so they should not be used as barricades. Practically the whole available army and navy were under orders for immediate action, for steam was kept up on board such vessels as were handy to bring up fresh troops if wanted. The government won. The monster petition which was to have been drawn on a car to the House was bundled up on three cabs, and taken by a deputation down to the House after the meeting was concluded. Feargus O'Connor had a very nasty dish to swallow at that meeting, but it was not the first time he had to eat his own words, and still he survived.—T. S.

**Death of Pierre Leroux.**—The founder of the system known in history of Socialism as the Doctrine of Humanity (La Doctrine de l'Humanité) was born in 1798, and died at Paris, April 12, 1871. The Commune of Paris gave him a worthy funeral, acknowledging thereby the great services he had rendered to the cause of the emancipation of mankind. From 1848 down to us, little notice has been taken of him either as a philosopher or as a Socialist. As a philosopher, it is said that he belonged to some kind of a mystical school, wishing to bring about a sort of neo-Christianity much larger and more progressive than Christianity of older type, but nevertheless religious in its essence. As a Socialist he is nothing else than an "utopian dreamer" as our modern doctors in economical science style it, and such an utopist is a very contemptible man indeed! We think both assertions wrong, and are of opinion that even nowadays the writings of Pierre Leroux may be read with a considerable amount of fruit and good result for the reader. Leroux is rather a representative of the ideas which prevailed in the first part of this century which, endeavouring to resume the positive tradition of the eighteenth century, suddenly interrupted by the first Empire, could only succeed in it by passing through various new religious hypotheses. Disciple of Saint Simon, even after the secession of the sect of *Erfantim*, he remained convinced that the social reorganisation required a religious transformation. However, his religion of humanity as he calls it, is so closely connected with commutative justice and universal solidarity pure and simple, that he can no longer be said to belong to the old spiritualistic schools of philosophical thought. Then again his tendencies towards absolute equality, and his incessant endeavouring to bring to the front the study of the various social problems, separate him absolutely and radically from these former schools. As far back as 1834, Leroux tried to edit a general encyclopedia, in which are to be found several very important works, as for instance, his vigorous criticism of Eclecticism, which struck a terrible blow at M. Cousin, at that time a kind of *pontifex maximus* of French philosophy. As a Socialist he wrote several works, which even to-day have not lost their interest, as 'Plutocracy' (La Ploutocratie), the 'Malthusians,' 'Equality,' which may be called important economical productions, whatever the modern "scientific" Socialists may think of them. So, for instance, we may say that the question of the hours of labour, to which Marx has devoted so much care and so long researches, has been elucidated by Leroux forty years ago in a masterly production which, although it has not the scientific precision of Marx's investigations, forms nevertheless a very lucid *exposé* of the whole question, and of that special question in its relations to the whole social problem. Pierre Leroux has formed a good number of distinguished disciples, among whom we may name his two brothers, Jules and Charles Leroux, his son Luc Lesages, and Aug. Desmoulin, then Grégoire Champseix, Louis Nètré, Pauline Roland, Talandier, Paul Robery, Edmund and Charles Frossard, Adolphe Bertheault, Ulysse Charpentier, Emile Aucante, Ad. Parand, Terson, Raban, Armand, Yverneaud, Ed. Desjardin, Vandamme, Robert du Var, and several others. In 1845, Leroux and his followers decided to form an agricultural colony in order to make propaganda in the provinces, and to experiment in communistic organisation. Fifty-two persons joined in the enterprise, and settled at Boussac, in the Creuse Department. This colony, which would have been a success but for want of practical knowledge in its inhabitants, was dissolved after the Revolution of 1848, when Leroux was elected a member of the Constituante. But the influence which the founder of the Boussac colony and his friends have exercised upon the poor peasants of that country has lasted long after their departure, and even now is not quite extinct in the centre of France. I am inclined to add, for the edification of all "scientific" Socialists, that Leroux explained there at first to the ignorant peasants the famous law of *circulus*, which has contributed so much to make them laugh—not the peasants but the "scientific." And yet nowadays the "utopian" law of *circulus* is nothing else than the law of restitution of Liebig, a big scientist, developed since by the illustrious Moleschott, another big scientist! Poor Leroux!—V. D.

**A Nihilist Proclamation of Warning.**—In the space of ten days, from the 1st to the 10th of April, 1879, no less than 1,140 Nihilists were arrested throughout Russia, and in answer to this wholesale persecution the Executive Committee of the Russian revolutionists deemed it fit to draw up a proclamation, which was posted at the corners of the streets of St. Petersburg on three successive nights, and which it will be as well to preserve in our columns. It runs as follows: "To Mr. Alexander Nicolaievitch. The warning and threatening letters, as well as the sentences which we, the invisible delegates of the murderously oppressed Russian people, have sent to the various dignitaries of the present despotic government in Russia, belong as a rule to the preparative work, and for that reason, neither yourself, nor any member of your family appears in the slightest degree menaced by our executive organs. In the first instance we wish to clear out in its lowest and filthiest corners the Augean stables of despotism; to free the people from administrative persecution, which throws them guiltless into prison, and there, without compassion, chastises them and allows them to suffer from hunger and thirst, and then leads them as insurgents to the gallows or sends them to the Polar regions to work in the mines. We sit in judgment and shall be compassionate in the exercise of our office, and shall recoil from the use of no means which may lead us to our object, which is the eradication of the hellish brutality of despotism through fire and sword. The victims cry out to their executioners: *Moriturus te salutant*, and if you, Alexander Nicolaievitch, refuse to hear our warning voice, to put an end to this tyranny, we hereby declare to you that tyranny will be beaten in the end. Your system in Russia is rotten to the core. Our almost boundless resources are ruined. Your army of functionaries are a gang of cruel and insatiable thieves. Your judges are a shame to justice. Your governors, police-masters, and generals are so many satraps worthy of Xerxes or Darius. Wherever we turn our eyes we see nought but stupidity mingled with cruelty, wanton waste combined with the most merciless spoliation of the people. For the army alone you reserve your fatherly care. You are getting into dangerously deep waters, Alexander Nicolaievitch. Therefore we warn you but spare your life. The Executive Committee." Two days afterwards Solovieff made his heroic attempt, and gave up his life in the hope of freeing one hundred million men.—V. D.

**Eight Hours' Demonstration.**—A meeting called by the S.D.F., numbering from 10,000 to 15,000, held in Hyde Park to demand compulsory reduction of the hours of labour in all trades to eight hours a-day and immediate organisation of the unemployed, attracted great attention from the press and public—and much abuse from the former.—S.

**Luddite Riots at Leeds.**—For some days past there had been disturbances, and on the 13th they culminated in a determined attack upon a mill at Rawfold, which had been filled with an armed garrison in readiness. After a fight of half an hour, and the exchange of some hundreds of shots, the assailants were beaten off.—S.

**The Catholic Emancipation Act.**—The Catholic Emancipation Act, like so many more Acts in the books, was passed at the very last minute to avoid civil war

(vide Duke of Wellington's speeches), and when passed giving the very smallest concession which could be palmed off on the victims. In 1823 the Catholic Association was formed by Dan O'Connell and McShiel, it was favourably received at the start, thanks to a large number of the Irish clergy giving their support, but it was not till the following year, when the subscription was made popular by monthly subscriptions of one penny, that the Association began to give the authorities a fright. Within two years the "Catholic Rent," as this subscription was known, reached about £500 per week; naturally the Government tried to suppress the Association, while they prepared at the same time some palliative. This they did in a bill apparently favourable, but which disfranchised all the small freeholders and subsidised the Irish clergy. O'Connell was soaped over to accept this, but the House of Lords, true to its usual habits, threw out the small concession. In 1826 came a general election. Soon after assembling of new Parliament, Lord Liverpool, Prime Minister, died, and Canning was put into power; he, probably not dreaming of so soon being in power, had somewhat committed himself to Catholic Emancipation, therefore the other Tory ministers struck work with the new boss, and he had to get together a new set of gangers. The Tories and the Whigs made union against Canning and his concessionists, and managed to worry him to death in a very few months with very little progress made. Lord Goderich was a stop-gap minister, and in January, 1828, came Duke of Wellington as Prime Minister, and Sir Robert Peel as Home Secretary. At the opening of the Session a petition of 800,000 Catholics was presented by the Catholic Association in favour of the repeal of the Test Act and Corporation Act. This petition in favour of Protestant Dissenters was rather a clever idea of Catholic O'Connell, and had considerable effect in repealing those Acts and also on the affairs of the Catholics, for almost directly afterwards came a bye election, when all the upper-crust politicians—of both parties—were given a smack in the face by the election of Daniel O'Connell for County Clare. The details of this government are too many to discuss here, but it assuredly helped the passing of the Emancipation Act by absolute dread of civil war. O'Connell on coming to London decided, finding that a Bill was fairly on the way, not to hamper the matter by any question as to legality of his return, so waited while the bill was brought in and cussed and discussed, as were all its supporters. The third reading was passed by a majority of thirty-six votes on March 30th, next day was carried to the Lords, and on April 2nd the second reading was moved by Duke of Wellington "to prevent civil war." After some most violent language it was passed by majority of one hundred and four, and on April 13, 1829, a nation was sold for a mess of pottage, for the concession was balanced by disfranchising the whole of the forty-nine shilling freeholders. For this O'Connell and the Irish race have reason to curse Sir Robert Peel, for by this the landlords were given a power they have used to the uttermost to the ruin of Ireland.—T. S.

**Death of Samuel Bamford.**—Samuel Bamford, weaver, poet, and Radical, was born at Middleton, Lancashire, Feb. 28, 1788, the son of an operative muslin weaver afterwards governor of Salford workhouse. Samuel received some education at Middleton, and then was sent to Manchester Grammar School. He learned weaving, and was for some time employed as a warehouseman in Manchester. Accidentally meeting with a copy of the 'Iliad' and with Milton's poems, he became disposed to study of poetry, and later on produced a number of homely verses, which were published under the title 'The Weaver Boy, or Miscellaneous Poetry,' 1819; 'Homely Rhymes,' 1843; and also some in Lancashire dialect, some being very droll. For a short time he was engaged on board a collier trading between London and Shields, and after other changes settled down as weaver. He soon became known in his district as one of the uneasy ones, and soon gained influence. Although he was a "moral force" man, and his speeches more moderate than many, he was yet arrested for having taken part with Henry Hunt and others in the great meeting on St. Peter's Fields, Aug. 1, 1819, the day of Peterloo. He was arrested on a charge of high treason and sent to Lancaster Castle, was liberated on bail, and was tried at York on March, 1820. Was required to enter into recognisances to keep the peace and be of good behaviour for six months. In the following April he was called to the Court of Kings Bench and sentenced to twelve months' imprisonment in Lincoln gaol, walking all the way from Lancashire to London to receive this punishment. About 1826 he became correspondent to a London newspaper, and incurred some dislike of his fellows, which was intensified when during the Chartist agitation he was sworn as special constable. About 1851 he was procured the post of a messenger in Somerset House, but after a few years of this he gave it up and returned to his native home and old trade. He died at Harpurhey, Lancashire, April 13, 1872. His 'Passages in the Life of a Radical,' and 'An Account of the Arrest and Imprisonment on Suspicion of High Treason,' make one wonder what cause he had to remain always a moral force man. His name will be seen on the face of the Reformer's Memorial in Kensal Green Cemetery.—T. S.

**Abraham Lincoln.**—The 16th President of the United States. Born in Larue County, Kentucky, February 12, 1809; died April 15, 1865. Farm-boy, hired hand on a flat-boat, store clerk, commander of a company of volunteers in the Black Hawk war, postmaster, and member of the State legislature. After going through these, he opened office as a lawyer at Springfield in 1837, and was soon a prominent Whig leader. Member of Congress from 1847 to 1849, he voted for the reception of anti-slavery memorials and opposed the annexation of Texas. In 1860 was elected President. Then followed secession and the war, during which his tremendous power of work and real organising faculty helped the Northern cause no little. His emancipation proclamation took effect January 1, 1863. Re-elected President in 1864. On April 14, 1864, while sitting with his family in his box at the theatre, he was shot by John Wilkes Booth, a violent Secessionist. He lived for some hours after the shooting.—S.

## THE SOCIALIST LEAGUE.

OFFICES: 13 FARRINGTON ROAD, E.C.

The Council will meet on Monday next, April 9th, 7.45 sharp.

**London Members.**—The London Members' Meeting will be held on Monday next, April 9th.

**Branch Subscriptions Paid.**—1887: Hastings, Nottingham, Pelsall—None. Bradford, Croydon, Glasgow, Ipswich, Leeds, Merton, North London, Norwich—to end of March. Edinburgh—to end of May. Mitcham—to end of July. Walsall—to end of August. Hull—to end of September. Bloomsbury, Walham Green, Wednesday—to end of October. Mile end, Oxford—to end of December. —1888: Marylebone—to end of January. Clerkenwell, Hammersmith, Leicester—to end of February. Acton, Hackney, Hoxton (L. E. L.)—to end of March.

## REPORTS.

**CLERKENWELL.**—On Wednesday, March 28, H. H. Sparling lectured on "The Last Revolution." Good discussion. On Sunday, April 1, a very pleasant "social" evening was spent by members and friends.—B.

**MERTON AND MITCHAM.**—On Sunday morning, Eden spoke on Fair Green, and meetings here will be held every Sunday in future, weather permitting. The previous Monday a meeting at Mitcham Board Schools was addressed by Mr. Bidder, Q. C., against Socialism. Turner, Sparling, and Kitz opposed him.—E.

**BIRMINGHAM.**—On Tuesday evening an interesting lecture was delivered by J. Sketchley on "The Commune of Paris, its origin, history, and objects.

GLASGOW.—On Thursday, our comrade the Rev. John Glasie, of Edinburgh, addressed the Co-operators of the Cowcadden district on "Socialism in its Relation to Co-operation." On Sunday, at Paisley Road Toll, a very fine meeting was addressed by Glasier. This is one of the finest stations we have hit upon, the people of the district evidently regarding our meeting as an institution; their friendly demeanour, and the close attention they give to our speakers, being very encouraging. It is to be regretted, however, that nothing like full advantage is taken of this, and in order to do so our comrades should understand that their presence is absolutely required. In the evening another good meeting at Infirmary Square was addressed by Glasier.—D.

NORWICH.—Meeting held Good Friday in Market Place notwithstanding rain. On Sunday morning meeting held at St. Faith's, good audience; in Market much larger meeting than usual, a telegram from Manly was read stating he was unwell and could not come; Mowbray carried on the meeting. In evening meeting held in Market Place, and in Gordon Hall Mowbray lectured, Ashley in chair. Meetings also held on Monday, Bank Holiday.—S.

WALSALL.—Last Monday, Sanders concluded the debate on Socialism, and easily disposed of the little opposition that was offered. On Saturday he addressed a good audience on The Bridge, an attentive hearing being given him and apparently a good impression made.—J. T. D.

EDINBURGH.—On Thursday the 29th ult., instead of usual meeting for reading and discussion, we had a social meeting, which was well attended. Part of evening was spent in discussing subjects of deep interest to Socialists, methods of propaganda, etc. Singing of revolutionary songs, as well as Scotch ones, helped also to pass the time pleasantly. Wm. Morris was present.

EAST-END CLUB.—The Easter Monday concert came off with tolerable success, although the weather was wet and a number of expected performers did not put in an appearance. Those who have taken tickets are requested to send in returns as soon as possible.

THE STRIKE FUND.—The second of a series of entertainments took place on Saturday evening in the hall of the Socialist League. A very enjoyable evening was spent. Don't forget next Saturday, when there will be a special programme.

LECTURE DIARY.

LONDON.

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

Bloomsbury.—Communist Club, 49 Tottenham Street, Tottenham Court Road. Thursday April 5, at 8.30, Mark Manly will lecture on "The Unity of Socialists."

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

Fulham.—8 Effie Road, Walham Green. Sunday at 8.

Hackney.—28 Percy Terrace, Victoria Road, Hackney Wick. A general meeting of members will be held at the International Club, 40 Berner Street, Commercial Road, E., Monday next, April 9th, at 8.45 p.m. All members are requested to attend.

Hammersmith.—Kelmescott House, Upper Mall, W. Sunday April 8, at 8. John Burns (S.D.F.), "Six Weeks in Pentonville." 15th. Wm. Morris, "Industry in the Fourteenth Century."

Hoxton (L.E.L.).—New premises, 1 Hoxton Square. C. J. Young, 8 Dunloe St., Hackney Rd., Secretary.

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

Mile-end and Bethnal Green.—95 Boston St., Hackney Road. Business Meeting every Thursday at 9 p.m. Debating Class for members after Business Meeting.

PROVINCES.

Aberdeen (Scottish Section).—Sunday night meetings in Baker Street Hall, at 6. Secretary, J. Leatham, 15 St. Nicholas Street.

Birmingham.—Summer Row Coffee House, Tuesday April 10, J. Sketchley will lecture on "Socialism and Anarchism," 8 p.m.

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

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

Cowdenbeath (Scot. Sec.).—J. Duncan, 30 Arthur Pl., sec Westmorland Street.

Dundee (Scot. Sect.).—Meetings every Sunday in the Trades Hall, opposite Tay Bridge Station.

Edinburgh (Scottish Section).—4 Park Street. Every Thursday at 8, class for study of Marx's 'Capital.'

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

Glasgow.—84 John St. Reading-room open 10 a.m. till 10 p.m. daily. Discussion Class, Thursdays at 8. Leeds.—Lady Lane. Open every evening. Business meeting Fridays at 8. Address all communications to T. Paylor, 11 Sheldon Street, Holbeck, Leeds.

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

Norwich.—Monday next, 8 p.m., entertainment by Minstrel Troupe in the Gordon Hall. Tuesday at 8.30, Members meeting. Wednesday at 8.30, Ways and Means Committee. Thursday at 8, Band practice and Troupe rehearsal. Friday at 8.30, Literary Committee. Saturday, open from 8 till 10.30. Sunday, at 8, lecture.

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

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

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- 11.30...St. Pancras Arches .....Dalziel
- 11.30...Walham Green .....Turner
- 3 ...Victoria Park .....Davis & Mainwaring
- 3.30...Hyde Park .....Parker
- 7 ...Acton—Priory .....Acton Branch
- 7.30...Stamford Hill.....Morgan & Parker

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# THE COMMONWEAL

The Official Journal of the Socialist League.

VOL. 4.—No. 118.

SATURDAY, APRIL 14, 1888.

WEEKLY; ONE PENNY.

## NOTES ON NEWS.

THE police have been at it again, and this time, as they have been bearing false witness not against "revolutionaries" or persons who happened to be mixed up with them, but against ordinary citizens not guilty *à priori* of the crime of "demonstrating," they have got into trouble, and the public prosecutor is to look into the matter. Couldn't he go a few weeks backward and look into the cases of the "rioters" of the past winter?

In all soberness, the attention which has been paid to Mr. Montagu Williams' scolding of the police brings out the cowardly injustice of society towards the victims of the raid on free speech into yet stronger relief than before. To judge by the tone of the press about this affair, one would suppose that no accusations had ever been made against the police, that the whole public are perfectly satisfied that their evidence against Harrison and Ellis and dozens of others was admitted to be spotlessly true, and that everybody "run in" for anything (or for nothing) connected with Trafalgar Square was even himself persuaded that he had received a perfectly fair trial. Surely no hypocrisy has ever come anywhere near the Pharisaism of modern bourgeois England!

I get papers from candidates for the vestry shoved into my door at times, besides the voting paper. Some of the former are droll. One candidate appears to me to be at least frank; he says he shall consider it one of his principal duties to see that the contracts are given to persons in the neighbourhood, or words to that effect. The same gentleman says that he will do his best to see that those unfortunate persons who are in need of relief shall, as far as possible, be treated with a fair amount of comfort and consideration. Here is qualification with a vengeance!

The economics of some of our leading papers are wonderful indeed. The *Daily News*, for instance, says, quoting Major Roe about work at Birmingham: "The use of power-driven machinery is daily increasing, with the result of increased output and the substitution of women and youths for the skilled artisan; on the other hand, the men are more than compensated by the increased demand for them in the manufacture of tools and machinery." Which must clearly mean, if it means anything, that the manufacturer, having got rid of human labour at one end of the process, uses up all the displaced labour at the other end, and has besides saddled himself with machinery which he has had to pay for and cannot use, and that he does this without compulsion. On the whole, it is easier to believe that the *Daily News* gets its minor leader-writers from Colney Hatch than to believe this.

Indeed, this explanation gathers credibility as one reads further where the writer, having informed us in the first-quoted passage that women and boys are being substituted for skilled artisans, goes on to tell us that it is said that the days of unskilled labour are numbered. With a leer in his eye and a straw or two and a peacock's feather in his hair, he finishes by drawing a moral for us, the often-told tale that all is for the best in this best possible of worlds, wherein the capitalist can still make a profit out of other people's labour. "Thanks to the Education Act, the condition of the working classes is better than it used to be; they spend both their wages and their leisure better than of old. Technical instruction and sober diligence will be the salvation of many a British industry." Yes; but he means the salvation of much British capital. Make technical education so common that it is no longer of any market value, thinks the capitalist, and then we shall be able to get the skilled workman at the cost of the unskilled; let every workman (that is employed) work two hours a day more than he does now,

and it will put so much the more into *our* pockets, as we shall pay the same for the twelve hours as we do now for the ten. This is the way to safeguard British industry against foreign competition.

Yet education, technical instruction, and sober industry are good things—so good that it is grievous indeed to see them made use of to "cheapen labour," that is, to make legal stealing safer and more profitable. However, let us have courage; education is a dangerous gift to give to slaves. What does our author from Colney Hatch think will be the result (if we should come to it, and we *are* coming to it) of a class of skilled artisans unemployed, or reduced to the ranks, and at the same time "educated" by book-learning as well as suffering? No men, surely, have ever set themselves more busily to sow the wind for the harvest of the whirlwind than our anti-Socialist "Liberal" capitalists.

W. M.

So there has actually been a plot against Mr. Balfour discovered, after all this time of coercion. Of course no sane man believes in any possible utility resulting from the use of dynamite after the manner of the American Fenian. But surely the terms of moral indignation in which the fact was chronicled by certain journalistic advocates of Home Rule partakes of the nature of "cant." Most of these journalists profess to believe in the accuracy of Mr. Blunt's charges against Mr. Balfour. Mr. Balfour on this assumption has tried to kill his political adversaries, the American Fenians do the like, only perhaps more mercifully. The only difference otherwise is that Mr. Balfour is within the law in doing what he does and acts indeed as the representative of the law, whereas the American dynamiters are without the law. But if they, being without the law, do by nature the things contained in the law, it would hardly seem that any special moral blame attaches to them—at least from the point of view of a law-abiding journalist. The American Fenian might surely say to Mr. Balfour and his friends, "How can you, possessed of *such* magnificence at home (i.e., for purposes of coercion)—goals, plank beds, cells 7 feet by 10, etc., etc.—envy me a humble can of dynamite?"

Freedom according to the conceptions of the modern capitalists is admirably illustrated by the proposals of the syndicate of London bankers and merchants relative to the affairs of Morocco. According to the views of those persons, Morocco is to be compelled to receive European shoddy and to "open itself up" by telegraphs and railways, on pain of forfeiting its "integrity"—that is, of being dismembered by the European band of harpies. The Moors don't want the shoddy goods, or the telegraphs or the railways; but no matter, they *must* expend their substance on things they don't want and had much rather do without, for the benefit of the enterprising European capitalist, commercial and industrial, the first of whom wants to force his wares, and the second to start mining and other operations, at the expense of the unfortunate native. Even the *Daily News* is impressed with the ironical nature of "independence" on such terms.

E. B. B.

Canterbury is doubtful just now whether to laugh or cry over the alteration in its police arrangements. Among the exposures that moral-miracles have made of themselves, no scandals have come to light much worse than those of that ancient town. As a consequence the superintendent has resigned, a constable been dismissed, another degraded, and the city police will be abolished. In future Canterbury will be policed by the county constabulary, and its inhabitants are by no means sure that they will be better off.

It looks like a retrograde step on the part of the municipality, this



giving up of its own police; but probably, as things now are, the blue lambs would be much the same under whatever authority they nominally were.

The *Star* quite rightly calls upon every Radical member to back up Mr. Labouchere in attacking the vote of £5,000 for robes and insignia of Knights, Companions, and other officers of the various orders of knighthood. "If it pleases grown men to indulge in these puerilities, no kind-hearted person will object to their doing so. But that overburdened taxpayers should be asked to pay for such tomfoolery is such a monstrous impertinence that it is surprising that it should be left to Radicals alone to oppose it."

If there were any meaning in these things beyond mere snobbery—if they really were public rewards for public benefits—folk would pay for them without grumbling; but the futile stupidity of a minister paying for a political service by an "honour" out of the people's pocket is enough to move laughter in—hell!

## A LETTER FROM INDIA.

A RATHER remarkable Report upon Taxation has recently been published by the Government of Bombay. For the eight years ending 1886 a License Tax upon Trades had been levied—professions and Government servants being exempt—the maximum which any one party or firm had to pay was £20 and the minimum £1. Below I give the total amounts which had been levied for the years 1878, 1881, and 1885—

Year.	Country.	Bombay City.	Total.
1878	£93,000	£35,000	£128,000
1881	87,000	39,000	126,000
1885	81,000	42,000	123,000

It will be seen that the collections from the country districts steadily declined; those in Bombay just as steadily rose; while the total collections for town and districts uniformly decreased. The complete list shows for each year a uniform progression downwards and upwards in such respective column. As the population of the Presidency is less than 20 millions, the tax amounts to an average all over of one penny per head. It shows that the cultivators and those dependent upon them are becoming impoverished, that the urban population (three-fourths of a million), consisting of merchants and the whole class of middlemen, are getting richer, but that the town and country together are not improving in material prosperity under the agis of British rule.

In 1886 an income-tax of 2½ per cent. was imposed by the then Secretary of State for India, Lord Randolph Churchill, to help to make good the deficit caused by the frantic policy of preparing to fight Russia by means of frontier railways in the mountains of Beluchistan and Afghanistan. This income-tax is levied upon trades, professions, and government officials, all incomes below £50 per annum being exempt. This tax produced in the Bombay Presidency £300,000 only, equivalent to an average tax per head of the population of 3½d. The laws upon which our civilisation is based favour the accumulation of money by the rich, who by means of usury in its many ramifications make the poor their slaves. The course of British government in India is no exception to this rule. The above Government report most instructively shows that in the country districts the money-lenders—i.e., those who live by lending money to the cultivators to pay the Government land-rent, or by lending them grain for seed and sustenance—pay more than one-half the income-tax of the country, the proportion varying from three-fourths as the maximum to one-third as the minimum in thirteen principal collectorates. The average tax paid by the money-lender in the country is £2, 10s., while in Bombay it is double this amount. These figures will greatly tend to confirm the opinion, so strongly urged by Mr. Hyndman, that India is becoming the poorer under British rule.

You may perhaps remember Sir Lepel Griffin, who last year stumped England as a parliamentary candidate of the Jingo class, and greatly offended Americans by the irreverent remarks he expressed upon the types of civilisation rampant in the States. As a sign of the times, it is worth while to quote some portions of the speech he recently made at the investiture by one of the Indian Jubilee princelings of the insignia of the Most Eminent Order of the Indian Empire.

"The Rajah is rich, but after all, admiration for wealth, apart from its power to do good, is the attribute of slaves. The G.C.S.I. is granted, like the Garter in England, for reasons altogether apart from merit or virtue. Its insignia may be worn upon the breast of an illustrious prince or by a useless debauchee and tyrant. The old order changes, yielding place to the new. The idea of Divine Right, repudiated by the sentiment of civilised Europe, has taken refuge with barbarism in Russia and in the native states of Asia; but the time is coming when it will have to leave these last strongholds. The past history of the world has belonged to princes and slavery; the future is for the people and for freedom. The time will come when the enlightened judgment of humanity will no longer tolerate the idle, cruel, and sensual prince who looks upon his people as objects of plunder, and neglects every obligation which he should fulfil. In the new world which is coming, there will be no place for rulers such as these, who will disappear before advancing civilisation as wolves and tigers retire from the cultivated plains to the jungle. The only princes whom the conscience of the world will tolerate are those who rule on principles of enlightened virtue, and whose security will be found in the good will of the people."

The reading of this speech fairly took away my breath; it was so

unexpected, and, considering the quarter from which it emanated, so good. It shows that the principles of Socialism are spreading fast, when one so highly placed would give utterance to such ultra-Radical doctrines. "Princes and slavery are to go; the future is for the people and freedom." My thoughts immediately went home; I compared Warren to a tiger, and the upholders of law and order in Ireland to wolves. It is time you drove them into the jungle for good and all.  
Bombay, March 16th. D. GOSTLING.

Note.—The above figures are given in pounds sterling for the convenience of English readers. The currency of the country is in rupees. These used to be worth 2s each, and are calculated at that rate in the above table, but their current value is now only 1s. 4d., consequent upon the action of the goldbugs of Europe.

## REVOLUTIONARY CALENDAR.

WEEK ENDING APRIL 21, 1888.

15	Sun.	1836. George Engel born. 1881. Judicial murder of A. F. Jellia-boff, S. L. Perofskaja, W. Kibalchich, T. Mikhayloff, and N. Rissakoff.
16	Mon.	1790. Benj. Franklin died. 1866. Karakazoff's attempt upon Alexander III. 1871. Hyde Park Demonstration of Fraternity with Commune.
17	Tues.	1884. Bradlaugh and Hyndman debate. 1885. Colombian murder of rebels.
18	Wed.	1775. American War of Independence began.
19	Thur.	1772. Ricardo born. 1775. Battle of Lexington. 1868. Fenian trials. 1882. Charles Darwin died.
20	Fri.	1653. Cromwell dissolved "Rump" Parliament.
21	Sat.	1802. Louis Kossuth born. 1868. O'Farrell hung for attempt on Duke of Edinbro'. 1874. Wm. Carpenter died.

*Benjamin Franklin.*—Born January 17, 1706; died April 17, 1790; greatest of tramp printers, was a typical Yankee, for all that his father was an Englishman of later date than the great Puritan exodus, for his mother was of the most energetic New England stock. Although born in Boston, Franklin, like every genuine Yankee, considered the world his country and acted up to this idea. Like every true-bred Yankee also, Franklin was a thorough-paced Anarchist, devoting his whole life to breaking the fetters, political, social, and mental, which weigh down ignorant humanity. His method, however, was one of careful policy and gentle satire, his great defect being a woeful lack of the kind of courage which inspires the daring pioneer and the unfaltering martyr. This defect sometimes induced him to give cowardly advice to bolder reformers, as his well-known counsel to Tom Paine (to suppress 'The Age of Reason') is an instance. Still it takes many sorts of people to move the world as well as to fill it, and no just critic can deny Franklin great praise as a true friend of humanity. The great lesson of his life is the dignity of productive labour. This has nothing to do with the present all-glorified opportunities of the humblest citizen (if only cunning rogue enough) to rise to the highest station through our cheating and thieving commercial system. Franklin was from first to last an almost god-like mechanic. The penniless printer of Philadelphia was courted as a conqueror at Versailles by the most gorgeous and proudest feudal Court the world has ever known, not because he was a successful stock-gambler or pork-factor, but because he had proved his superiority by giving much to mankind instead of taking much from them. He who had sought to chain the lightnings had used the lightning flashes of his own wit to snap the manacles of millions of his fellows. It is the fashion to decry Franklin as "worldly wise." We can well leave his lack of ethereal thoughts to the gospel-brokers. Humanitarians will be little apt to blame him for being only human. Carpers may decry him for not being a god; the kindly will like him the more for being only a man.—L. W.

*Bradlaugh and Hyndman Debate.*—At St. James's Hall, Piccadilly, Professor E. S. Beesly in the chair, a debate between Mr. Charles Bradlaugh and Mr. H. M. Hyndman. One of the most debatable matters which could possibly be debated would be, "Do Debates ever Settle the Debated Topic?" There are very few if any debates on record where a debater has been converted to his opponent's views. During the Corn Law agitation, Cobden and Hume and others debated in various parts of the country, but the result was sometimes breaking up the meeting with a row, sometimes a brass band appeared, and sometimes the adjournment to another night in an adjoining parish, when the corn duty champion would fail to turn up. A weapon to be very carefully called into use is the debate; a man may have the very best of cases to present to judge and jury, and yet by special and peculiar advantages possessed by the opposing counsel, make a very bad show. It is well known that some of the clearest thinkers and writers have been exceedingly bad speakers, and to work out a lucid connected argument at length and in detail is an impossibility to many a good logician. In all that goes to make a platform debater, Charles Bradlaugh has few equals to-day. Voice, clear and powerful enough to command even a mass such as St. James's Hall was crammed with; argument, in the main well planned out, but always with room to allow rough incidental hits over or under his adversary's guard, and not above using a sort of platform boomerang with which to dent a knock on the back of the head when he could break through his opponent's guard. It would be exceedingly interesting to know if any person in the vast crowd present was to any great extent changed in opinions by the speeches of the two debaters, certainly they were very little changed; the feelings of the meeting ran very high, and more than once there seemed danger of a storm. The Socialist was much handicapped, but made a gallant fight, and whether he or the Individualist was the most satisfied, and which of the two followings was most satisfied, is quite impossible to decide; there is this little fact which may be thought worth consideration, the Individualist seemed more than once to be very ill-tempered, which could not be said of the Socialist.—T. S.

*Colombian Rebels.*—The agreeable freedom from conventional restraints enjoyed by the Colombian authorities, enabled them to put in force an expedient that "I Warren" as yet finds beyond his reach. Selecting one hundred of the most conspicuous rebel prisoners, they took them on a steamer out into the bay flung them overboard and left them to drown.—S.

*Fenian Trials.*—Wm. and Timothy Desmond, Nicholas English, John O'Keefe, Michael Barrett, and Ann Justice, tried on April 20th at Old Bailey for murder of a woman named Hodgkinson, killed by the Clerkenwell explosion. Barrett was the only one found guilty, and he was sentenced to death. Hung on the 26th of May.—S.

the precious days of life in an attempt to "gain the whole world, and lose their own souls" by selling them for a bag of money, and the disgusting feeling of superiority.

But to the bishop all this is darkness. He has never looked in the eyes of the toil-worn men and women in the streets—never seen the patient suffering (sweet pastor, he thinks to preach patience to them!) written deep in the lines of their faces—has never longed to "pal on" to them, and go with them, and open all his heart to them. As long as his social inequality exists, it is impossible for an employer to be a real friend, faithful unto death, to the man he is making a profit of, and whom he must dismiss as soon as he ceases to pay. The highest friendship possible under such conditions is that eulogised by the bishop, of "cultivated people living in the East-end," and "women seeking to reclaim outcast sisters"—originally sacrificed to the pride of their superiority. It is a friendship of Condescension and Patronage, gratifying, of course, to the patronised! My Lord Bishop, "the devils and the worms thank you for your polite invitation, but regret that they are engaged!"

To me, no truth is truer than this: That far greater than any trivial "duty" of toil, or what not, every human creature on this earth has a right to develop his faculties to their utmost extent, and make the most of this mysterious life while it lasts. No impediment can be allowed here; but before this right all class distinctions, all claims of property, all laws and Acts of Parliament, and all religions, vanish into insignificance: they fade away, and leave man lord of the universe, in his own right. Those who know that they are travelling this road find life opening out before them in endless beauty, and in place of the selfish solitude left behind, they feel themselves surrounded on all sides by their own equals, journeying on towards the same great goal of Freedom, in which brotherhood with all shall be the greatest joy of life.

The bishop, of course, wound up his sermon with some first-rate soft-soap for Royalty, wrapped up in the very best *Daily Telegraphese*—calculated to make the editor of the *Daily Levy* sit up. Probably, however, he and the bishop are "friends" typical of the time when Jew and Gentile "lie down together" (read what meaning you like for the verb), united in that "one hope of their calling"—to make money.

GEORGE STURT.

### MANCHESTER AND SALFORD TRADES COUNCIL AND THE MANCHESTER CORPORATION.

The Manchester and Salford Trades Council has under consideration the question of corporations contracting themselves out of the provisions of the Employers Liability Act, with special reference to a recent case affecting one of the employes of the Manchester Corporation, and at a numerously attended meeting of representatives of the various trades throughout the district, Mr. Ashton of the Beamers, Twisters, and Drawers' Society in the chair, the following resolution was unanimously adopted: "That the Manchester and Salford Trades Council had learned with regret, from the reports of a recent case, that the Manchester Corporation had evaded its responsibility under the Employers' Liability Act for accidents happening to workmen in its employ by arranging with an insurance company to take over its liability in such cases, and the Council, representing many thousand ratepayers, considered that such a course was calculated to lessen the care which the Corporation ought to feel bound to take to prevent the occurrence of accidents, and that if the business of the various departments were properly conducted, it was a loss to the ratepayers to spend their money in insuring against accidents." Mr. H. R. Slatter (Typographical Society), in moving the adoption of the above resolution, strongly condemned the action of the Manchester Corporation in contracting themselves out of the Act. He considered that the Act was not so much framed to give compensation to injured workmen as it was to make employers more careful in preventing accidents, and seeing a recent case had been decided against one of the Manchester Corporation employes on a technical objection, he considered it reflected great discredit upon a Corporation representing a place of such magnitude as Manchester that they should place themselves in the hands of an insurance company who were devoid of all scruples in availing themselves of technical objections to withhold payment of compensation in such cases as the one he had referred to. A long and animated discussion followed, in which the course of action taken by the Manchester Corporation with reference to the Employers' Liability Act was condemned in the strongest terms. Mr. Clarke (Gold-beaters' Society) said he thought it was the duty of the Council to show the Corporation that they as ratepayers were not afraid of the responsibility the Act imposed, and that they were determined these responsibilities should not be evaded by those who represented them on the City Council. On the motion of Mr. Waters (Typographical Association), seconded by Mr. Quinn (Amalgamated Society of Tailors), it was resolved that a copy of the above resolution be sent to the mayor, aldermen, and councillors of Manchester, and to each trades council throughout the United Kingdom; also that a deputation be appointed to wait upon the mayor and lay the case before him, and the deputation was appointed to consist of George D. Kelly (secretary, Trades Council), Mr. H. R. Slatter (Typographical Association), and Mr. J. Jenkins (Bakers' Society), with instructions to urge upon the mayor the desirability of the Corporation meeting its responsibilities directly, and not by contracting itself out of the Act of Parliament. The secretary was also instructed to obtain if possible an approximate return of the number of Corporations and private concerns who had contracted themselves out of the Act.

We have been suffering for a century from an acute outbreak of individualism, unchecked by the old restraints, and invested with almost a religious sanction by a certain soul-less school of writers.—*Prof. H. S. Foxwell.*

The first and indispensable step towards any serious amendment of the labourer's lot is that he should be, in one way or another, lifted out of the groove in which he at present works, and placed in a position compatible with his becoming a sharer in equal proportion with others in the general advantages arising from industrial progress.—*Prof. Cairnes, 'Political Economy.'*

### "The Tables Turned" in America.

A FEW weeks ago there was an attempt made to produce "The Tables Turned" in Concordia Hall, New York City, by some members of the American section of the Socialistic Labor Party and District Assembly No. 10 of the Progressive Labour Party for the benefit of their organisation. All the internal troubles had been adjusted and the actors had learned their parts when, at half-past six of the evening on which the play was to have been performed, the city police discovered that the hall had no theatrical license. Nothing could be done, and although the boards of the stage still reeked with the steps of ribald dancers, and although a variety troupe performed on the following night and on Sunday night of the same week, those dangerous Socialists were compelled to postpone the production of their play. Had they been half-naked society ladies endeavouring to buy clothes for the half-naked little Kickapoos, it would assuredly have been different. Such performances are given many times a winter without a license; but as these people only happened to be fairly well-dressed Socialists trying to help clothe the less poetic poor in our midst, an obsolete law had to be dragged from its hole for their extinction.

Fortunately a dance had been arranged to follow the play, so that the audience were not entirely disappointed, and, taking their oppression good-naturedly, spent a pleasant evening chatting and dancing with their friends.

Nothing daunted, the committee immediately set about the work of securing a licensed theatre for the production of their play. Soon the Roumania was secured, and the regular troupe kindly consented to perform a little farce as a prelude. No sooner was this known than one of our police captains went to the proprietor of the theatre and, in his usual manly manner, told him that if that play was performed in his theatre, "he would see next year that that theatre did not get a license." I suppose it was an understood clause that sufficient greasing might fix matters a little.

However, we have a Mayor who takes *such* a paternal interest in the affairs of the "children" under him, and is *such* a lover of the working man—a big iron manufacturer—that the committee thought it might be a good chance for him to show his intense desire to put down all sorts of official abuse in the city, so went to him in order to state their case. They were received by "his honour" most graciously, who told them that he had no objection to their performing their little play, provided only it was not *immoral*; that he knew William Morris, and he was a nice fellow, but a little crazy; that he had not ordered the police captain to make his threat, and they were to pay no attention to him, but to go ahead and produce their play, and if the owner of the theatre refused to let them have the house, to *sue him for breach of contract*.

So I suppose it must be one of the inalienable rights of police captains to threaten wherever they choose, and if the threat stands in your way of liberty, you can *sue* the victim of the threat. I don't know how they settled it with the police captain—soaped him, perhaps; but at any rate the play was performed on Thursday evening, March 15th. The cast was:—

<i>Judge Larrett</i> ... ..	A. ROSENBERG.
<i>District-Attorney Bellows</i> ... ..	TOM BLYM.
<i>Jake Harp</i> ... ..	L. WEISS.
<i>Captain Hilliams</i> ... ..	J. EAGAN.
<i>Officer Neverenough</i> ... ..	W. HINTZE.
<i>Mary Pinch</i> ... ..	LIZZIE FEHL.
<i>Lawrence Freeman</i> ... ..	L. GRONLUND.
<i>Ed. Graham</i> ... ..	E. GOLDSMITH.
<i>Bishop Harigam</i> ... ..	CHAS. KEEGAM.
<i>Maya Lewitt</i> ... ..	S. E. SHEVITCH.
<i>George Henry</i> ... ..	J. BORDOLLO.
<i>Clerk of Court</i> ... ..	L. ARNHEIM.

On the whole, the performance was a very creditable one for amateurs, though, of course, they showed, as all amateurs do, that they were not used to the stage. The "stick" of the ordinary amateur performance was entirely wanting.

The make-up in several cases, noticeably Captain Williams, District-Attorney Fellows and Henry George, were decidedly good and very like. Rather the best performances were those of Bellows, Neverenough, and Mary Pinch. But criticisms of the play or players are not to the point, as I wished merely to let you know what a free country this is anyhow, and how beautifully our "reform" politicians protect the interests of the "people."

I often think with Carlyle that a monarch is not so bad, after all, as a demagogue, though I do not see that it is necessary to accept with him the monarch as perfection, but rather aim at the destruction of both these evils in the interests of individual liberty.

FREDERIC A. C. PERRINO.

Continental Hotel, Nevah, New Jersey,  
March 20th, 1888.

# THE LABOUR STRUGGLE.

BRITAIN.

The workpeople at Messrs. Orani & Son's woollen mills, Chesham, are being discharged as their looms come empty.

The new Self Help Company at Bursley has started work with the loom and shed lately belonging to Mr. J. H. Whitaker.

In consequence of bad trade only about 70 looms out of 546 velvet looms, which Messrs. Wrigley and Schofield's Chesham cotton mill contains, are now running.

THE Northern Spinning and Weaving Mill, Belfast, one of the most extensive linen concerns in the north of Ireland, was offered for sale by public auction on Friday last. Nearly 1,000 operatives will be thrown out of employment.

DISCHARGES AT SHEERNESS.—Instructions have been issued by the Admiralty for a reduction in the Chief Constructor's Department at Sheerness Dockyard. Owing to the slackness of the work in the repairing department, it has been found necessary to serve notices for the discharge of a party of shipwrights.

WAGES IN GOVERNMENT DOCKYARDS.—The return upon the number of men employed in the dockyards, and the wages paid, which has been prepared on the motion of Lord Randolph Churchill, shows that while salaries have increased some 25 per cent. wages have decreased, and the work done has been less. About 21,760 men were employed in 1886-7, and the wages paid amount to £2,473,080.

COTTON SPINNERS.—The Council of the Operative Spinners' Association in the Oldham district, have made an application to the Committee of the Master Spinners' Association for an advance of five per cent in the wages of all spinners and twiners in the Oldham district. A joint meeting of the committees will be held on an early date to consider the question, which is one of great importance, as three-fourths of the wages paid in the medium and coarse trade are regulated by the Oldham district.

THE LOCKMAKERS' STRIKE AT WILLENHALL.—The strike of lockmakers at Messrs. Payton and Co.'s factory, Walsall Street, Willenhall, has terminated—so far as the men are concerned—successfully. During the nine weeks the men were out of employment the sum of £188 5s. 9d. was contributed by other working men of the town and district, making a weekly average of £19 16s. 1d. The expenses, consisting of the printing of balance-sheets, etc., came to £8 8s. 10d., leaving an available balance of £160 15s. 11d., which has been distributed to the strike hands, who now take the opportunity of thanking all who have contributed to the funds. The men have found employment at other factories in the town.

FEDERATE! FEDERATE!—A strike of twiners has just been settled in the Oldham district which shows the necessity of wider organisation amongst the various branches of the cotton industry. The negotiations nearly fell through on the point of discharging the men who took the places of the twiners on strike. Now if there were a treaty between the three great amalgamated unions of cardroom workers, spinners, and weavers, to withdraw the whole of their members from any mill employing interlopers in any department in case of strike, the traitors would be effectually squelched and the employers more easily brought to terms. A glimmering of this fact appears to have dawned upon the Oldham Spinners, which, it is to be hoped, will lead to the question of federation being earnestly considered.

FELT HAT TRIMMERS AND WOOL-FORMERS' ASSOCIATION.—A branch of this society is now formed at Bury. The subscriptions are 2d., 3d., and 4d. per week for the following benefits: Loss by fire, out of work, lock-outs, unjustifiable discharge from employment, superannuation, and a sum of money at death. At the inaugural meeting Mr. Wilde, the secretary, stated that during the past eighteen months branches were established at Denton, Hyde, Stockport, and Bredbury; and other hatting centres contemplated following the example set them. The number of members was now near upon 1200, and it was intended soon to start a weekly trade journal to defend the interests of the workers in the silk and felt hat trade throughout the United Kingdom.

PROTEST AGAINST OVERTIME.—The annual report of the Ironfounders' Society, just issued, shows that the income was £46,259 and the expenditure £41,661, leaving a balance in hand at the close of the year of £10,381. The average of unemployed during the year was a proportion of 13 per cent. of the membership. The society numbers 11,713 members. The iron trade is stated to have been very bad for the last four years, and regret is expressed by the executive of the society that improvements in machinery and appliances should always be the means of throwing workmen on the list of the unemployed. The report speaks very strongly on the question of systematic overtime, as it is thought that if this were done away with employment would be found for a large number of men who are now idle.

FEMALE LABOUR IN CENTRAL LONDON.—Mr. Lakeman's Report shows the absurdity of the present mode of investigating and reporting upon labour matters by persons who have no practical acquaintance with the subject. His statements as to City skilled labour are utterly misleading to those who are ignorant, and disgusting to the workers who know how far from the truth are the rose-coloured pictures he draws of machinists earning 20s. to 38s. per week, and "smart little women" making a dozen bonnets per day at 1s. 6d. per bonnet, etc. And then we are informed on the authority of that sublimated Sims, Mr. Besant, that "for really first-class work there is both demand and handsome pay." (!) What an insult to the thousands of clever women who are forced to sell themselves for from 12s. to 15s. per week to the Maples, the Morleys, the Marshall and Snellgroves, *et hoc genus omne*.

DISPUTE AT THE RICHMOND IRON WORKS, NEAR GREAT BRIDGE.—The puddlers employed at these works have for some time been accustomed to heat their furnaces with slack instead of coals, a method which, while it confers pecuniary benefit upon the employers, places the workman at great disadvantage, inasmuch as it necessitates extra work and longer hours. Puddlers employed at other works receive extra remuneration for working slack. The employés at the Richmond gave notice on Saturday for an advance. This the employer refuses to concede, and the work has been closed the whole of the week. A deputation waited on the master on Friday, but no terms were arrived at. A number of the men met at Great Bridge on Saturday morning. They assert that if they resume work at the terms they last received, it will militate against workmen at other places. A number of them seem determined not to commence work unless some

concession is made. Their representative has visited Mr. Capper to obtain his advice in reference to the matter.

THE REPORT OF THE CHIEF INSPECTOR OF FACTORIES.—The Report just issued shows a marked improvement in the administration of the Factory Acts over past years; but there is still much to be done in certain districts, such as Salford, Burnley, Halifax, Huddersfield, etc.—especially the latter district, where the employers have hitherto had things pretty much all their own way both in the mills and on the bench. The total number of informations laid throughout the kingdom was 2,778, under 29 different heads. Of these no less than 1,447 were for employing children, young persons, or women, before or after the legal hour, or during meal times. Another 342 were for employing the same class of hands during legal holidays, whilst the employment of young persons without a certificate of fitness furnished 449. It will thus be seen that these four heads supply the great bulk of the cases. The total number of convictions was 2,142, of cases withdrawn on payment of costs 560, and 76 were dismissed. For the year before the figures were—Informations laid, 1,635; convictions, 1,432; withdrawn on payment of costs, 172; and dismissed, 31. It will thus be seen that the figures for 1887 show a most substantial increase on 1886, whilst in the last named year they were double what they were in 1885.

THE PAYMENT OF THE MINERS' M.P.'S.—The result of the ballot among the Northumberland miners as to whether the salaries of Messrs. Burt and Fenwick, M.P.'s, should be any longer paid out of the funds of the Miners' Union, has been made known. It was as follows:—For continuing payment of the salaries, 4,591; against, 4,291; majority for payment, 292; total number of votes, 8,890. On the last occasion the number voting in favour was 3,387; against, 4,806; or a majority against of 1,419. This time, 8,890 votes have in all been recorded, or an increase of 697 votes over the total number in September. A local paper says: "The miners manifest surprisingly little interest in the subject of their members' salaries. A large portion of them do not seem to care whether the vote is taken at all, while many of them maintain that a fuller discussion of the subject is essential to a final settlement." There can be no doubt that since the propandá of Socialism amongst the miners, a quite different train of thought and hope has taken hold of many. The undisguised and stupid attacks of the "men in office" on the principles and propandá of Socialism, has done much to bring about their own downfall, for the result of the ballot must be taken as a crushing defeat of the M.P.'s. The *Newcastle Chronicle* says: "Mr. Burt seems to labour under the delusion that because no complaints were made at his meetings during the last elections, no discontent with his action exists. The only remark that need be made on this point is that it is unfortunate for himself, and perhaps for the cause of Labour Representation, that his friends have not kept him better informed of the currents of discontent among the miners."

GOVERNMENT CONTRACTS AND LONDON WORKMEN.—On Saturday afternoon the First Commissioner of Works (the Right Hon. D. Plunket, M.P.) received at his offices in Whitehall Place a representative deputation of London workmen, to urge their grievances as to the present system of letting Government contracts. The deputation, which originated with the London United Trades Council of Carpenters and Joiners, was introduced by Mr. Henry Broadhurst, M.P., who said the main object of the deputation was to make complaint of the outcome of the arrangements for the repairs and maintenance of the different Government buildings, the contracts for which, he understood, were let from year to year for three years. The result of the system was that contracts were let at a price under which the contractor of necessity paid a 1d. and in some cases 1½d. per hour less than the current wages paid in the trade in the metropolitan district. It might be answered that the Government had nothing to do but to accept the lowest tender, provided that the work was fairly well done. But the discharge of the duties of the Department of Works was not done if the workmen's interests were so ignored. The workmen of London by the present system were sufferers in loss of wages to the extent of 8d. or 10d., and even in some cases 1s. a-day less than they would receive in other works. Mr. Dew (secretary of the London United Trades Council of Carpenters and Joiners) presented a memorial which urged upon the First Commissioner of Works the necessity of including a clause in all future contracts to the effect that all labour employed by the contractors within the London district on Government works should be of the best quality, and the standard rate of wages to be paid and the working hours to be in accordance with the rules and customs of the trades, and the total abolition of overtime; also that a clause be inserted to the effect that no portion of the work should be sub-let. In support of these proposals the deputation wished to point out how, for want of a similar clause to the one they had proposed being inserted in the contract for the new law courts, the contractor was able to bring cheap labour into London, and by so doing inflict a serious injury to many trades, and leading to sad disputes during the job. Mr. P. Weighill (Operative Stonemasons), Mr. Browning (Operative Plumbers), Mr. Otley (National Society of Plasterers), and Mr. G. Shipton (Amalgamated House Decorators and Painters), supported the memorial, and especially spoke of the sub-letting leading to sweating in various trades. Mr. Plunket made the usual official reply.

THE CRADLEY HEATH CHAINMAKERS.—The Cradley Heath and District Chainmakers' Association have drawn up the prospectus for the establishment of the Co-operative Society which has been the subject of discussion at the meetings of the operatives during the last few months. The name of the Society will be the Cradley Heath and District Chain Manufacturing Society, Limited. The president is Mr. T. Homer, and the secretary Mr. James Smith. The registered office will be in Upper High Street, Cradley Heath. The prospectus sets forth that the society is established with the object of carrying on the trade of chain manufacturing in all the various branches connected therewith, both wholesale and retail. It is pointed out that trade disputes occur so frequently through the competitive system, manufacturers continually trying to outdo one another in price, for which the workers have to suffer, makes it imperative on the workers to combine for protection, and manufacture their own goods and distribute them. The object of the promoters is to establish a co-operative chain works, in which shall co-operate all the factors necessary to ensure success, thereby making the interests of capital and labour identical, and ensuring to each workman a just share of the profits arising from joint work, and and to the capitalist a reasonable interest for his investment. It is proposed to raise the capital of the society in shares of £1 each, but each individual member will be required to hold not less than five to be entitled to vote. The shares will be payable at the following rate:—1s. as entrance fee on applying for admission, and 5s. per quarter following until the first share is paid up. Any person may, however, pay up his shares at a higher rate, or in full, or on application or allotment, if he so desire. The rate of



*O'Farrell Hung.*—On March 12, 1868, while the Duke of Edinburgh was at a picnic in Sydney, N.S.W., he was shot at and wounded by a man named O'Farrell, who after firing did not try to escape, but made a desperate resistance before he was arrested. He denied connection with the Fenian movement, but admitted being a sympathiser with it. March 26th he was tried at a special sitting of the Central Criminal Court, held at Darlinghurst. Hung there on April 21st.—S.

*Death of Charles Darwin.*—Charles Darwin, one of the greatest naturalists the world has yet seen, was born at Shrewsbury, February 12, 1809. He was the son of Robert Waring Darwin, who was the son of Erasmus Darwin who wrote verse and books on natural history. Erasmus Darwin, perhaps unwittingly, was a believer in the doctrine, that great wits jump, for very much of his work was bold generalisation and speculation without the solid foundation of experiment that has placed the grandson's name so high. That there should be mention of Charles Darwin's life and work in our Revolutionary Calendar is very right and proper, for the work with which he is credited in the minds of most readers is of the most revolutionary character possible for any man to conceive of. According to Grant Allen's somewhat warm biography of Darwin in the 'English Worthies Series,' the very stars seem to have fought to make Charles Darwin great. The French Revolution and Waterloo trouble had all simmered down, and the world had nothing else to do but produce great minds. Lamarck, Malthus, Lyell, Owen Humboldt, Hooker, Lewes, Spencer, Wallace, and Huxley are all on board together, either just doing something important or just getting ready. Allen does not mention the whereabouts of Samuel Butler, author of 'Erewhon' at this juncture, but it is just a trifle strange that one of the same name should have been Darwin's schoolmaster at the Shrewsbury Grammar School; from there he went to Edinburgh, and thence to Christ's College, Cambridge. Here he became much indebted to one of the well-known botanists of that time, Professor Henslow, who must have had considerable influence on Darwin's turn to natural history. On December 27, 1831, Darwin left England on her Majesty's ship *Beagle*, and did not return till 1836. His book, 'The Voyage of the *Beagle*,' is his reward of that trip. It is not possible within space at command to present anything like a fair digest of what Charles Darwin really did, and what it is claimed that he did, but there may be this said, that he deserves the sympathy of every supporter of unpopular causes if only for the storm of abuse which was showered upon him for his 'Origin of Species,' 1859. The 'Descent of Man,' 1871, was somewhat more tamely received, but still the theologians were too bitter to please the author, and it must with shame be written that Charles Darwin has considerably minimised his own work by mental cowardice which his life-long studies should have made him superior too. As he has effected an immense revolution in thought and method in scientific study, it was perhaps fitting that an immense revolution should take place in thought of him, and that this occurred is proved that one of the most virulently assailed by persons of this age is buried in Westminster Abbey. I have mentioned somewhere in the calendar Samuel Butler's 'Erewhon,' as a hint of yet another revolution which may come about in connection with Darwin. I may suggest that food for much thought will be found in Butler's 'Evolution Old and New,' Hardwick and Boyne, 1879.—T. S.

*Death of William Carpenter.*—William Carpenter, who died in Colebrooke Row, Islington, London, N., on April 21, 1874, was the son of a tradesman who lived in St. James, Westminster. William was born in 1797, and was with the very slightest of education started on his working life as errand-boy to a bookbinder in Finsbury, to whom he was later on bound apprentice. Here he became acquainted with William Greenfield, the self-taught but scholarly editor of Bagster's 'Polyglott Bibles'; the result of the intimacy was that Carpenter by hard study was able to acquire the knowledge of several languages, ancient and modern, and later on was able with Greenfield to issue a monthly publication called 'Critica Biblica.' In 1825, Carpenter produced in three volumes the 'Scientia Biblica,' dedicated to George IV., whose librarian, Dr. Sumner, had read the proof sheets. Besides these, Carpenter produced a long list of similar Scriptural works, sufficient to have secured him an honourable position in literature, but for us his name is interesting in his political and social writings, which of themselves make a tolerable life's work. Biographies of John Milton and William Cobbett; a 'History of the French Revolution,' a 'Report of the Trial of Charles Southwell for Blasphemy, 1842,' 'Address to the Working Classes on the Reform Bill, 1831,' 'Electors' Manual,' 'The Political Text-Book,' 'The Unemployed,' 'The People's Book, their Chartered Rights and Practical Wrongs,' 'Peasage for the People,' also 'Political Letters and Pamphlets,' published for the avowed purpose of trying with the Government the question of law—whether all publications containing news or intelligence, however limited in quantity or irregularly issued, are liable to the imposition of the stamp duty of fourpence.' This series is dated from October 9, 1830, to May 14, 1831, and in my copy is followed by 'A Report of the Trial of William Carpenter in the Court of Exchequer, on Saturday, May 14, 1831, for publishing a number of political letters and pamphlets charged to be newspapers, within the meaning of the Acts of Parliament.' He was condemned in fines amounting to £120. These 'Letters' are addressed to various persons, the opening one being to the Duke of Wellington. It is an 8vo of 32 pages, 25 pages being the letter proper, signed I am my lord Duke the King's loyal subject, William Carpenter. In the letter he gives the whole of the news of the day, home and foreign; a postscript follows, and then market reports and advertisements. The market reports opening, The following my lord Duke is the, etc., etc. The rest of the letters are all in quarto, generally 16 pages, with a symbolical wood-cut engraving at title heading, the engraving not being much in favour of the powers that be. He took some share in the Chartist agitation, being editor of one of their journals bearing the title of *The Charter*.—T. S.

**MID LANARK AND SOCIALISM.**—The following questions were put to the Liberal candidates in Mid Lanark by comrades: Will Mr. M'Liver go in for total abolition of the house of landlords and bishops, nationalisation of all lands and minerals—the natural resources of the State—and the abolition of all monopolies, by promoting such laws as shall finally extinguish robbery of labour by capital? Mr. M'Liver says he has risen to independent means by his own industry: can he instance any man whose fortune is not the result of profits either directly from the labours of men, women, and children, or from the productions of exploited labour?—G. M'L.

**"BEST WALLSEND."**—Mr. Ellis Lever, the Manchester coal merchant, who exposed the Hunter frauds, declares that there is an imposition practised upon the people of London in connection with the coal trade which is less justifiable than the coal tax. Many London merchants, he says, describe the coal they sell as "Wallsend" or "Best Wallsend," and so obtain a price which the quality does not warrant. He fearlessly asserts that no real Wallsend coal has been sent to or sold in London during the last 40 years, although it is advertised daily. The name "Wallsend" is used with no other object than to deceive and mislead, and he thinks the Legislature should interfere, if the Trade Marks Act does not apply to coal. Parliament has made it an offence to sell margarine as butter. The attention of the House of Commons has also been directed to the sale of American cheese which contains animal fat and of American meat as English. If these transactions are fraudulent, then the sale of coal as Wallsend which is not Wallsend must be placed in the same category, and should be made illegal. *Jus* is dead or would object to "hampering enterprise."

**STRIKING THE ROCK.**

"Speak to the rock." He smote it with his rod,  
Crying "ye rebels!" All the people shrank  
From wrath so rare in him: howbeit they drank,  
Fiercely forgetful; and their children trod  
The Promised Land, crossing the stream dry-shod;  
While his swift eye once from the mountain bank  
Swept that sweet scene, and into darkness sank,  
Who mingled curses with the words of God.

Now when the people murmur as of old,  
Fate sends us forth their wasted lives to save,  
And will accomplish all it hath foretold:  
Yet, for one wilful blow when factions rave,  
Our lives may lose the beauty we behold,  
Our glory find an undiscovered grave.

REGINALD A. BECKET

**TO THE WAGE-SLAVE.**

'Tis the dog's to live and the dog's to die  
At the heels of a master—not man's!  
Yet this is the portion of you and I,  
O brothers of mine, and you ask not why!

'Tis the dog's to whimper and whine for the bone  
Which is flung from his master's board;  
And 'tis our's to beg of the haughty drone  
For leave to labour that he may own.

Is it thus we must sneak through the byeways of life,  
Without leaving a trace behind,  
Of a word or a blow 'gainst the wrongs which are rife,  
Or a part howe'er small in the turmoil and strife

A thousand years answer a thousand times No!  
In the deeds of their bravest men;  
Whose hands laid the wrong and the wrong-doer  
Whose thoughts are the torches the centuries show.

'Tis the man's to be masterless, fetterless, free!  
The slave's 'neath the whip to crouch down,  
And none is so foully misshapen as he  
That sits idly passive where wrong-doings be!

T. MAGU

**OVERTIME IN GOVERNMENT ESTABLISHMENTS.**

In the House of Commons on Friday, on the motion to go into Committee of Supply, Mr. Baumann rose to move, "That, in the present condition of the labour market, it is expedient, with a view to giving employment to a greater number of workmen, to discontinue the practice of working overtime in Government yards and factories, so far as may be done without injury to the public service." The condition of the labour market and the sources of employment were not only a theme for the leader-writer, the philosopher, or statistician, but constituted for the politician—the unhappy drudge of destiny—a problem of extreme importance at the present time. Our statesmanship, like Mrs. Jellaby's philanthropy, was telescopic in its range. Mrs. Jellaby, hon. members would remember, was so occupied with the Carribbee Indians as to allow her children to wallow in the gutter and her husband to go into the bankruptcy court. He could not help thinking the condition of our own artisans was a subject of as much importance as the squabbles of the Egyptian royal family, the Canadian fisheries, or the duties of that interesting person the royal ratcatcher. It was computed that there were at the present time 7,000,000 adult male workers in the three kingdoms, and according to the hon. member for the Rhondda Valley (Mr. Abraham), there were 900,000 workmen out of employment and 6,000,000 worked on an average nine hours a-day. If these were reduced to eight hours the immediate effect would be the absorption of 750,000 out of the 900,000 unemployed. Taking average overtime at 12 hours per week, which was a little less than was worked at Woolwich and Enfield in 1885, this would give employment to 1,500,000. The Government employed at Woolwich and Enfield alone over 10,000 men every week, and at the five great dockyards 21,000 hands per year. It was therefore a matter of special solicitude to see what attitude they took in this matter of overtime. From a Parliamentary return for 1885-6, he found that of the 10,254 men employed at Woolwich and Enfield, 7,760 worked an average of 12½ hours per week overtime for 37 weeks out of 52, making a total amount of overtime of 4,832,950 hours, which if distributed among fresh men, would have given employment to over 1,500 for the 52 weeks at 60 hours a-week. Every five men working overtime kept out a sixth man. It might be said the sixth man was an unskilled labourer, and that the skilled labourer was not there; but, as a matter of fact, the skilled labourer of the country was now largely living out of unemployed benefit funds. There was a great gulf between the artisan earning 40s. or 50s. a-week and your Trafalgar Square rioter. He wanted to prove to the House from statistical tables that highly skilled artisans of the same category as those working overtime were waiting for employment in the streets and about the factories, and were living on the unemployed benefit funds of the trade unions. In the Engineers' Society 7.4 per cent. of the members were on the Unemployed Benefit Fund; in the Amalgamated Society of Carpenters and Joiners, 7.8 per cent.; of Steam-Engine Makers, 5.8; of the Iron-founders, 13.9; of the Boiler-makers and Iron Shipbuilders no less than 22.2; of the Pattern-makers, 9.6; and of the Associated Blacksmiths, 14.4 per cent. This was a splendid record of the fight made by trade unionists against the want of employment, but they could not for ever bear such a strain. Having argued that payment for overtime was extravagance, the hon. member remarked that a country like England with an overstocked labour-market must be prepared either to bring about a more general distribution of wages and employment, or to face a very large increase in the pauper and criminal classes.



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

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

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J. R. (Cloverbank, Glasgow)—Fabian Tract No. 5, and the Land Restoration and Free Land Leagues will give you full information on the point you mention.  
 J. S. (Birmingham).—Article received—will be used next week.  
 AUSTRALIAN.—The Radical office is New Lambton Road, Hamilton, N.S.W. Its annual subscription is (for England) 8s., and it is quite the best advanced paper in your native clime.

Periodicals received during the week ending Wednesday April 11.

<p>ENGLAND                  Christian Socialist                  Die Autonomie                  Justice                  Leaflet Newspaper                  London—Freie Presse                  Labour Tribune                  Norwich—Daylight                  Our Corner                  Personal Rights Journal                  Railway Review                  Worker's Friend</p> <p>NEW SOUTH WALES                  Hamilton—Radical</p> <p>INDIA                  Bankipore—Behar Herald</p> <p>UNITED STATES                  People                  New York—Der Sozialist                  Volkszeitung                  Social Science                  Jewish Volkszeitung                  Boston—Woman's Journal                  Libertas                  Chicago—Labor Enquirer                  Vorbote                  Chicago (Ill.)—Knights of Labor                  Denver (Col.)—Labor Enquirer</p>	<p>Detroit—Der Arme Teufel                  Fort Worth (Tex.)—South West                  Hammoncton (N.J.)—Credit Foncier                  Milwaukee (Wis.)—Volksblatt                  N Haven—Workmen's Advocate                  Paterson (N.J.)—Labor Standard                  Providence (R.I.)—The People                  St. Louis (Mo.)—Die Parole                  San Francisco Arbeiter-Zeitung                  Coast Seamen's Journal                  Freethought                  San Francisco (Cal.)—The People</p> <p>FRANCE                  Paris—Cri du Peuple (daily)                  La Revolté                  Le Coup de Feu                  Journal du Peuple                  Nimes—L'Emancipation                  Lille—Le Travailleur                  Gulse—Le Devoir</p> <p>HOLLAND                  Hague—Recht voor Allen</p> <p>BELGIUM                  Ghent—Vooruit                  Liege—L'Avenir</p> <p>SWITZERLAND                  Przedaurt                  Zurich—Sozial Demokrat</p>	<p>ITALY                  Gazzetta Operaia                  Milan—Il Fascio Operaio                  Marsala—La Nuova Eta                  Cremona—La Faccia                  Rome—L'Emancipazione</p> <p>SPAIN                  El Productor                  Madrid—El Socialista                  Cadiz—El Socialismo</p> <p>GERMANY                  Berlin—Volks Tribune</p> <p>AUSTRIA                  Arbeiterstimme                  Brunn—Volksfreund                  Vienna—Gleichheit</p> <p>HUNGARY                  Arbeiter-Wochen-Chronik</p> <p>ROUMANIA                  Muncitorul                  Vutoare</p> <p>DENMARK                  Social-Demokraten</p> <p>SWEDEN                  Stockholm, Social-Demokraten                  Malmo—Arbetet</p> <p>NORWAY                  Kristiania—Social-Demokraten</p>
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IN PRAISE OF EQUALITY.

AMONG all the gush that has been poured out over the death of the German Emperor, not the least noticeable is that sermon which the Bishop of Peterborough preached before the royal family, in the Chapel Royal at Whitehall. The discourse took the form of a eulogium on the beauty of existing social distinctions between mankind, so that the *Pall Mall Gazette*, in a brief notice of it on the 12th March, heads the article "In Praise of Inequality in Brotherhood."

Taking his text from Corinthians I, chap. xii., the bishop dwelt strongly on St. Paul's comparison of the church to a human body, which, though one body, consists of many members of various functions. The comparison is rather a favourite one with those whose interest it is to uphold social distinctions; a notable instance of its use being that in Shakespeare's 'Coriolanus.' But although the bishop did not (let us hope), as another we have heard of, mis-quote Scripture for his cause, he entirely mis-read it and attributed to the apostle a meaning that the text by no means bears out. For he has chosen to understand the passage as referring to inequality of gifts; whereas St. Paul speaks, not of inequality, but of dissimilarity—a vastly different thing. Indeed, the apostle, in his second epistle to the same people, makes a strong point of equality. He says plainly, "For I mean not that other men be eased and ye burdened. But by an equality, that now at this time your abundance may be a supply for their want, that their abundance also may be a supply for your want; that there may be equality." However, we are not concerned here with St. Paul, but with the bishop, who, regardless of the apostle's reputation for consistency, has chosen to make him figure as a champion of inequality. The Church, which is supposed to comprise all Christians, is compared to a body, whose different members have different functions. If we take the divisions as Shakespeare gives them, we shall get the working-classes for the "hands" as they are so often called, or for the feet, whilst the "upper" classes represent the belly. (I cannot think that the simile holds good here, since all the parts of the body are supposed to perform some function "some more essential, some less so," and I am unaware of any essential function whatever being performed by the aristocracy, who would be more accurately

compared to some foul cancerous growth, draining all the strength of the body and rendering skilful surgery necessary. The distribution to the different members of the social body is carried on by the class of overworked shopmen, who get poorly fed enough. However, we need not quarrel with Shakespeare's decision in the matter; but must object to any special honour or consideration being shown to the wealthy in their capacity of disordered stomach.) Now in a healthy body the main function of the organ in question is to distribute to each member, healthy, sufficient food, bringing glad life to the minutest part of the system. In such a body what comparison can there be between the various members, or how can one be said to be better than another? "Each has its own life movement intelligence, and ridicules epithets." One tries in vain to imagine any basis on which to found an argument of inequality.

Not so, however, in our "Society" to-day. Here we see the upper classes absorbing all that the "hands" provide, without performing their own work of distribution; the legs tremble and totter under their load; the "hands" hang helpless—useless; the nation has become a very Falstaff (who had not seen for years the knees which supported him, any more than our bishops know aught of the "brethren" on whose labour they live); requiring an enormous belt (of social laws and distinctions of inequality) to prevent its becoming a spectacle of shame before all the world.

And this is the body that the bishop finds so admirable,—such a constitution, this British Constitution of ours! Altogether in such capital order! And yet I fancy that the Founder of Christianity would repudiate with indignation the title, so often given him by the clergy, of *Head* to such a body. He, despised and rejected by the priests, the friend of outcasts and sinners, the teacher of Equality, who would have us "call no man master";—no! he can have no part in this abomination. Let us rather call it a headless body, one of Victor Hugo's devil-fish, with its eyes in its belly, and so be quit of the simile; hoping that when next his lordship tackles this subject, he will tell us which he considers more and which less essential of the different members of the body of society, and whether, if bishops represent the heart, for instance, it is well that they should be enclosed in such a fat-bed of luxury.

But after all, the bishop is not quite satisfied. He admits that the brotherhood of those who profess Christianity is not altogether a success, and that this is owing to "inequality in the distribution of this world's gifts; wealth, rank, intellect, peace to some, and toil, poverty, weariness to the rest." He also recognises the antagonism, the class-war, that is beginning between these two divisions of mankind; and he asks, "Have we, ministers of Christ, no help to offer?" Apparently, the ministers of Christ have not; the evils being due, in the bishop's opinion, to the curious way in which the Almighty has made us. For, do what we can, he tells us, "the same social inequalities would still exist, for they are founded on physical inequalities which must always exist." Are we to believe, then, that Lord Clanricarde, being physically unequal to supporting himself, is to remain socially superior to the labourers whose lives are being ruined by his exactions? The bishop forgets that it is possible, and may be advisable, to cut down the ivy which is strangling the oak that supports it. His only suggestion is to teach the rich the "gospel of self-denial" (a tough job he will find it—like training the ivy to stand by itself), whilst "to the poor we must preach the gospel of patience."

But though the brotherhood of the Church is imperfect, nothing else can succeed so well, says the bishop. "You can tell all men they are brothers, but you have no power to create the brotherhood. Your brotherhood is phrase, ours is a fact; it is a living principle." Yes, indeed; to some of us it looks like the "getting-a-living" principle of Judas Iscariot, each dipping his own hand into the dish. But perhaps this is not to be wondered at, considering the low utilitarian ideal that has been held up to the world by the bishops and clergy for so many years. So long as the realisation of products is made the chief aim of human existence, so long as we count the coal of more importance than the miners who dig it, and the corn of more importance than the labourers who harvest it, so long will some system of inequality and slavery be necessary to attain the end required. But when we recognise that "the Life is more than meat," when we understand that men should not live to work, but work to live, and that not perhaps till our few needs are satisfied and the work is put aside can true Life, free, happy, and beautiful, begin to exist,—then we shall find that friendship, deep and true, for all, is altogether desirable, and that nothing can be more delightful than to be surrounded everywhere by Equals with whom to share the Joy of Life.

Is the thing too distant? Is it too much to hope that the day will dawn, when men, weary of this long struggle for existence, shall meet and say: "Working against one another, each trying to get his head above the others, our life has become a burden too heavy to be borne. Together, we could produce plenty of food, firing, shelter, and clothes to satisfy all our needs without half the labour and with none of the anxiety, that now wears away our lives. Those who are unfortunate, we will help; and as long as we can produce anything to share amongst us we will be happy together, and never know want any more, nor any more waste our time in care and distress for things which are so easily acquired." It is the reasonable, common-sense thing to do; and I for one feel certain that, whether it be in five, or fifty, or five hundred years (it depends largely upon ourselves, how long), the time will surely come when men shall at last learn the folly and misery of this swinish scramble, which the bishop of Peterborough vainly hopes to varnish and polish till we imagine it genuine brotherhood; and once having tasted the joy of equality, they will ever afterwards be slow to spend

dividend on share capital shall be £5 per cent. per annum, and in case the state of business does not permit this amount to be paid, the deficit shall be a first charge on the subsequent profits, but without interest. Not less than 10 per cent. of the profits shall be carried to reserve until this fund amounts to 10 per cent. of the capital. It is provided that the net profits, after providing for charges of depreciation, dividend capital, and the formation of a reserve fund, shall be dealt with as follows:— (1) Such sum as the committee may authorise shall be applied for the promotion and encouragement of inventions by the members of the society, to be used for its benefit, also for the reward of special services rendered to the society. (2) The remainder shall be divided among the workers proportionately to the amounts they have respectively received as wages during the period to which the division relates, and shall be accumulated and allotted from time to time as often as they amount in any case to one fully paid-up share. It is proposed to pay all wages by the recognised list of the district, and that shareholders and their children have the first chance of working in the concern, if they are thoroughly competent to do the work required. The promoters state that they do not expect at all times they will be able to show a profit over and above the £5 per cent. paid to capital, but they reasonably say that when such periods of depression come they will ask the workers to consider how the charges on the society can best be met by a curtailment of the working expenses. By this means they believe that the wages may be regulated according to the requirements of the trade, and a sliding scale be established which shall be fair alike to capitalists and workers. Some little delay has arisen in the issue of the prospectus to the public, in consequence of a decision of the Association to alter one of the rules, already registered, enabling them to trade also as general hardware manufacturers, which will embrace all the smaller and kindred industries of the district.

The Mother Grundy school of labour reformers say that the interests of capital and labour are identical, and that there should be no conflict. This calls to mind the story of the lion and lamb, the lion was so distressed about the lamb that he ate him simply to keep him from freezing to death.—*Knights of Labour.*

Whenever the working classes make demands for legislative measures they are invariably met by the cry from certain quarters that it is paternalism. The plaintive wail is raised that the people are losing their sturdy independence and self-reliance, and learning to look rather to government for relief for all ills. It is really too bad that the masses think about utilising the government for their benefit. If they would but only live on their "sturdy independence" and leave the government to, and its power prostituted for the benefit of, a certain select class, then all would be well and no fears might be entertained of the possible dangers of paternalism. Now, self-reliance and "sturdy independence" are admirable qualities, but after an unpaternal government has parcelled out the natural resources and public properties to a favoured few the masses will find it a difficult matter to make a living even with "sturdy independence" to aid them.—*South West.*

MR. BAUMANN, M.P., AND THE OVERTIME DEBATE.—"To the Editor of the *Pall Mall Gazette*.—SIR,—In the not unkindly notice of my speech on Friday which a 'Looker-on' contributes to your Saturday's issue, he says, as a proof that I am still in the nursery as regards labour questions, that I referred to Mr. Burnett as 'Mr. Burnand.' If I did so it was the merest slip of the tongue, as I am perfectly familiar both with Mr. Burnett's name and his works. One other remark I should like to be allowed to make in your columns. I was quite aware that systematic overtime had been discontinued in the Government dockyards of late; but I wanted to elicit a pledge from the Government that it would not be revived in the future (except under pressure of necessity), which I more or less succeeded in obtaining. But your 'Looker-on' very truly said that I made the motion a peg on which to hang a discussion about the distribution of employment and the length of working hours generally. There is no subject of more interest and importance to the working classes; it is the only labour question that has been raised in the present Parliament. Never mind by whom the question was raised, whether by a Radical or a Tory, by a front bench or by one whom the *Star* so truly describes as 'an utterly insignificant personality.' There was the question; but where were the representatives of labour? The motion had been on the paper for four weeks; yet of the so-called labour representatives only two took the trouble to turn up, and of those two neither took the trouble to speak.—Your obedient servant, ARTHUR A. BAUMANN, 44, Hyde Park Square, W., April 8th."

A RUSSIAN "COMMUNE."

A WORK just published in Paris, entitled "La Russe Sectaire," by M. Taskin, contains some curious information concerning the various sects, religious and political, to be found throughout the empire of the Colossus of the North. One of the most numerous and widespread is that known as the Doukhobors, whose fundamental dogma is the negation of all religious ceremony or pomp, and the adoration of God "by the spirit and truth of the Creator, which everybody bears in his own heart." Man, they say, carries God in himself when he seeks to attain the ideal of goodness, simplicity, and honesty. This idea that God does not exist as an independent Being, but that He subsists in the human soul, has inspired the sect with a profound respect for human nature. They open and close their meetings by bowing reverentially to one another, and they explain this movement by saying that in so doing they do homage to the divinity with which every man is possessed. The consequence of this omnipresence of God is that all men are equal, all are sinners, and all susceptible of perfection. Wealth and poverty are an anomaly and an injustice, and there can be no servants or masters, no chiefs or subjects. Equality is carried to the extent of denying the obedience of children to their parents, and consequently paternal authority is *nil*. Women enjoy the same rights as men. Marriage is the union of two free and independent beings, founded by love and mutual agreement, and can be broken at the will of either party. All constraint is prohibited. No authority, whether in temporal or spiritual concerns, is recognised. Every person obeys only his own conscience. All the affairs of the community are arranged in a general assembly. Strange to say, this singular society, although based on the negation of all authority, works relatively well. The moral level of it is said to be superior to that of the neighbouring Orthodox population. The members are more active, more thriving, and healthier. Crime is unknown among them; quarrels are rare, and always end in reconciliation. Mutual assistance is universally practised. In short, the Doukhobors appear to be the very ideal of society dreamt of by Louise Michel and her disciples.—*Pall Mall Gazette.*

THE SOCIALIST LEAGUE.

OFFICES: 13 FARRINGTON ROAD, E.C.

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

Branch Subscriptions Paid.—1887: Hastings, Nottingham, Pelsall—New; Bradford, Croydon, Glasgow, Ipswich, Leeds, Merton, North London, Norwich—to end of March. Edinburgh—to end of May. Mitcham—to end of July. Walsall—to end of August. Hull—to end of September. Bloomsbury, Waltham Green, Wednesbury—to end of October. —1888:—Marylebone—to end of January. Hammersmith, Leicester—to end of February. Acton, Hackney, Hoxton (L.E.L.), Oxford, Clerkenwell—to end of March. Mile-end—to end of April.

Annual Conference.—The Fourth Annual Conference of the Socialist League will be held at 13 Farringdon Road, on Whit-Sunday, May 20. The attention of Branches is particularly referred to (1) Rule V, on the subject of the annual conference, pp. 3 and 4 of Constitution and Rules; and (2) that all branches wishing to be represented at the Conference must pay their subscription up to the 31st March by May 1st.

"COMMONWEAL" PRINTING FUND.

For April 7 and 14—C. J. F., 5s. W. B., 6d. Photograph, £1. K. F., 2s. Langley, 4s. P. W., 1s. Oxford Branch, 4s.

REPORTS.

ACTON.—Sunday morning at 11.30 we held our usual meeting, not a very large one owing to the wretched weather. R. C. Smith opened with a good explanation of Socialism, Tochetti and Maughan supporting. Two new members made.—J. T.

BLOOMSBURY.—On Thursday last, Mark Manley gave an interesting lecture on "How to Advance Socialism." Slight discussion. On Friday a large meeting, presided over by our comrade Donald, was held in the St. Pancras Vestry Hall to further the election of the two Socialist candidates, Bartlett and Clothier, to the Board of Guardians of St. Pancras. Speakers: Mrs. Hicks, Alfred Hicks (S.D.F.), Bartlett, and Chambers. On Sunday, a meeting at St. Pancras Arches was addressed by Donald and Bartlett; "No Master" and "The Starving Poor" were sung, Parker leading the singing.—W. W. B.

CLERKENWELL.—On Sunday, April 8, business meeting held, when financial business and open-air propaganda was discussed. It was decided to commence open-air work on the Green next Sunday, April 15, at 7.30 p.m.; the more active members of the branch are requested to come and help.—B.

MILE END AND BETHNAL GREEN.—Last Sunday, Mainwaring and Davis addressed a good meeting in Victoria Park. We intend to carry on the meetings at this station through the summer. We have also secured the spacious hall at the Mile End Radical Club, 108, Bridge Street, Mile End, for the branch meetings.—H. D.

STAMFORD HILL.—A good meeting was held here on Sunday evening by Morgan and Parker. Some opposition was offered by J. Williams (an anti-Socialist lecturer), who promised to attend the meetings in future; lively times may, therefore, be expected.—P.

GLASGOW.—At five o'clock on Sunday evening, the banner of Socialism was again unfurled and the Cause of the people vindicated by comrade Glasier at Paisley Road Toll, in an able speech of an hour and a half's duration. Another good meeting was held in Infirmary Square at 7.30, and was addressed by Downie and Glasier, several people at the close signified their intention of joining our branch and assisting to carry on the good work.—S. D.

LEEDS.—Since last report we have had several outdoor meetings, and Maguire has lectured to the Halifax Branch of the Irish N.L. On Easter Monday, we met our Bradford and Huddersfield comrades at Bradford, Tarn (Birmingham) and Teesdale (Hull) also put in an appearance. Future propaganda was discussed, with a view to our common action in outlying districts. The remainder of the evening was devoted to amusement.—P.

NORWICH.—Owing to weather we were not able to hold meetings last Sunday morning; in afternoon a large meeting assembled in the Market Place, addressed by Mowbray; in evening another good meeting held in Market Place by branch. At Gordon Hall, Mowbray lectured on Socialism.—S.

SOUTH SUSSEX.—A debate on "Society and the Individual" was held at the Bexhill Mutual Improvement Association Rooms on Thursday night, a good audience present. Mr. Deeprope and Leonard Hall were the principals, and several others followed. A resolution in favour of the Socialist was unanimously carried amid great excitement.

WALSALL.—No indoor meeting last Monday owing to Easter holidays. On Saturday the usual open-air meeting was held on The Bridge, a good audience listening to an excellent speech by Sanders. A few "Fair Trader's" offered slight opposition, and advantage was taken of this to show the utter inadequacy of their remedy to permanently benefit the workers.—J. T. D.

L.E.L. CLUB AND INSTITUTE.—On Sunday evening this institution was opened with every sign of success. The inaugural address explanatory of objects, etc., was delivered by H. A. Barker. This was followed by speeches from A. K. Donald, F. Henderson, J. Pope, H. Davis, and others. The remainder of the evening was pleasantly occupied with songs and recitals. Socialists living this end of London are invited to join.

BALL'S POND RADICAL CLUB.—On Thursday evening last, W. Morris, H. H. Sparling, A. K. Donald, and H. A. Barker occupied the platform of the above club, and gave an exposition of Socialism as advocated by the Socialist League.

ON SATURDAY, APRIL 14th, 1888,

THE WEEKLY ENTERTAINMENT

IN AID OF THE STRIKE FUND

WILL BE GIVEN BY

MEMBERS OF THE HAMMERSMITH BRANCH

Beginning at 8 P.M. sharp.

"THE APPOINTMENT," DRAMATIC SKETCH BY MISS RADFORD. (ERNEST RADFORD, MAY MORRIS, and MR. I. ROSCIUS GARRICK.)

"A FALSE START," COMEDY BY JULIAN STURGIS. (MRS. RADFORD, ERNEST RADFORD, and MAY MORRIS.)

In addition to these the following have kindly consented: Daisy Scheu, Mr Tochetti, Mathilde Andignoux, G. Brocher, Prof. Follini, etc., etc.

Admission by Programme, Threepence.



LECTURE DIARY.

LONDON.

Acton.—17 High Street, Acton, W. (adjoining Purnell's Dining Rooms). Sunday at 8 p.m.
Bloomsbury.—Communist Club, 49 Tottenham Street, Tottenham Court Road. Thursday April 12, at 8.30, a lecture by T. J. Dalziel.
Clerkenwell.—Hall of the Socialist League, 13 Farringdon Rd., E.C. Business meeting every Sunday at 7. Sunday April 15, at 8.30, W. J. Ramsey. Wed. 18, 8.30, H. Davis, "The Progress of Events."
Fulham.—8 Effie Road, Walham Green. Sunday at 8. Rev. Stewart D. Headlam, "The Sins that cause Poverty."
Hackney.—28 Percy Terrace, Victoria Road, Hackney Wick.
Hammermith.—Kelmecott House, Upper Mall, W. Sunday April 15, at 8. Wm. Morris, "Industry in the Fourteenth Century."
Hoxton (L.E.L.).—New premises, 1 Hoxton Square. C. J. Young, 8 Dunloe St., Hackney Rd., Secretary. Sunday April 15, at 8 p.m., A. K. Donald, "Crime: its Cause and Prevention."
Mitcham.—Corner of Merton Lane and Fountain Place. Club Room open Saturday, Sunday, and Monday evenings from 7.30 till 11. W. E. Eden, 12 Palmerston Road, Wimbledon, Secretary.
Mile-end and Bethnal Green.—95 Boston St., Hackney Road. A special meeting of the members of the branch will take place on Thursday April 19.
North London.—Next business meeting will be held Friday April 13, at 109 Cavendish Buildings, opposite Holborn Town Hall. Nelly Parker, secretary. Members specially requested to attend.

PROVINCES.

Aberdeen (Scottish Section).—Sunday night meetings in Baker Street Hall, at 6. Secretary, J. Leatham, 15 St. Nicholas Street.
Birmingham.—Summer Row Coffee House.
Bradford.—Morris's Dining Rooms, 114 City Road. Wednesdays, at 8.
Carnoustie (Scottish Section: Forfarshire).—Meeting every Tuesday, at 8 p.m., in the Carnoustie Restaurant. H. McCluskey, Millar Street, Secy.
Cowdenbeath (Scot. Sec.).—J. Duncan, 30 Arthur Pl., sec.
Dundee (Scot. Sect.).—Meetings every Sunday in the Trades Hall, opposite Tay Bridge Station.
Edinburgh (Scottish Section).—4 Park Street. Discussion every Thursday at 8. April 19, "How is Socialism to be Realised?" April 26, "Is Socialism merely an Economic Change?" May 3, "Relation of Socialism to Christianity."
Galashiels (Scot Sect.).—J. Walker, 6 Victoria St., sec.
Gallatown and Dysart (Scottish Section: Fife).—Meet every Tuesday at 7 p.m. in Gallatown Public School. Secretary, A. Paterson, 152 Rosslyn St.
Glasgow.—84 John St. Reading-room open 10 a.m. till 10 p.m. daily. A general meeting of members will be held on Sunday April 15, at 6.30 p.m.—business: finance and propaganda. A good master requested. The first suburban outdoor meeting of the season will be held in Cambuslang on Saturday 14, at 6.30. Comrades desirous of assisting will be in rooms at 5.30; train from Central at 6.
Leeds.—Lady Lane. Open every evening. Business meeting Fridays at 8. Address all communications to T. Faylor, 11 Sheldon Street, Holbeck, Leeds.
Leicester.—Hosiery Union, Horsefair St. Fridays at 8.
Lochgelly (Scottish Section: Fife).—Secs. (pro tem.), John Greig and Hugh Conway, The Square.
Norwich.—Monday next, 8 p.m., entertainment by Minstrel Troupe; admission 2d., proceeds to go to branch funds. Tuesday at 8.30, Members meeting. Wednesday at 8.30, Ways and Means Committee. Thursday at 8, Band practice and Troupe rehearsal. Friday at 8.30, Literary Committee. Saturday, 8 to 10, Co-operative Clothing Association. Sunday, at 8, lecture.
Nottingham.—Club and Reading Rooms, 1 Tokenhouse Yard, Bridlesmith Gate, open every evening. Lectures and Discussions every Sunday.
Oxford.—Temperance Hall, 25½ Pembroke Street. Wednesdays, at 8.30 p.m.
Walsall.—Lecture Room, back of Temperance Hall. Mondays at 8 p.m.
West Calder (Scottish Section).—Sec., Robert Lindsay, West Calder.

OPEN-AIR PROPAGANDA.

LONDON—Sunday 15.

11 ...Acton—the Steyne .....The Branch
11 ...Turnham Green—Front Common...Ham'smith
11.30...Hackney—Salmon and Ball .....Mainwaring
11.30...Hoxton Church, Pitfield St.....Davis
11.30...Merton—Haydons Road.....The Branch
11.30...Mitcham Fair Green .....Parker
11.30...Regent's Park .....Brookes
11.30...St. Pancras Arches .....Donald
11.30...Walham Green .....Turner
3 ...Victoria Park .....Davis & Mainwaring
3.30...Hyde Park .....Brookes
7 ...Acton—Priory .....Acton Branch
7.30...Clerkenwell Green .....Blundell
7.30...Stamford Hill .....Barker

Tuesday.

8 ...Mile-end Waste .....Mainwaring
PROVINCES.

Leeds.—Sunday: Vicar's Croft, at 11 a.m.
Norwich.—Sunday: New Catton near the Church, at 11.30; Ber Street Fountain at 11.45; Market Place at 3 and 7.30.

MILE-END BRANCH.—William Morris will lecture on Tuesday 17, 8.30, at the Working Men's Radical Club, 108 Bridge Street, Burdett Road.

On Thursday April 12, a discussion will be opened by Dr. Merlino, subject "Is Anarchy the logical outcome of Socialism?" at the Hall of the Socialist League, 13 Farringdon Road.

JUNIOR SOCIALIST EDUCATIONAL SOCIETY.—The next meeting of this Society will take place at 64 Chancery Lane, on Saturday April 14, when Mrs. Aveling will read a paper on "Women." Members and friends only. 8 o'clock sharp.

THE LAW AND LIBERTY LEAGUE hold a Dramatic and Musical evening in the Athenæum Hall, 73 Tottenham Court Road, on Wednesday April 18, in aid of the funds of the League. Tickets 6d., 1s., and 2s. 6d.

SHEFFIELD.—Hall of Science, Rotherham Street.—J. Sketchley will deliver two lectures at the above hall, April 15, as follows: At 3 p.m., "The Theory of Malthus—Is it True?" At 7 p.m., "What is the Basis of Legitimate Authority."

Mrs. Wardle will supply Branch Subscription Cards at 9d. per doz. Leaflet Press, Cursitor street.

SOCIALIST CO-OPERATIVE FEDERATION.—Meeting at Commonweal Office, 13 Farringdon Road, on Sunday April 15, at 3.30 p.m.

BOOT AND SHOE TRADE.—WANTED a steady man for all kinds of Repairs (a Socialist preferred). Constant work. For further particulars address to comrade Shufflebotham, 39 Lyndhurst Street, Bolton, Lancashire.

WANTED—Cheap, perfect: 'Anarcharis Clootz, l'Orateur du genre humain; par Georges Avenel.' 2 vols. 8vo. This book was given during 1885 to subscribers to Le Question Sociale (Paris, monthly) as a special prize. Address: T. S., care of H.H. Sparling, Commonweal Office.

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# THE COMMONWEALTH

The Official Journal of the Socialist League.

VOL. 4.—No. 119.

SATURDAY, APRIL 21, 1888.

WEEKLY; ONE PENNY.

## NOTES ON NEWS.

Mr. Arnold White has been giving evidence before the House of Lords on the sweating system in the East-end, which no doubt will shock the respectabilities of the middle-class—for a little time; until in fact they forget all about it, and then to them these miseries will no longer exist. Probably the fact that the "sweater" is often as poor as or even poorer than the man he employs will come as a surprise to many who do not know the way in which the poor live. Now they know that fact might they not ask themselves the question, Who sweats the sweater? The question asked by a well-to-do person will have to be answered in the manner of the ancient Hebrew chronicler, *Thou art the man.*

Mr. Arnold White proposed remedies. We will not say that there are remedies, but there is a remedy, which Mr. White, it is to be thought would not relish, and that is the freeing of labour from privileged monopoly; all Mr. White can see as desirable to be done is to make a feeble attempt to stop foreign immigration, to crush out the small employer by a tax on workshops, and so forth, and then to stand by and see how much people would starve then—for they certainly would starve. What workmen should remember is that all this "sweating" is necessary in order to that "cheap" production of wares, which is still quoted as such a blessing to the working-classes (though scarcely I think with the same confidence as formerly). These cheap workmen must be cheapened down to their present misery in order that the more expensive ones may still be cheap relatively to the capital employed in buying them; so that this country may be able to compete with others, and other countries with this country; and in spite of all Mr. Arnold White's "remedies," this process will go on, and must go on until the whole cursed system breaks down—or blows up. The horror-stricken supporters of capitalism must not be so unreasonable as to expect to have an omelette without egg-breaking; or a capitalist without propertyless workers, the final expression of whom is this sweated East-end immigrant.

I should like, by the way, to ask of any of our friends that know the "industry" in question, whether Mr. White's confident assertion that all the sweaters are foreigners is strictly true?

Mr. Saunders is going to try the right of free speech by a civil action against Warren & Co., and some think that if the judges are anything but the creatures of reactionary bureaucracy, something ought to come of that: but as a matter of fact, that is just what they are. If they cannot find law for any piece of tyranny which our masters have a mind to, they are not worth their salt, and our masters should dismiss them. But surely they have already abundantly proved that they are worth their salt. They are expensive but necessary to our masters.

A report of a traveller in Siam says of the Nan slaves: "Every man of the lower orders must be enrolled as the slave of some master; but he is allowed to choose whom he will serve, and if he does not like one, he may enroll himself as the slave of another. . . . A slave is fed by his master while he is working for him, but at other times he must feed himself. No purchase money is paid for the slave by his master." Dear me! Siam is a long way off, and supposing one were travelling to see diversities of the condition of workmen, I for one should scarcely think it worth while to go through so much to learn so little as I should have to do if I were to undertake the journey. For the condition of the Nan slaves is just that of the London slaves; except, indeed that the latter do not find it so easy to shift themselves from one master to another as their Siamese brethren do; for there seems a certain flavour of compulsion on the masters to employ in the hotter and happier country. In fact the *Daily News* from which I extracted this good news of a better land, seems impressed by the fact, and says, "We can even imagine many of our less fortunate countrymen envying their prerogative." Would Mr. Arnold White like to take the place of agent for emigration to Nan-land? Or would he not think the workman too free there? The latter, I am afraid.

W. M.

Last week when Parliament discussed the affair at Ennis on the previous Sunday, the usual amount of bunkum was talked, and the result arrived at was of the usual kind—a majority for law-'n'-order, and everybody pleased with themselves and angry with everybody else.

No new facts were brought out. The same old thing had happened; an "illegal" meeting, an unarmed crowd ridden down and beaten and cut about, and nobody to be responsible for it.

For once Balfour dropped his tone of flippant cynicism, and was as near seriousness as his soulless nature would allow. It is true that his seriousness only led to more careful lying than usual, though, careful as he was, not one of his excuses could stand examination. They were founded on the one-sided, warped, and worked-up version of what happened, handed in to him by his underlings in Ireland.

Stones flung after the bloody little drama had begun in the warehouse yard became the cause of all the bother; none was to blame but the "agitators," who called a peaceful public meeting, for the bloodshed that ensued; a meeting which had been held and was quietly dispersing became in his hands a "riotous and dangerous assemblage."

When one read all this in the next morning's paper one was quite prepared to see, as one *did* see, all his lies made clear in another day or two. In the enquiry the police could only produce, even from among themselves, witnesses to swear that *two* stones fell near Col. Turner, none being seen to strike him, nor did he bear a mark, and that these two were only seen *after* the soldiers had entered the yard. One police-witness even admitted, "I do not know of any policeman who was assaulted that day or struck!"

But Balfour was not content with what he had already done, and went on to assure the House, on the word of the doctor attending him, that Mr. Hill, the *Irish Times* reporter who was sabred, was not seriously injured. Whereupon the doctor denies that he has ever been communicated with about his patient's injuries by any one whatsoever.

It is almost certain, however, that Balfour is more a fool than a blackguard; that these lies that flow so glibly from his lips are prepared for him by the resident magistrates who do his bidding—and bend him to their will. These upholders of British power and pillars of the Constitution number 75, and in the official return of them published on the 11th it is said that 35 have *no legal qualification at all* for their posts.

They are good provocative agents, and ready at brutal repression when a chance occurs. Like Segrave of Mitchelstown, and many another, they have failed miserably in all decent endeavours at a civilised livelihood, but having graduated in bull-whacking and nigger-driving, make excellent underlings and tools to a Coercion Government.

Meanwhile, the unhappy country they keep under is "bleeding at every pore," as the newspapers put it; or pouring out its people at every port, as the fact is. Year after year they go forth to become the bitter unrelenting enemies of the British Empire, and yet the remnant left at home fight on as steadily as ever.

But it must be said that were the Irish people "on all sides of the sea" as united and resolute as they say, and as brave withal, they would have swept the world of the curse of English rule, and would not now be kept down by a sneaking cur like Balfour and the unscrupulous paid bullies who are at his back.

Two of the really brave men who stay for nothing in doing their duty, have once more been taken in the legal toils. William O'Brien and John Dillon will most assuredly be condemned by the satraps before whom they are to be tried. They must be carefully watched over or Balfour may carry out his alleged threat, and the inquest will duly result in a verdict of "suicide" or "natural causes" as others have done before.

In England is done by fraud what is done in Ireland by force. The *Pall Mall* recalls with apparent pleasure some words it uttered last year: "The Church has machinery by which every rectory might be made an emigration centre," and smugly remarks that the suggestion is being acted on. 1,000 emigrants so gathered sailed from Liverpool on the 12th for Halifax, and there are more to follow. Who pays the holy men's commission, and do they wait for death before they get it?

S.

## MID LANARK AND SOCIALISM.

MID LANARK is purely a labour constituency, the majority of electors being miners, who receive sixteen shillings per week for producing one hundred and thirty shillings' worth of coal. The official wirepullers of the "great" Liberal party, when a vacancy was intimated, were of opinion that a fit and proper person to represent these hard-working men would be a youthful and effeminate ex-military captain with a hesitating utterance, but who is a special favourite with certain lords and ladies not connected with the constituency. But these officials had reckoned without their host. The schoolmaster had been abroad in the persons of our comrades of the Glasgow branch of the Socialist League, consequently they had subsequently to take a step back to pause and consider. The working men were determined to test the worth of Liberal professions, and they would not be controlled by the official Liberals' advice. They had a candidate of their own of sufficient ability and experience in labour questions, who was also sound in all the other planks of the Liberal platform.

When the darling pet of the aristocracy and the officials of the "great" Liberal party came to Cambuslang he was confronted by an old worn-out miner—John Forsyth, a member of the Socialist League—who put the following "staggerer" to him and his backers: As Mr. Sinclair is against the principle of perpetual pensions, will he explain wherein the perpetual legal but unjust right of the wealthy class to live in luxurious idleness off the labours of the working classes, because the former possess "capital," differs from that of the parasite pensioners who receive sustenance from the State without ever having in their persons rendered any services to the State? Mr. Sinclair replied he did not allow there was a perpetual legal right of the wealthy class to live in luxurious idleness if other people were starving; as to Mr. Forsyth's reason, he would like him to put it shorter, so that he could grasp it. Mr. Forsyth said, it means that all capitalists live off the labouring man. There is no use taxing the landlord or any other class, because it is the labouring man—the man who takes off his coat—who will have to pay the taxation.

Mr. Sinclair professed to be strongly in favour of the principle that as the capital in the possession of any individual, so should the taxation be proportionate: "is that the thing you want to be at?" No! cried Mr. Forsyth, I mean this: if the rich man has no work to do, if he lives off labour, there is no use taxing him, because he makes the worker pay for it. If you tax the butcher he will take it out of the consumer; and so with the baker, etc. Mr. Sinclair could not allow that there is only one sort of labour; there are lawyers, doctors, clergymen, members of Parliament, business men at hundreds and thousands of different employments who do not labour with their hands. Mr. Forsyth said, We don't take in those parties. Well, says Sinclair, I think the taxation of the working classes should be lightened. Our comrade left him to solve the problem how that could be done when, as he had demonstrated, the working class pay all taxes, those imposed on the rich as well as on the poor.

Another friend then tackled our worthy candidate with the following question: Would you vote for the relief of industry from all taxation, and meet the requirements of the State by a single tax on land and the revenue of mining royalties, both of which really belong to the State, and in justice can never be the property of individuals? Mr. Sinclair wriggled from the reply by saying that was not a practical question—"it is impossible it can happen in our lifetime." Ah, there's the rub! Our politicians are forced into the same position as if the parson were to say, "My friends, it is impossible to live a perfect life, therefore you need not try to be good." But is the consummation of this question impossible? Can it be in our lifetime? I answer yes, if all our comrades set to work to educate the workers in the manner of our friends in Mid Lanark by putting such questions to candidates at political meetings, which, no matter what answer be given, are sure to be impressed on the minds of those who hear them. What a field for propagandism is there if at next political meeting we can distribute leaflets explaining the difference between the collier's questions and the ex-captain's replies.

GEORGE MCLEAN.

THE CRY IS STILL THEY GO!—The number of emigrants from Queens-town to America continues to increase. The town is full, a correspondent of the *Pall Mall* says, and unless special steamers are put on the exodus is likely to continue on a large scale into the summer months. The number for the present week is 2,650, or about 600 more than last week, and 1,930 more than the week before. Although Queenstown is the great port of departure large numbers take leave by liners calling at Londonderry, Larne, and Galway. Every one of them driven out of their native land by monopoly, without which they could all live there comfortably, and then folk are found who can be "astonished" at the hatred with which the Irish-American regards the Government that supported his oppressors with all its force!

LABOUR LEGISLATION.—Hitherto there has been a reluctance among all parties to interfere with "freedom of contract" between employer and employed. "Freedom," says Carlyle, "is a divine thing, but when it means freedom to starve it is not quite so divine." I would, therefore, support such legislation as would temper the laws of political economy with humanitarian principles. In mining legislation, for example, I would support an Eight Hour Bill; the establishment of an Insurance and Superannuation Fund, supported from Royalties; the setting up of Arbitration Courts, with power to settle disputes and fix a minimum wage; the creation of a Mining Department presided over by a Minister of Mines; together with all legislation tending to secure the health and welfare of the miners.—J. KEIR HARDIE, Labour Candidate for Mid-Lanark.

## REVOLUTIONARY CALENDAR.

WEEK ENDING APRIL 28, 1888.

22	Sun.	1826. Sack of Missolonghi by the Turks. 1852. Collapse of a Strike of Engineers. 1875. Birth of "Organised Obstruction" in the House of Commons.
23	Mon.	1873. International Workman's Club formed in connection with British International Federation. 1885. Explosion at Admiralty.
24	Tues.	1731. Daniel Defoe died. 1861. Peasant Riot at Beydna in Kazan Government. 1887. Hyde Park Demonstration for Northumberland Miners.
25	Wed.	1599. Oliver Cromwell born. 1820. Volney died. 1852. Arthur O'Connor died. 1865. Georg Kmety died.
26	Thur.	1711. David Hume born. 1848. Chartist Demonstration on Clerkenwell Green.
27	Fri.	1803. Toussaint L'Ouverture died. 1881. Emile de Girardin died. 1882. R. W. Emerson died.
28	Sat.	1513. Apprentice's Riots in London. 1789. Mutiny of the "Bounty." 1820. Fight at Oldham between Radicals and soldiers.

*Engineer's Strike.*—After a six month's struggle a strike against overtime, piecework, and scab labour collapsed, and the Society put forth a manifesto in which they "frankly and unhesitatingly make the avowal, that in the contest between capital and labour the latter has been defeated. Whatever hopes were entertained that the worker might successfully assert his rights by an open and avowed resistance to a tyranny of the most despotic kind, they have faded before the immense power of wealth and the determination of its possessors to be absolute and unconditional masters. . . . Our future efforts must be constantly directed to prevent the possibility of such a catastrophe again occurring. How shall we set about the work of preparation for a coming time? There is but one way—we must co-operate for production. The events of the last few months have directed the attention of working-men to co-operation, and inclined them to it more decidedly than years of prosperous industry could have done. . . . We have learned that it is not enough to accumulate funds—that it is necessary also to use them reproductively; and if this lesson does not fail in its effects, a few years will see the land studded with workshops belonging to the workers—workshops where the profits shall cheer and not oppress labour, where tyranny cannot post an abominable declaration on the gates, where the opportunity of working is secured without the sacrifice of all that makes work dignified and honourable." And the lesson was not learnt and nothing was done!—S.

Long life and good health to bowld Parnell and Biggar,  
For they have not hearts like the heart of a mouse;  
They're fighting for Ireland with courage and vigour,  
And don't care a hang for "the tone of the House."

—T. D. SULLIVAN.

"Organised Obstruction" born.—On April 22, 1875, was born "Organised Obstruction," out of Coercion by Toryism, Joseph Biggar surgeon in attendance. Somewhat thus should have run the "Gazette" notice of April 23, 1875. In 1868-74, the Tories had "spread themselves considerably" in the way of obstruction to such bills as that for Abolition of Purchase in the Army, by moving endless amendments, but not until Isaac Butt asked Joseph Biggar to speak "a pretty good while," which demand was answered by a four hour's speech, mostly of long extracts from Government reports, did the real Simon Pure come to town, and ye gods, what a sensation the new-comer made! Day after day each Session the press was filled with "More Scenes in the House," "Suspension of an Irish Member," "Suspension of Irish Members," until in 1877-8 it seemed that the whole Irish party would be suspended for good and all. Biggar and Parnell for their action in this crisis deserve the thanks of all future minorities. The "tone of the House," is even to-day too much of a fetish in the eyes of some to be well for the democracy, for while it is held "that a man should be a gentleman first and a patriot afterwards" there is small hope of stamping out the shameful jobs and underhand swindles that are worked in the House of Misrepresentatives, but which are not exposed because not "good form" to attack persons or indulge in personalities. As Junius says, "Gentle pressure is not fitted to the present degenerate state of Society. What does it avail to expose the absurd contrivance, or pernicious tendency, of measures, if the man who advises or executes, shall be suffered to escape? To attack vices in the abstract, without touching persons, may be safe fighting indeed, but it is fighting with shadows." It needed a Teufelsdröckh to deal with the House of Respectabilities' old clothes of "Forms" and "Tone," and he came in the person of a pork butcher; the very perfection of poetic justice, the work he did was not much inferior to that of the derider of effete forms who said "Take away that bauble." The effect on the modern House was terrific; well may the author of the "Parnell Movement" dwell on the spectacle, "The Parliament that trampled upon every Irish demand for so many generations was seen raging in hysteric and impotent fury against the growing omnipotence of two determined men." It will not be well with England till another such piece of history is begun and carried through by some English members. Dr. Hunter once publicly pledged himself to "exhaust the forms of the House on behalf of the Crofters," but he funk'd, and they all do it except the Irishmen.—T. S.

*Death of Daniel Defoe.*—Born in London, 1663; died April 24, 1731. The most advanced man of his time, and the greatest prose-writer of his century. Every one knows him by "Robinson Crusoe," the first effort made in fiction to deal with the lives of common men, but few know his real greatness or are acquainted with his other writings. A short sketch of his life, prefixed to a reprint of his "Captain Singleton" appeared in the Camelot Series last year, and his "Essay upon Projects" in Cassell's National Library a month or two back. This latter has some lessons even for to-day, and when it was written was far and away in advance of the time. Defoe was imprisoned and pilloried and otherwise honoured for his opinions and political conduct. His works (over 200 there are of them!) attest the wonderful power of the man and his untiring industry.—S.

*Death of Volney.*—Constantine François Comte de Volney was the son of an advocate of Craon, in the province of Anjou. He was born February 3, 1757, and at the early age of seventeen he was put to his own resources; and on the advice of his father, who had experienced some ridicule on his name of "Chassebœuf," he took the name of Bois-girais, and this he gave up when he began his journey to the East, taking the name Volney and making it famous. He received some education in the provinces, and having about £50 per annum inherited from his mother, went to Paris and studied medicine and physiology; studied Greek and made himself a good general linguist; wrote something about Herodotus. Was helped somewhat by Baron D'Holbach, and by him introduced to Madame Helvétius and Benjamin Franklin, which probably had to do with the American tour which Volney made later on. His great desire was to travel in the East, and on becoming possessed by legacy of some £240 he started on foot, provided only with knapsack, gun, and his cash packed round his body. On reaching Egypt he managed to get permission to enter a Copt monastery, where for eight



month he studied Arabic. He travelled the East for three years and then returned to Paris, publishing in 1787 in two volumes the 'Voyage in Syria and Egypt during the years 1783-85.' He was appointed by Louis XVI. to a State post in Corsica, and resigned when elected Deputy for his province of Anjou, 1789. In the National Assembly he proposed some useful motions—Nationalisation of all Church Property, and a motion against wars to increase territory. November 23, 1790, he was elected Secretary to the Assembly, and September, 1791, formally and most appropriately presented to the Assembly the original of his 'Ruins; or, a Survey of the Revolutions of Empires.' His 'Travels in Syria' was sent by Grimm to Catherine II. of Russia, and won for him a gold medal; and his appointment as Director-General of Commerce and Agriculture in Corsica was largely due to the same book; but the book by which he is, and will be best known, is without doubt his 'Ruins of Empires.' A magnificent indictment of all State-craft and Priest-craft—he was a Freethinker—such as might be expected from his position in the Assembly. Like Thomas Paine, however, he was not extreme enough for some of the Republicans, and was imprisoned. In 1792 he paid a second visit to Corsica, and became acquainted with Napoleon Bonaparte. On his return to Paris was for a short time Professor of history. In 1795 he went to America, and was accorded a flattering reception by Washington; in 1798 he returned to France, and was invited by Bonaparte to take high office but declined, and incurred the usurper's displeasure. In 1810 he married, and in 1820, on April 25, he died, and was buried with honours in Pere la Chaise. His works are many, one or two on "simplification of languages" have been cribbed from lately to perfect the revived idea of Volapuk or Universal Language; but for us the 'Ruins of Empires,' inspired by his visits to ruins of Eastern Empires, and quickened by the French Revolution, is the book to keep in mind and to study. "Remember . . . it is yourselves that cause the evils of which you complain; it is you that encourage tyrants by a base flattery of their power," chap. xxiii.—T. S.

*Arthur O'Connor.*—Born July 4, 1767; died April 25, 1852; called to the bar 1788; returned to Irish Parliament 1790 for Philipstown by his uncle, Lord Longueville. In 1795 made a "violent" speech in favour of Catholic Emancipation, which led not only to the loss of his seat but to his uncle's disinheriting him—a loss of £10,000 a-year. Meanwhile he became a United Irishman, and one of the five who constituted their directory. Arrested November, 1796, for high treason and confined in Dublin Castle, but soon discharged for want of proof. The following month Hoche's descent on Ireland was made; after its failure O'Connor and another went abroad, and saw Hoche at Frankfurt. Returning, he was arrested at Margate, February 28, 1798, with James O'Coigly, a priest, Biuns, and another. Tried at the following Maidstone Assizes, O'Coigly was found guilty and hung on Peveden Heath. O'Connor was acquitted on the one charge but held on a warrant from the Duke of Portland. Some of his friends projected his escape, and the Earl of Thanet and Mr. Robert Ferguson were afterwards imprisoned for the attempt. Sent over to Ireland, when the whole thing had become hopeless, O'Connor and his friends gave up their plans to the Government and were allowed to retire to the Continent. O'Connor went to France, where in 1804 the First Consul made him General of Division, and afterwards Lieut.-General. Married about 1809. 1834 was allowed to revisit Ireland on private affairs of business. On his return bought Mirabeau's birth-place, the chateau of Bignon, from his heirs, and here he lived and died. Feargus O'Connor was his nephew.—S.

*Death of Emerson.*—Ralph Waldo Emerson, born in the capital of New England on the 25th of May, 1803, was descended from a whole host of the strong-minded ecclesiastical scholars, who have been one of the leading characteristics of the Englishmen of the New World. These religious teachers of New England have of necessity been men of eminent wisdom and accomplishments in order to sustain any position of respect in the community, since the New England colonists from the very first put their feet heavily down on priestcraft *per se*, sternly denying any respect to the mere germ of sacerdotalism, and demanding proof of intellectual strength in their preachers before they gave these preachers precedence, having previously stripped them of those functions which priestcraft seeks to assume to awe the vulgar, such as marriage sacraments and other social monopolies. Born of this parentage, Emerson himself one of the greatest scholars ever known, was destined to take a yet grander step in advance, to overthrow even the mental shackles which a really superior religious caste had imposed upon the people, and to proclaim the absolute independence of thought. Before we can have even dreams of social emancipation we must have mental freedom, and all reformers must for ever honour Emerson as the greatest mental emancipator of any age. He freed a whole Continent, which Continent is freeing the world. Although born in Boston, he early in life settled in that famous suburban village of Concord, where the first blood was shed for American freedom. The very air was laden with a love of liberty, and here Emerson, renouncing even his early thin veneer of sacerdotal personality, built up that famous "Concord School of Philosophy," which, though bantered and denounced for two generations, was yet all the while the beacon light to which every honest man feeling the "struggling pangs of honest truth" looked for courage and leadership. A dozen years since a gushing editorial writer of the *Daily Telegraph* having some occasion to gush over Emerson, and searching around for a reason said Emerson was the first to teach America that there was something else in the world besides big railways, and other money-making monstrosities. A more ludicrous utterance never was recorded. The Yankees had scholars and poets galore before they possessed big railways, and Emerson taught the bulk of the people nothing for he never reached them; what he really did was to clear the way for social reformers to tear down the stifling incubus of thieving stock-gamblers and cheating selfish profit-mongers, whose slaving mouthpiece the *Daily Telegraph* makes a pride of being.—L. W.

*Oldham Riot.*—Some dragoons were refreshing themselves in the afternoon at the Bull's Head Inn, where also there was a large company gathered, many of them Radicals. Over their dinner the Rad's drank "seditious" toasts, such as "May the skins of all Church and King men serve as drum-heads for the Radical armies." At length one of them began singing a song in praise of Hunt, whereupon one of the law'n'-order men snatched his white hat and flung it on the fire. A free fight began, and the soldiers were driven into an inner room and held prisoners, save one who escaped in the confusion. Making his way to the barracks he procured reinforcements, who rescued their comrades after a hard fight, and by means of more fighting got back again to barracks. Loss—many wounds, bruises, and black eyes on both sides.—S.

**FORBIDDEN TO LAND.**—Eighteen Italian marble-workers, imported under a contract to work for Bowker, Torrey, and Co., quarrymen, of Boston, have been forbidden to land from the steamer *Rugia*, which has just arrived in New York from Hamburg. The importing firm and also the owners of the steamer are liable to pay a fine of 1000 dollars for each man imported, under the law forbidding the importation of foreign contract labour.

**IT MOVES!**—In the *Westminster and Lambeth Gazette* of April 14, 1888, is a report: "Norwood Ladies' Literary Society.—The March meeting was opened by a paper from Mrs. Brown, 'Do the Advantages of Socialism outweigh its Disadvantages?' Mrs. Stopes answered in the negative, and after a lively discussion the majority voted for negative." Socialism is evidently making itself felt when the subject is even considered necessary to discuss in such a place. Of course the "negative" was inevitable.—S. G.

## THE INDIVIDUALIST APOLOGISES.

[AFTER MR. W. S. GILBERT.]

If you'll give me your attention, I will tell you who I am,  
I'm a genuine philanthropist, all other kinds are sham;  
No pauperising charity with harmful hand I fling;  
No,—my benevolence is quite another kind of thing;  
How ignorant and thriftless is our working-class we know;  
I long to lead the labourer in the way that he should go;  
But for all I do to educate the humble artisan,  
He invariably considers me "a disagreeable man,"  
And I can't think why.

I show the masses since their "business faculty" is *nil*,  
They can't expect to get above the bottom of the hill;  
Whereas the cool, the confident, the calculating few  
Are sure to carry off the cake, whatever we might do;  
And how that grand hypothesis is vindicated thus  
The survival of the fittest, or, in other word, of *us*;  
But although I try to make it sound as pleasant as I can,  
I've got the reputation of a disagreeable man,  
And I can't think why.

Their ignorant illusion I endeavour to destroy,  
That they need no upper classes to provide them with employ;  
For I show them quite conclusively their chances would be small,  
If capital were scared away, of finding work at all;  
And our working population being clearly far too great,  
I implore them, with emotion, not to breed at such a rate;  
But although I push Malthusianism with all the grace I can,  
My reward is to be rated as a disagreeable man,  
And I can't think why.

I dwell upon the wickedness of going out on strike,  
And describe the dull dead level that the Socialist would like,  
And to show that rich as well as poor of trouble have their share,  
I enumerate the hardships we employers have to bear.  
In competing with the foreigner I show him he must fail,  
Till he drops his beer and lives upon a far less liberal scale;  
But when'er I praise a diet on the Penny Dinners plan,  
I'm called (it seems incredible) a disagreeable man,  
And I can't think why.

C. W. BECKETT.

## CORRESPONDENCE.

### COUNTY GOVERNMENT BILL

SIR,—I wish to call your attention to a fact which seems to have been overlooked by the promoters of this measure and by the public. The Bill assumes that it is just and right if we in the future deprive the owner of a public-house of his licence, and thus lessen the value of his property, we should remunerate him for the depreciation thus caused, and the Bill makes provision for that purpose. Ought we not therefore to receive from the owners of all future licensed property an amount equal to the increased value of their houses, caused only by our grant of license, and add the money thus secured to the county fund? To illustrate: if to do right we must pay to the owner say £200 for reducing the value of his property from £600 to £400, should we not receive £200 for increasing the value of his house from £400 to £600?—I am, etc.,

T. F. ARMSTRONG.

258 Shirley Road, Southampton.

### PUSHING "COMMONWEAL."

I see that my suggestions as to the best means of getting the 'Weal' circulated in London have brought forth a criticism from Nottingham. Criticism and work should go together; and when the London list of agents for 'Weal' is supplemented by a provincial one, it is to be hoped that Nottingham will head it, and be so placed by the exertions of your correspondent.

London is not Nottingham, but even a smaller experience would give some relative idea of the kind of task in which I have been engaged. The list as it stands at present is no criterion of the number of shops that have to be visited and proprietors fruitlessly solicited to sell and display the paper. Mr. Thompson is greatly concerned lest the advice I gave to boycott hostile newsvendors would "foster narrowness and intolerance," and says in effect perish the *Commonweal* rather; and further, he dogmatically asserts we not only lose new converts, but *deserve* to lose them. I have not gathered whether Mr. Thompson is fearful for the loss of converts amongst the hostile newsagents, or the general public. If the former, I can only admire his simple faith, which I think would be rudely shaken if he trudged with me about this huge Wen, and met the insults and sneers of insolent gradgrinds, who would sooner sell indecent and thief literature than a Socialist publication. Perhaps W. Thompson will formulate some scheme for the conversion of obdurate tradesmen who tell you flatly not to bring "the rag" to them. I am engaged in reaching the general public, and if such as he block the way, I repeat my advice to subscribers to deal only with those newsagents who are in many cases Socialists or sympathisers and are willing to aid the circulation of this journal. The hostile vendor may be "as hopeless and as ignorant an enemy this time next year as he is to-day," but at all events he will not have received Socialist shekels, and the Socialist will be spared the mortification of having helped to keep his enemy. Two thousand years prior to the publication of this journal, the policy of turning the other cheek was formulated; but although London newsagents are for the most part nominal Christians, if it were carried out in their case it would inspire them with more contempt than respect; and as I am concerned to push the *Commonweal* against all opposition, I shall not inculcate such childish notions. I consider that we have as much as we can do to support and sustain our friends. Our enemies are in this case especially well able to take care of themselves: if your hyper-sensitive critic thinks otherwise, there is a wide field open to his philanthropic enterprise.

In conclusion, I ask your readers to supplement the efforts being made to push this journal by sending in to the Manager the names of all newsagents who are willing to sell.

F. KITZ.



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

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

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

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

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

C. B.—A paper "On the Comparative Efficiency and Earnings of Labour at  
 Home and Abroad," by J. S. Jeans, published Dec. 1884 in *Journal of the  
 Statistical Society*, might give the figures you want.

Periodicals received during the week ending Wednesday April 18.

<b>ENGLAND</b>	Fort Worth (Tex.)—South West Milwaukee (Wis.)—Volksblatt Newark—Arbeiter-Zeitung San Francisco (Cal) The People Coast Seamen's Journal Freethought	<b>SPAIN</b>	El Productor Madrid—El Socialista
Freedom Justice Leaflet Newspaper London—Freie Presse Leicester—Countryman Labour Tribune Norwich—Daylight Railway Review Worker's Friend	<b>FRANCE</b> Paris—Cri du Peuple (daily) La Revolte Journal du Peuple Nimes—L'Emancipation Lille—Le Travailleur	<b>PORTUGAL</b> Lisbon—O Protesto Operario	
<b>NEW SOUTH WALES</b> Hamilton—Radical	<b>HOLLAND</b> Hague—Recht voor Allen	<b>GERMANY</b> Berlin—Volks Tribune	
<b>SOUTH AUSTRALIA</b> Adelaide—Our Commonwealth	<b>BELGIUM</b> Antwerp—De Werker Brussels—L'Avant-Garde Liege—L'Avonir	<b>AUSTRIA</b> Arbeiterstimme Vienna—Gleichheit	
<b>INDIA</b> Bankipore—Behar Herald Madras—People's Friend	<b>ITALY</b> Marsala—La Nuova Eta Cremona—La Faccia Rome—L'Emancipazione	<b>HUNGARY</b> Arbeiter-Wochen-Chronik	
<b>UNITED STATES</b> New York—Volkszeitung Boston—Woman's Journal Chicago (Ill)—Vorbote Detroit—Der Arme Teufel		<b>ROMANIA</b> Vutoarl	
		<b>DENMARK</b> Social-Demokraten	
		<b>SWEDEN</b> Stockholm, Social-Demokraten	
		<b>NORWAY</b> Kristiania—Social-Demokraten	

**BRITISH RULE IN INDIA.**

WE are constantly told that England is the most enlightened nation  
 in the world; that she stands at the head of modern civilisation; that  
 her dealing with other peoples is the most just, and her influence  
 throughout the world the most beneficent; that our wars of aggression  
 are only to moralise the world; that we conquer only to elevate the  
 conquered. And we are assured that this has been especially the case  
 with regard to India; that there the people are happy because prosper-  
 ous, and that these are the results of England's rule. It is true  
 we are told by some parties that English rule is not so beneficent as  
 the friends of the Government would have us believe, and that the  
 people are not so happy and not so prosperous. But let us take the  
 facts of the case as furnished by the Government itself. If we look  
 at the Government of India, it is one of the purest despotisms; and  
 when Englishmen condemn the government of Russia in Poland, they  
 ought to remember that the government of England in India is not  
 in the least better.

The Government of India consists of the Secretary of State for India  
 and fifteen other persons, eight nominated by the Crown and seven by  
 the Directors. These sixteen reside in England. In India it consists  
 of the Governor-General and three or four others, one of whom is  
 Commander-in-Chief, another has charge of the revenue, another the  
 expenditure, and the other is the governor of the province where the  
 Council happens to meet. These constitute the Council of India. The  
 people have no voice whatever in the government. In 1835 Macaulay  
 thus spoke of the powers of the Government: "No government in the  
 world is better provided with the means of meeting extraordinary  
 dangers. Five persons, who may be brought together in half an hour,  
 whose deliberations are secret, can, at a single sitting, pass a law to  
 stop every press in India."

It may be said that since 1835 things have changed, and changed,  
 as they always do under English rule, for the better; that since then  
 the Queen has been proclaimed "Empress of India," which of itself  
 would add to the prosperity of the country. Well, her majesty was  
 proclaimed empress of India on January 1st, 1877, and on the 5th of  
 October the same year the *Tory Standard* thus spoke of the doings of the  
 then Tory Government: "Henceforth a stroke of the vice-regal pen will  
 suffice to dismiss a council, whilst his excellency declares through the  
 wires his supreme will and pleasure. One consequence of the arbitrary  
 régime enforced during the last eighteen months is very painful to  
 those who remember the bold, self-reliant bearing of the civilians of  
 the olden times. Everywhere timidity, obsequiousness, a bending back

and a protruding neck; nowhere that self-respect which gives to others  
 what it claims for itself. The present is the most despotic government  
 that has ever ruled in India." We thus see that despotic as it was in  
 1835, it had become more so in 1877.

In 1878 was given to India a press law as infamous as any that ever  
 existed in any part of the world. Its aim was to crush at a single  
 blow the whole native press of that country. By clause 3 every printer  
 and publisher was to give a bond to such amount as the Government  
 might think fit, "not to print or publish in any newspaper any words,  
 signs, or visible representations likely to excite disaffection to the  
 government established by law in British India," etc. And clause 10  
 reads as follows: "When any book, pamphlet, placard, broadsheet, or  
 other document printed wholly or partially in any Oriental language  
 in British India contains any words, signs, or visible representations  
 which are of the nature described in clause 3, or when any such book,  
 pamphlet, placard, broadsheet, or other document has been used or  
 attempted to be used for any purpose described in the same section,  
 clause (b), all printing presses, engines, machinery, types, lithographic  
 stones, paper, and other impliments, utensils, plant, and materials used  
 or employed in or for the purpose of printing or publishing such book,  
 pamphlet, placard, broadsheet, or other document, or found in or about  
 any premises where the same is printed or published, and all copies of  
 such book, pamphlet, placard, broadsheet, or other document, shall be  
 liable to be forfeited to her majesty." And clause 11 provides that  
 any such book, pamphlet, etc., printed elsewhere and brought into  
 British India shall be forfeited to her majesty.

Take also the following, now forming part of the Penal Code of  
 India (sec. 121): "Whosoever by words spoken or intended to be  
 read, or by signs, or by visible representations, or otherwise, attempts  
 to excite feelings of disaffection to the Government established by law  
 in British India, shall be punished with transportation for life, or for  
 any term, to which fine may be added, or with imprisonment for three  
 years, to which fine may be added." Only think of the glories of  
 British rule!

And why this Imperial despotism, this supremacy of ever-rampant  
 tyranny? And why this suppression of the freedom of the press with  
 every outward manifestation of feeling hostile to the Government?  
 Why? The same as in every part of the world, British rule means  
 the suppression of liberty, to facilitate the work of wholesale plunder.  
 Yes, wherever the British flag is carried, to whatever part of the  
 world, there our only aim, our only object, is the enslavement of the  
 people for the sake of plunder. But let us look at a few plain facts.

In 1840, the revenue of India was £20,124,034. In 1858, when it  
 was taken under the mercies of the Crown, it was £31,706,776. In  
 1870, it was £50,598,253; in 1874, £56,412,370; in 1878, £61,873,651;  
 in 1880, £68,373,843; and in 1882, £75,144,601. We must remember  
 too that India is an extremely poor country, and that seventy-five  
 millions there means something very different to a like sum in Eng-  
 land. On August 14, 1878, during the debates in Parliament, the  
 late Professor Fawcett stated in the House that while a 6d. income  
 tax in England would give £12,000,000, equal to 7s. 3d. per head of  
 population, in India it would give only £1,200,000, equal to only 1½d.  
 per head of the population.

But great as has been the increase of taxation, it has not been  
 enough. The debt has increased in an equal ratio. In 1840, it was  
 £34,484,997; in 1858, £69,473,484; and in 1883, £159,270,000.

We hear at times a great deal about the evil effects of absenteeism  
 in Ireland, because four or five millions are taken annually from that  
 country; but in India it is far worse. Taking the *Statistical Abstract*,  
 we find that more than fourteen millions of the revenue of India is  
 spent in England. At page 55, we find that during the ten years  
 ending 1883, while £14,065,104 were spent in England on stores,  
 £46,820,073 went in the shape of interest on railway stock, pensions,  
 etc., and £76,237,446 on other charges, the particulars of which are  
 not given; total, £137,122,625. Revenue received from England,  
 £8,713,596; loss to India, £129,409,029.

Again, take what are termed Council Bills drawn on the different  
 Governments of India. Taking Parliamentary paper, No. 3,229, 1882,  
 these are stated at, for the ten years ending 1870, £121,258,000; and  
 for the ten years ending 1880, £172,290,000; total for the twenty  
 years, £293,540,000. And these are increasing every year. Thus in  
 the five years, 1866 to 1871, the total was £30,603,196; five years  
 ending 1876-7, £60,279,340; the five ending 1881-2, £67,279,306;  
 and in 1882-3, £33,532,950 (*Statistical Abstract*, page 74).

Another source of plunder is by exchange through the depreciation  
 of silver. This, too, is increasing at a rapid rate. From 1862 to  
 1866 the loss to India was only £145,749, and from 1867 to 1871  
 £1,285,328. But from 1872 to 1876 the loss was £4,395,560, and  
 1877 to 1881, £12,885,767. In 1882-3, it had gone up to £7,263,644.

But let us look at the plunder of India as shown in her exports and  
 imports. In all countries the imports should exceed the exports, be-  
 cause to the imports are added the cost of freightage and every other  
 charge. Taking them in round numbers, see how the matter stands  
 with the following countries, and with India, 1861 to 1880, a period  
 of twenty years:—

Twenty Years ending 1880.	Imports.		Exports.		Excess of Imports.
	£	...	£	...	
United Kingdom	6,415,000,000	...	4,907,000,000	...	1,508,000,000
France	2,650,000,000	...	2,490,000,000	...	160,000,000
Germany	2,690,000,000	...	1,950,000,000	...	740,000,000
Belgium	869,000,000	...	689,000,000	...	180,000,000

Now take India and Egypt, two countries that are being rapidly

ruined by the curse of usury. For these we must reverse the order of imports and exports:—

Twenty Years ending 1880.	Exports.	Imports.	Excess of Exports.
India .....	1,115,000,000 ...	661,000,000 ...	454,000,000
Egypt .....	320,000,000 ...	125,000,000 ...	195,000,000

See how the matter stands with regard to India:—

	Exports.	Imports.	Excess of Exports.
	1,115,000,000 ...	661,000,000 ...	454,000,000
Deduct for freightage 12 per cent. from Imports .....		78,220,000 ...	78,220,000

Taking the three years, 1881-2-3, Excess of Exports ...	Total loss to India ...	532,220,000
	Excess of Exports ...	83,999,906

Total loss to India in 23 years ..... 616,219,906

And these exports and imports include specie of every kind as well as merchandise.

Here we have the plunder of the people on a gigantic scale. Here is the secret of the poverty of the workers. This is why Imperial despotism reigns predominant, why rampant tyranny rules supreme. And these items only represent the plunder that goes from India, and not that taken by the swarms of English, etc., who are in India, and who there grow rich on the plunder of the natives ere they return to Europe, still to be pensioned on the revenues of that country.

J. SKETCHLEY.

## INTERNATIONAL NOTES.

### FRANCE.

Comrade Jules Guesde, formerly editor of *Le Socialiste* at Paris, is now at Lille (North Department) editing *Le Cri du Travailleur* (the Worker's Cry).

Those French Socialists who have started at Paris the "Republican Society of Social Science," under the influence of Benoit Malon and other contributors to the *Revue Socialiste*, have decided to organise an International Congress of Social Science, to be held during the feasts of the centenary of 1789, in all probability in the month of September 1889. The programme of the International Congress runs as follows: 1. The moral and social condition of modern proletariat; 2. Account and summing-up of all the Socialist ideas, doctrines, schemes, from the Revolution of 1789 down to the present day; 3. Account of all the essays of social reform (societary and communistic colonies, co-operative stores, state-socialist institutions, etc.); 4. Economical phenomena and tendencies of modern society; 5. Study of such measures as are actually possible towards the amelioration of the conditions of work in all countries; International relations between the working classes; 7. Ways and means for the complete transformation of society. All communications, documents, proposals, etc., concerning the above-mentioned congress should be sent to Elie May, administrator of the Society of Social Science, 17 rue Béranger, or to Henri Neven, general secretary of same, 11 rue Tournefort, Paris.

### GERMANY.

The readers of the *Weal* already know what kind of sham amnesty has been granted in Germany by the dying Kaiser. A few dozens of Socialists, sentenced to weeks or in some instances to a few months of jail for having distributed forbidden papers or pamphlets, have been set free. And on the very day when that generous amnesty was granted fifty or sixty Socialists were arrested in several towns of the blessed Fatherland and charged with the offence of distributing a leaflet answering the imperial proclamation of Frederick! The prisons have made an exchange of their inhabitants, that is all. In order to puff the amnesty bill, full pardon was granted to all those who had tried to blow up the State buildings, the Reichstag, the hotels of the ministers, and so forth—but there has never occurred one single instance where an "offence" of that kind has been traced. The bourgeois must be proud of the generosity of their new master.

Max Kayser, formerly Socialist member of the German Reichstag, died at Breslau a fortnight ago, after a cruel throat disease which lasted more than eighteen months. He was only thirty-six years old. From 1871 to 1873 he worked very hard for the cause of Social-Democracy at Berlin; in 1874 he went to Dresden, where he became editor of the *Volksboten* (the People's Messenger). In 1878 and again in 1881 and in 1884 he was returned as Socialist member to the German Reichstag, where he represented the 9th and the 22nd Saxonian districts. He has always been one of the most moderate members, even among Social-Democrats, but nevertheless has been very much prosecuted all through his political career. For his share, he had to undergo some twenty months of imprisonment, and he has been expelled from nearly every place where he had wished to settle; so, for instance, in turns from Dresden, Zwickau, Breslau (his native place), Elberfeld, Barmen, Remscheid, Solingen, Lennep. Even in the last period of his disease, wishing to die in the place where he was born, he could only return there by the authority of the German police. Such is the shameful character of the anti-Socialist laws in that cursed land of bigotry and despotism.

Last week the Socialist deputy Schumacher, who lives at Solingen, was searched by the police and all his letters confiscated. Sixteen persons were arrested at Elberfeld, amongst whom were comrades Hüttenberger, Barthel, Emile Muller, Kösser, and Schem. Perquisitions were made at the lodgings of over two hundred Socialists in the region of Wupperthal. In Elberfeld and Cologne, the same proceedings took place. The reason for all this seems to be that Puttkammer wants to arrange a new monster trial for secret conspiracy.

### HOLLAND.

A few weeks ago we announced the publication of the first volume of the posthumous works of our good old friend A. Gerhard, who has been one of the most active and most intelligent forerunners of the Socialist movement in Holland. We now announce the forthcoming of the second volume, which contains the following essays: 1. "Capital and Labour"; 2. "What do the Socialists aim at"; 3. "Legislative Bodies"; 4. "Authority and Liberty, Soul and Immortality"; 5. "Parliamentarism and Legislation." Each of these essays will also appear separately.

### RUSSIA.

During the year 1887 there have been, according to an official document issued at St. Petersburg, 4 direct attempts on the life of the Czar, 9 essays of attempts discovered before actual commission, and 707 attempts on the lives of public officers. The police have found out and confiscated 7 secret printing offices; 2850 arrests of Nihilists have been made. What amount of propaganda on the part of the heroic Russian revolutionaries these police prosecutions mean we need not say, and every one knows under what terrible difficulties they are working and struggling to get rid of the abominable autocracy which reigns supreme there over one hundred million people.

V. D.

### ITALY.

FLORENCE.—A provisional committee for the foundation of a society of social studies has been formed in Florence, which society will undertake also the translation and publication of foreign works likely to be useful to Italian students of sociology. The principal scope of this institution will be to spread Socialist doctrines of every school as much to the partisans as to the opposers of Socialism, furnishing only the materials for study, and abstaining from any demonstration of opinions, political or social. The aims of the society seem to us excellent ones, and deserving of all success, as it is absolutely necessary for any Socialist or student of sociology to have easily-accessible materials—growing yearly more numerous—for this study. The committee earnestly request authors and editors to help the society by sending copies of their works and journals, etc. We hope this request will be taken notice of in England as well as in Italy. Such donations to be made to Il Dott. Alfredo Salvestrini, via Cavour, No. 27.

OSTIGLIA. A note reaches us of a little incident that happened at Ostiglia last autumn. A proprietor wanting to get his labour cheaper, imported hands from the province of Venice. This proceeding exasperated the natives in their extreme need of work, and they showed their feelings by "demonstrating." As usual, force was called in to oppose them, and ten of the townfolk were arrested, among them two women. One of the latter and seven men were sentenced from three to six months' imprisonment and fines.

### SPAIN.

BILBAO.—At a meeting of the Socialist Labour Party here the other day, a very favourable report of the growth of the party in this town was made by the chairman, and the rapidity with which its ideas have been spread in a short space of time. The object of the meeting was to explain as fully as might be the views of the party, which was done by several of the members.

BARCELONA.—Two strikes, one after another, among the workers in two shoe-factories have taken place here, terminating, *El Socialista* says, to the satisfaction of the strikers. Their labour-association has proved of great use to them in their resistance to the capitalists.

We read a list of 27 Groups of the Labour Party in Spain, of which *El Socialista* is the recognised weekly organ. M. M.

Lo when we wade the tangled wood,  
In haste and hurry to be there,  
Nought seem its leaves and blossoms good,  
For all that they be fashioned fair.

But, looking up, at last, we see  
The glimmer of the open light,  
From o'er the place where we would be  
Then grow the very brambles bright.

So now, amidst our day of strife,  
With many a matter glad we play,  
When once we see the light of life  
Gleam through the tangle of to-day.

WILLIAM MORRIS.

METROPOLITAN PAUPERISM.—The weekly return of metropolitan pauperism shows that the total number of paupers relieved in the first week of the current month was 109,153, of whom 59,889 were indoor and 49,264 outdoor paupers. The total number relieved shows an increase of 9,426 over the corresponding week of last year, 11,238 over 1885, and 19,325 over 1883. The total number of vagrants relieved on the last day of the week was 1,299, of whom 1,150 were men, 135 women, and 14 children under sixteen.

"ANTI-VACCINATION."—With medical matters we don't meddle in these columns, and on that side of the question say nothing. But it strikes me as funny that nigh every one of the arguments against compulsory vaccination is based on the old familiar "Mayn't I do what I like with my own?" The other day there was a meeting at which a Mr. Hopwood made a furious oration, in which he came again and again to "the right of the parent" and "every man to do with his child what he wishes," etc., etc. Now, if there be one thing more abominable to me than another, it is that a helpless member of the community should be handed over absolutely for making or marring in mind and body to two chance individuals, because it has been born of one and begotten by the other. That the rights of citizenship begin even before birth is acknowledged now by the law, and every citizen has an absolute claim upon the highest knowledge of the community. If that tells against vaccination, Society should protect the helpless babe from vaccination, but if it tell for it there is an equal duty of seeing that all are vaccinated. There is no other ground on which the question can be argued; parental right is a savage superstition.—S.

This world is not a very fine place for a good many of the people in it. But I've made up my mind it shan't be the worse for me if I can help it. They tell me I can't alter the world—that there must be a certain number of sneaks and robbers in it, and if I don't lie and filch somebody else will. Well, then somebody else shall, for I won't. I will never be one of the sleek dogs—I would never choose to withdraw myself from the labour and common burden of the world; but I do choose to withdraw myself from the push and scramble for money and position. Any man is at liberty to call me a fool, and say that mankind are benefitted by the push and scramble in the long run; but I care for the people who are alive now and will not be living when the long run comes. I prefer to go shares with the unlucky.—'Felix Holt' (George Eliot).



# THE LABOUR STRUGGLE.

## BRITAIN.

Nearly eighty men have struck work on the Ship Canal works, Acton Grange, near Warrington, because their demand for more wages was refused.

The Scotch coal trade continues in a depressed state, there being few collieries working anything like full time.

Instructions have been issued by the Admiralty for a reduction in the chief contractor's department at Sheerness dockyard, owing to slackness of work in the repairing department.

Preparations are being made to restart the New Pit, Choppington. A good many men have left the district, but those who will return to work at the colliery will submit to a reduction of 1½d. per ton.

The rivetter holders-on in the Caledon shipyard, occupied by Messrs. W. B. Thomson & Co., Limited, struck work on Wednesday for a rise of ½d. per hour.

The strike of weavers at Higherfield Shed, Barrowford, has been settled, terms having been offered, after prolonged negotiations, which although not all that could be desired by the Weavers' Association committee, they yet think it advisable under the circumstances to accept.

A strike has occurred among the moulders at Hull for an advance of 2s. per week. The number of men striking is small, but thelachrymose report states that "the inconvenience is great." Small wages, too, cause great inconvenience.

The furnacemen in the employment of the Eglinton Chemical Company's work at Irvine, to the number of 40, have come out on strike for an advance of wages. The original demand was for an increase of 6d. per day, ultimately modified to ½d. per hour.

An attempt at compromise with the riveters presently on strike at Greenock, has failed. The men demand an advance of 1s. per 100 rivets. The employers at a meeting with a deputation from the workmen offered 3d. advance, but this was declined, and the strike therefore continues.

The Cheshire salt trade during the month of March has continued in a very depressed state, the exports having been 69,439 against 84,474 tons for the corresponding month of last year. Stocks are very large, and prices are so low that several works are entirely stopped, while others have effected considerable reductions both as to numbers of men and rate of wages.

**THE TRUCK ACT.—GOVERNMENT PROSECUTION.**—The Lord Advocate has directed the Procurator-Fiscal for the Western District of Fife to raise a criminal prosecution against a local coal company for alleged contravention of the Truck Act by retaining miners' wages in lieu of house rent during the recent strike among the miners.

**REDUCTION IN WAGES.**—The workmen employed at a branch of the Patent Shaft and Axletree Company's works, Wednesbury, have received fourteen days' notice to terminate existing contracts. It is the largest works in the town, and the shopkeepers are considerably alarmed at the outlook, as their welfare depends much upon the success of the works.

**SELF-HELP MANUFACTURING COMPANY.**—An attempt is being made in Nelson to form a Self-Help Manufacturing Company. F. Wilkinson & Co., Limited, are offering the looms in Netherfield Shed for sale. A meeting was recently held in the warehouse addressed by a manager from a Self-Help Company in Burnley, and a committee has been formed to enquire into the matter and report to another meeting.

**STRIKE OF NUT AND BOLT MAKERS.**—The strike of the nut and bolt makers connected with D. Harper's works, Darlaston, has now lasted thirteen weeks, and there is no probability of a settlement, but on the other hand a general strike of the trade may be shortly resorted to. The Smethwick section of the trade favours a general strike. The Darlaston gunlock filers are about to ask their employers for an advance of wages on their present miserable average of 7s. per week. A trade society has been formed and membership is satisfactorily increasing.

**THE DISPUTE AT THE RICHMOND IRON WORKS.**—As notified last week, the advice of the Secretary of the Iron Trades' Association has been sought with regard to the dispute. His services were also called into requisition at a private meeting of ironworkers held at Brierley Hill, where resolutions in favour of an advance in wages and the re-establishment of an automatic system of regulating wages were passed unanimously. The basis for the system is to be the books of 12 firms. Mr. Capper counselled increased organisation before taking any action.

**BOILERMAKERS AND IRON SHIPBUILDERS SOCIETY.**—The annual report of the United Society of Boilermakers and Iron-Shipbuilders is just issued. Last year the society had 21½ per cent. of its members unemployed. The total income was £70,551; out of this the sum of £22,165 was paid to unemployed members, £17,165 for sick benefit, and other large payments were made. The society has now 214 branches, and 24,860 members, a decrease of 1,600 on the year. The sums paid for sickness averaged 13s. 8d. per member, for funerals 2s. 6½d. per member, and to members out of employment the payments averaged 17s. 8d. per member. The number of members out of employment at the end of 1887 was 4,516, or 221 fewer than at the end of the previous year.

**AMALGAMATED SOCIETY OF CARPENTERS AND JOINERS.**—The general secretary thus expresses himself. Referring to the condition of trade and the means of improving it, he says: "The remedy I most approve is the one which emanates from ourselves, and consists of a reduction of the hours of labour and the abolition of all systematic overtime and piecework where practicable. All these could be speedily accomplished if working men were but united and true to each other, and it is to this end we must continue steadily to devote our labours." According to the report for the present month, "there is a large preponderance of opinion in favour of a 48 hours week, to be enforced by an Act of Parliament."

**THE IRONFOUNDERS' SOCIETY.**—The annual report of the Ironfounders' Society shows that the unemployed members of the society numbered 2,104, and during the year 18 per cent. of the membership was the average of the unemployed. There are at present 11,718 members of the society, which exhibited a slight reduction as compared with the previous year. The iron trade is stated to have been very bad for the last four years, and regret is expressed that "improvements in machinery and appliances should always be the means of throwing workmen on the unemployed market." Those interested in the question of the displacement of labour by machinery please note this; the very existence of the present form of trades' unions depends on the question being boldly faced.

**AGRICULTURAL LABOUR.**—In Berkshire agricultural labourers' wages are stated to be 9s. per week, and in Huntingdonshire 10s. per week. These figures represent a decline within the past ten years of 15 to 20 per cent., and at least an equal fall in farm labourers' wages is observable even in the northern agricultural counties. Added to low wages is the scantiness of employment and the large number of men who are either entirely without work or are able to obtain it only now and then. Many labourers are out of employment, and those that have worked scarcely getting sufficient to live upon, wages being so low. In the border counties a hind's wages—in money and in kind together—have fallen from £38 to £31, 8s. a-year.

**THE SPINNERS' WAGES QUESTION AT OLDHAM.**—Respecting the agitation for an advance of wages now causing considerable stir in the cotton districts, the *Cotton Factory Times* says: "An advance of wages in Oldham means an advance throughout the country in the cotton trade, and although a 5 per cent seems but a trifling sum to a spinner and his piecers, yet, calculated upon the number of members forming the Amalgamated Association, together with their piecers, it increases their incomes by upwards of £110,000 per year. This sum is worth looking after, as it is capable of affording additional comforts to the toilers who create the wealth. Employers will just be on the same footing as now if the 5 per cent becomes general, only the operatives will be a little better off, instead of the middle-men and the large merchants swallowing up the profits which are being made."

**THE CHARACTER-NOTE SYSTEM IN NEWCASTLE.**—A meeting was held in Newcastle last week to take steps for raising an agitation in the city and district against this system. There was a large attendance of representative workmen, and complete unanimity was shown in condemning the system, which is stated to be growing up on Tyneside, and which in America and on the Continent is extensively resorted to. It was resolved to raise a fund for the support of sacrificed men, and a committee was chosen to carry out this object, and to take steps for holding a public meeting for pushing the movement. It will be proposed that the unions be asked to alter their rules so as to protect their members against the character-note system. Members from the coach-builders, boot-riveters, bricklayers, boiler-makers, machinists, engineers, metal-planers, and other unions were present.

**THE WORKMEN OF STOKE PRIOR SALT WORKS.**—Mr. J. Corbett, M.P., of Stoke Prior Salt Works, has issued a circular to his workmen, in which he notices that several of his workmen are in the habit of getting into debt, notwithstanding that they receive good wages. He therefore gives notice that "any man or men who expend their wages in drinking or otherwise, instead of paying their lawful debts, are no men for these works; and I do hope that any such men will take advice, intended with the best feelings for their good and the comfort of their families." A correspondent writes, "Can't say what are the 'good wages' of men, but the women in 1886, according to Inspector of Factories' Report, kept themselves 'respectable' on 10s. per week." I hope some of the employés will let me know their opinion on the above circular, which forms the text of some insolent remarks concerning the workpeople in a local journal.

**AMALGAMATED ASSOCIATION OF OPERATIVE COTTON SPINNERS.**—The Annual Report for 1887 is very creditable to the Society. The number of members is 15,416, and the accumulated funds now reach £51,746 7s. 8d., constituting it the second wealthiest society in England with over ten thousand members. This result is due to the almost unprecedented devotion to the cause of unionism displayed by the members. In spite of the very high levies, which made the contributions during the year amount to very nearly 70s. for each member working full time, there has been no falling off in the membership. The special levies, however, put on after the Oldham strike of nearly three years ago, were taken off at the end of the year. Like almost every other trade union, the Cotton Spinners have had to meet a large increase in the out-of-work pay. The amount paid under this head was £15,885 7s. 10d., being £1,397 13s. 6d. more than in 1886.

**MIDLAND COUNTIES TRADES FEDERATION.**—On Wednesday night (April 11) a special delegate meeting was held at Wednesbury to consider the advisability of getting a uniform list of prices in the spike-nail trade. Mr. Price, of Halesowen, was in the chair. The Halesowen delegate said the workmen in his district had come to the conclusion to co-operate with the spike nail makers at Sedgley with the view of getting a uniform list, the present list of prices being in their opinion a very unfair one. Mr. Higgins (Sedgley) said that the employers at Sedgley admitted that the existing list was a very unfair one, as no spike-nail maker could earn a living when in full work. Mr. Juggins (secretary) advised them not to run into a strike, but to do all they could to bring the employers and workmen together. Eventually it was moved by B. Winwood (Blackheath), and seconded by W. Millerchip (Walsall), and carried unanimously, that the secretary invite all the employers in the spike-nail trade in Halesowen, Sedgley, and Dudley, to meet a deputation of spike-nail makers at an early date with a view of mutually agreeing upon a list of prices for the regulation of the trade in future and obviating the necessity for strikes.

**A DOOMED INDUSTRY.**—The old-established firm of Messrs. S. T. Cooper and Co., of the Leeds Iron Works, have decided to relinquish business, and the month's notice served upon the men in their employ expired with the end of last week. This step, which had long been in contemplation, gives emphasis to the decay from which the best Yorkshire iron trade has been suffering for many years, and is the more significant from the fact that the firm was the first that was founded in Leeds for the manufacture of what is universally known as best Yorkshire iron, after the discovery of the valuable ore in the neighbourhood of Low Moor, over half a century ago. At one time, when the best Yorkshire iron trade was at its zenith, Messrs. Cooper were the leading manufacturers in the Leeds district, employing several hundred hands, and of course making large profits. The introduction of steel, however, has had its effect, and the growing demand for the more durable metal has pushed iron out of the market to a large extent.—This is one of the effects of the introduction of improved machinery in the manufacture of steel. The displacement of these workers is not temporary, and skilled workers in this industry will probably have to accept work as labourers. Of course youths will not learn a decaying trade, and the last of the industry will terminate with the lives of the present workers.

**A NICE CO-OPERATIVE MILL.**—A mass meeting of weavers was recently held in the Co-operative Hall, Longridge, to consider the best means of assisting the weavers now on strike at the Co-operative Mill. The statements made as to the tyrannical conduct of the manager show the utter fallacy of the idea that the condition of the workers can be improved by promoting co-operative enterprises based upon dividend-making. These concerns are in reality only joint-stock corporations with "neither bodies to be kicked nor souls to be damned," and as a consequence the workpeople are often treated with less consideration than if they were working for the profit.

of an individual capitalist. For instance, in the aforesaid mill, in addition to the list prices being cut down, the weavers were refused leave of absence under the most pressing circumstances, even in case of marriages or deaths. "He did not go to his father's funeral," the manager is reported to have said. "If a weaver asked off for a few hours in consequence of having important business to attend to, they could not understand a weaver having any important business." Then, too, male weavers were discharged as not being subservient enough, and in order that by the substitution of cheap female labour, the manager might obtain a "first-class" reputation "by being able to pay a big dividend out of the operatives' wages." The chairman of the local association, who presided, said there were 552 looms stopped, and only a little over 2000 in the village. With outside help they calculated that 3d. per loom would suffice to carry on the strike. The meeting adopted a motion that this sum should be paid.

"I once saw a smart little woman who could earn nearly £6 a week," says Mr. Lakeman (see article "More Concerning Work and Wages.") Once! Yes, Mr. Lakeman, we don't think you would see such a fortunate lady twice.—*Labour Tribune*.

In the matter of the Mid-Lanark Parliamentary election, and the attempt of the political caucus to ride rough-shod over the wishes of the working-classes, Mr. T. R. Threlfall, secretary of the National Labour Party, desires to make an appeal to the readers of the *Labour Tribune* for subscriptions towards Mr. J. Keir-Hardie's election expenses in fighting the "money-bags" of the Liberal party. That appeal will come as a flash of enlightenment to many a Tribuner who may happen to think that so-called Liberals love working-men as such. Far too many of the party make the same use of the workman as the workman does of his tools. The Caucus needs teaching a lesson or two to show them that money is not always king. Subscriptions should be sent to Mr. Threlfall, 19, Sussex Road, Southport. Labour shall be king.—*Labour Tribune*.

**TWEEDLEDUM AND TWEEDLEDEE.**—The attitude of the official Liberals makes it unmistakably clear that they care nothing for the interests of Labour, except in so far as they can be made subservient to those of the middle-class. Liberals are eager to use our political power as a weapon against Tory landlords, but they are afraid that, in the hands of consistent and independent men, the same weapon may be turned against the social injustice of which Labour is the prey. We do not intend any longer to be merely tools for political tricksters. As the Irish have, by opposing them, forced Liberals to hastily find "political salvation" as to Home Rule, so we can, and will, convert them to a belief in the direct representation of Labour, and the addition to their official programme of measures which will benefit the class to which you and I belong. If Liberalism will not accept our co-operation on fair and reasonable terms, then Liberalism must in the future reckon with our hostility.—J. KEIR HARDIE, *Labour Candidate for Mid-Lanark*.

**PECULIARITY OF FACTORY CLOCKS.**—In prosecuting a manufacturer recently at the Rawtenstall police court for employing women and children during prohibited hours, Mr. Osborn, the inspector, said, "These cases were very difficult to deal with, but it was important that correct time should be kept, out of justice to the large number of employers who were scrupulous in carrying out the Act. It was manifestly unfair that any one manufacturer should have an advantage over anyone else in these matters, because five minutes taken at every starting and stopping entirely recovered the half-hour which was taken away when the hours of labour were diminished in 1874. It was their duty to prevent any part of that time being recovered. It was supposed that that reduction of the hours meant a loss practically of 5 per cent. on the invested capital of employers, and they would see that a few extra minutes each day meant a considerable difference, if persisted in." Alluding to the time-worn "clock" argument that had been used for the defence, the inspector said, "There might have been some mistake in the mill clock, but his experience was that these clocks were always fast in the morning and slow at night. He had never found them the other way."

**PAROCHIAL ADULT TRANSPORTATION.**—A discussion took place at the Clatterbridge (Cheshire) Board of Guardians relative to a proposition to grant £5 per head towards a fund for assisting four young men to emigrate. The board had appealed to the Local Government Board to know if such an application of the funds would be legal, and the Board replied in the affirmative.—Mr. Lloyd accordingly moved that such a sum should be voted, and suggested further that £100 should be raised by a special penny rate for the purpose of promoting emigration.—An animated discussion followed. Mr. Thompson moved a direct negative, and said the moment an Englishman left the country a Polish Jew came into his place. There was now a population of 36,000 Polish Jews, creating low wages and starvation wherever they went.—Ultimately the resolution to assist the emigrants was rejected by a large majority. It may surely be reckoned a sign of progress when a board of guardians pronounce so decisively against the emigration fraud. It is high time that the shameless shuffling to and fro of the victims of Capitalism was put an end to, and that the rascals who advocate the exportation of the workers in the interest of the fleecers should receive their due reward.

**THE NORTHUMBERLAND MINERS AND THEIR M.P.'S.**—The labour papers, bossed or inspired by the labour representatives, are weeping over the attitude of Mr. Cowen and the *Newcastle Chronicle* with regard to the recent vote. The following is from the *Weekly Chronicle*, and fairly states the question:—"The voting of the Northumberland Miners in respect to the stipends of Messrs. Burt and Fenwick has left matters in a very unsatisfactory condition. When a society is so evenly divided as the Miners' Union appears to be, there is generally very great difficulty in preventing a rupture. As for the hon. gentlemen whose means of sustenance were involved in the voting, their position can hardly be considered pleasant, or even comfortable. Mr. Burt, especially, must feel acutely the change which has lately come over the sentiments of the miners. Moreover, the facts disclosed by the vote must seriously impair the moral influence he formerly exercised as the political representative of a large body of workmen. . . . So far as Mr. Burt is personally concerned, the thing to be regretted is, not that the miners have now lost faith in him, but that they did not indicate this decline of confidence two or three years ago. It may be taken for granted, I fancy, that the vote which has just taken place practically means sooner or later the abrogation of the political policy which the Northumberland miners have pursued for the last fourteen years." Mr. Cowen is a veteran democrat, and evidently fully understands the present aspect of the labour movement. The best thing the "very respected" M.P.'s can do now is to amend their ways, and find out what are the requirements of a real labour representative.

T. BINNING.

## THE SWEATING SYSTEM.

A considerable representation of victims of the sweating system appeared on Friday in the Committee Room of the House of Lords, where Lord Dunraven's Committee took further evidence on the subject. The sweaters were distinguishable by their poverty-stricken and dirty aspect, their tattered clothes, and worn, wan looks. Evidence was given by Mr. Arnold White, author of 'Problems of a Great City,' who stated that he had investigated social questions at the East-end, and was acquainted with the sweating system. The sweater was a man who "grinds the face of the poor"—a man without capital, skill, or speculation. He was almost invariably a foreigner, who had been sweated himself. Sweating prevailed mainly in the boot trade, but also in tailoring and shirt-making, and, in a lesser degree, in cabinet-making and upholstery. In the boot trade, out of every four shillings received from the manufacturer the "knifer" or cutter—usually the sweater himself—received 2s. per dozen, while three finishers received only 8d. each. These men worked eighteen hours a-day for four and a half days in the week as long as the work lasted. They could not make a living on twelve hours' work a-day. They could not combine for restricting hours or increasing pay, or registering workrooms—which was what they most wanted—because they would be dismissed if found out and their places taken by "greeners," or foreign paupers, chiefly from Russian Poland. They came largely from Minsk and Odessa, and were induced to come in the belief that London streets were paved with gold, and that they would be better off here than at home. The Foreign Office had been frequently urged to disabuse them of this notion, but for political reasons they refused to carry out the suggestion. He was convinced that if the immigration of foreign paupers was stopped the system would cease. Mr. White displayed to the committee a piece of dry hard coarse bread, which he said was the staple food of the sweater, eaten at his bench. He exhibited also a pair of women's half-cloth elastic-sided boots made by the sweatees, with paper inserted between the soles and uppers. These were atrociously bad goods, and were sent chiefly to the colonies. The men were pertinaciously industrious, and were well-behaved as regarded morality, and very fond of their children, but in regard to cleanliness, abominable. They knew no amusement, they had no pleasure in the past, no hope for the future. They were old men at forty, and their children, though very intelligent, were physically degenerate.—Samuel Wittman, one of the sweated witnesses brought forward by Mr. White, stated that he came ten years ago from Austro-Hungary, where he was a teacher, but was unable to gain a living. He was three months in London without employment, and then went to a boot and shoe shop, where he was told he could learn finishing in a month. He worked from five in the morning till half-past twelve at night for about 15s. 8d. per week, out of which he had to live and pay rent. After some years he joined a trade society. He declined to state the name of his employer, a sub-contractor, because he might lose his work. In the best times a man could earn 28s. per week, and in the worst (December and January) 13s., if he got any work at all.—Mayer Fielwil, native of Russia, stated that he was turned out of town after town in consequence of being a Jew, and at last made his way across Europe to this country, where he arrived three weeks ago, with 3s. in his pocket. He is now doing a month's apprenticeship as a finisher, receiving only a cup of tea or a cup of coffee from his employer.

## LANDLORDISM IN AMERICA.

MILLIONS OF ACRES OWNED BY BRITISH NOBLEMEN.

The landlord (says the *St. Louis Republican*, which is only an ordinary "respectable paper") is rapidly becoming an American institution. It was fondly believed for a long time that the landlord was an adjunct of aristocracy, an offshoot of the feudal system, and that he could neither flourish nor take root in the free soil of the great Republic. This belief is being gradually dissipated. Already landlordism is flourishing to a troublesome extent in Illinois, Iowa, Kansas, Nebraska, Texas, California, and Colorado, and the system has been planted in other States and territories, and will be seen and felt in the near future if something is not done to check its growth. Under this system the agriculturists are quasi-slaves, and the cultivators of the fields little more than peons. All are familiar with the results of landlordism in Ireland. The story has been told a hundred times, and few Americans withhold sympathy from the people of Ireland struggling to shake off the baneful grip of the landlord. But while we pretend to abhor the system on the other side of the Atlantic, it is rather strange that we shut our eyes to its propagation and growth right here at home. Millions of acres in Texas, California, and Colorado are owned by British noblemen, and these vast estates are being peopled with hardy agriculturists, who will cultivate the fields, build houses, and increase the value of the property without any corresponding benefit to themselves. As fast as they increase the value of the lands their rents will be increased, and when they refuse to pay exorbitant prices the courts and sheriffs will be called to the landlord's assistance and the tenant will be driven from his home with all the anguish and ceremony attending evictions in Ireland or Scotland. Already evictions have become familiar in Illinois, Iowa, and Nebraska. Landlordism is the seed of poverty and discontent. It begets anarchy, socialism, communism, robbery, and murder. It is not a native of this country, nor can it ever be made to harmonise with American institutions and American ideas.

## THE SOCIALIST LEAGUE.

OFFICES: 13 FARRINGDON ROAD, E.C.

**Annual Conference.**—The Fourth Annual Conference of the Socialist League will be held at 13 Farringdon Road, on Whit-Sunday, May 20. The attention of Branches is particularly referred to (1) Rule V. on the subject of the annual conference, pp. 3 and 4 of Constitution and Rules; and (2) that all branches wishing to be represented at the Conference must pay their subscription up to the 31st March by May 1st.

**Branch Subscriptions Paid.**—1887: Hastings, Nottingham, Pelsall—None. Croydon, Glasgow, Ipswich, Leeds, Merton, Norwich—to end of March. Edinburgh—to end of May. Mitcham—to end of July. Walsall—to end of August. Hull—to end of September. Bloomsbury, Waltham Green, Wednesbury—to end of October. —1888:—Marylebone—to end of January. Hammersmith, Leicester—to end of February. Acton, Bradford, Clerkenwell, Hackney, North London, Oxford, L.E.L. (Hoxton)—to end of March. Mile-end—to end of April.

**"COMMONWEAL" PRINTING FUND.**

"Well-Wisher," 6d. W. B., 6d. C. J. F., 2s. 6d. K. F., 1s. Langley, 2s. P. W., 6d. Oxford Branch, 2s.

Propaganda Fund.—H. Samuel, 1s.

**REPORTS.**

**ACTON.**—At Turnham Green, Front Common, 11.30, good meeting, Catterson Smith opened; Fry also spoke, Tochetti and Maughan supporting. 14 *Commonweal* sold.—J. T.

**BLOOMSBURY.**—On Thursday, at the Communist Club, 49, Tottenham Street, W., F. Henderson lectured here on "What Socialists should do." Good discussion. On Sunday, at St. Pancras Arches, a very large meeting was addressed by Donald, Chambers, and Bartlett.—W. W. B.

**CLERKENWELL.**—Owing to wretched weather last Sunday evening, open-air meeting was abandoned. In hall, F. Henderson lectured on "Municipal Action." Lively debate.—B.

**FULHAM.**—Tuesday evening, opposite Liberal Club, Tochetti and Groser held meeting. Sunday morning excellent meeting addressed by Mahony, Morris, and Turner; 3s. 3d. collected for branch. In evening, Rev. S. D. Headlam lectured in rooms to large audience on "The Sins that Cause Poverty." Many questions and good discussion; 3s. 2d. collected; 45 *Commonweal* sold during the day.—S. B. G.

**HACKNEY.**—Lane and Charles addressed the first meeting of the season at the Salmon and Ball on Sunday morning. Moderate audience and fair sale of *Commonweal*.

**MILE END AND BETHNAL GREEN.**—Lane, Charles, and Davis spoke in Victoria Park last Sunday evening. Sale of *Commonweal* good. Tuesday evening we opened our new hall, when speeches were given by Donald, Henderson, Barker, and Blundell, who also sang "The Starving Poor of Old England."—H. D.

**MITCHAM.**—The first meeting of the open-air season commenced here on Sunday, when an audience of 300 persons were addressed by Kitz, Eden, and Parker. Very good sale of *Commonweal*.

**NORTH LONDON.**—This branch has been revived, and with the beginning of the fine weather resumed open-air propaganda. A very good meeting was held on Sunday morning in Regent's Park. Branch prospects are decidedly good.

**BIRMINGHAM.**—Tuesday evening, J. Sketchley lectured at Summer Row Coffee House on "Socialism and Anarchism." Sunday evening, Tarn lectured at Baskerville Hall on "Robert Owen."—A. T.

**GLASGOW.**—On Saturday, McCulloch, Brown, and Glasier went to Cambuslang to hold a meeting, but on arrival they found the only available space for meetings occupied by the supporters of one of the many candidates in the Mid-Lanark contest, so they had to be content to sell literature and *Commonweal* in the already formed ground. The weather prevented our other outdoor meetings on Sunday. A general meeting of the branch was held in the rooms at 6.30.—S. D.

**LEEDS.**—On Sunday morning, Hill, Paylor, and Sollitt addressed a large crowd in Vicar's Croft.—P.

**NORWICH.**—On Friday last paper read by comrade Poynts, entitled "Why I am a Socialist"; several joined in discussion. Sunday morning, two good outdoor meetings addressed by Mowbray, Morley, and Utley (London). In afternoon large meeting held in Market Place by Mowbray and Utley. In evening another good meeting was held in Market Place by Mowbray. At Gordon Hall, Utley lectured to large and sympathetic audience on "Liberty, Equality, and Fraternity," Morley and Mowbray also spoke. Good collections and good sale of *Commonweal*.

**WALSALL.**—Monday last Sanders and Deakin dealt with a Fair Trade manifesto, largely circulated of late in the district. Good discussion followed, their views meeting considerable support from audience. Outdoor meeting Saturday held by Sanders; no opposition of any moment.—J. T. D.

**L.E.L. CLUB AND INSTITUTE.**—On Sunday evening A. K. Donald lectured to a large audience on "Crime, its Cause and Prevention;" an interesting discussion followed. The new venture is making satisfactory progress.

**EDINBURGH.**—Indoor meetings discontinued. On Meadows, 8th inst., John Smith had a long debate with Job Bone. Smith's vigorous and well-directed onslaughts carried the large audience with him. On 15th, Smith, Bain, and some of the S.D.F. spoke, Job forming the opposition.

**JUNIOR SOCIALIST EDUCATIONAL SOCIETY.**—Saturday evening, April 14, Mrs. Aveling read a paper on "Woman," at 65, Chancery Lane.—H. W. F.

**DUBLIN.**—At the Presbyterian Association, Upper Sackville Street, April 9, Mr. I. A. Cree read a paper on "Aspects of Socialism in England," in which, after an impartial description of the progress of the movement, he advocated a mild form of State Socialism. An interesting discussion ensued, comrade Fitzpatrick knocking the Individualist opponents into a cocked hat. Mr. Jas. Walker (Saturday Club), and several others spoke.

Mrs. Wardle will supply Branch Subscription Cards at 9d. per doz. Leaflet Press, Cursitor street.

**SOCIALIST CO-OPERATIVE FEDERATION.**—Meeting at *Commonweal* Office, 13 Farringdon Road, on Wednesday April 22, at 3.30 p.m.

**LECTURE DIARY.**

LONDON.

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

**Bloomsbury.**—Communist Club, 49 Tottenham Street, Tottenham Court Road. Thursday April 19, at 8.30, H. A. Barker, "The Labour Struggle." April 26. Business meeting—all members requested to attend.

**Clerkenwell.**—Hall of the Socialist League, 13 Farringdon Rd., E.C. Business meeting every Sunday at 7. Sunday April 22, at 8.30, Mark Manly, "How to Advance Socialism." Wednesday 25, at 8.30, H. A. Barker, "The Moral and Economic Bases of Socialism."

**Fulham.**—8 Effie Road, Walham Green. Sunday April 22, at 8 p.m., William Morris, "Socialism."

**Hackney.**—SPECIAL NOTICE—The next meeting of members will take place on Sunday evening next, at 5.30, at 28 Percy Terrace, Victoria Road, Hackney Wick. Tea provided before business meeting. —On Tuesday April 24, William Morris will lecture on "Socialism, its Aims and Methods" at the Morley Coffee Tavern Lecture Hall, next to Morley Hall, Triangle, Mare Street, Hackney. Chair taken at 8.30 promptly by W. B. Parker.

**Hammersmith.**—Kelmescott House, Upper Mall, W. Sunday April 22, at 8. William J. Bull (Hammersmith Constitutional Club), "An Historic Socialism."

**Hoxton.**—Labour Emancipation League Club and Institute, 1 Hoxton Square (near Shoreditch Ch.). Sunday April 22, at 8 p.m., H. Halliday Sparling will lecture on "The History of Radicalism."

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

**Mile-end and Bethnal Green.**—95 Boston St., Hackney Road. A special meeting of the members of the branch will take place on Thursday April 19.

**North London.**—Next business meeting will be held Sunday April 22, 7.30, at 109 Cavendish Buildings, opposite Holborn Town Hall. Nelly Parker, secy. Members specially requested to attend.

**PROVINCES.**

**Aberdeen** (Scottish Section).—Sunday night meetings in Baker Street Hall, at 6. Secretary, J. Leatham, 15 St. Nicholas Street.

**Birmingham.**—Summer Row Coffee House.

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

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

**Cowderbeath** (Scot. Sec).—J. Duncan, 30 Arthur Pl., sec

**Dundee** (Scot. Sect.).—Meetings every Sunday in the Trades Hall, opposite Tay Bridge Station.

**Edinburgh** (Scottish Section).—4 Park Street. Discussion every Thursday at 8. April 26, "How is Socialism to be Realised?" May 3, "Is Socialism merely an Economic Change?" May 10, "Relation of Socialism to Christianity."

**Galashiels** (Scot Sect).—J. Walker, 6 Victoria St., sec.

**Gallatoun and Dysart** (Scottish Section: Fife).—Meet every Tuesday at 7 p.m. in Gallatoun Public School. Secretary, A. Paterson, 152 Rosslyn St.

**Glasgow.**—84 John St. Reading-room open 10 a.m. till 10 p.m. daily.

**Leeds.**—Lady Lane. Open every evening. Business meeting Fridays at 8. Address all communications to T. Paylor, 11 Sheldon Street, Holbeck, Leeds.

**Leicester.**—Hosiery Union, Horsefair St. Fridays at 8.

**Lochgelly** (Scottish Section: Fife).—Secs. (*pro tem.*), John Greig and Hugh Conway, The Square.

**Norwich.**—Friday next, at 8.30, a paper will be read by comrade Beare. Sunday at 8, lecture. Monday, Entertainment at 8. Tuesday, Members meeting at 8.30. Wednesday, Ways and Means and Literary Committees at 8.30. Thursday, Band practice and Troupe rehearsal at 8. Friday, Debating Class at 8.30—all comrades ought to attend. Saturday, Co-operative Clothing Association.

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

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

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

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

**OPEN-AIR PROPAGANDA.**

LONDON—Sunday 22.

11 ...Acton—the Steyne .....The Branch  
11 ...Turnham Green—Front Common...Ham'smith  
11.30...Hackney—Salmon and Ball .....Mainwaring  
11.30...Hammersmith—Beadon Road .....The Branch  
11.30...Hoxton Church, Pitfield St. ....Wade & Pope  
11.30...Merton—Haydons Road .....Kitz  
11.30...Mile-end Waste.....Turner  
11.30...Mitcham Fair Green .....Fredericks  
11.30...Regent's Park .....Nicol & Parker  
11.30...St. Pancras Arches.....Bartlett

11.30...Walham Green .....Fulham Branch  
3 ...Victoria Park .....Charles & Lane  
3.30...Hyde Park .....Parker  
7.30...Clerkenwell Green .....Blundell  
7.30...Stamford Hill .....Charles & Parker

Tuesday.

8 ...Mile-end Waste .....Mainwaring & Davis

Friday.

8.30...Euston Rd.—Ossulton Street ...N. London Bh.

**PROVINCES.**

**Glasgow.**—Saturday: Cambuslang, at 6.30. Sunday: Jail's Square, at 1 p.m.; Paisley Road Toll, at 5; Infirmary Square at 7.

**Leeds.**—Sunday: Vicar's Croft, at 11 a.m.

**Norwich.**—Sunday: Ber Street Fountain at 11.45; Market Place at 3 and 7.30.

**MILE-END AND BETHNAL GREEN BRANCH.**—H. H. Sparling will lecture on Tuesday 24, 8.30, at the Working Men's Radical Club, 108 Bridge Street, Burdett Road—subject, "The Blind Samson."

**UNITED RADICAL CLUB AND INSTITUTE,** Kay Street, Goldsmith Row, Hackney Road, E.—H. A. Barker will lecture on Sunday April 22, on "The Aims of Socialists."

A Concert and Draw will take place on Sunday April 29 at the Communistic Working Men's Club, 49 Tottenham Street, W., in aid of Adam Weiler, who has been ailing in health for a considerable time. Tickets, price 6d, may be had at the above-named Club; and at 181 Queen Victoria Street, S.D.F. office; F. Lessner, 12 Fitzroy Street, Fitzroy Square; and the offices of the S.L.

Admission by Programme, price Threepence each.

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T. KAVANAH, C. TAYLOR;

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# THE COMMONWEAL

The Official Journal of the Socialist League.

VOL. 4.—No. 120.

SATURDAY, APRIL 28, 1888.

WEEKLY; ONE PENNY.

## NOTES ON NEWS.

OUR comrades of the *Sozial Demokrat* have received notice of expulsion from their asylum at Zurich, and will have to leave Switzerland. This attack on freedom by a bourgeois Republic is the sort of thing one expects in these days, but it may be ominous of something special in the welter of European politics, an indication that the huge tyranny of the German Empire is looking on a war as sensibly drawing near, and is putting its house in order, by a further attempt, which will certainly be as futile as the rest to stamp out the growing flame of Socialism.

Just as we are going to press we have received an interesting letter from a comrade on this subject, recounting the shabby pretexes of the Swiss Federal Government for this tyrannical act. Of course, as our comrade states, the Swiss Government is acting under pressure from the German Executive, and the *immediate* cause of the "energy" of the latter is revenge on the *Sozial Demokrat* for the defeat sustained by Bismark and Co. in the Reichstag, when the attempt was made to strengthen the laws against the Socialists; which to any other Government or potentate, ancient or modern, would seem strong enough as they are. In fact, this expulsion of our comrades is just a part of that forward move in repression.

We may well wonder what Balfour and his mates believe in their hearts will be the end of their Coercion adventure in Ireland, or to what lengths they are prepared to carry it. They must, at least, have a deep faith in the want of generosity of the English bourgeois, and the impossibility of shaming him into anything like manliness, or they would at any rate have made haste to alter the sentence of additional imprisonment passed on Mr. Blane for having the hardihood to appeal against his conviction. Such conduct is worthy of an ill-tempered pedagogue, and no one but a man who considers himself entirely irresponsible to anything but his own indigestion, would dare to act in such a manner outside the ranks of the English or American fool, the quintessence of all stupidity past or present.

Yet it is probable that the Balfourian snobs think that something will come about from the imprisonment of Blane and McFadden and the onslaught at Ennis, and other deeds of a like nature. What is the something which they hope for? Surely that they may at last irritate the Irish into some overt act of rebellion, so that Coercion and its dirty tricks may be justified in the eyes of British respectability. Really if this is so, and all the recent events point towards it, the game hardly seems worth the candle to a calm looker on. For what will Balfour do next—and next—and next? Of course he has not troubled his head about that.

As to Mr. Blane, however, perhaps the Irish authorities may know what they are about, and have laid hands on the right person. Some of us will remember our introduction to him at the tea whereat Graham and Burns were welcomed, and the speech he made on that occasion, in which he spoke like a Socialist and a thoroughly good fellow. No doubt he is a dangerous man, and the opportunity of keeping him under lock and key a few months longer is not lightly to be foregone. Meantime, after what we saw of him on that occasion, our sympathy with him must be of the strongest character.

The meeting summoned by the Metropolitan Radical Federation to consider the Trafalgar Square business will, at any rate, have one good effect, that no Radicals worthy of the name can look with anything but contempt on their "Liberal" representatives in London. Mr. Foote's defence of them in the letter which he wrote to the *Star* is as lame as anything could be; and the round-robin written to the meeting fully deserved the shouts of laughter with which it was greeted. Men who will snatch at such an excuse as Mr. Saunder's civil case will do anything in the way of excusing themselves. If Mr. Saunders gains his case he does not establish the right of meeting in the Square, but only settles under what quibble it is most convenient to forbid meeting. If he loses it, affairs are just in the same position as they are now.

We need not doubt that there is plenty of law to prevent us meet-

ing in the Square; or, indeed, anywhere else in the open-air. For the matter of that a very little ingenuity on the part of lawyers and judges would enable a government to forbid us meeting *indoors* either unless we say there what pleases our masters. There is still, for instance, an unrepealed law which forbids Sunday meetings in places unlicensed for public worship under penalties heavy enough "to make your flesh creep"; and it would be awkward, not to say impossible, for Socialist branches or Radical clubs to get their lecture-rooms licensed as chapels. We may be sure that neither this government nor any other will ever be seriously embarrassed by the laws. What ever is convenient for them to do in the way of keeping the people down they will do if the people lets them—if they dare.

The rights of property take shapes as curious and shifting as the wizard in the old tale. Here is a "common-sense" public horrified at Socialist propositions to meddle with the sacred thing, and invoking the eighth commandment of a tribe which, I think, in those days hardly held the same views about property as the modern bourgeois does. Here is the House of Commons, the judges, the lawyers, the magistrates, the police, the army and the navy all engaged in the holy task of safeguarding property, and yet the whole of this magnificent moral sense, the whole of this irresistible machinery, quite capable of spending a hundred pounds in mending sixpence beautifully, cannot get back for poor Mary Ryan *her* property, which has been "conveyed" from her by the police; though a magistrate (a not very tender conscientious species) gave her an order for it, the judges of a superior court found they were not strong enough to let her have it; and so hopeless is her case that questions have been asked about it in the House of Commons! Her sole remedy now is to bring an action against the police. What a night-mare of stupidity and injustice!

It is puzzling to some brains why Mr. Peters should have £300 as a result of Mr. Bradlaugh's assertion about Lord Salisbury's cheque. It is doubtful if the conundrum is worth much trouble to solve; since it is clear enough that the jury awarded that sum to him to avenge Lord Salisbury on Mr. Bradlaugh. I suppose precedent forbade their recommending from the box that Mr. Peters should offer halves to the Most Noble; but it may be hoped that Mr. Peters will see his way to making the marquis a handsome present out of his windfall: all the more as his lordship belongs to the necessitous class whom Mr. Peters supports politically—the landlords of Great Britain and Ireland. If that could be done, it would be a case of "all's well that ends well": Mr. Bradlaugh's fine paid by M.P.'s who can afford it; Mr. Peters happy; and Lord Salisbury content. W. M.

Events are moving in Roumania with such rapidity that the peasant revolt there will have been crushed, or a revolution carried out, before this number is in the hands of its readers. When the rising took place it was at first described as a mere local outbreak fomented by Russian money; but the flame spread, and village after village rose upon its oppressor, and proprietors had to fly for their lives from estate after estate. Large towns were taken, pitched battles fought, granaries pillaged, and extortionate officials tried and sentenced with rough justice. Day after day it was stated that the rising had subsided, and then that it had broken out again, and then that the territorial troops had fraternised with the people and fired on the regulars who were sent against them.

It is becoming increasingly clear that Russian money, or any other outside stimulus, has little to do in the affair; the movement is Socialist, says the *Pall Mall*, and there is no doubt that Socialists have something to do with it. But the reality of it is nothing more than a huge hunger-revolt—and nothing less. Meanwhile there seems to be no thought on the part of the rulers of Roumania of striking at the root of the evil, and there is most certainly none on the part of their outside advisers. The old "remedy" of repression is to be tried; "order" must be "restored" before anything is done; etc., etc.

But how such wicked proceedings as those of the Roumanians must be looked on with horror by the dear good Englishman, who when hit in the face turns round to be kicked, and sings psalms of loyalty and law'n'-order while he is being plundered! S.

The attitude of the Irish Party at the Mid-Lanark election is very unsatisfactory. They have advised the electors to go against the Labour candidate. This is a shabby return for the self-sacrifice of those English working-men who have gone to Ireland and suffered imprisonment for the Home Rule cause; and the lesson will not be lost on the thousands of workmen who have subscribed their pence for the same cause. The Irish party have talked a lot about their trust in the English democracy, and to a large extent they have gained its sympathy; their action in Mid-Lanark is not calculated in any way to retain it. We hope the election will show them that they cannot afford to insult the Labour party in this way.

F. H.

### A NEEDED TALISMAN.

SIR,—Since the beginning of the present year I have passed through a series of remarkable events. To explain the cause of these events I must trouble you with a short account of my family history. In the days when the philosopher's stone was so eagerly sought after, my ancestors devoted their time and their estates—which latter were considerable—to the search. It is probable they were unsuccessful, as the only heirloom, for several generations, has been a small wooden box. When I received it about twenty years ago from my father the box was carefully sealed up, and bore upon it the directions that it was to be opened by the head of the family of Cliffords when the last three numerals in the date of the year were identical, or, as the inscription put it, when the "trinity of the century" arrived.

When I opened the box I found it contained a small black stone about the size and shape of an egg, and a bundle of manuscripts, many of which I am unable to read. These papers describe the wonderful effects this stone has produced when used by my ancestors in previous centuries. They also contain the "charm" or formula which is necessary to repeat before any effect is produced. On pronouncing this charm all present are unconsciously forced by it to speak the truth. Those who have not cultivated this virtue speak out boldly perhaps for the first time in their lives, while they smile on in happy ignorance, thinking they are still imposing their falsehoods upon us.

I have taken the following reports down in shorthand, but I may in transcribing have made some mistakes. If you think that probable, you are at liberty to alter; only pray do it carefully, as a most awful curse rests upon the person who changes "one jot or tittle" unnecessarily. Should they be printed (correctly) I intend to put your paper in the box at the end of the year (which will be "absolutely the last day" on which the charm will have its proper effect). I shall thus confer a boon on my successor in the year 1999; for your printed matter will be much more readable than the manuscripts I have had handed down to me. I hope therefore for his sake you will have the kindness to insert them.

C. CLIFFORD.

### SCENE—POLICE COURT.

John Bull, whose face was severely cut, covered with blood, and very much swollen, was charged with attempting to rescue a prisoner from the custody of the police, and further with assaulting constable Jones, 441 H, while in the execution of his duty.

The officer stated that just before seven o'clock the previous evening he was in Trafalgar Square, in company with constable Robinson, when he saw a man named C. Fervent (now in custody) causing an obstruction. Witness told him to "move on," and on his refusal took him into custody, when the prisoner, rushing up, struck him on the head and attempted to take the man Fervent from him by force. Thereupon the witness, leaving Fervent to the care of constable Robinson, proceeded to arrest the prisoner, which he succeeded in doing, after a very severe struggle, but not before witness had received some very hard treatment at the hand of prisoner.

The magistrate said the man was evidently a desperate character, and the constable was to be praised for his courageous conduct in arresting the prisoner.

I thought it was about time we heard the truth, so I muttered over the charm.

P. C. Robinson, 301 H, was then called, and deposed that on the previous evening he had assisted the last witness in arresting C. Fervent, and they were endeavouring to knock the opposition out of him when the prisoner came up and called them "cowards," "brutes," etc. He said he would attend the court and give evidence for Fervent. Upon this, leaving Fervent to the care of witness, Jones sprang upon the prisoner, and so effectually batoned him with his truncheon, that he was soon reduced to an almost senseless condition.

While giving his evidence, P. C. 301 H looked quite happy, as though perfectly certain of promotion. But as he advanced in his evidence, the black looks of the magistrate and the relieved look which stole over the prisoner's face, made him feel very uneasy, although unable to account for these peculiar manifestations.

The magistrate then said that the evidence of the last witness clearly proved that the police had tried to incriminate the prisoner by false evidence. It was perfectly evident that the first witness had committed deliberate perjury. It was past his comprehension why constable Robinson had not supported his fellow policeman. However, in spite of this evidence, directly supporting the prisoner's statement, he must sentence him to three months' hard labour. Prisoner was then removed, looking considerably astonished.

It will be observed that the stone does not seem to force the person to act rightly (witness the sentence). Perhaps it is some fault of the charm. I intend to read the papers found in the box, and may find instruction there.

Believing that the Adulteration Act did not fully prevent fraudulent adulteration, I went the other day into a grocer's shop, kept by a Mr.

Grits. On entering the shop, observing that a lady was being attended to by an assistant, I repeated the charm in an undertone, when the following conversation ensued:

*Lady Customer.* Have you any butter which you can recommend?

*Assistant.* Well, madam, this article labelled "pure butter" is a combination of cart-grease, oil fat and various other ingredients, extracted from all manner of filth and rub—

*Mr. Grits* (who has heard the latter part of this description with horror). Here, James, just see to this; I will serve that lady.—Very sorry, madam, that my young man should have told you what he did. You see, this is margarine, though we label it "pure butter." We are able to get so much more profit out of it than we can out of the genuine article. Can I supply you with any of it?

*L. C.* No, thank you; I think I will get my butter elsewhere. (Exit.)

Then Mr. Grits and James indulged in mutual recriminations, during which I thought it advisable to take my departure, and postpone my enquiries until a more favourable opportunity presented itself.

You will see that Mr. Grits and James had both unwittingly displayed that article in its true light. My further experience shall be sent anon.

C. C.

### THE BLARSTED FURRINERS.

THE growth of Socialism and the gradual breaking up of the competitive system, evidenced by masses of poverty-stricken unemployed, is calling into light some curious men with curious ideas as to how Society based upon robbery can be saved, and its human waste and social wreckage bestowed away from sight.

These would-be saviours of Society plus a slight percentage on salvage, are in short a literary police, as useful to the propertied classes as is Scotland Yard. Their work is to start discussions in press and on platform upon various panaceas for admitted social grievances. Trotting out their own pet hobbies, which generally ends in their being called before a Committee of M.P.'s or outside rogues and faddists, to elaborate their brutal shallow schemes of emigration and repression, and their own installation in some official or semi-official position, where of course they discharge their duties without any connection with filthy lucre, but only to satisfy that yearning love for their fellows, especially landlords, which wells eternally in their virtuous hearts.

Having been met and foiled at every turn by the Socialists until it is not possible to hold a successful open meeting in favour of emigration, they are now trying their hand on the poor foreign immigrant. They seek the support of the propertied classes on one hand by asserting that revolutionary Socialism is due to foreign immigration, and of the worker on the other that his labour is badly remunerated on the same account. Thus two antagonistic forces are used as pawns in a reactionary game, which means the total obliteration of the right of asylum or what is left of it after Most's imprisonment in 1881. Conspicuous in urging restrictions on foreign labourers, stands Mr. Arnold White, of emigrationist fame, who thinks a Jew-hunt possible in the East End, and is fearful lest, as he told a Government official lately, the patience of certain Irish cockneys should be exhausted and they take the matter into their own hands.

Whether the convenient Irish cockney is kept in stock and fed like a writer of the three-deckers in the *Daily Telegraph* is supposed to be, on rum and beef, deponent sayeth not. Anyway, Mr. Arnold White being pre-eminently a religious man will, I think, admit that seeing how slack the emigration business has become the foreign pauper arrives as a god-send, and should be treated with gratitude accordingly.

With old prejudices breaking down amongst the really cultured few, and international congresses and societies abounding to deal with all matters pertaining to science and literature, in presence of international leagues and syndicates of exploiters, who rob without caring two straws about the locale or nationality of their prey, men of the "Stöcker" stamp would have no audience were it not for what Emerson styled the "Man in the Street." He lends a ready ear to the wiles of those who wish to distract the attention of the workers from the real causes of their poverty. "We keep German Princes a lot, sir, whilst the poor man with hunger may rot, sir," sings he.

And the foreign refugee fleeing from the conscription of Continental despotisms or political persecution, shares in the anathema which the "Man in the Street" hurls at those "blooming Germans," who as serenities and royalties enable the grateful English public of snobs to preserve the Protestant succession as decreed on high. The "Man in the Street" is not a thinking man, at all events not on a large scale, he lets others think and write for him, and his favourite journal thinks to strengthen its attacks on monarchy by abuse directed against the whole German race, worker and prince alike, for the remote reason that when the English wanted a fresh master they had a brand new foreign one in the person of George I.

Now German Hans and English Jack as workers have had as little to do with the diplomatic and dynastic arrangements, which result in Germans occupying the English throne, as presumably the King of the Cannibal Islands has. But seeing that the nationality and not the status of royalty is objected to, there is nothing more likely than if that *rara avis*, a pure Englishman, could be found, and he could be prevailed upon to accept the English Crown, that the anti-royalist journal of to-day might become the Court journal of the future, as its chief grievance and *raison d'être* for present attitude would be removed.

The foreign working-man landing in a strange land, and speaking a foreign language, finds every man's hand against him on account of this illiberal teaching; ignorant of the relative monetary values in relation to payment and purchasing power, and in nine cases out of ten desperately exigent, he accepts the first offer, and as this is generally made by some labour-robber or master he comes at once into collision with the English labourer. Expatriated by persecution he is worse off relatively than he would be at home were he left in peace. Even in the case of voluntary emigration to sell his labour in the best market, he is but carrying out the teachings of those economists whose ardent disciples a number of the English workmen are.

Where there is a breaking away from the rigid bloodless doctrines of political economy as taught by capitalist mouthpieces, it is largely due to the influence and to the new light of Socialism shed around his English shopmates by the refugee workmen. Are we then to allow the issues at stake in the struggle between the robbers and the robbed to be obscured by an anti-foreigner agitation?

The presence of foreign competitors in our midst is a complicating incident in what is admitted on the side of those who complain to be a battle of life in which the weakest go to the wall. If the foreigner is the weakest he takes the wall side. A mercantile Christian journal gloats over the fact that with the aid of a newly invented machine we shall shortly be able not only to produce our own bottles, but actually compete and perhaps take away the trade now almost exclusively in the hands of Belgians and Germans. What is to become of them our Christian friend says nothing about. A company is floated with the express purpose of competing with and ruining if possible the foreign lapidaries diamond-polishers, who have now a monopoly of this kind of work. The English capitalist having made his monetary wealth out of over-worked factory hands at home, looks down the Stock and Share List wherein to invest, and hence some Peruvian miner or South African is enslaved with the earnings in first instance of the "free-born" English worker.

The game goes merrily on, and workers of every clime fall under the curse of labour under Capitalism, each enslaving the other. Meanwhile the capitalist plays the game of patriot. Whilst egging on the English worker to a conflict with the foreign labourer, he would abase himself in the dust to a foreign prince or millionaire. England, which according to him shall be for the English alone, strives for the world-market. If a war is necessary to attain it, the patriot is prepared to supply the enemy with arms and ammunition to kill his own countrymen with, or he will cheerfully contract to supply them with rotten provisions and cardboard-soled boots. The system of beggar-my-neighbour knows no country or creed; only the working class are fools enough to listen to the patriotic cackle, and the notes are tuned accordingly. I am an Englishman, German, Frenchman, exclaims the individual, as the case may be. So also is the man who robs, says the Socialist onlooker. The capitalist reaps his dividend in every field. Where the research of the scientist or study of the inventor has added to labour-saving appliances, he simply appropriates without discussion as to the nationality of those who furnish him with his income. If Europeans or natives are not cheap enough, there is the Asiatic to fall back on, as see P. and O. Steamship Co.; and in Australia and America where this resource has been availed of there comes, singularly enough, the same obscurantist twaddle about the foreigner. I should like to hear the private opinion of some intelligent Australian aborigine or Maori as to the social wrecks we have poured upon their shores. Men too cowardly to wrest their native heaths and pastures from the domestic land-thief, yet despoil the black man of his native wilds. Truly, no foreigner who has landed here has attempted that. Equally interesting would it be to hear the opinion of a decent Redskin as to the would-be American "haristocrat" and the dude who struts amidst the rotten civilisation, which must be purely American and undisturbed by "foreign" agitators.

(To be concluded.)

The age of chivalry is not over, it is dawning now in this present generation. For now we are beginning to see how dependent the possibilities of leading a noble life are on physical and moral surroundings. However great may be our distrust of forcible Socialism, we are rapidly getting to feel that no one can lay his head on his pillow at peace with himself who is not giving of his time and his sustenance to diminish the number of the outcasts of society, and to increase the number of those who can earn a reasonable income and have the opportunity of living, if they will it, a noble life.—Prof. Alfred Marshall.

HIGH AND LOW PEOPLE.—Be it known, then, that the human species are divided into two sorts of people—to wit, high people and low people. As by high people I would not be understood to mean persons literally born higher in their dimensions than the rest of the species, nor metaphorically those of exalted characters or abilities; so by low people I cannot be construed to intend the reverse. High people signify no other than people of fashion, and low people those of no fashion. . . . Now the world being thus divided into people of fashion and people of no fashion, a fierce contention arose between; nor would those of one party, to avoid suspicion, be seen publicly to speak to those of the other, though they very often held a very good correspondence in private. . . . Two places have been agreed to be divided between them—namely, the Church and the Playhouse, where they segregate themselves from each other in a remarkable manner. . . . This distinction I have never been able to account for: it is sufficient that so far from looking on each other as brethren, in the Christian language, they seem scarce to regard each other as the same species. Thus the terms "strange persons," "people one does not know," "the creatures," "wretches," "beasts," "brutes," and many other appellations, evidently demonstrate; which Mrs. Slipslop having often heard her mistress use, thought she had also a right to use in her turn: and perhaps she was not mistaken, for these two parties, especially those bordering nearly on each other—to wit, the lowest of the highest, and the highest of the low—often change their parties, according to place or time; for those who are people of fashion in one place are often people of no fashion in another.—Joseph Andrews, chap. 13, bk. ii.

REVOLUTIONARY CALENDAR.

WEEK ENDING MAY 5, 1888.

29	Sun.	1763. Wilkes committed to the Tower. 1828. Test Act repealed. 1882. Infernal machines found in New York post-office.
30	Mon.	1849. French Attack on Rome repulsed by Garibaldi.
1	Tues.	1820. Thistlewood and others executed. 1861. A. Petroff hanged. 1886. Great Eight Hours' Strike in the United States.—First weekly number of <i>Commonweal</i> .
2	Wed.	1818. Karl Marx born. 1842. Monster Chartist petition presented. 1878. Great Strike at Burnley, Cotton-spinners' Riots. 1879. Dubrovin hanged for armed resistance to arrest. 1882. Parnell, Dillon, and O'Kelly released from Kilmainham.
3	Thur.	1748. Abbé Sieyès born. 1782. Commons Expunge Resolutions against Wilkes. 1845. Tom Hood died. 1886. Murder of Strikers in Chicago.
4	Fri.	1799. Irish Rebellion. 1848. Insurrection at Munich. 1886. Hay-market meeting at Chicago.
5	Sat.	1789. Opening of the States-General in France. 1821. Napoleon died. 1860. Garibaldi embarked for Sicily.

*Test Act Repealed.*—The Session of 1828 was opened by a very clever attack on intolerance by the Catholic Association presenting a petition signed by some 800,000 Roman Catholics in favour of removing disabilities attacking Protestant Dissent. This idea of Catholics championing Protestant Dissenters was a notion of Daniel O'Connell's, and to add to the perfectness of the matter the petition was drawn up by a Carmelite friar. The Corporation Act was passed after the Restoration, excluding from office all persons who refuse to take the sacrament, etc. The Test Act excluded all Roman Catholics from office. Lord J. Russell moved the repeal February 26, stating he was much encouraged by the fact that when the last attempt had been made (38 years previously) by Mr. Fox, Mr. Pitt had opposed, but that afterwards Mr. Pitt himself came to favour of repeal. The repeal was passed in the Commons by a majority of 44, Palmerston being one opposed to freedom. Like nineteen-twentieths of what is done in favour of reform and progress, the work was done in such a manner that so late as 1864-66 a fight had to be waged against oaths which Roman Catholics had to take. This fight was commenced by some bigotted arrangement of the Dublin Municipal Council, and raised a storm which swept away the Established Church in Ireland.—T. S.

*Anton Petroff.*—A Russian peasant of the Government of Kazane. When the economic fraud of the abolition of serfdom in February, 1861, became evident to the intelligent part of Russian peasants, riots arose almost in all parts of the country. Peasants everywhere considered the land on which they had toiled for centuries the property of the *mir*, and therefore could not reconcile their minds with the "New Freedom," which simply made them proletarians although it offered them a chance "to buy out" their own land. The riot in Bezdna in Kazane Government was the earliest and the most significant. Negotiations for collective action and propaganda of resistance to "the New Freedom" were carried on among several hundred thousand peasants, not only in Kazane but also the neighbouring districts. Anton Petroff was their spokesman. When the Government sent troops and answered the demands of the people with four volleys, killing 70 men on the spot and severely wounding many hundreds, Anton Petroff stepped forward and said, "It is not a butchery here, take me and let this people alone!" So he was taken and hanged, while the other rioters were terrorised by military force.—TCH.

*Monster Chartist Petition.*—Thomas Slingsby Duncombe on May 2, 1842, presented the great petition in favour of the Charter. It was taken down to the House by the Chartist delegates at the head of a great procession, to facilitate the movements of which the authorities had stopped the ordinary street traffic. The petition was stated to contain 3,300,000 names and was wheeled into the House, and was presented by Duncombe with the prayer that petitioners should be heard in support at the bar of the House. The conduct of the bulk of the members was so scandalously indifferent that only 56 votes supported Duncombe, and he was so disgusted that he declared that should the people trouble about another such petition he would not be a party to their degradation by presenting it.—T. S.

*Death of Thomas Hood.*—Born in London, May, 1799; died May 3, 1845. "He sang the Song of the Shirt!" By that he will be remembered when a thousand greater men have passed out of remembrance; and with true instinct it was that line he selected for his epitaph, and which is inscribed on his monument in Kensal Green Cemetery, unveiled July 18, 1854. The song appeared in *Punch*, Christmas number for 1843, and sprang into unparalleled success. Equal in pathos but inferior in power is his "Bridge of Sighs." But his forte lay in themes of sadness and gladness alike, and throughout his brief life he produced a regular stream of jokes and comic sketches and poems, and several works of more importance.—S.

THE SOCIALISTS IN SWITZERLAND.—Meetings of working men have been held both at Berne and at Zurich, at which resolutions were adopted protesting against the recent expulsion of the staff of the journal *Social Democrat* as a violation of existing rights.

THE LOW MOOR IRONWORKS.—These works, which are known by everybody connected with iron in the two hemispheres, have been registered as a limited liability company, under the style of the Low Moor Iron Company (Limited) by Evans, Hostel, and Wadham, Gray's Inn, London, W.C.; capital £300,000, divided into 30,000 shares of £10 each.

ENORMOUS EMIGRATION FROM LIVERPOOL.—It is estimated that over 14,000 emigrants sailed from the Mersey during last week for the United States and Canada, the number of conveying steamers being 12. Although these figures show enormous developments, it is nevertheless anticipated that future weeks will show as great, if not greater, numbers. The companies having steamers sailing were the Cunard (2), White Star (2), National (1), Guion (1), and Inman and International (1) to the United States; and Allan Line (3) and Dominion Line (2) to Canada. The pressure on all the lines is very great, and to meet the demand extra boats have had to be put on. The White Star Line sailed an extra boat last week, and the Cunard Steamship Company have arranged to send an additional boat every week during the pressure, which has every appearance of lasting. The streets of Liverpool during the week have been very lively, as batch after batch of emigrants with their luggage passed along. Out of the 14,000 emigrants about 6,500 went to Canada.





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

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

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

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#### Periodicals received during the week ending Wednesday April 25.

ENGLAND	Detroit—Der Arme Teufel	SWITZERLAND
Die Autonomie	Fort Worth (Tex.)—South West	Zurich—Sozial Demokrat
Justice	Milwaukee (Wis.)—Volksblatt	ITALY
Leaflet Newspaper	Arbeiter Zeitung	Marsala—La Nuova Eta
Labour Tribune	N Haven—Workmen's Advocate	Cremona—La Freccia
Norwich—Daylight	Providence (R.I.)—The People	Milan—Il Fascio Operaio
Railway Review	San Francisco—Commonwealth	Braila—Ecoul
NEW SOUTH WALES	Coast Seamen's Journal	GERMANY
Hamilton—Radical	Freethought	Berlin—Volks Tribune
INDIA	FRANCE	AUSTRIA
Bankipore—Behar Herald	Paris—Cri du Peuple (daily)	Arbeiterstimme
Madras—People's Friend	Journal du Peuple	Wien—Gleichheit
UNITED STATES	HOLLAND	HUNGARY
New York—Volkszeitung	Hague—Recht voor Allen	Arbeiter-Wochen-Chronik
Der Sozialist	BELGIUM	ROUMANIA
Freiheit	Seraing (Ougree)—Le Reveil	Jassy—Municipiarul
Truthseeker	Ghent—Vooruit	DENMARK
Jewish Volkszeitung	Antwerp—De Werker	Social-Demokraten
Boston—Woman's Journal	Brussels—L'Avant-Garde	SWEDEN
Liberty	Liege—L'Avenir	Stockholm, Social-Demokraten
Chicago (Ill.)—Vorbote	SPAIN	Malmö—Arbetet
Chicago—Labor Enquirer	Madrid—El Socialista	NORWAY
Denver (Col.) Labor Enquirer	Barcelona—Acracia	Kristiania—Social-Demokraten

## TEETOTALIST ECONOMICS.

In this paper I purpose to deal with one or two mistaken and mischievous notions peculiar to the teetotalist platform. I have not a word to say against teetotalism or teetotalers, as such. So far as their light leads them, I believe them to be honest and devoted men—albeit fanatically optimistic as to the saving virtues of complete abstinence from intoxicating drinks. As to whether or not alcoholic drink is necessarily an evil, perhaps I am not competent to say. Still I differ in so far with the teetotaler, and am content to differ in the best possible good humour.

Teetotalism, as advocated by the militant propagandist, is, without doubt, out and out individualism. The ideal goal to which all men should bend their energies is "exploitation." "Live sparsely, save all you can, look to 'number one' (i.e., the greatest number), and start business on your own hook with all possible celerity. Let 'Every man for himself' be the guiding phrase, exactly as at present, with just this unredeeming feature to boot—it shall then be every man for himself in cold sober calculating blood." Hence it is that teetotalers invariably oppose Socialism at first sight. Socialism is the very antithesis of the ideal to which they cling. Their sober heads do not help them. They have to unlearn their narrow individualism first (an awful job!), after which there is the average chance open to them of gathering in the truths of Socialism. If teetotalist advocacy only recognised that, while individuals may exploit their fellows for individual profit, the many—the millions—must necessarily remain the wage-paid toilers; if it were less severely indifferent to the hideous struggle for subsistence which makes life, to these, harder and more precarious the easier and surer life ought to become; if it were not conveniently blind to the wage-lowering tendency of labour-saving machinery, which flings thousands annually into helpless destitution,—then it would surely lead to teetotalism, plus something more. As it is, it embraces all the horrors of the present situation, minus intoxicating drink.

But it is with the economic blundering of teetotalers that I wish chiefly to deal. We are told that, since drink is the cause of poverty, and since it is always a waste of sustenance, the community would be well—supremely well—rid of it at all hazards. Now, that drink is sometimes—not generally—the cause of poverty goes without saying; that it often intensifies the miseries attendant on poverty is also true; but then poverty becomes the cause and not the effect of drink. It is useless to chide the folly of the individual. Conditions have greater play upon character than character has upon conditions. Not to indulge in nice points, let us hear the teetotaler further in support of his position. With a great parade of figures, he tells us that, given a teetotal people, industrial depressions might be avoided and that plenty and prosperity would be such a people's portion. For, so he argues,

if the millions of hard cash which are annually wasted in the liquor traffic were diverted into "channels of legitimate trade" (e.g., shoddy clothing, cardboard boots, etc.), an incalculably greater quantity of labour would be called into activity than is required in the production of strong, and doubtless also diluted, drinks.

The foregoing economic tit-bit, plausibly stated, has started false hopes in the minds of many people, but it is based on nothing substantial unless ignorance of economics be regarded as such. In the first place it tacitly assumes strong drink to be especially a monopoly of the workers. Nevertheless it is a matter of fact that the well-to-do classes spend, in proportion to their numbers, considerably more in alcoholic liquors than do the wage-receivers. But are well-to-do people exempted from this sort of self-denial, as in other vexatious things? They lack for nothing in the form of material needs and comforts. Heaven and earth could not move them to make purchases in order to accommodate the labour market. What, then, would their abstinence from intoxicants result in? A curtailment of expenditure and a saving to themselves, no doubt; a corresponding increase in capital seeking investment and tending to lessen the rate of interest, which, in turn, would diminish the inducement to abstinence (total and otherwise); all which conclusions are in strict accordance with the approved gospel of political economy. So that no one would profit a penny by the proceeding. Nay, numbers would undoubtedly suffer. There would be a shrinkage of expenditure, and therewith of labour. But we will not needlessly terrify ourselves. The well-to-do are not likely to relinquish their wine-bibbing, whatever necessity may drive their poorer brethren to. At best the increased purchasing power, if any, accruing to a teetotal democracy would not be equal to the "national drink bill." It is manifest, though, that the onus of clearing the markets, of keeping industry merrily spinning, would devolve upon the workers themselves. Apart from the apparent absurdity of any such belief, let us enquire what would then become of the savings-bank accounts which it is popularly supposed would be at every man's elbow? You cannot eat your cake and have it: you cannot spend your money and save it. You can, I suppose, take your choice of the two alternatives, or split the difference, but you will neither boom a depressed market nor run up a visible bank account, whatever else you do. Clearly the reason over all things why the workers do not buy back the products of their labour is because they do not receive in wages an equivalent for what they produce. Two-thirds of the results of labour go to non-producers, who could not, if they tried their level best, consume what they get, in the staples of "legitimate trade." Those who could, and who rightfully should, consume, are without the means and will remain so while existing social arrangements continue.

Perhaps the most significant feature of present-time industrialism is the tendency of labour-saving, or—as it has been more aptly worded—wage-saving machinery, to reduce the means of consumption, on the one hand, while it enlarges the power of production on the other. This, again, is never taken into account by teetotalist propagandists, although its disastrous effects are everywhere visible. Even the small pecuniary advantages gained by "abstainers" are menaced by the uses to which capitalists subject the available resources of science. Men are compelled to give way before the cheaper labour of women and children; and while production has, in some instances, been augmented a hundred-fold, wages have bade promisingly to fall within measurable distance of a vanishing point. Professor Levi says that production is now increasing at the rate of 20 per cent. per annum—population at the same time increasing only 1 per cent. The power of production is practically beyond measure. We see, however, constant development in results; we see the nations of the world engaged in what looks like a life and death struggle for market-supremacy, boding ill, in the long run, to capitalists themselves, bearing immediately and destructively on the workers of all nations. Every aid that science and the ingenuity of man can give to production quickens and embitters the struggle for existence. Markets are no longer subject to local or national conditionings for supplies, or for what is called the "normal" rate of prices. International competition has linked civilised nations with iron bands and a dead levelling of peoples to accommodate prices which shall yield profits, is what must ensue—always of course assuming that competition holds the field. In the end, that people which can subsist on the least and produce the most will be fittest and dominant. There is thus a chance still remaining for the Chinese.

The struggle is beginning in earnest. English capitalists, under pressure, are now clamouring for technical education. Technical education, they foresee, will eventuate in yet more efficient and economical production. And the end bids fair to be a world, glutted with commodities, and a people without the means to buy.

Now note the open discontent, which he who runs may read, as daily expressed in capitalist journals respecting rates of wages in England. The long hours and short-commons of foreign workmen furnish inspired patriotic material for yards of editorial blank prose. Capitalists threaten to take their capital abroad, or to introduce cheap foreign labour into England (both of which has already been done) should native workmen show stubborn. If only British beef-eating workmen would consent to vegetate on rice and green-meat, what a happy country this might indeed become! Teetotalism would be somewhat, but with vegetarianism combined we could monopolise the production of the world again! Oh to think of it!

Teetotal, vegetarian, or otherwise, as people may be, wages will go down—infinitely down—to the margin of subsistence, whatever that may be. The law is an economic one, and has been rightly called "the iron law." Your thrifty, sober citizen, out of work through causes over which no individual son of man has control, sooner than see his

small savings dwindle into an exasperating memory, sooner than find himself and family reduced to beggary, will naturally offer to do work at any price the capitalist may choose to pay, and, as self-preservation is a weakness common to us all, the starving will not stop to consider who may suffer by consequence. Enough for him if it fetches bread. Bear in mind that this is no vain speculation; it has already manifested itself, and future pressure can only spread and strengthen the degrading fact.

In the teeth of these warring elements teetotalism is economically nowhere. It is misleading; it is cruel to put forward so paltry an issue and name it the "panacea". And yet this is most frequently done. Regarded as a means of reforming the individual, teetotalism takes a proper though not very imposing position. Even then I fail to see much virtue in it as an adult weaning-process. Lecturing drinkers on the evils of their habit is not quite improving the shining hour, and for exactly the same reason that carrying coals to Newcastle is proverbially reckoned as labour in vain. If broken health, empty pockets, and all the woes that wait thereon, be not enough to induce the sinner to shun the pot-house and its blue-complexioned genii, then it is not in the tongue of man to do it. Experience, if we may trust the sages, is the best of all teachers, and if, in spite of its lessons, men persist in excessive guzzling, we must look behind *prima facie* impulses if we wish to get at the acting causes. Much might here be said about the manifold ways through which men are persuaded into drinking habits by force of the very circumstances in conformity with which they must act in order to live. But I must pass on, remarking it only.

Before parting with my subject, however, a word on certain characteristics peculiar to propagandist abstainers may be fitting. Without cause or warrant, so far as I can see, these have constituted themselves into a sort of lay-parson brotherhood—harping, with an approved twang, on a pseudo-religious string. I do not call them Pharisees—times and the word have changed—but their constant iteration of "Oh, God, we thank thee we are not as other men are—especially as is this publican!" looks decidedly suggestive. Terrible, too, is the enmity which they manifest towards publicans. It reminds one of the theological spirit of former days as shown in the burning of "heretics"; to wit, all who do not see eye to eye with yourself. But by far their most objectionable feature is the scraping and saving ideal life of which these propagandists seem enamoured. We want a manlier creed, with a stronger sense of right and wrong pervading, than is to be found in the grandmotherly platitudes of Thrift-mongers whose prophet is Smiles and whose argument is laughable.

The end of production should not be to hoard, "to put by" (neither should it be for profit's sake), but rather to use and enjoy. Men to-day, speaking generally, live to labour; their lives are a round of toil; they become mere productive automata. Three-fourths of us waste and embitter three-fourths of our days in an anxious prowl after meat and drink. Who should fare so well as he whose days are devoted to making the wherewith to fare well? and yet, who fares so ill as he? Out of the scrapings flung to him he is exhorted to save, to deny himself—whose whole life is a self-denial. While such monster injustices obtain in our midst how exceeding small, by comparison, appears the question of Total Abstinence! The pity is that it is no smaller than the holding capacity of so many well-meaning men.

T. MAGUIRE.

## A PRIMROSE LEAGUE BANQUET.

Nor often does it fall to the lot of a Socialist to be present at a Primrose League banquet. Yet such, recently, was the case, and it may be of interest to the readers of the *Commonweal* to know what these feasts are like.

The hall in which the gathering was held was gorgeously decorated. Flags, banners, and that beautiful little flower, which is now disgraced by political associations of the most contemptible kind, were everywhere displayed. Amongst the flags hung around the room were those of the Republics of France and America. Surely it must have been evident, even to a Tory, that these gave the lie to the principles of the Primrose League. "Imperium et libertas" was woven upon one banner, but in the subsequent speeches the latter was quite forgotten.

The meeting was representative of those who live upon the labour of others. Smug respectability was there in full war-paint, and the gaslight was reflected from the white shirt-fronts of the men and the nakedness of the women. Workmen seemed to be conspicuous by their absence. The room was full of pretty women. The Primrose Leaguers are wise in this direction. They know that whenever the devil wishes to seduce honest men, he sends his temptation in the form of a beautiful female, hence the power these people possess. They also are aware that an Englishman is fond of a good dinner. They therefore work rather by his stomach than his brain. One speaker, during the evening, confessed as much. "The way to win elections," he said, "is to take care that the electors have plenty of entertainments." How low the citizens of this country must have fallen when they are held so cheap!

Many of the men in the room showed their petty pride by wearing various insignia. "What are those decorations?" enquired the Socialist, imagining that maybe they were Victoria Crosses or medals granted by the Humane Society for bravery. "They are badges for special service," was the reply. The "special service" was discovered to be,

in one case, a couple of hours canvassing during the last election. Decorations seem to be easily earned nowadays.

After passing through the most uncomfortable period of an entertainment of this kind—the time before the feasting—the chairman was ushered in with a great flourish. He was too great a personage to enter with the ordinary folk. Grace was said (your Primrose Leaguer is nothing if he is not religious; or rather it is politic to appear so)—"Let us thank the Lord for what we are about to receive," someone said hurriedly: "Let us thank the workers' ignorance" might more truly have been said.

The eating now began. Whatever may be the failings of these good people, fasting is not one of them. They can gorge. Would that some of our unemployed could have seen them, and observed the luxuries, which their class had produced, consumed by their exploiters. It was good for a Socialist to be there: it certainly increased his discontent with the present iniquitous system.

The speeches that followed were neither brilliant nor brief. "Loyalty to our Queen is the first great principle of the Primrose League," said a little self-satisfied worshipper of a human idol. A glance at the programme showed this person to be a notorious Q.C., who has been likened to Judas Iscariot. Poor old Queen! we almost pity her when we think of the laudatory rubbish that is thrown at her. If she is very silly, her pride must be painful; but if, on the other hand, she is clever, she must be nearly sickened to death with it all.

That doleful tune called the "National Anthem" was then rendered, and after some further foolish remarks about "our brave and good" Prince and Princess, and the rest of the royal family, the "hired assassins" were toasted. One speaker declared that our fighting men were in a high state of efficiency. Another that they were not, and that more money should be spent upon them;—it is needless to say that he was a military officer. In the remarks of the latter a strange statement was made—that is, strange in such a place—for he admitted his disbelief in Royal Commissions. "Hear, hear!" bitterly exclaimed the listening Socialist, calling to memory the one that had recently discussed the Housing of the Poor. "Never have our troops been used for political purposes," someone else added. The forms of maltreated Irishmen might have risen behind the speaker and muttered "Liar!" Again, the listening Socialist remembered the Guards riding through the people in Trafalgar Square on Bloody Sunday. One fire-eating gentleman said that this country must imitate the policy of Bismark and make England bristle with bayonets. Would that the workers could have heard some of these gentlemen; Socialistic propaganda would then be comparatively easy work. After these foolish and sanguinary remarks were finished, the Houses of Parliament were toasted. Admirable institutions—so said the proposer,—they always reflected and obeyed the wishes of the people. Some cruel person might have suggested the wanton neglect of the aspirations of Ireland, but the speaker pursued his remarks uninterruptedly. He may have imagined that they were good enough for his audience; and if so, he was right. It was thought by the same orator that perhaps the House of Lords might have power to exclude from its midst those who were immoral and unworthy. He did not inform the company how many then would be left. None but the members of that august assembly should reform it, he added: as sensibly might he have said none but the murderer shall be his executioner.

Mr. Chamberlain, in a subsequent speech, was claimed as nearly a Primrose Leaguer. How will he who spoke of the doctrine of ransom like this? Truly the mighty have fallen! The person who said this was he who had gained his notoriety by abusing Mr. Chamberlain when at the height of his career. It was the most sickening spectacle of the evening to watch this man, who had made his reputation, such as it is, by his blackguardly attacks upon the person whom now he was besmearing with his filthy adulation.

During the evening "patriotic" songs were sung, interspersed with nursery rhymes; the "House that Jack Built" coming immediately after the toast to the House of Lords.

There seeming to be no end to the oratory and guzzling of the noble dames, knights, and associates of this organisation, and not wishing to become drunk under the plea of toast-drinking, the writer withdrew from the meeting. The first objects to meet his view as he left the glitter and nauseous flattery of the Primrose Feast were the beggary and vice of our West-end. The comparison was terrible. And these people wish to conserve this system of society, which has these necessary appendages. God help them, their stupidity is such that man cannot.

MARK MANLY.

We have received notice that *La Question Sociale*, which ceased its publication some years ago, will shortly begin its weekly appearance at Florence. The editors will publish early in May a small volume or pamphlet by F. S. Merlino, called a 'Manual of Economy for Working Men' ('Manuale di Economia per gli operai'). We hope its reappearance will be attended with all success.

MEMORIAL FOR GEORGE HARRISON'S RELEASE.—A committee, consisting of delegates from various clubs, and other gentlemen, with power to add to their number, has been formed for the purpose of obtaining the release of (or at least a mitigation of the excessively severe sentence passed upon) George Harrison, a working stonemason, who was arrested in connection with the attempted meeting at Trafalgar Square on the 13th of last November, and sentenced to five years' penal servitude for an assault upon the police, including a charge of stabbing a constable. It is proposed to draw up a memorial to the Home Secretary, setting out such new facts as have been disclosed since the trial; and an appeal is made to all lovers of justice, of whatever class or party, to aid the committee in their work, as this is not a question of politics, but one of common humanity.

## THE LABOUR STRUGGLE.

BRITAIN.

**Messrs. M'Niel** threaten to withdraw their bobbin manufactory from Sligo, owing to the employés striking.

**Messrs. Russell and Co., Greenock,** have offered an increase of 3d. per 100 rivets to the riveters on strike, but the offer has been declined, their demand being for 6d. The present rate is 7s. 6d. per 100.

It has been agreed by the Consett Company to concede the workmen in the steel-plate mills department an advance of 5 per cent., to take effect from the 12th of March last. A sliding-scale whereby the men's wages will be regulated for the next twelve months, has been arranged.

The spinners at Albert Mill, Heywood, and the weavers at Angola Mill, Droglesden, are on strike, owing to list prices not being adhered to. Various schemes have been resorted to in order to fill the places of the strikers, but so far without success, and both mills are completely stopped.

**FUSTIAN WEAVING.**—At Messrs. Joseph Clegg and Son's, Higher Crompton, in addition to working short time for several months, about 30 have had notices given them to stop when their looms are empty. About four jobbers have also had notice. This course has been adopted on account of the serious depression in the fustian weaving trade.

**WAGES IN THE BOLTON IRON TRADE.**—The Bolton Branch of the Iron Trade Employers' Association have resolved to advance wages in July next, so as to restore the 7½ per cent. which was taken off in February, 1886, and which caused the great strike extending over six months.

**SETTLEMENT OF STRIKE AT LONGRIDGE.**—The strike of weavers at the Longridge Co-operative Mill commented on last week, has now been amicably settled. The three points of difference were the question of wages, the boycotting of men weavers and the conduct of the under manager. An undertaking is given that the standard list prices shall be paid. The directors say they had never given orders for men weavers to be stopped; and the conduct of the manager that had been so justly complained of is to cease.

**STRIKE ON THE FORTH BRIDGE WORKS.**—The platers working in the south sheds and field left work last Wednesday in a body, to the number of 60 or 70. As each plater has from three to four labourers, the exodus was considerable. The point of dispute is a rise in the rate of wages. At present 6½d. per hour is paid, but a rise of ½d. or 1d. per hour was required. On Monday the men resumed work, the masters having, it is understood, in most cases conceded ½d. per hour.

**NAIL-MAKERS MOBBED.**—The traitors who have taken the place of the men on strike at the works of Messrs. Shaw, malleable nail manufacturers, Birmingham, were pretty roughly handled on leaving work a few nights ago, by a large crowd, numbering several hundreds. A few of the "rats" escaped, but a large number were driven back into the works, where they remained all night guarded by an extra force of police. The dispute occurred last July, since which time, in consequence chiefly of the hostility of people living in the vicinity, the factory has been guarded by police night and day; notwithstanding which the traitors are occasionally reminded of the detestation in which they are held by the unionists and their friends.

**FIGHTING FOR A STANDARD LIST OF PRICES.**—A strike of weavers is now going on at Colne, which has already lasted twenty-one weeks. It appears that Mr. Catlow the employer does not recognise any standard list, but pays what appears good to himself, which of course leads to no end of trouble to the weavers in calculating their work and comparing prices with what is paid elsewhere. This objectionable practice also prevails at Nelson, Banalough, and a few other places, and is the cause of much bickering. Some of these employers, Mr. Catlow among the number, assert that they pay in the aggregate as much as the list, but if so it does not say much for their sanity that they should make such ado about nothing, and the way to bring them to their senses is to compel them to pay their weavers on a recognised system.

**OLDHAM COTTON SPINNERS.**—The joint-committees of the Oldham operatives and the employers have held a conference to consider the workpeople's claim for an advance of wages. The employers' committee, whilst admitting that trade had improved, made the usual complaint that the workers were making their demand too soon, and suggesting that the question stand over till January next. The spinners' committee very properly refused to recommend any delay, knowing full well that the employers do not wait twelve months when trade is bad and prices falling before resorting to short time and reductions in their workpeople's wages. During the last few days resolutions have been passed at each of the fourteen branches of the operatives' Association, affirming that the time has come for taking the necessary steps to procure an advance of 5 per cent., and Thos. Ashton the general secretary has sent notice to the masters' committee requiring that such advance be paid on and after the 21st day of May.

**THE EARLY CLOSING BILL.**—Sir Andrew Clark, Sir James Paget, Bart., Mr. W. S. Playfair, Mr. James Duncan, Mr. Richard Quinn, Mr. W. S. Priestley, Mr. Samuel Wilks, Mr. William O. Savory, Mr. John Marshall, and more than 300 other physicians have signed the petition in support of the Early Closing Bill. The Archbishop of Canterbury, the Bishop of London, Cardinal Manning, a large number of the Church of England clergy, the Roman Catholic clergy, and many Nonconformist ministers have also signed the petition in favour of the Bill. A separate petition signed by nearly all the hospital matrons and nurses in the metropolis has also been sent in supporting the Bill.

**THE LANARK ELECTION.**—Mr. Keir Hardie on Saturday called the leading members of his committee throughout Mid-Lanark to a conference in Hamilton, and explained the concessions and endeavours he had made to prevent the splitting in the Liberal vote. He offered, also, if the delegates were so minded, to withdraw from the contest. The delegates resolved unanimously that Mr. Hardie should continue the fight, and in the evening the candidate informed a large meeting of electors that under no circumstances or conditions would he now retire. The action of the Irish Parliamentary Party in supporting the official Liberal against the Labour candidate, is causing much bitterness to be imported into the contest. Mr. Conybeare, M.P., as a protest, refused to accompany Mr. Cox to Ennis as he had intended. *United Ireland* which for some time past has talked very big about the union of the two democracies, has disgracefully belied its professions by a most rancorous attack on the candidate who stands in the interest of the English democracy. The struggle is evidently between the classes and the masses. Lady Aber-

deen is supporting the nominee of the middle-class caucus, whilst Mrs. Cunningham-Graham is working heartily on behalf of the workers' champion.

**FALSE FRIENDS.**—The agitation amongst the Oldham cotton spinners for an advance in wages is the occasion for a number of impudent people posing as friends of the workers trying to stop the movement as ill-timed, badly advised, etc. One of these "friends" who has been writing to the *Manchester Examiner* over the name of "Allen Mellor," is said to be largely interested in many of the spinning companies in the Oldham district, both as shareholder and director. Concerning the genus of which he is a type, the *Cotton Factory Times* says: "Whenever the cotton operatives are agitating for an advance in wages, or talking of the propriety or otherwise of resisting a proposed reduction in wages, there are always to be found a number of what we may term legal advisers—who are ever ready with their experience and judgment to guide the operatives in the paths which they ought to travel, and to shun those which disturb the interests of the thousands who live upon the results of the toiling masses who are pent up in the heated rooms of the cotton factories. The true motives of these gentlemen may easily be understood from the fact that they never come into the field to offer advice to the employers when they are nibbling at the operatives' earnings. Such a proceeding would be contrary to their pecuniary interests, and, therefore it pays them best to keep silent, unless it be that they recommend the workpeople to accept the employers' proposals in the interests of the trade. We admit there are fewer of this class of persons who make it their business to interfere in labour disputes than formerly was the case, and if we don't make a mistake in reading the signs of the times, there will be fewer in the future, as the mass of workers are getting too wide awake to take any serious notice of interested advice."

**MORE FACTS ABOUT THE SWEATING SYSTEM.**—Samuel Wildman, formerly a teacher in Hungary, now one of the sweated in the boot trade, in reply to questions by Lord Onslow as to the inability of the sweated to maintain a trade union, said the men did not earn enough wages to get their living, and said they were afraid they would be discharged if it were known that they were members of the union. The knifers were opposed to union among the finishers, because the manufacturers required the knifers to enter into a bond for the execution of their contracts in order to avoid the risk of strikes. If Parliament were to compel shorter hours the greeners would join the union. They had some difficulty at their meetings owing to diversity of language. By the chairman: He paid 4s. a week for lodging in one room with his wife and six children. The room was about 4½ yards square. There were about one hundred persons living in the same house.—Charles Solomon a Jew, described himself as a knifer or "master," taking boots to make at 2s. per dozen pairs, out of which he got 2s. per dozen for knifing and providing materials for the three finishers, who received among them the other 2s. Asked by the chairman if he thought this division was fair, he said it was the custom in the trade, and no one ever complained. If he would not undertake the boots at 4s. there were plenty who would. He had known prices as low as 1s. 6d. per dozen, and he believed those boots were sold at 1s. 6d. a pair. He worked with his men seventeen or eighteen hours per day during the busy time. He only required capital of a pound or two, and gave the security of being a householder.—Solomon Rosenberg came to this country eighteen years ago, and has been a boot-finisher ever since, at an average wage of 15s. per week, out of which he pays 9s. 6d. for rent, oil for his lamp, etc., and has to support himself, his wife, and six children out of the remainder.—Solomon Baun stated that for years his wages did not average more than 5s. per week.—W. Hoffman, for twenty-six years in the boot trade, but now engaged on a trade journal, stated that the sweating rooms which he had visited were almost invariably very dirty and overcrowded, both as regarded sleeping rooms and often as regarded workrooms. He had found beds in underground cellars, and many times persons slept in the workrooms and took in lodgers. The place was generally unhealthy, and the atmosphere very detrimental, especially to child life. In one room there were six persons at work, and the cooking and working were going on in the same place. Cleanliness was never thought of at all. He had known eighteen persons living in one room about 9 ft. by 15 ft. The sweating was generally in Spitalfields, Whitechapel, and Commercial Road.

**R. L. and others.**—Too late. Communications to be of use for current issue must reach me not later than Tuesday afternoon.

T. BINNING.

## A LETTER FROM AUSTRALIA.

**COMRADES,**—Seeing that the *Commonweal* is the organ of our parent society in England, we its offshoot in Australia would fain bring ourselves under the notice of our Old World comrades through its columns, and so I pen the following at the request of the members of the Australian Socialist League.

On May 4th, 1887, seven comrades—A. M. Potter, W. H. MacNamara, H. Hickman, J. Chandler, R. Luxton, T. Peters, and J. E. Anderton—met together for the purpose of forming the League. Potter and MacNamara drafted the Platform, which they submitted for debate on May 11th. For several Sundays after that the League continued the debates; but as the Jubilee insanity overtook some of the citizens of Sydney, we let the debates drop for awhile, for the purpose of attending open-air meetings and taking advantage of the popular excitement to bring our cause prominently before the public.

About this time John Norton, the Australian Labour delegate to Europe, returned to Sydney and had a grand reception in the Town Hall given him by the labourers of N.S.W. I expect most of your readers have, like myself and others out here, read his speech at the Paris Congress. The opinion we formed of him from that speech was that he was a Socialist; to our surprise, however, we found that he had gone renegade, and denied being a Socialist in the following terms: Socialism is all very well in Europe, where the workers are ground under the heel of despots, but it is impracticable in sunny Australia. MacNamara, who is a member of the School of Arts Debating Club, challenged him to stick to his Parisian utterances, when he was debating that question in the club, but he declined.

Just before the Jubilee a Republican movement was set on foot, to frustrate the royalists in their attempt to make Australians appear to grovel to royalty, in which movement we took a prominent part, and received our just rewards. We having frustrated the royalists in their attempt to cram royalty down our throats, H. Parkes, the Premier of N.S.W., determined to frustrate us in our attempt to spread our Socialist and republican views; so he, like that lover of gold in the Bible, issued a decree to the lessees of all



theatres in Sydney, ordering them on pain of heavy fines and the non-granting of new licences, to close their theatres against all Socialist, republican, and freethought lectures. This took place just before their failure to pass a loyal resolution at the ever famous Exhibition meeting in the old Exhibition building, Prince Alfred's Park, Sydney. The manner in which that meeting was called was as follows. The University footballers and students first received instructions to attend at seven o'clock; the Naval Brigade were given a password and instructed to attend in plain clothes at 7.15; the whole of the police force of Sydney came next, with Sydney's professional prizefighters and detectives, at 7.20. Then came the law-and-order party, the Orange Lodges, with half the Permanent Artillery in plain clothes, at 7.25, the remaining half holding themselves in readiness with loaded rifles to shoot down their fellow-citizens at the bidding of Parkes or some other despot. But in spite of all these precautions, the national sentiment was strong enough to turn this packed meeting into a howling throng of men, who, within fifteen minutes of the doors being thrown open, held full possession of the building, and again the royalist meeting was a failure.

On August 20th, the founders of the League met to consider the advisability of bringing it into public notice again by announcing its inauguration. A public meeting was called for August 26th; the attendance was not very large, but included three reporters from the daily papers. After reading over the principles and rules of the League, McNamara moved, "That we hold public debates every Sunday evening, the said debates to be free to all comers, for the purpose of educating the public on the great social questions of the day;" Pilter seconded, and it was carried unanimously. The Sydney daily papers for the next day devoted a short space in their advertising sheets to abusing our principles, and calling us all kinds of nice names. On August 28th we held our first debate on "Socialism," and McNamara opened. We have continued to hold debates every Sunday evening up to the present date. The most important subjects discussed during that period were: "Socialism in Relation to Christian Socialism," "Land Nationalisation on Henry George's Principle," "Land Nationalisation on a Socialist Principle," "Biology and Evolution," "Socialism versus Anarchy," "Modern Republicanism," "The Chinese Question," "Payment of Members," "The Great Political Lie, or, Free Trade and Protection Shams Exposed," and many other interesting subjects, which bearing on Australia alone would have less interest for your readers.

On November 6th, a meeting was called to protest against the hanging of the Chicago martyrs, at which McNamara moved, Pilter seconded, and Anderton supported, "That we Socialists, Anarchists, Republicans, Democrats, and other lovers of liberty assembled together this evening, offer our solemn and sincere protest against the hanging of those seven labour agitators (so-called Anarchists) in Chicago, as no evidence of a confirmatory nature has been brought forward to prove that they threw or had any connection with the person who did throw the bomb at the Haymarket meeting in that city, and so caused the deaths of several persons." The resolution was carried unanimously, the hall being crowded. Pilter gave a brief description of the case. On the following Sunday a funeral service was held in memory of the four who were hung and the one who was murdered on the Friday before. McNamara gave a very touching and appropriate recitation, after which Pilter fully described the agitation with which the men had been connected.

Every Sunday afternoon since the League started, McNamara, Anderton, and other members have delivered addresses in the Peoples' Domain, on Social Problems. Born Australians as a rule are too fond of taking a trip down their beautiful harbour, or attending a dancing saloon in the cool of the evening, to take any interest in their future or that of their children. When anything new comes out, such as the Republican movement during the Jubilee, they will flock to it like a lot of sheep, and after two or three months you will not be able to get an audience of more than two or three hundred. They sink into a state of apathy from which it would take some startling event, such as a Naval Defence Bill being foisted upon them, or the Governor asking for his salary to be raised instead of lowered, to wake them up. The Republican movement, of which I have spoken, has resulted in a Republican League with a platform on the State Socialistic principle, and several Socialists among its prime movers, so we are satisfied it is not taking example by those bogus Republics, America and France; but popular favour seems to go more toward our own out-and-out teaching. We are sorely in need of a few able and energetic agitators here, who would soon alter the smallness of our numbers; however, with our little organ, the *Radical*, we are making ourselves heard. The *Radical* is to be enlarged, which will make it the same size as the *Commonweal*, and so still further help our movement. Our principal opponent out here is ex-Parson Joe Symes, who attacks us and our teaching in the *Liberator*, but never gives us a show in reply. In becoming a "Freethinker" he only turned superstition upside down, and is as bigotted about the butt-end as he was about the top. We have some very good and active speakers and propagandists, but are mostly hand-to-mouth workers, and so cannot do as much as we would like in the way of going about and forming branches. But until we can get the men we want we shall do all we can with the men we have got.

The times here are very hard, and work is still becoming scarcer. Several thousands are already out of employ, and several thousands more are likely to be thrown out before our winter (May, June, and July) comes along. Female labour is very scarce, as most of the girls and women who follow that line are taking to the streets sooner than be governed in the despotic manner some of the employers treat them out here. New South Wales is commercially fast going down the hill. Of course, the manufacturing monopolists tell the people it is because we have not adopted Protection, and the importing monopolists tell them it is because their sister colony, Victoria, has adopted Protection and shut their goods out. But the Socialists, Republicans, and Land Nationalisers, who will not keep their tongues still, are telling them the true cause, and they are already beginning to listen more than their rulers like. Meanwhile, the House of Representatives becomes more and more a mixture of gamblers, bankrupts, swindlers, Orangemen, and deadheads, and is usefully alienating the masses from law-'n'-order. Things are getting warm in that Macquarie Street refuge for abuses and stronghold of dishonesty, and I should not wonder if before this reaches you a free fight had occurred on "the floor of the House" and the police been called in to pull up law-makers for law-breaking. This kind of thing doesn't trouble the bourgeois, for he can go on money-getting all the same, and the worker stands it and suffers by it because he's a fool. If the workers of New South Wales woke from their apathy, they could soon sweep out the pestilent rubbish of privilege and corruption that oppresses them. To make them do this is what we are after, and hope to achieve; when it is done there will be no room for unemployment and misery in "Sunny New South Wales."—With fraternal greetings, J. E. ANDERTON.

A NEW WORLD.

SQUALOR and squandering foul the land,  
Where sloth brings honour, and labour scorn;  
When will the workers understand?  
Hasten we, hasten the happy morn!

How should Beauty or Virtue thrive,  
Where sloth brings honour, and labour scorn?  
Each from the dead shall be made alive,—  
Hasten we, hasten the happy morn!

Thought is fettered, and Truth is blind,  
Where sloth brings honour, and labour scorn.  
Free shall they range as the sun and wind,—  
Hasten we, hasten the happy morn!

Woman is bartered and bought for gold,  
Where sloth brings honour, and labour scorn.  
Love shall be stinted to none, nor sold,—  
Hasten we, hasten the happy morn!

Toil is crushed under Mammon's heel,  
Where sloth brings honour, and labour scorn.  
Mammon and Toil shall be Common Weal,—  
Hasten we, hasten the happy morn!

Every man is his brother's bane,  
Where sloth brings honour, and labour scorn.  
Of fellowship yet shall the earth be fain,—  
Hasten we, hasten the happy morn!

Life is hopeless in park and slum,  
Where sloth brings honour, and labour scorn.  
All shall be well in the days to come,—  
Hasten we, hasten the happy morn!

C. W. BECKETT.

THE SOCIALIST LEAGUE.

OFFICES: 13 FARRINGTON ROAD, E.C.

**Annual Conference.**—The Fourth Annual Conference of the Socialist League will be held at 13 Farringdon Road, on Whit-Sunday, May 20. The attention of Branches is particularly referred to (1) Rule V. on the subject of the annual conference, pp. 3 and 4 of Constitution and Rules; and (2) that all branches wishing to be represented at the Conference must pay their subscription up to the 31st March by May 1st.

**Branch Subscriptions Paid.**—1887: Hastings, Nottingham, Pelsall—None. Croydon, Glasgow, Ipswich, Leeds, Merton, Norwich—to end of March. Edinburgh—to end of May. Mitcham—to end of July. Walsall—to end of August. Hull—to end of September. Bloomsbury, Wednesbury—to end of October. 1888.—Marylebone—to end of January. Leicester—to end of February. Acton, Bradford, Clerkenwell, Hackney, Hammersmith, North London, Oxford, L.E.L. (Hoxton)—to end of March. Mile-end, Fulham—to end of April.

**Branches are reminded that all Subscriptions must be paid within the next week.**

**Resolution by Executive.**—At the last meeting of the Executive, a resolution congratulating our Australian comrades on the success which has attended their efforts in propagating the principles of Socialism as advocated by the Socialist League, was passed. Fraternal greetings were sent them, and the hope expressed that the Australian *Radical*, their weekly organ, would secure a wide circulation.

"COMMONWEAL" PRINTING FUND.

W. B., 6d. C. J. F., 2s. 6d. K. F., 1s. Langley, 2s. P. W., 6d. Oxford Branch, 2s.

PROPAGANDA FUND.

Collected at Regent's Park, April 15, 8s.; ditto, April 22, 2s. 6d.

**Note.**—Branches are recommended to make collections at all outdoor meetings for this fund. All monies collected to be forwarded to the general secretary for acknowledgment in *Commonweal*.

REPORTS.

**BLOOMSBURY.**—On Thursday, at the Communist Club, 49, Tottenham Street, W., H. A. Barker lectured on "The Labour Struggle." Good discussion followed.—W. W. B.

**CLERKENWELL.**—On Wednesday, April 18, H. Davis lectured on "The Progress of Events." Sunday evening, 22nd, open-air meeting was held on Green, addressed by Brooks and Turner. In hall, Mark Manly lectured on "How to Advance Socialism." Lively debate.—B.

**HACKNEY.**—Samuels and Mainwaring addressed a meeting at the Salmon and Ball on Sunday morning, the audience listening to the speakers in spite of the rain. In the evening, the second anniversary of the Hackney branch was celebrated by a tea-fight, which was a decided success. At the business meeting afterwards, J. Lane was appointed delegate to Annual Conference of the Socialist League.

**MILE END AND BETHNAL GREEN.**—On Tuesday last, Davis addressed a good meeting on Mile End Waste. Same evening, W. Morris lectured in our hall on "What Socialists Want." Sunday owing to wet weather, no meeting was held on the Waste or in the Park. Three new members made.—H. M.

**MITCHAM.**—A good meeting was held on the Fair Green on Sunday morning by Eden and Henderson, the audience standing patiently through pouring rain. Two new members were made.—H.

**NORTH LONDON.**—Parker, Henderson, and Cantwell addressed the opening meeting of the season at Ossulton Street on Friday night. Parker spoke at Regent's Park on Sunday morning.

**GLASGOW.**—On Saturday, Glasier went to Hamilton and addressed a large meeting at the New Cross. After speaking about half-an-hour, the police requested our comrade to pack up *Commonweal* and betake himself away. On enquiring at the police-station our comrade was informed that the Caledonian

Railway Company, who owned the plot of ground, had requested the police to stop all meetings there. We will see if they do so. On Sunday our comrades went to the usual stations, but held no meetings as the weather was bitterly cold.—J. B.

**NORWICH.**—Thursday last meeting held at Church School-room, Sprowston; Mowbray took part, and explained some principles of Socialism. Friday, Beare spoke in Gordon Hall on "The Present Society and Socialism;" several comrades joined in discussion. Sunday morning meeting held at St. Faith's by Poynts and Mowbray; in afternoon meeting in Market Place by Mowbray; in evening another good meeting in Market Place by Poynts and Mowbray; no lecture in the Gordon Hall owing to a sudden bereavement in family of lecturer.—A. J. S.

**WALSALL.**—Monday, Tarn and Shorter (Birmingham) visited us. Tarn lectured on "Robert Owen." Saturday good audience addressed in open-air by Sanders and Deakin. Fair sale of literature.—J. T. D.

**DUBLIN.**—At Industrial League, 75, Hungier Street, April 17th, Fitzpatrick and O'Gorman addressed a fair audience on "The Housing of the Working-Classes," and were very well received. Towards the close of the meeting a speaker acknowledged being converted to the Socialist view of the question.

**L. E. L. CLUB AND INSTITUTE.**—On Sunday evening last, owing to the indisposition of H. H. Sparling, no lecture was given. The evening, however, was pleasantly passed with songs, readings, etc.—H. A. B.

**UNITED RADICAL CLUB.**—On Sunday evening last, H. A. Barker lectured at the United Radical Club, Kay Street, Hackney Road, on "The Aims of Socialism." A long and animated discussion followed.

## LECTURE DIARY.

### LONDON.

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

**Bloomsbury.**—Communist Club, 49 Tottenham Street, Tottenham Court Road. Thursday April 26, at 8.30. Monthly Business Meeting. May 3rd. Lecture. 10th. Quarterly Business Meeting. 17th. Concert in aid of Branch.

**Clerkenwell.**—Hall of the Socialist League, 13 Farringdon Rd., E.C. Business meeting every Sunday at 7. Sunday April 29, at 8.30, W. H. Utley, "Labour in Vain." Wednesday May 2, at 8.30, H. H. Sparling, "Early Closing."

**Fulham.**—8 Effie Road, Walham Green. Sunday April 29, at 8 p.m., A. K. Donald, "Crime: its Prevention and Cure."

**Hackney.**—The next meeting of members will be held at the Berner Street Club, on Tuesday May 8th.

**Hammersmith.**—Kelmescott House, Upper Mall, W. Sunday April 29, at 8. G. B. Shaw (Fabian Society), a Lecture.

**Hoxton.**—Labour Emancipation League Club and Institute, 1 Hoxton Square (near Shoreditch Ch.). Sunday April 29, at 8 p.m., Mark Manly will lecture, "How to Advance Socialism."

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

**Mile-end and Bethnal Green.**—95 Boston St., Hackney Road. Business meeting every Thursday evening at 9 p.m. Debating Class for members after meeting. April 26, W. Diggins will open on "War"; chairman, J. Bellhouse. Members please attend.

**North London.**—Will all members please note that the business meeting of this branch will be held on Friday evening at the Autonomie Club, Windmill Street, Tottenham Court Road, after the open-air meeting at Ossulton Street. All members are asked to attend at Ossulton Street at 8 o'clock. Secretary, Nelly Parker, 109 Cavendish Buildings, opposite Holborn Town Hall.

### PROVINCES.

**Aberdeen** (Scottish Section).—Sunday night meetings in Baker Street Hall, at 6. Secretary, J. Leatham, 15 St. Nicholas Street.

**Birmingham.**—Summer Row Coffee House.

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

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

**Cowdenbeath** (Scot. Sect.).—J. Duncan, 30 Arthur Pl., sec

**Dundee** (Scot. Sect.).—Meetings every Sunday in the Trades Hall, opposite Tay Bridge Station.

**Edinburgh** (Scottish Section).—4 Park Street. Discussion every Thursday at 8. May 3, "Is Socialism merely an Economic Change?" May 10, "Relation of Socialism to Christianity."

**Gatshields** (Scot Sect.).—J. Walker, 6 Victoria St., sec.

**Gallatoun and Dysart** (Scottish Section: Fife).—Meet every Tuesday at 7 p.m. in Gallatoun Public School. Secretary, A. Paterson, 152 Rosslyn St.

**Glasgow.**—84 John St. Reading-room open 10 a.m. till 10 p.m. daily.

**Leeds.**—Lady Lane. Open every evening. Business meeting Fridays at 8. Address all communications to T. Paylor, 11 Sheldon Street, Holbeck, Leeds.

**Leicester.**—Hosiery Union, Horsefair St. Fridays at 8.

**Lochgelly** (Scottish Section: Fife).—Secs. (pro tem.), John Greig and Hugh Conway, The Square.

**Norwich.**—Gordon Hall. Friday next, paper by comrade Mowbray, subject "Organisation"—comrades are earnestly urged to attend. Saturday, Co-operative Clothing Association, 8.30 until 10 p.m. Sunday, Gordon Hall at 8. Monday, Entertainment at 8. Tuesday, Members meeting at 8.30—comrades, attend. Wednesday, 8.30, Ways and Means and Literary Committees. Thursday, 8, Band practice. Friday, 8.30, Debating Class.

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

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

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

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

## OPEN-AIR PROPAGANDA.

LONDON—Sunday 29.

11 ...Acton—the Steyne .....The Branch  
11 ...Turnham Green—Front Common ...Acton Bch.  
11.30...Hackney—Salmon and Ball .....Parker  
11.30...Hammersmith—Beadon Road .....The Branch  
11.30...Hoxton Church, Pitfield St. ....Pope & Brooks  
11.30...Merton—Haydons Road.....The Branch  
11.30...Mile-end Waste .....Mainwaring  
11.30...Mitcham Fair Green .....Turner & Kitz  
11.30...Regent's Park .....Nicoll  
11.30...St. Pancras Arches .....Edon & Wardle  
11.30...Walham Green .....Fulham Branch  
3 ...Victoria Park .....Parker & Brooks  
3.30...Hyde Park .....N. London Branch  
7.30...Clerkenwell Green .....Blundell  
7.30...Stamford Hill .....Charles, Brooks, & Parker

Tuesday.

8 ...Mile-end Waste.....Charles & Mainwaring

Friday.

8 ...Euston Rd.—Ossulton Street.....Cantwell

## PROVINCES.

**Glasgow.**—Saturday: Cambuslang, at 6.30. Sunday: Paisley Road Toll, at 5; Infirmary Square at 7.

**Leeds.**—Sunday: Vicar's Croft, at 11 a.m.

**Norwich.**—Sunday: Ber Street Fountain at 11.45; Market Place at 3 and 7.30.

**FREEMASONS' ARMS**, 81 Long Acre, W.C.—Sunday 29th April at 8.30 p.m., Debate opened by T. J. Daziel, subject "Will Home Rule Benefit the Irish People?"

**JUNIOR SOCIALIST EDUCATIONAL SOCIETY.**—On Sat. April 28, at 8 o'clock sharp, E. Fox will read a paper on "Commercialism and Socialism."

**STRIKE FUND.**—The concluding entertainment for the purpose of raising money for this fund was given in Hall of League on Saturday evening. Friends who have taken programmes are requested to send in the cash at once, in order that report may be presented, to W. B. Parker or H. B. Tarleton, treasurer of the fund.

**CENTRAL CROYDON LIBERAL AND RADICAL CLUB**, Crown Hill, Croydon.—On Wednesday May 2nd, Edward Aveling will lecture on "Working Men in America and in England." Chair to be taken by Mr. J. G. West at 8 p.m. precisely.

A Concert and Draw will take place on Sunday April 29 at the Communist Working Men's Club, 49 Tottenham Street, W., in aid of Adam Weiler, who has been ailing in health for a considerable time. Tickets, price 6d, may be had at the above-named Club; and at 181 Queen Victoria Street, S D.F. office; F. Lessner, 12 Fitzroy Street, Fitzroy Square; and the offices of the S.L.

## East-end Branches.

ON Saturday evening, May 5th, at 8 p.m., a meeting of the East-end Branches of the Socialist League, in conjunction with the L. E. L., will be held at the L. E. L. Club and Institute, 1 Hoxton Square, for the purpose of organising the Outdoor Propaganda in the Eastern and North-eastern districts of London. Comrades living in these districts are requested to attend.

**SOCIALIST CO-OPERATIVE FEDERATION.**—Meeting at *Commonweal* Office, 13 Farringdon Road, on Wednesday May 2, at 7 p.m.

Mrs. Wardle will supply Branch Subscription Cards at 9d. per doz. Leaflet Press, Cursitor street.

## TO LOVERS OF JUSTICE.

Received from New York, second consignment, 600 copies of the *Special Edition* of

## SOCIAL SCIENCE

Containing splendid Portraits of the eight Chicago Anarchists, with good Biographical Notices of each. Price, post free, 5d. 6 copies, post free, 2s. 4d. 12 copies, post free, 4s. 6d. 3 dozen, 12s. 6d.

Every worker should procure a copy.

Birmingham: J. Sketchley, 8 Arthur Place, Parade.

## NEW BRANCH PREMISES FUND.

THE CLERKENWELL BRANCH OF THE S.L.

announce that on

SUNDAY EVENING, MAY 13, at 8 p.m.

at the

Farringdon Hall, 13 Farringdon Road, E.C.

A DRAMATIC AND MUSICAL

Entertainment will be given by

ALFRED ADAMS' DRAMATIC CLASS

For the Benefit of the above Fund.

The evening's amusement will consist of Two Laughable Farces, Singing, and Instrumental Music, by Mesdames Wardley, M. Blundell, A. Taylor, and Miss Jessie Adams, Miss Maud Shelton; Messrs. T. Clayton, Wm. Blundell, Alf. Adams, H. A. Barker.

Admission by Programme, Threepence.

'THE AUSTRALIAN RADICAL.'

Advocate of Liberty, Equality, and Fraternity  
New Lambton Road, Hamilton, Australia.

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# THE COMMONWEAL

The Official Journal of the Socialist League.

VOL. 4.—No. 121.

SATURDAY, MAY 5, 1888.

WEEKLY; ONE PENNY.

## NOTES ON NEWS.

THE Mid-Lanark election has resulted in a great Whig triumph, which will surely be not altogether unpleasing to the Tories, since it is at once a triumph of respectability over poverty, and a great blow to the prestige of the Irish Parliamentary Party, whose direct interference no doubt largely contributed to the Whig majority; henceforth it will be clear to the British Labour Party that the Irish leaders are simply using the democracy in this island for their own political purposes, and there cannot fail in consequence to be much soreness against the said leaders among the British workers.

We Socialists however appeal earnestly to the workers of Mid-Lanark and others who have suffered by these servile tactics, to take a noble revenge on the leaders, by looking to the Irish people themselves, and being all the more intent on freeing *them* not only from the tyranny of foreign centralisation, but also from the new tyranny that awaits them when they are victorious in the matter of Home Rule; if indeed they ever will get Home Rule until they acknowledge the full force of the class struggle and the identity of the interests of the workers all over the world. Undoubtedly when there is a parliament in Dublin the struggle of the Irish people for freedom will have to be begun again, and it is just because we Socialists want to see the real struggle for freedom begin, that we will do all we can to push on this preliminary stage of Home Rule.

Home Rule by all means; but not as an instrument for the exploitation of the Irish labourer by the Irish capitalist tenant: not as an instrument for the establishment of more factories, for the creation of a fresh Irish proletariat to be robbed for the benefit of national capitalists. Our Home Rule means Home Rule for the Irish people, that is to say *equality* for the Irish people.

✓ A word or two to our own Socialist friends on this unpleasant Mid-Lanark business. They have entered on this electioneering struggle with a people at their back not yet educated into a knowledge of the reasons for the wrongs which they suffer, or the remedies for them, and as a matter of course they have been defeated. Is it too late for them to change their tactics and make up their minds to educate the people in the principles of Socialism before asking them to return Socialists to Parliament? I think Socialists sometimes forget what a great distance there is between them and the mere discontented Radicals who must form the mass of the voters they have any chance of winning over. The Socialist can no more forget his Socialism than he can the elementary facts of science when once learned. So that while *he* continually sees before him at least the first real Socialist measures, his Radical friend sees nothing but the preliminary steps to those measures, and is, in consequence, an easy prey to the false promises of the loose-tongued Whig and the dishing Tory-Democrat.

✓ Of one thing I am sure, that if propaganda by electioneering is practised by any body of Socialists they will have no time for any other means of propaganda: they must begin at once and think of nothing else but getting Socialists into Parliament. The direct education of the people in the principles of Socialism must be the task of other Socialists who do not trouble themselves about Parliament; and unless there is such a body of Socialists our parliamentary friends will find their task an impossible one.

✓ The Pope has now formally banned the Plan of Campaign and boycotting. This is good news indeed, and it is to be hoped that the Irish bishops will find themselves compelled to follow suit: it will be better news still when the parish priests declare against the people. The two curses of a reactionary religion and the national sentiment which has been forced upon Ireland have been a heavy drawback on the necessities and aspirations of the Irish people.

It seems that charity is somewhat at a discount at present; there has been a great falling off lately; the Jubilee last year was bad for it, and so on. This means of course that the rich and well-to-do are determined not to lack their luxuries and comforts whatever happens. In short the more charity is wanted the less of it is to be had. In the long run this will be found out to be the case with all palliatives of our system of robbery. They cannot be applied just at the time when they are needed.

W. M.

On the 25th ult. the shareholders of Reuter's Telegram Company met in solemn conclave to discuss the past year's business and the profit thereon. The chairman lamented the poor report they were forced to make; there had not been the nice profitable war they had hoped for and so their gains were not so high as they might have been. A Mr. Maurice Grant also bewailed their bad luck in only getting a "miserable 5 per cent." "Any cheesemonger's shop in London," said he, "would give better results than that." What a pity that millions of men had not died in agony to add to these idlers' wealth and enable a lie-monger to gain more percentage than a seller of cheese!

The Crofter Commissioners are proving over and over again, if that were needed, how villainously the poor folk have been exploited. An average reduction of 57 per cent. is a very excellent proof, and when we see that 83 per cent. of arrears are struck off also, the whole thing is pretty clear. "The Highfield estate, near the Muir of Ord, has the distinguished honour of topping the list so far," says the *Pall Mall*. "The Brahan estate reductions average 52 per cent., and pass into the second place. The satisfaction of the crofters with these decisions may be readily imagined, because nothing nearly so extensive and sweeping had been expected, though the need for revaluation was evident. The Duchess of Sutherland has been fortunate in escaping the censure implied in a very severe reduction. Thirty per cent., however, as matters go in Strathpeffer Spa will be heartily welcomed by the crofters, and 34 per cent. of arrears will perhaps imply a good deal more. The crofters question is now in a fair way of settlement. It needed heroic treatment, and nothing less would have been of any service." S.

## THE REACTION AND THE RADICALS.

THE other day a friend was remarking to me that the ordinary Liberal and Radical of the Parliamentary type was very slack in his resistance to the Tory supremacy in these days; and in spite of the brags of the Gladstonian press, it must be admitted that this is true, after making all the allowances that can be made for the apparently brisk conflict over Irish matters: for that conflict is really in the hands of the Irish themselves; Mr. Parnell's causing the Irish vote to be cast in favour of the Tories in 1885 forced Mr. Gladstone's hand. Up to that time the Liberals had reckoned on the general support of the Irish Parliamentary Party, but after it they understood that that support must be bought by the yielding to Irish demands; that is in the main the plain story of the Gladstonian conversion. And the terms of the bargain so made have to be kept, as the Irish are at hand to enforce them, and Mr. Gladstone himself as usual puts considerable energy into the work which lies ready to his hand. Hence the appearance of a stout battle between the Ins and Outs in Parliament, which, however, as has often been said, is by no means to the taste of the greater part of the Liberal Gladstonites. They will be heartily glad when it is over, especially if, as is probable, and as Lord Randolph Churchill's conduct the other night indicated, it ends in a compromise.

But the Irish matters shelved for a time and the Liberals get free from their bargain, what is to follow as the immediate future of that respectable party? Who can answer that question that believes in the continued existence of a Liberal party in Great Britain? Mr. Gladstone has in all probability taken his last forward step in politics; and Mr. John Morley, who is considered (Lord help us!) to be the leader of the advanced (respectable) party, has already pretty much declared himself for the sign-post of democracy as it was understood twenty years ago. In fact the future, or indeed the present, of the Liberal party is now prefigured by those uninteresting sea-shores on the south coast of England, where the land having grown wheat and marigold and turnips, and having fallen into inferior pasture, is at last nothing but a flat waste of sand with a few tufts of useless herbs dotted here and there upon it, and so goes dwindling down into the sea in an undramatic inglorious fashion. Having performed mechanically the part that has been forced upon it in the Irish struggle, there is an end of it in mere barren officialism and the hopes of another term or two of do-nothing government. The great obstructionist party will swallow it up, regretted by no one.

Meantime, what about the few Radicals who at present hang on to it, and can hardly be called a party, since so many of them have gone through the same proceedings with the Liberals as the latter have done with the Tories, and been swallowed up by them? Well, the few that can still be called Radicals—that is, men who really wish to move



forward if they only knew how—are being paralysed by the approaching death of the Liberal party, the tail of which they have hitherto formed. Their hope in that direction has vanished, and their occupation has gone with it; what have they to turn towards? Whether they are conscious of it or not, they are waiting for Socialism to take up the work of progress. They are not convinced Socialists; many of them probably have never taken the trouble to understand what Socialism means; but they are nevertheless waiting for its approach, and that is the reason why they are so unenergetic in the face of the Tory reaction, which reaction—a real thing enough—means the absorption of the Liberals into the party of obstruction: an obstruction which is modern and suitable to its date, and therefore does not put persons of cultivation and intellect, “superior persons,” to shame; which differs by the compulsion of surrounding conditions from the old compulsion, but not at all in spirit.

Well, these Radicals turned languid in action because of the circumstances in which they find themselves, are very decidedly waiting: they are still Radicals, and in theory can see no further than the old shibboleths; but they instinctively know that in practice all that is no longer of any use, and they are consequently expecting orders from Socialism. Their position is, that they wish to go on being Radicals, and to do Socialist work if they can only find out what is, without declaring for Socialism.

In short, the old democracy, whose watchword is the fullest liberty of “free contract,” is finding out that before its theory could be worked out to the utmost, Socialism has come upon it and thrown it out of date, although the obstructionists of the old type are still making a show of attacking it, as if it were yet alive. Radicalism proper can live no longer than the life of Toryism proper; when the obstructionists cease to attack “the freedom of contract,” or rather when they make it their own standing-ground, as they are now doing, the Radical loses his reason for existence—his function is at end.

The obstructionists or Tories represent personal and political slavery, which was once, but a very long time ago, a necessity for progress; the Radicals represent the economical slavery of a class, joined to political freedom, which was also once a necessity for progress, but not so long ago; the Socialists represent progress itself with no temporary veil distorting its features.

WILLIAM MORRIS.

## THE BLARSTED FURRINERS.

(Concluded from p. 131.)

It is an almost laughable proposition to suggest that a system which is based upon competition should be protected in some particular instance from competition, and is moreover a fine comment upon the consistency of the preachers of *laissez-faire*. As I write I have before me a work, ‘Problems of a Great City,’ written I should say, after long perusal, to save the skins of the “classes” by the before-mentioned Arnold White; and as a desperate defendant once saved his case by simply asking the judge to “look, only look” at the plaintiff’s witnesses, so I will ask the readers to study the book of the pseudo working-man’s friend. After deploring the fecundity of the “lower orders,” especially criminals, he hungers for the surgical operation which shall effectually sterilise those whom he elects to judge “unfit.” In eastern countries this matter could be discussed with greater ease, he says; English convention forbids the discussion of detail, which would otherwise be desirable; but a Parliamentary vote to meet the cost of shutting up for life confirmed criminals, cannot bring a blush to any cheek.

This scheme of life-long segregation is hideously cruel. Society is to hide away its victims in penal establishments where the bodily torture of the past is replaced by slow refined cruelty which presents us ever and anon with the corpse of a starved ill-treated prisoner. The criminal of the lower class is sinned against by Society. Born into evil surroundings and a system under which it is impossible for all to work honestly, he is punished by Society for the crime which Society has itself created.

A consensus of opinion could be quoted, even Arnold White against himself, to show that the lower class criminal is a product of the horrible conditions, for which the higher criminals, on whose behalf Arnold White holds a brief, are responsible.

In dealing with the question of the unemployed he says, “Fed and clothed into fitness and decency they quickly become as other men are.” The Socialist holds the same concerning the criminal. Spread the people over the land, clear your cities and towns of the slums and stews, erect the labourer from being a wage-slave into a member of a Co-operative Commonwealth, and your paltering rubbish about segregation and castration will read as nonsense. Crime is purely relative. At present the evictors of Glenbeigh and depleters of Skye claim the right to punish the foreign sweater and native pickpocket.

Perchance a Social Revolution may soon clear the atmosphere, and change the aspect of affairs. A different jury would then be installed before which the land robbers and doctrinaires of wholesale expatriation and sterilisation of the unfit would be arraigned, and what they would be “fit” for would constitute, I think, one of the most difficult ‘Problems of a Great City.’

Both the book and this criticism of it were written before the institution of the House of Lord’s Committee anent the sweating and foreign pauper business, and therefore this quotation from page 9 is instructive: “Religion has become a thing of words and buildings. Religion endowed so that the carriage of the cross is oft-times the

means to win high place and high comfort, has converted the Narrow Way into a path to the House of Lords as well as to the Place of a Skull. Were Christ the teacher to return to London (*sic*), how long would he remain aloof from an attack on the ‘Problems of a Great City?’ and may I as a Socialist be allowed to conjecture what he would say to Arnold White and his book, wherein cant about the “sweet lines of the Sermon on the Mount” is jostled with suggestions for the sterilisation, segregation, and expatriation of the unfortunate victims of land robbers and capitalists. On page 204, he says a great impulse would be given to the sterilization of the unfit if the idle man were allowed to die unpitied in the street, which seeing that thousands cannot get employment is an eminently humane utterance; and he further quotes the Old Book, “If a man will not work neither shall he eat.” Our author would let poor idle men starve to death, but if the oft-mentioned Christ were to return and visit the House of Lords, he would go on a totally different errand for which Arnold White betakes himself before its “select” committee. Armed with the cords he used to drive the thieves from the Temple, he would apply the scriptural injunction to the idle rich thieves there assembled. He might with justice accuse the land-robbers, evictors, and rent-mongers with driving a disinherited people to herd in the cities and towns, and being native spoliators beside whom the sweater is an angel in comparison.

Let it be remembered that the petty depredaters, by accentuating social misery, lay the seeds of social revolt and jeopardise the greater swindlers. They are like the clumsy burglar whose noisy movements endangers the gang; and hence the land-thieves will adjudicate upon the case of the labour-thief, and if necessary cast him over as a Jonah.

The cry against the foreigner serves to hide the doings of men who are depleting the fields of these islands of population, and seeking to expatriate them to South Africa. They desire to colonise the lands of the despoiled savage with the despoiled whites. A consistent line of conduct, truly, for those who cry out against foreign immigration here! Read in this light, their eulogies of those Christian extirpators of blackmen, Warren, Gordon, and Stanley, as their patron saints, are intelligible enough.

In this criticism I have shown that the enemy of the foreign immigrant is not consequently the friend of the native poor. If by penuriousness or fraud the once pauper immigrant becomes affluent, he would secure the fulsome flattery of those who abuse him now. His foreign blood would not bar him from even the mayoralty of London. If a Rothschild, a Bleichroder, a Goschen, or a Disraeli, he can govern the lives and destinies of myriads of human beings by the power of purse, which knows no country.

The foreign sweater, oft-times sweated himself, simply takes advantage of commercial conditions as he finds them. With a commercial system which is nothing if not international, and her soldiers forcing her goods at the point of the bayonet into fresh markets, England’s outcry against foreign competition is absurd. If she had sought the happiness of her people instead of the world’s market, and colonised her own fields instead of strange lands, she would not now be afflicted with the same inconvenience which beset Rome before its downfall.

F. KITZ.

## REVOLUTIONARY CALENDAR.

WEEK ENDING MAY 12, 1888.

6	Sun.	1862. H. D. Thoreau died. 1867. Reform Demonstration in Hyde Park. 1882. Phoenix Park murder.
7	Mon.	1716. Septennial Bill passed.
8	Tues.	1873. J. S. Mill died.
9	Wed.	1800. John Brown (of Harper’s Ferry) born.
10	Thur.	1857. Indian Mutiny broke out. 1831. Bradlaugh ejected from House of Commons.
11	Fri.	1796. R. T. Crossfield tried for treason. 1860. Landing of the Thousand at Marsala. 1866. Commercial Crisis and Stoppage of Banks. 1878. Hodel’s attempt upon the Emperor William.
12	Sat.	1539. Suppression of Monasteries in England. 1641. Strafford beheaded.

*Death of Thoreau.*—Henry David Thoreau, or Thoreau of Walden, author of ‘Walden, a week on the Concord and Merrimack Rivers.’ This man, lecturer, poet, philosopher, naturalist, land surveyor, pencil-maker, whitewasher; and, more than all, Bohemian and gipsy vagabond, in my humble opinion is a man eminently worthy of study by Socialists. In the study it seems exceedingly possible to meet with that magic flux which shall render possible a junction of those great dissimilars, the perfection of Socialism and perfect Individualism. Henry David Thoreau was a descendant of John Thoreau, a native of St. Heliers, Jersey, who about 1773, left the Channel Island and sailed for New England. It was in the village of Concord, Mass., about twenty miles north-west from what the natives call the “Hub of the Universe,” Boston, in a district allowed by all who have described it to be one of the best representatives of old-time beauty possessed by that painfully brand-new country, on July 12, 1817, that Henry saw light. His father, who had once possessed a small estate, was earning a living at pencil-making, a lucrative business in those days. The home of the Thoreau’s was well known to Abolitionists and fugitive slaves, a sure sign that both mother and father were of no common stamp, for to be the friend of the slave was to be a sure mark for insult and often outrage. Attended school and looked after the cows, studied Greek rather closely, and at age of sixteen went to Harvard College and graduated. The woods and the fields were his favourite studies; about the age of twenty he collected for Agassiz the naturalist. He gave his first lecture when only twenty; though for twenty years Thoreau devoted himself to authorship, his income was too scanty to provide for the wants even of one of such austere parsimoniousness and simplicity of living as Thoreau, who adopted poverty like a piece of business. “For more than five years I maintained myself solely by the labour of my hands, and I found that by working about six weeks in a year I could meet all the expenses of living. The

whole of my winters, as well as most of my summers, I had free and clear for study." In 'Walden' he gives details as to how he managed this task. Never man lived with greater hatred of competition, trade, money-grubbing. "The spending of the best part of one's life earning money in order to enjoy a questionable liberty during the least valuable part of it, reminds me of the Englishman who went to India to make a fortune first, in order that he might return to England to live the life of a poet. He should have gone up garret at once. I have tried trade; but I found that it would take ten years to get under way in that, and that then I should probably be on my way to the devil. I was actually afraid that I might by that time be doing what is called a good business. . . . Though you trade in messages from heaven, the whole curse of trade attaches to the business." "If a man has faith he will co-operate with equal faith anywhere; if he has not faith he will continue to live like the rest of the world, whatever company he is joined to. To co-operate, in the highest as well as the lowest sense, means to get our living together." But the basis is that every one must operate. Then, to balance this real Communism, we have: "I would rather sit on a pumpkin and have it all to myself, than be crowded on a velvet cushion. I would rather ride on earth on an ox-cart with a free circulation, than go to heaven in the fancy car of an excursion train and breathe a malaria all the way." Space does not permit a full examination of all the reasons for recommending Thoreau to Socialists. The life of a living thinking man, not the life of a machine, was his aim. As Holmes writes—

"Run if you like, but try to keep your breath;  
Work like a man, but don't be worked to death."

So Thoreau acted. I may be wrong, my acquaintance is too slight perhaps even to warrant the opinion, but it seems to me that in \_\_\_\_\_ there is a very close parallel to Henry David Thoreau. On second thoughts I put a dash instead of the name, and should be glad if any can fill in the name I mean and let me know. Thoreau, as may be expected, never married, and in his chapter "Higher Laws," he somewhat deals with this detail. After a strange yet full life, he died May 6, 1862, aged forty-five, and was buried in Concord, his grave being close to Hawthorne's. Once more, in conclusion, I say to my readers read 'Walden' if none other. It can be got for one shilling in the Camelot Series, and will be money not badly spent.—T. S.

*Death of John Stuart Mill.*—Born May 20, 1806; died May 8, 1873. Son of James Mill, the historian, politician and economist, he was educated entirely on a system of his father's device, which is likely to remain unparalleled for stupid untrammelled inversion of nature and custom. He was from his earliest years his father's companion, and was never allowed to be a child, being "almost from the dawn of consciousness instructed to regard himself as consecrated to a life of labour for the public good." Such a training could only result in permanent inability to do aught but "take himself seriously" in season and out of season, and it says something for his original powers of mind that he did not become a more offensive prig than he occasionally showed himself. Its effect upon his reasoning powers was irreparable, and many difficulties and contradictions in the work of his after life are explicable clearly in this way. He had started with strong, if not very strong, mental powers, and his father had made him as far as might be the "intellectual machine set to grind certain tunes" his young companions of the Speculative Debating Society thought him. Both his 'Logic' and his 'Political Economy,' the books he is remembered by, are marred in a hundred ways through this fact. His 'Logic,' though it has led to large developments, seems a comparatively poor thing to the reader of to-day, who is able by the light of later criticism to see fatal flaws in many of his premises and arguments. His 'Political Economy' is defective after the same fashion. Filled up to the brim by his father with Ricardian doctrines, he modified them with those of Malthus, and afterwards was strongly impressed and inspired by Comte. Socialist teachings had also some effect on him, and his book gives the impression of having been written during an elaborate attempt at "sitting on the fence," or finding a *via media*, or method of reconciliation between these different ideals; it is the outcome of them all. He died an avowed Socialist. It would be unfair to judge Mill wholly by what he achieved; the great function he fulfilled was that of stimulating other thought, and in that way he has rendered great service.—S.

*Trial of R. T. Crossfield.*—Robert Thomas Crossfield, M.D., Paul Thomas Lemaitre, watch-case maker, John Smith, bookseller, and George Higgins, druggist, "with divers other false traitors whose names are to the said jurors unknown," were said to have maliciously and traitorously conspired, combined, consulted, consented, and agreed "to procure, make, and provide, or cause to be procured, made and provided, a certain instrument for the purpose of discharging an arrow, and also a certain arrow, to be charged and loaded with poison, from and out of and by means of the said instrument at and against the person of our Lord the King, and thereby and therewith to kill and put to death, our said Lord the King." This, known as the "Pop-gun Plot," was like many others of the same period, a got-up affair intended at once to discredit the Reformers, and afford an excuse for hanging some of their more prominent men. The present prisoners were brought up at the Old Bailey, on Wednesday, May 11, 1796, but were tried separately, Crossfield being taken first. The usual array of informers, spies, and so on were brought forward, and the trial, which lasted two days, reads in parts very like that which Dickens painted so well in his 'Tale of Two Cities.' But the judge for a wonder summed up impartially, and the jury returned a verdict of "Not Guilty." On Thursday, May 19, the other three prisoners were set to the bar, but the Attorney-General withdrew his case and the jury formally acquitted them.—S.

*Thomas Wentworth, Earl of Strafford.*—Born, Chancery Lane, April 13, 1593; beheaded, Tower Hill, May 12, 1641. Educated at St. John's, Cambridge; then travelled abroad and was knighted on his return. In 1614 succeeded to the baronetcy, and next year was made Keeper of the Archives for the West Riding in the room of Sir John Savile; in the latter Buckingham interested himself, and thence arose an enmity between him and Strafford. The latter was returned to Parliament for the county of York, and determinedly opposed the Court party and was a principal supporter of the petition of right. His famous maxim "Thorough," which had dominated his college career, and which had made him the most learned, eloquent, and soldierly man of his own age, ruled him here also, and he was soon hailed by the advanced party as their most promising hope. This, however, did not last long; Wentworth was an aristocrat, and had little sympathy with the bourgeois aspirations that were soon to bring on the Civil War. It was not monarchy and the rule of privilege that he objected to, but the particular tools with which it worked at the time and the methods it employed. A man of intense individuality and strong ambition, the rebound from the closed ranks of courtiers into which he could not find entrance, was enough to send him into the popular party for a time, but it was impossible that he should remain there. To confess the truth it would have been wonderful if even a much homester man of his temperament could have done so. The fire of events had not yet tried out the dross of mere discontent from the party of the advance, and its ranks were filled with mean carping and petty jealousies. A few spotless men like Pym tower above their companions, but even these for the most part were ruthless fanatics and stern puritans. Room was made for him in the royal ranks, and Wentworth became Baron Wentworth and an upholder of the King. On the death of Buckingham he was made viscount, sworn of the Council, and appointed Lord President of the North. Here he began to put in practise his "thorough" method, and with such success that he was sent to Ireland in 1633 to "quell sedition, and discontent and restore order." Here he found space for putting forth the full power of his great mind, and at one stroke showed English and Irish alike, settlers and soldiers as well as natives, that now they had a

master. He reorganised the customs, scoured the sea of pirates, redressed grievances, hung offenders high and low, introduced the linen manufacture, encouraged agriculture, and acted up to his ideal of the benevolent unbending despot. But his insensate ruler was bent on self-destruction, and having tortured dull England into a fevered state, must needs meddle with the Scot's religion. The Oath of the Covenant was revived, and hell let loose in the service of heaven. Wentworth was against the war, and strongly advised the king to give way; but when it broke out he saw that the only policy was "thorough," stamped out a revolt among the Scotch undertakers of Ulster, and came over to London to aid and advise, being made Earl of Strafford and Baron Raby for his services. The Scots were victorious, a treaty hastily signed, and the Long Parliament called together—and Strafford's time had come. Whatever opinions may be held as to the brutality and overbearing tyranny of his government in the North and Ireland, and the ill effect of his counsel and strong help for Charles on the struggle for freedom, it is hard to resist a feeling of sympathy with him as a prisoner, manly and erect before his judges. When Charles betrayed Strafford he struck away the one support that might have sustained his throne, and none who saw the servant's head upon the block could have been surprised when it was followed by the master's.—S.

## THE BRITISH WORKMAN'S HOME.

(What he has to put up with and can't help.)

In a fourth-floor front I at present reside—

Just within a few feet of the tiles;  
In an odorous house where they sell fish fried,  
To the gentry who live in the Dials.

In the fourth-floor back there's a party who drinks—  
And a lady who deals in pig's feet;  
Who puts on the landing her stock when it stinks,  
That her room may be tidy and sweet.

In the third-floor front there is "washing took in,"  
On the landing 'tis hung out to dry:  
And there's always a flavour of soap-suds and gin,  
When my luck forces me to pass by.

The third-floor back keeps a sewing-machine,  
And a proper machine it must be—  
For it hasn't stopp'd once since here I have been,  
And it won't till its murdered poor me.

In the second-floor front there's a numerous few,  
And at present a fever as well:  
And out of the room comes a whiff of burnt stew,  
And out of the pail comes a smell!

In the second-floor back a "mystery" hides,  
For it never is seen out of doors:  
And the number who ask where "Sphynxus" resides,  
I could reckon, I'm certain, by scores.

In the first-floor front there's a school for the young,  
And the play-ground's the passage and stairs;  
Each lesson they learn is of course loudly sung,  
And every man jack of 'em swears.

In the first-floor back two ladies hang out,  
Perfect swells, sir, with feathers and hats:  
Whose friends (they've a host) seem to me without doubt,  
Quite a mixture of sharps and of flats.

One kitchen is rented by "mangling" and "lush,"  
And one by a dealer in dogs;  
And all the lot in the whole d—— (hush!)  
Are a beautiful parcel of hogs.

Mine's the only room that is fit to be seen,  
In our palace so near to the sky;  
But my whole ten children can't keep the place clean,  
'Tis no matter how much they may try.

The staircase downstairs is a kind of Cremorne—  
For the chaps come there courting their gals:  
And the neighbouring gents, all tattered and torn,  
Hob-a-nob there and visit their pals.

Our cistern's fixed over the W.C.,  
But, alas! it runs out about four;  
Whilst the W.C. (you will please pardon me),  
Has for some time been lacking a door.

The lodgers are "fly," nor play "skittles" in vain,  
And they all of 'em know how to box;  
They study the "drama" in Petticoat Lane,  
And learn faces by hearing "Old Knox."<sup>1</sup>

What with fevers and smoke, stinks, lodgers, and lice,  
What with noises, with drink, and with smell,  
Our home of delight is a hot-bed of vice,  
And our Englishman's castle a hell!

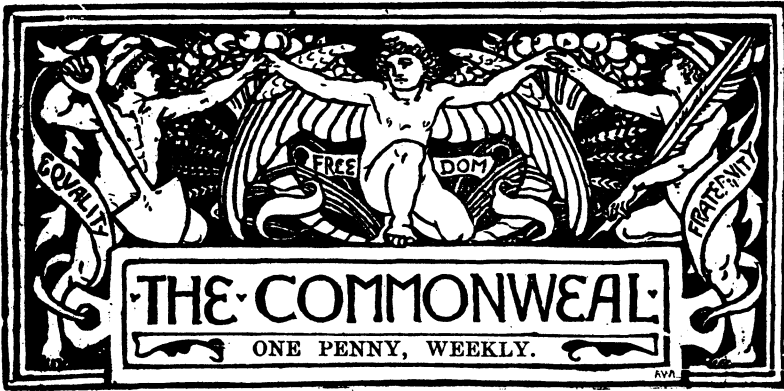
In this pastoral spot, full of pastoral shade,  
Twenty years of my life have been spent;  
And every week of that time I have paid  
One-fifth of my wages as rent.

But I missed last week, so the brokers are in  
And on Monday we march out galore;  
And into the workhouse we're going to spin,  
And we'll never come out any more.

Oh, if some of our coves who've saved a few quids  
Could but gammon my mates to agree,  
We could build decent homes for our wives and our kids,  
And be happy as birds on a tree!

—Appeared in 'West Central News,' 1881, said to have been written by a workman named Snelling.—F. K.

<sup>1</sup> Newton's predecessor.



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

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

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

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

B. A.—The articles you ask for are probably those on "The Military Side of the Commune," by Gen. Cluseret, in *Fortnightly Review* for 1873 pp. 1, 213, 351. J. S. (Birmingham).—Article received; will appear next week.

#### Periodicals received during the week ending Wednesday May 2.

<b>ENGLAND</b> Church Reformer Leaflet Newspaper London—Freie Presse Labour Tribune Norwich—Daylight Railway Review Worker's Friend	<b>FRANCE</b> Paris—Cri du Peuple (daily) La Revolté Journal du Peuple Havre—L'Idée Ouvrière	<b>GERMANY</b> Berlin—Volks Tribune	<b>SWITZERLAND</b> Zurich—Sozial Demokrat
<b>CANADA</b> Toronto—Labor Reformer	<b>HOLLAND</b> Hague—Recht voor Allen	<b>GERMANY</b> Brunn—Volksfreund	<b>ITALY</b> Marsala—La Nuova Eta
<b>UNITED STATES</b> New York—Freiheit Truthseeker Jewish Volkzeitung Boston—Woman's Journal Liberty Chicago (Ill.)—Vorbote Chicago—Labor Enquirer Buffalo—Arbeiter-Zeitung Denver (Col.) Labor Enquirer	<b>BELGIUM</b> En Avant Ghent—Vooruit Antwerp—De Werker Liege—L'Avenir	<b>GERMANY</b> Berlin—Volks Tribune	<b>SPAIN</b> Madrid—El Socialista
		<b>HUNGARY</b> Arbeiter-Wochen-Chronik	<b>PORTUGAL</b> Lisbon—O Protesto Operario
		<b>AUSTRIA</b> Arbeiterstimme	<b>GERMANY</b> Berlin—Volks Tribune
		<b>ROUMANIA</b> Bucharest—Gutenberg	<b>GERMANY</b> Stockholm, Social-Demokraten
		<b>SWEDEN</b> Stockholm, Social-Demokraten	<b>GERMANY</b> Malmö—Arbetet

## SOCIALISM FROM THE ROOT UP.

### CHAPTER XXIII.—SOCIALISM TRIUMPHANT.

It is possible to succeed in a manner in picturing to ourselves the life of past times: that is, our imaginations will show us a picture of them which may include such accurate information as we may have of them. But though the picture may be vivid and the information just, yet it will not be a picture of what really took place; it will be made up of the present which we experience, and the past which our imagination, drawing from our experience, conceives of,—in short, it will be *our* picture of the past.<sup>1</sup> If this be the case with the past, of which we have some concrete data, still more strongly may it be said of the future, of which we have none—nothing but mere abstract deductions from historic evolution, the logical sequence of which may be interfered with at any point by elements whose force we have not duly appreciated; and these are abstractions also which are but the skeleton of the full life which will go on in those times to come.

Therefore, though we have no doubt of the transformation of modern civilisation into Socialism, yet we cannot foretell definitely what form the social life of the future will take, any more than a man living at the beginning of the commercial period—say Sir Thomas More or Lord Bacon—could foresee the development of that period in the capitalism of to-day.

Nevertheless, though we cannot realise positively the life of the future, when the principle of real society will be universally admitted, and applied in practice as an everyday matter, yet the negative side of the question we can all see, and most of us cannot help trying to fill up the void made by the necessary termination of the merely militant period of Socialism. The present society will be gone, with all its paraphernalia of checks and safeguards: that we know for certain. No less surely we know what the foundation of the new society will be. What will the new society build on that foundation of freedom and co-operation?—that is the problem on which we can do no more than speculate.

No doubt some transition, the nature of which will be determined by circumstances, will take place between the present state of things,

<sup>1</sup> The mediæval painters naively accept this position—*e.g.*, in representing the life of a saint of the second century, they dress the characters in a costume but little altered from that of their own period; and it is worth noting that they gave up the attempt at archeology altogether with the more familiar characters—a carpenter or blacksmith will be just the craftsman that they had before their eyes every day; whereas the emperors, giants, and so forth, they do try to clothe in imaginative raiment. A further illustration may be given in the art of music: works such as Weber's *der Freischütz* or Wagner's *Meister-singers*, which seem to embody the spirit of past ages, nevertheless are in themselves thoroughly modern.

in which the political unit is a nation, and the future, in which a system of federalised communities will take the place of rival nationalities; but as this chapter has to do with the ultimate realisation of the new society rather than with the transitional period, we need not speculate on this point.

We ask our readers to imagine the new society in its political aspect as an organised body of communities, each carrying on its own affairs, but united by a delegated federal body, whose function would be the guardianship of the acknowledged principles of society; it being understood that these two bodies, the township or community and the Federal Power, would be the two extremities between which there would be other expressions of the Federal principle,—as in districts that were linked together by natural circumstances, such as language, climate, or the divisions of physical geography.

It is clear that in such a society what laws were needed for the protection of persons and the regulation of inter-communal disputes, since they could be but the expression of the very root principles of society, would have to be universal, and the central regulating body would be charged with their guardianship, and at a last resort to carrying them out by force. Obviously no community could be allowed to revert to the exploitation of labour of any kind under whatever pretext, or to such forms of reaction as vindictive criminal laws. Such measures if allowed, even as local and spasmodic incidents, would undermine the very foundations of communistic society. This unity in Federation in short, appears to be the only method for reducing complexity in political and administrative matters to a minimum; and of ensuring to the individual, as a unit of society, the utmost possible freedom for the satisfaction and development of his capacities.

As to the methods of labour necessary to the existence and welfare of society, it would have to be co-operative in the widest sense. It would of course be subordinate to the *real* welfare of society; *i.e.*, the production of wares would not be looked upon as the end of society (as the production of *profit-bearing* wares now is), but it would be regarded as the means for the ease and happiness of life, which therefore would never be sacrificed to any false ideas of necessity, or to any merely conventional views of comfort or luxury. For instance, in any society it is desirable that cotton cloth should be produced at the least expenditure of labour, but in a communistic society it would be impossible to condemn a part of the population to live under miserable conditions, conditions in any degree worse than that of others, as in a black country, in order to reduce the expenditure of labour for the community, which would have to pay the price for giving the weavers and spinners, etc., as good a life as anyone else, whatever that price might be.

Again, as to the conventional standard of comfort: we may here quote a good definition of a luxury, as given by a friend, as a piece of goods that the consumer would not have if he had in his own person to pay the full value of the work—*i.e.*, if he had to make it himself, or to sacrifice an amount of his own labour equivalent to the making of it. As, *e.g.*, a lady of the present day would hardly consent to make a Mechlin lace veil for herself, or to pay for the due and proper livelihood of those who do make it; in order that she may have it, numbers of women and girls at Ypres and the neighbourhood must work at starvation wages.

To make the matter of production under Communism clearer let us consider the various kinds of work which the welfare of Communal Society would demand.

First, there would be a certain amount of necessary work to be done which would be usually repellant to ordinary persons; some of this, probably the greater part of it, would be performed by machinery; and it must be remembered that machinery would be improved and perfected without hesitation when the restrictions laid on production by the exigencies of profit-making were removed. But probably a portion of this work at once necessary and repellant could not be done by machinery. For this portion volunteers would have to be relied upon; nor would there be any difficulty in obtaining them, considering that the habit of looking upon necessary labour from the point of view of social duty would be universal, and that now, as then, idiosyncracies would exist which would remove objections to work usually disliked.

Again, the greater part of this work, though not agreeable, would not be exacting on mental capacity, and would entail the minimum of responsibility on those engaged in it. We mention this as compensatory of the disagreeable nature of the work in itself.

As examples of this necessary and usually repellant work, we may give scavenging, sewer-cleaning, coal-hewing, midwifery, and mechanical clerk's work.

It must be remembered again that under our present system a great deal of this kind of work is artificially fostered for the sake of making business for interest-bearing capital, and that the competition for employment amongst the proletariat makes it possible to be so done; whereas in a Communal Society such work would be dispensed with as much as possible. Disagreeable work which a Communal Society found itself saddled with as a survival of past times, and which it found out not to be necessary, it would get rid of altogether.

Secondly, work in itself more or less disagreeable, and not absolutely necessary, but desirable if the sacrifice to be paid for it were not too great. This might be done if it could be made easy by machinery, but not otherwise; it would not be worth while to call for volunteers for the purpose of doing it, since the citizens would then have to make the sacrifice in their own persons. Before we leave the subject of work not generally pleasant, but which is either necessary or desirable, we may again call attention to the existence of idiosyncracies which



would make many people willing to undertake it, and still more to the variety of tastes which are so common that they could not be classed as idiosyncracies, and which would help us out of many difficulties in this respect. There are, for instance, rough occupations involving a certain amount of hardship, which would be acceptable to many persons of overflowing health and strength, on account of the adventure and change which goes with them, and the opportunities which they afford for showing courage and adroitness and readiness; in a word, for the pleasurable exercise of special energies, such as sea-fishing, exploration of new countries, etc. Again, many people have so much love for country life and dealing with animals, that even hard work of this kind would not seem irksome to them. In short, we might go into great lengths on this subject, and every step we took on the road would show that the stimulus to exertion in production is much more various and much more complex than is usually thought in a period like our own, when everything is supposed to be measured by mere cash-payment.

Thirdly, we come to a kind of work which we may well hope will take a much higher position in communal life than it does at present; we mean work that has in it more or less of art; and we should here say that the very foundation of everything that can be called art is the pleasure of creation, which is, or should be felt in every handicraft. That even as things are it is very commonly felt, is proved by the craving that persons have for some occupation for their hands when they are debarred from their usual occupation, as very notably persons in prison. As to the matter of art as an occupation, we may divide it into *incidental* and *substantive* art. Incidental art is that which is subservient to some utilitarian function; as the designed form or added ornament in a knife or a cup, which is subservient to the cutting or drinking use of those things. What is commonly called decorative art comes under this heading. Substantive art is that which produces matters of beauty and incident for their own sakes, such as pictures or music, which have no utilitarian purpose. As to incidental art Commercial Society has nearly destroyed it by divorcing its exercise and the reward for it from the products which it should beautify; it has divided the producers of an ornamented article of use into the maker of the utilitarian article, the maker of the ornament for it, and the designer of the ornament, the two former being mere machines, and the latter being the producer of a marketable ware to be forced on the public in the same way that other wares are forced on them by commerce. In a Communal Society this division of labour will be recognised as impossible in a piece of goods of which the art of design formed an integral part, and that art itself will only be exercised in answer to an undoubted and imperative demand of the public; there will be no occasion to force a demand for it.

As to the substantive art that must always be on the surface the product of individual labour and skill, although at bottom it is a social product as much as or even more than any other production; since the capacity of the most original artist or author is really the result of tradition, and his work is the expression of a long social development of tendencies concentrated in the special individual.

A question may occur to some as to the probable future of the races at present outside civilisation. To us it seems that the best fate that can befall them is that they should develop themselves from their present condition, uninterfered with by the incongruities of civilisation. Those of them will be the happiest who can hold civilisation aloof until civilisation itself melts into Socialism, when their own natural development will gradually lead them into absorption in the great ocean of universal social life.

E. BELFORT BAX AND WILLIAM MORRIS.

## CORRESPONDENCE.

### FREE SPEECH IN DANGER.

SOME time since I informed our readers that the Bethnal Green Conservative Association were endeavouring, by underhand means, to suppress all meetings in Victoria Park. Since then they have presented a humble petition, supposed to contain 2,000 signatures, praying that the meetings should be stopped because of the "blasphemous and seditious language used," the real reason being that for the last three or four years the Socialist League has made great progress there. I recommended at the time that the Rads and Reds should combine to oppose this move, but thus far the only persons who have interested themselves in the matter are the Socialists, who usually protest against it at their meetings, and the National Sunday League, who are getting up a counter petition. As to the Radicals of the neighbourhood, they are so busy with G. Howell, M.P., holding meetings against Early Closing, that they have no time, I suppose, to interest themselves about such a paltry thing as the right of public meeting (except when it is made a party political question as in Ireland). As the meetings in the Park have hitherto been very orderly, the Tories have hired some roughs to try and upset us. Last Sunday they appeared on the scene shouting that they were brave and bold Englishmen, and that we were a lot of d— foreigners. We managed to get one on the platform, when he said that he hated all foreigners, had fought seven years for his Queen and country, that he would sooner starve than work for a foreigner, that he had had the chance of seducing the daughter of a German in Green Street, but he hated all Germans so much that he refused it. He was answered by the lecturer, and an English comrade pointed out to him that if the foreigners worked for their living they were quite as good as an Englishman. The Tory reply was a blow on the jaw, with the exclamation, "I'm an Englishman, I am!" Our comrades should be on their guard, as the evident intention is to make a scene at our meetings as an excuse for suppressing us as disorderly persons. I hear that all the gardeners at Victoria Park have received orders to keep themselves in readiness to act as park constables; they are all to have a cap but not a full uniform. This move evidently means something.

T. R. COOPER, Homerton.

## 'THE PRINCIPLES OF SOCIALISM MADE PLAIN.'

(By Frank Fairman; with Preface by William Morris. W. Reeves, 185 Fleet Street, E.C. 1s.; cloth, 2s. 6d.)

THE author of this plain and ably written little book has, in accordance with its title, supplied to a considerable extent that which has long been wanting—namely, a plain statement of the principles of Socialism. His definition of Socialism "as a criticism of the present system of society" will be demurred to by those who think that to be of any value it should consist of a thoroughly mapped out in full detail system of society.

To us the most attractive part of the book is its treatment of the moral basis of Socialism; and this put shortly is "that every human being has equal rights of life, the pursuit of happiness, and the use of his faculties, so long as he does not exercise them to the detriment of others." The impossibility of this in a society (as, for example, the present) which maintains the right of a section of it to possess itself of the whole of the means of subsistence, thereby condemning those—the masses, the dispossessed—to a life of slavish toil, is reasoned out in the most forcible manner. Dealing with the plea that is so often urged that priority of possession confers the right upon the possessor to hold and use for all time *his* possession as he pleases, it is contended that there is nothing consistent with the principles of justice to warrant such an assumption. The author deals with this assumption as follows:

"Supposing a ship to be wrecked in mid-ocean, and the crew and passengers to escape in boats to some uninhabited island. Has the first boatload the right to claim possession of the island, and to make those who come in the second and subsequent boats work for them upon it at mere subsistence wages? No one would dream of giving assent to such a proposal. Then, if another ship be wrecked off the island the following week, are the survivors of that ship to be in any worse position, and if so, why? It would, perhaps, be dangerous to carry the illustration much farther, because we should be getting nearer and nearer to the actual facts, in which the bias of self-interest and long established custom would come in to distort the judgment, and the answer would probably be, 'The crew of a wreck the second or third year could not have any rights to the land of the island at all; or else it would follow that those wrecked on the shores of one country would equally have a right to share in the land of England, and that cannot be just.' In reply to such an argument, I can only say that he who seeks to know or do what is right does not concern himself with the unpleasantness of the consequences; or, to be most exact, to the truly just man the only consequences which are pleasant are those which are founded upon justice, and that if priority alone gives the right of possession, the first boatload must be the only rightful owners of the island. A few minutes, or hours, or days, or months can, in equity, make no difference. In fact, the only solution of this problem which leaves no room for quibble or dispute is, that the globe belongs rightfully at any given moment to the whole of the inhabitants living upon it at that moment—neither to those who have had their turn and have gone hence, to be seen no more, nor to those who are yet to be born. That in short, as Mr. Herbert Spencer puts it, 'All men have equal rights to the use of the earth.'"

The question of the remuneration of special ability, geniuses, etc., so often raised, is happily handled:

"If it be said that without the stimulus of more than ordinary reward men would not undertake responsible positions in the management of large establishments, would not invent machines, or paint pictures, or write good literature, the answer is twofold. First, the wildest Communist or Anarchist has never yet suggested that fame and reputation shall be thrown into a common stock and divided amongst everybody in equal shares, and therefore nothing can prevent men who perform responsible duties, or confer benefits in other ways upon the public, from obtaining a special reward in the esteem and honour in which they are held. As a plain matter of fact, a great deal of very onerous work is performed gratuitously, and the greatest successes have been achieved both in the sphere of invention and in that of artistic work (literary or pictorial), either from the desire for fame, or from the inherent necessity which genius is under of creating something, whether it produce a reward or not. But secondly, if without extra money payment work of a superior character cannot be obtained, the necessary price will have to be paid, and in such cases it can be paid without infringing on any sound social principle."

In the chapter on "The Economic Basis," it is demonstrated that the larger part of the wealth enjoyed by the rich is produced by the workers "day by day and year by year." "It is not the fact, as many people seem to imagine, that the rich have acquired their wealth once and for all"; whereas they are simply drawing upon the labour of toilers day by day and year by year for their means of life. "A man with an income of £1000 a-year from the funds is said to possess £30,000, because he is credited with that amount in the books of the Bank of England; but this is only the banker's way of stating the fact that he is entitled to draw £500 every half year." Upon what? The labours of the toiling millions.

The illusion that so many labour under that the rich do not tax labour is well exposed.

Luxury and misery, rich and poor, are relative states, the luxury of the rich being dependent upon the misery of the poor.

The contention of the Socialist is that all material wealth is produced by human labour plus the aid of natural forces; and that it therefore follows that those who do not labour must of necessity live upon those who do.

Separate chapters are devoted to the consideration of "Current Economic Fallacies," "Objections," "Quack Remedies for Poverty." This last-named deals with Religion, Malthusianism, Nationalisation of the Land, Co-operation, etc.; and "The Methods and Future of Socialism" bringing to a conclusion the handiest, and, for its size, comprehensive book yet written on the subject.

H. A. B.

# THE LABOUR STRUGGLE.

BRITAIN.

**UPHALL RETORTMEN'S DISPUTE.**—The retortmen employed at Uphall Oil Works (Young's Company) who had left off work for one shift, have resumed work on an advance of wages of five per cent, and the promise of other five per cent whenever that increase becomes general.

**FORFAR BAKERS.**—At a meeting of journeymen bakers held in Forfar on Saturday it was unanimously agreed to form a branch of the National Federal Union, "as the only remedy whereby their grievances can be removed." There was present a deputation from Dundee. Office-bearers were appointed.

**100 WORKERS TURNED ADRIFT.**—The new process of preparing the turkey-red cloth, which has been recently adopted by the turkey-red works in the Vale of Leven, is beginning to have the expected effect on the workers. In Dalquharn Works, at Renton, nearly 100—chiefly girls—have been paid off during the last few weeks.

**RIVETERS' STRIKE AT GREENOCK.**—The strike of riveters, so far as the yard of Messrs. Russell & Co., is at end, the men to the number of about 150 having resumed work on Thursday. The men came out on strike about a month ago for an advance of a shilling on the 100 rivets—namely, from 7s. 6d. to 8s. 6d. Messrs. Russell & Co., having offered the men an advance of ninepence per 100, the men as stated above accepted the offer, the price now to be paid for the 100 rivets being 8s. 3d. The riveters in the yard of Messrs. Caird & Co. are still on strike.

**A UNIFORM PRICE LIST WANTED.**—In accordance with a resolution passed at a mass meeting last week, the Blackburn loomers, drawers, and twisters have submitted to the employers a uniform list of wages, which they propose shall be paid for looming and drawing in future in Blackburn and neighbourhood. The masters are being given one week to consider the list, and the men will then meet again, and, in the event of a refusal to entertain it, will decide what action to take.

**NUT AND BOLT MAKERS ASSOCIATION.**—The ballot on the question of demanding an advance in wages has been answered in the affirmative by an overwhelming majority. At the quarterly meeting of the Association the following resolution was unanimously carried: "That this council expresses its entire approval of the action of the Darlaston members in deciding by ballot to demand wages in accordance with the list of 1881, less 5 per cent., and that we approve of a conference between employers and workmen being held; but in case the masters refuse the request of the men, we pledge ourselves to render them every assistance in our power." John Richards, president of the association, was appointed to attend the conference.

**INVITING DEFEAT.**—"With the exception of several leaders of the strike, who were refused employment, all the hands have returned to work at the mills of the Newchurch Weaving and Spinning Company, Rossendale, on the old lines." Thus runs the report, and at the first sight one is tempted to pity the workers and to blame the company; but further information somewhat modifies this impulse. The workmen of Rossendale are, it seems, the worst organised of any part of Lancashire; as a consequence they are hit hard and often, and until they conquer their selfish apathy and combine for common protection, they seem almost to invite if not to deserve the drubbings they get.

**SHIRKERS.**—There are in every calling a number of cowardly conscienceless shirkers, who, when no immediate personal gain is to be reaped, leave their trade societies to be supported by their more honourable comrades. The cotton spinners are a case in point. The possibility of a general strike in the Oldham district as the outcome of the demand now made for an advance in wages has induced 564 people, a large proportion presumably of the class referred to, to join the Association during the past five weeks. None of these will be in a position to draw strike pay, but will of course claim the generosity of the Council in case of a stoppage taking place.

**OLDHAM SPINNERS.**—Great unanimity and determination exists amongst the operatives in regard to the demand for an advance. The Amalgamated Spinners' Association is exceptionally strong financially and numerically, and for the first time in its history is prepared to enter upon a contest without at the outset calling for extra pecuniary support. The Masters' Association appear unable to take up a definite position, and at present it seems quite unlikely that any general resolution to close the mills will be adopted. The operatives are to be congratulated upon the splendid organisation which attests their loyalty to the cause of unionism. They wisely resolved at the close of their last great struggle to pay their levies in time of peace, so as to be ready for war, and to-day they are rewarded for the sacrifices made in the past; they stand calmly and confidently in an almost impregnable position, which the employers will hesitate to attack.

**OH, UPRIGHT JUDGE!**—The scandalous injustice with which tramway companies treat their hard-worked employees was the subject of some severe strictures by Judge Powell on the 25th, at Woolwich County Court. Percy Fuller, a conductor, summoned the Woolwich and South-Eastern Tramway Company for 4s. lieu of wages. The Judge scanned the plaint note, and said, "I shouldn't have thought that a tramway company would come into court for 4s." "They dismissed me without notice," said the conductor, "and detained my license." The Judge: Why was this man dismissed? The Manager: Because he was low in his takings. The Judge: Do you mean to say it is a rule to punish your conductors because they cannot force passengers into the trams? I never heard of such a monstrous thing! The Manager: It is a rule practised by all the tramway companies of London. The Judge: Well, then, I say the rule is contrary to law, and I will give judgment for the plaintiff with costs. The idea of such a thing!

**EASTERN AND MIDLANDS RAILWAY.**—"Norfolk Rover" states that at Melton Constable, on the Eastern and Midlands Railway, the shunters have no cabin or other shelter in which to eat their meals or to take refuge from the storms, access to the signal cabin being also denied them. He also mentions the case of a Lynn goods guard who has been fined for an alleged late arrival on duty, without being called upon for an explanation. No overtime is paid on that line. Referring to the recent meeting of the company, he considers that it would have been but just to have advanced the wages of some of the workmen as well as the salary of the auditor. The revenue of the company is said to have increased ninety per cent during the past five years, and during the past year traffic receipts had increased twenty-two per cent, yet the wages of the men are: Porters, 8s. and 10s. per week; signalmen, 15s. to 18s., with one or two cases of £1; firemen, 3s. and 3s. 6d., and drivers, 4s. 6d. to 6s. per day.—*Railway Review.*

**WHITE SLAVES—MANTLE MAKERS.**—As to the pay of mantle makers and the conditions under which they work in most London workrooms and warehouses, a correspondent wrote lately to the *Star*:—"I shall begin by giving in detail the work done on one jacket by the machinist and finisher respectively, and the price paid for such work in two workrooms to my knowledge—the one a large, and the other a small one. Machinist—Sewing seven seams, binding the bottom, two facings, making and inserting sleeves, making and fixing collar—1½d. Finisher—Working four button-holes, sewing on six buttons, fastening corners, felling collar lining—1d. Thus 2½d. for making a lady's jacket throughout (of course excepting cutting, now in many cases done by machinery). The above is common work. Now for a medium-class example. Machinist—Eight seams, and binding same with Italian cloth; binding the bottom, putting in two facings, putting on two pocket tabs, making and inserting sleeves, making and inserting collar—3d. Finisher—Seven button-holes, 11 buttons, felling collar lining, tacking pleats at back, fixing pocket tabs, felling and neatening facings, finishing corners—2½d. Full work is only obtainable during about six months of the year at most. But what is most iniquitous in the system is that in most of the large work-rooms during the remainder of the year (excepting only a month or six weeks off-season at Christmas) all hands are imperatively required to be in attendance at the work-room during the full hours (nine till eight) daily, though they may not get 3s. worth of work in a whole week. 'Ah! then, with such hours, such pay, and such conditions all round, it is no great wonder some of you mantle-makers look so pallid, pinched, and ill sometimes,' I remarked to one. 'Ill? We're always ill, and that's the fact—but work we must, ill or well'—was the sorrowful reply."

**THE NORWICH RIVETERS.**—A meeting of the riveters who were out on strike from Messrs. Haldinstains' was held on Wednesday night, when Mr. J. L. Hawkins presided. Mr. Mason, secretary of the Norwich branch of the Union, explained the terms of settlement. A report was then read by the secretary, which showed that the collections, including the proceeds from entertainments given on behalf of the fund, amounted to £101 18s. 10½d.; the grant from various branches of the Union in England and Scotland was £53; and the cost to the Norwich branch was £36 13s. 11½d.; total, £191 12s. 10d. The amount expended was—To non-unionists, £181 8s. 7d.; printing, bill-posting, etc., £4 18s. 3d.; assistance to Hotblack's finishers, £5 6s.; total, £191 12s. 10d. The cost to the Union for financial members was £143 10s. 0d., making the total cost of the dispute £335 2s. 10d. The following resolution was carried unanimously:—"That the men lately locked out return their sincere thanks to all those who have so kindly contributed to their support during the struggle for their rights, and should it be the misfortune of any other body of workmen to be placed in a similar position, they may rely upon our sympathy and support." Mr. E. Bennett then spoke upon the advantages of combination, and pointed out that it was only by combined action that working-men could expect to hold their own. Votes of thanks were passed to the secretary and all those who had taken an active part in bringing this struggle to such a successful issue. The unsatisfactory portion of the foregoing report is the large sum absorbed by non-unionists. It is not creditable to these men that they should have depended upon outside charity, and the funds of the union created by the self-sacrifice of their fellow-workmen. The sympathy and support of men too selfish and apathetic to combine seems to me of little value. Deeds speak louder than words.

**THE BOYCOTT—A GOOD PRECEDENT.**—Anent the agitation for an advance in wages by the Oldham cotton spinners, I quote from the *Cotton Factory Times* a most instructive instance of boycotting of a hostile journal by the workers. It is very much to be regretted that such action is not more often taken. There are far too many papers supported by the masses in the interest of the classes, to the neglect even of the sadly too few journals which like the *Commonweal* champion the cause of labour. "We are informed that the Oldham operatives are in high glee at the course which is being taken by one of their local newspapers, the *Evening Express*. It will be remembered that at the time of the last strike this very same paper was the object of much comment, and was absolutely boycotted by the operatives, and destroyed by them whenever and wherever found. All this was brought about by the action of those who were responsible in allowing false reports to be printed in the paper relating to the strike, and which were damaging to the cause of the workpeople; and such reports were printed and circulated, and advertised in large letters on posters in shop windows and other places, and purposely done after having been informed that such reports were not correct, and therefore ought not to be published. The circulation of the said paper has greatly suffered up to this day through the action it took on that occasion, and the resolution then passed by the operatives to boycott the paper still remains on the books of the Spinners' Association, as an honest protest against the wrong inflicted upon them at a time when they were having to contend with powerful foes, and enduring much suffering and want. The newspaper referred to belongs to a large cotton spinner and manufacturer, and consequently might have been expected to again champion the cause of the employers as against that of the operatives; but this is not so, as the paper in question is upholding the cause of the operatives, and makes no secret of the fact that the state of the yarn trade fully warrants the operatives in the course they are taking."

**MIDLAND COUNTIES TRADES FEDERATION.**—A public meeting in connection with this federation took place last week in Walsall, and there was a good attendance of representatives of district trades. Mr. Tibbitts, who was voted to the chair, commended the federation as being calculated to be of more service than individual unions, inasmuch as the latter might sometimes be paralysed; but where many unions were combined there was not the same danger. Mr. R. Juggins then delivered an address on "The Skilled Trades of the Country and the Wages of the Workmen." He said the diversities of payment were such as to cause some irritation among working men. To take the building trades, for instance, particularly carpentering and joinery, in Walsall, Wednesbury, and West Bromwich, the hours were fifty-four, and the wages 31s. 6d.; in Birmingham, fifty-four hours, and wages 36s.; and in London, fifty-two and a half hours on the average, and wages 39s. 4½d. The trades, he argued, which had the best unions earned the best wages, because they could buy up surplus labour; but where the men were disorganised wages were at starvation rates. In evidence of this he cited the bit forgers and filers, who on an average earned only 18s. a-week, as against an average of 30s. in the case of the engineers, whose union was one of the strongest in the kingdom; the padlock-makers, whose average was 20s. a week, and only 15s. in Willenhall—not the wages of a labourer; the nut and bolt-makers, whose average was from 20s. to 25s. a week; the chainmakers on the other side of the district, who earned not more than 12s. per week, and out of that had to pay 3s. 6d. for breezes, 2s. for blowers, and 2d. per cwt. for carrying to the warehouse, leaving only 5s. 6d. for a week of fifty-

six hours; and the gun-lock makers, who received only 3½d. per lock, and could not earn, even in the case of the skilled workman, more than 7s. per week. An improvement could only be effected by combination, and he advised his hearers to unite thoroughly, and to join the federation.—Addresses were afterwards delivered by Messrs. J. Hythin, of the Bit Forgers and Filers, Bloxwich; W. Millichip, Lockmakers' Society, Walsall; and W. Bardell, Tubemakers' Society, Walsall; and a resolution was unanimously passed in support of the Federation.

T. BINNING.

## INTERNATIONAL NOTES.

## FRANCE.

Boulangier and "boulangerie" are still going on and spreading everywhere throughout France. Our readers know, of course, all the details of this campaign by the prattlings and babblings of the English dailies; but we may as well point out some of the more striking characteristics of that Cesarion, who might become very nefarious indeed to France, if France would allow him to go any further. One of the most curious aspects of the Boulangier question is certainly the intolerable hypocrisy with which the pretender addresses himself to all parties alike, begging for their support with big but hollow sentences and vague promises, smiling at everybody, contradicting himself in every speech, or rather in every letter he condescends to send into the world, for until now his speeches are rare and thinly-sown. He has now commenced to use that system of duplicity even in matters of international politics; for this gentleman is preparing for his own use a scheme of international politics, and the bourgeois papers of all countries affect such utter contempt for France that they are already guessing as to what that Boulangist scheme will be, exactly as if general Boumboum, the favourite of Paulus the music-hall singer, were to be the all-powerful master of the coming day. So Boulangier declares to the editor of the *Wiener Tageblatt* (the Viennese Daily) that he likes Austria very much, and that he cannot suffer Italians, even in pictures, and that in 1859 the French felt more sympathy with the enemy against whom they were fighting than to the allies with whom and for whom they were at war. This, of course, is intended to flatter the absurd and stupid antipathy which has been created in France against the Italians in order to suit the wishes of Bismark and to ensure the success of Crispi's politics. Then, turning on his heel, he tells the editor of the *Tribuna* that his friendly feelings towards Italy and the Italians have never changed, and that it would be entirely impossible for him to dislike them, after having shed his blood for their independence. This hypocrisy is to be found in all his deeds, and hypocrisy is a capital virtue to a pretender. Therein, as in everything else, he is but a counterfeit of Louis Napoleon. So, for instance, he disavowed publicly the plebiscitum organised upon his name by the Bonapartist Thibaut and underhand he approved it very warmly, as the telegrams exchanged with Count Dillon, the financial Barnum of the whole "Boulangerie" have conclusively proved. Again, he is the pretender of the "revanche," the general of the "League of Patriots," the very life and soul of French military jingoism, the perpetual candidate for war. With Boulangier in front, war would only be a question of time; the Franco-Russian alliance would soon become a real fact; then dictatorship and czarism are well-nigh of the same essence, and such an alliance would certainly turn against liberty, and in favour of a reaction much more disastrous even than that spread all over Europe by Bismark. Boulangier gives us to understand that a Franco-Russian alliance and the "revanche" are the ultimate aims of the "Boulangerie." And yet, upon all his election placards appears the formula which was plagiarised from his imperial model: "Boulangier c'est la paix!" (Boulangier means peace).

Further, carrying on the likeness to the man of Sedan, on one side he is the candidate of all reactionaries, all so-called men of "law and order," he is the personification of "authority and dictation," he prepares himself to act as the saviour of France, until he shall become the saviour of "religion, family, and property," and, exactly as he did in 1871, slaughter the Parisians and drown in the blood of the people the very principles of the Revolution; and, on the other side, he has taken as an essential item of his electoral platform one of the revindications of the "Radical" party, the question of the constitutional revision; he is surrounded by some Radical deputies, as the puffist Laguerre and some Radical journalists, as the clown Rochefort; he flatters the working-men, puts himself forward as the protector of the strikers, and allows the deputy Laur to present him (Boulangier) to the miners at Anzin as a Socialist. Always and everywhere he is the double-faced hypocrite we have shown him to be; in reality he is nothing else but the ringleader of reaction and the worst enemy of France itself.

Now, how is it possible that a portion of the working-classes, and even of well-organised Socialists, should have become the followers of that would-be Cæsar? The reason is very simple indeed; Boulangier claims the dissolution of Parliament, and the workers in France have had enough of Parliamentarism altogether. They believe that Boulangier will be able to clear away with the present rotten Parliament, and they feel inclined to help him in that hygienic work, but they are certainly mistaken in their other belief that Parliamentarism altogether is to be swept away by the "boulangerie." To arrive at that desideratum France wants Revolution and not Boulangism, and therefore all those who are opposed to it, from the members of the *Parti ouvrier* down to the groups of the Anarchists, are right and ought to be encouraged in their opposition. But, in opposing Boulangier and the whole "boulangerie," the workers of Paris and of France would make a very great mistake indeed if they were to become the allies of all these Republican shopkeepers who fight against Boulangier, not for the sake of liberty and justice, but for the saving of their shopkeeper's interests. Ferry and Floquet are the enemies of the people as much as Boulangier himself. Socialists who make a compact with Floquet for fear of Boulangier, are traitors to their cause, to our cause. One single thing only can be opposed to Boulangism and to Floquetism alike—the Social Revolution! All the rest is humbug.

V. D.

## ITALY.

VALENSE.—The newly-formed working-men's society held a meeting for its inauguration, at which Andrea Costa lectured on "The Past, Present, and Future of the Workers." The meeting was crowded with people both from the city and from the neighbouring towns and villages. Several other of the active members of the Labour Party spoke and were favourably listened to.

CITTADELLA: STAGNO LOMBARDO.—A letter to the *Fascio Operaio* in its issue of last week describes a recent attempt on a small scale to form a rural social community. The writer, while fully realising the unsatisfactory nature of such an attempt amid uncongenial surroundings, asserts that so far the experiment has proved a successful and pleasant one. The community is essentially agricultural, and consists of 17 families, who cultivate among them about 120 hectares of land. It has been started four or five months, and the work has been pursued quietly and pleasantly, and without hitch. "Far more energy and capacity has been developed here than on the surrounding farms," he says, "where the labourers work for wages and for the interest and profit of the proprietors, our work being far in advance of theirs. If affairs go so well with us now when the half of the produce goes to pay the rent and interest of the capital kindly advanced to us by our landlord S. Mori, how far better off shall we be after the social revolution, when we shall not have rent to pay, but only to contribute in just portion towards the general public expenditure. This socialistic experiment of Cittadella is valuable as an example demonstrating the possibility and convenience of agricultural Socialism, and not a little as propaganda." M. M.

## AUSTRIA-HUNGARY.

A few weeks ago, the illustrious poet and journalist Boleslas Czerwiński died at Lemburg. The deceased, whose dramas at one time were received in the Polish theatres with the greatest enthusiasm, and whose career as a democratic journalist was so celebrated that even the children of his country knew him and loved him, has scarcely been noticed by the Polish press. But the Polish press of to-day is so degraded, reactionary ideas have so permeated that land, the very name of which was once the vivid symbol of revolution and struggle against oppression and tyranny, that it may perhaps be reckoned an honour to Czerwiński to have been so completely neglected. He is not the only one among the Polish Socialists who has been treated with contempt by his countrymen. The great historian, Boleslas Limanowski, who fought for the freedom of Poland, was sent into exile, and nobody cared for him, because he was a Socialist. Ludwik Warynski was sentenced to fifteen years hard labour; Stanislas Mendelsohn, Kasimir Dluski, and so many others, were thrown into jail or now suffer banishment and their names almost forgotten. About the year 1870, when the Socialist movement began in Galicia, the Polish "patriots" who confessed the new faith were treated as guilty of high treason and wildly denounced by the public press. So also was Czerwiński, but he didn't mind, and in 1879, after three years of continuous Socialist trials and sentences, when thirty-five of the ablest Polish organisers had been sent to prison, he headed the movement and became the chief editor of the Socialist paper *Praca*. He was exceedingly popular among the workers, and a powerful orator. In spite of all police interdictions, Czerwiński's song "The Red Flag," a marvellously strong and efficacious poem, has become the rallying chant of the Polish Socialists. During the two last years of his much-troubled life he has been very active indeed, and has given to light many masterpieces, which will remain long in the memories of his admirers. His last work, a poem in prose entitled "Two Apparitions," has a profound Socialist sense, and would be well worth translating.

## ROUMANIA.

The agrarian insurrection in Roumania is now nearly at an end, and the awful fright of the politicians and landlords is nearly over—at least they say so, but we have good reason for doubt on that point. Of course the Government has allowed as little information as possible to get abroad about this insurrection, which hunger and misery have caused, and not the "Russian rouble," as the bourgeois papers try to make out; and the Roumanian journals have been invited to "hold their tongues" accordingly. The only one which wrote the whole truth about the peasants' movement has been suppressed and its editor sent to jail. Manescu of course is a Socialist, and therefore he alone was determined to tell the truth. The insurrection has been of a serious character in four departments, all of them in the neighbourhood of Bucarest. These four departments are those of which Bucarest (Ilfoo), Ploesti, Giurgevo, and Calaroch are the capitals. One hundred and twenty villages in turn revolted; the army occupied seventy-eight of them. On the side of the peasants, 120 were killed, 237 were wounded, and 1200 were captured, but most of these have already been set free. On the side of the army, 82 have been killed, about 100 wounded, and 70 were made prisoners (one squadron which was disabled and disarmed by the peasantry). The largest part of the peasants were armed; they had forced their way into the magazines and taken away all the guns, etc., they could lay hands on. The insurrection would have lasted longer but for the fact that the "authorities" at once ordered that maize should be plentifully distributed to the hungry people. But the "authorities" only did so because they had become aware that the soldiers would no longer obey their officers and fire on the rebels. Even the soldiers of the 6th regiment of "doroboutzi" (territorial army) joined the peasants and fought with them at the huzzars. That regiment has been withdrawn, of course, and sent to Moldavia. The Government, seeing that they could no longer rely on the army, have decided to submit to the Roumanian Parliament a law of redistribution of the land, by which each family of peasants is to have 22 hectares of land, instead of 11 given them by a bill passed in 1866. These lands remain the property of the State, but the peasants have only to pay for them a small rent, somewhat less than one franc per hectare. The Government have also resolved to expel a considerable lot of Greek farmers who exploited the peasants in a most disgusting way. According to an enquiry made by the paper *Lupta* it has been stated that the produce of the land held by these Greek agents was divided so as to give 110 francs to the peasants and 790 francs for the landlords or their agents.

The Roumanian peasant is one of the most unfortunate among all the land-labourers of Europe. He lives generally in holes made out of clay and roofed with straw, without any chimney and often without windows. His clothing is a very poor and shabby one, made almost by his wife, who is clothed in a more primitive way than he is himself. His food consists of mamaliga—i.e., kukurutz flour boiled in water, so as to reduce it to a thickish sort of pap, without relish or flavour. Besides he eats onions and boinza (sheep's-milk cheese), if times are good, and now and then some olives or putrid fish; never any meat nor milk, or butter, or eggs. In short, the Roumanian peasant is altogether a miserable and wretched being, who suffers exceedingly under the ferocious exactions of the bojars, and who will certainly revolt again as soon as occasion serves. At any rate, we may hope that this has been the beginning of the end of the so-called "liberal" administration of Roumania.

V. D.





OFFICES: 13 FARRINGTON ROAD, E.C.

**Annual Conference.**—The Fourth Annual Conference of the Socialist League will be held at 13 Farringdon Road, on Whit-Sunday, May 20. The time of meeting will be as follows—Morning, 10 till 1; Afternoon, 2 till 5; Evening, 6 till business is concluded.

**Branch Subscriptions Paid.**—1887: Hastings, Nottingham, Pelsall—None. Croydon, Glasgow, Leeds, Merton—to end of March. Edinburgh, Ipswich (?), Norwich (?)—to end of May. Hull—to end of September. Mitcham, Wednesbury—to end of Oct. 1888:—Marylebone—to end of January. Acton, Bloomsbury, Bradford, Clerkenwell, Hammersmith, Hackney, Leicester, L.E.L. (Hoxton), North London, Oxford, Stamford Hill, Walsall—to end of March. Mile-end, Fulham—to end of April.

**London Members.**—The monthly meeting of the London Members will be held on Monday next, May 7th, at 9 p.m.

**'Commonweal' Printing Fund.**

Week'y—W. B., 6d. C. J. F., 2s. 6d. K. F., 1s. Langley, 2s. P. W., 6d. Oxford Branch, 2s.

**REPORTS.**

**BLOOMSBURY.**—Thursday last, usual monthly business meeting held. Sunday we moved from the Midland Arches to corner of Ossulton Street, and held a most successful meeting. Speakers, Eden and Bartlett. Good sale of *Commonweal*.—W. W. B.

**CLERKENWELL.**—On Wednesday, April 25, H. A. Barker lectured on "The Moral and Economic Bases of Socialism." Sunday evening, W. Utley on "Labour in Vain."—B.

**MITCHAM.**—A good meeting on the Fair Green Sunday morning, addressed by Kitz. Good sale of *Commonweal*. No opposition.—E.

**IRSWICH.**—During the winter months, while open-air meetings were impossible, we succeeded in forming a discussion class meeting every Sunday night, and discussing "Socialism," "Trades Unions," "Eight Hour Day," "International Unions," etc., etc. We have also taken advantage of the opportunity afforded us by various political and social gatherings, including a course of lectures on Political Economy, to spread our ideas. The *Commonweal* has been regularly supplied to the four libraries in the town, five local newsagents keeping it on sale. Last Sunday we commenced our summer propaganda. On Saturday evening, J. Lane delivered a lecture on "Poverty, its Cause, Effects, and Cure," to a very attentive audience. J. Thomas and Charles also addressed good meeting in front of the Town Hall on Sunday morning, and at the Ship Launch in the afternoon. Charles also delivered a lecture to the discussion class in the evening on "Dangers Ahead," which was well received. Next Sunday on the Ship Launch at 3 o'clock, J. Thomas will debate with Southern on "The Land Question."

**LEICESTER.**—At Secular Hall, April 15, Barclay lectured on "Zola." Instances of Zola's method of presenting the social problem were given, principally from "Germinal." On 22nd, Sketchley (of Birmingham) lectured on "Conservatism, Liberalism, Radicalism, Republicanism, which?" On 29th, at Thos. Slater's lecture, "What is Secularism?" Barclay, Robson, and a comrade of the S.D.F. named MacLennan, offered considerable discussion.—T. P. B.

**LEEDS.**—Large meeting Sunday morning in Vicar's Croft, addressed by Hill, Paylor, Maguire, and Sollitt. We had a little opposition on the Irish question. We have now got into large and commodious rooms, with a hall capable of seating 100 people.—P.

**WALSALL.**—Monday last, J. Sketchley (Birmingham) lectured on "The Labour and Revolutionary Movements of the Present Century." Several questions put at close were dealt with amid hearty applause from audience. Sanders, Tarn (Birmingham), and Deakin addressed large audience at The Bridge on Saturday. Literature well taken up, and *Commonweal* all sold out.—J. T. D.

**ABERDEEN.**—At weekly indoor meeting on 29th ult., Leatham lectured on "The Society of the Future," Gray, sen., in the chair. McLean, Aiken, Slater, Sutherland, Duncan, and Watson spoke at close. Subject for Sunday evening first, "The Story of Trafalgar Square."—J. L.

**L.E.L. CLUB AND INSTITUTE.**—On Sunday evening last, Mark Manly lectured on "How to Advance Socialism." The lecture was well received, and gave rise to a good discussion.—H. A. B.

**EDINBURGH.**—On April 19, discussion on "What is Socialism?" opened by Tuke. Tuke, who has worked hard for the Cause here, left last week for South Africa to our great regret. The 26th being a general holiday discussion postponed.

**JUNIOR SOCIALIST EDUCATIONAL SOCIETY.**—Saturday evening last paper by E. Fox on "Commercialism and Socialism" was read. Good discussion followed.—A. F.

**LECTURE DIARY.**

**LONDON.**

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

**Bloomsbury.**—Communist Club, 49 Tottenham Street, Tottenham Court Road. Thursday May 3, at 8.30. Lecture by W. H. Utley. 10th. Quarterly Business Meeting. 17th. Concert in aid of Branch. 24th. Special Business Meeting. 31st. G. B. Shaw.

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

**Fulham.**—8 Effie Road, Walham Green. Sunday May 6, at 8 p.m., J. Tochetti, "Human Nature and Socialism."

**Hackney.**—A general meeting of members will be held at the International Club, Berner Street, on Tuesday May 8, at 8.30 p.m.

**Hammersmith.**—Kelmescott House, Upper Mall, W. Sunday May 6, at 8. Graham Wallas (Fabian Society), "Why we are Hopeful."

**Hoxton.**—Labour Emancipation League Club and Institute, 1 Hoxton Square (near Shoreditch Ch.). Sunday May 6, at 8 p.m., F. Henderson, "Socialism and the English Poets."

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

**Mile-end and Bethnal Green.**—95 Boston St., Hackney Road. Business meeting every Thursday evening at 9 p.m. Debating Class for members after meeting.

**North London.**—The business meetings will be held on Friday evenings at the Autonomie Club, Windmill Street, Tottenham Court Road, after the open-air meeting at Ossulton Street. All members are asked to attend at Ossulton Street at 8 o'clock. Secretary, Nelly Parker, 109 Cavendish Buildings, opposite Holborn Town Hall.

**PROVINCES.**

**Aberdeen** (Scottish Section).—Sunday night meetings in Baker Street Hall, at 6. Secretary, J. Leatham, 15 St. Nicholas Street.

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

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

**Condensbeath** (Scot. Sec.).—J. Duncan, 30 Arthur Pl., sec

**Dundee** (Scot. Sect.).—Meetings every Sunday in the Trades Hall, opposite Tay Bridge Station.

**Edinburgh** (Scottish Section).—4 Park Street. Discussion every Thursday at 8. May 10, "Relation of Socialism to Christianity."

**Galashiels** (Scot Sect.).—J. Walker, 6 Victoria St., sec

**Gallatown and Dysart** (Scottish Section: Fife).—Meet every Tuesday at 7 p.m. in Gallatown Public School. Secretary, A. Paterson, 152 Rosslyn St.

**Glasgow.**—84 John St. Reading-room open 10 a.m. till 10 p.m. daily.

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

**Leicester.**—Hosiery Union, Horsefair St. Fridays at 8.

**Lochgelly** (Scottish Section: Fife).—Secs. (*pro tem.*), John Greig and Hugh Conway, The Square.

**Norwich.**—Gordon Hall. Saturday, Co-operative Clothing Association, 8.30 until 10 p.m. Sunday, Lecture at 8. Tuesday, Members meeting at 8.30. Wednesday, 8.30, Ways and Means and Literary Committees. Thursday, 8, Band practice. Friday, 8.30, Debating Class.

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

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

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

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

**OPEN-AIR PROPAGANDA.**

**LONDON—Sunday 6.**

11	Acton—the Steyne	.....	The Branch
11	Turnham Green—Front Common	.....	Acton Bch.
11.30	Hackney—Salmon and Ball	.....	Davis
11.30	Hammersmith—Beadon Road	.....	The Branch
11.30	Hoxton Church, Pitfield St.	.....	Wade
11.30	Kingsland Green	.....	Parker
11.30	Merton—Haydons Road	.....	The Branch
11.30	Mile-end Waste	.....	Charles & Lane
11.30	Mitcham Fair Green	.....	Eden & Kitz
11.30	Regent's Park	.....	Henderson
11.30	St. Pancras Arches	.....	Bloomsbury Branch
11.30	Walkham Green	.....	Fulham Branch
3	Victoria Park	.....	Mainwaring & Charles
3.30	Hyde Park	.....	Parker
7.30	Clerkenwell Green	.....	Blundell
7.30	Stamford Hill	.....	Charles & Lane
<b>Tuesday.</b>			
8	Mile-end Waste	.....	Charles
<b>Wednesday.</b>			
8	Broadway, London Fields	.....	Cores, Mainwaring
<b>Friday.</b>			
8	Euston Rd.—Ossulton Street	.....	N. London Bch.

**PROVINCES.**

**Leeds.**—Sunday: Vicar's Croft, at 11 a.m.  
**Norwich.**—Sunday: Ber Street Fountain at 11.45; Market Place at 3 and 7.30.  
**West Bromwich.**—Near the Fountain, every Sunday morning at 11.15.  
**Smethwick.**—Near Spon Lane, every Sunday morning at 12.

**L.E.L. CLUB AND INSTITUTE, 1 Hoxton Square.**—On Saturday May 19 a Concert and Social Evening will be held here, for the purpose of augmenting the Club Funds. Particulars will be given next week.

**UNITED RADICAL CLUB, Kay Street, Hackney Road.**—On Sunday May 6, H. A. Barker will commence a course of four lectures on "Socialism: What it is, and what it is not."

**THREE KING'S TAVERN, Clerkenwell Close.**—At 8.30 p.m. next Sunday W. B. Parker, "Some Objections to Socialism Answered."

**S. D. F., CLERKENWELL BRANCH.**—At the Hall of the Socialist League, 13 Farringdon Road, on Thursday May 10, a Discussion will be opened by Dr. Merlino—subject, "Is Anarchist-Communism the logical outcome of Socialism?" Blackwe to reply; after which, free discussion. At 8.30 actually.

Mrs. Wardle will supply Branch Subscription Cards at 9d. per doz. Leaflet Press, Cursitor stre

**SOCIALIST CO-OPERATIVE FEDERATION.**—Meeting at *Commonweal* Office, 13 Farringdon Road, on Wednesday May 9, at 7 p.m.

**AT FREEMASONS' TAVERN, 81 LONG ACRE,**

(Proprietor, comrade J. J. Hart, late of Burton and Phoenix Halls)  
**A Debate** will be continued on Sunday next, in Hall of this Tavern—subject, "Will Home Rule Benefit the Irish People?" Chair taken at 8.30 by T. J. Dalziel.

**CITY OF LONDON COLLEGE, White Street, Moorfields** (close to Moorgate Street Station).—A Russian Class has been started at this College on Mondays at 7 p.m., taught by N. W. Tchaykovsky. Terms 9s. per quarter.

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# THE COMMONWEAL

The Official Journal of the Socialist League.

VOL. 4.—No. 122.

SATURDAY, MAY 12, 1888.

WEEKLY; ONE PENNY.

## NOTES ON NEWS.

THE alliance of the Tories with the Pope would seem to be a serious political event instead of a piece of meaningless tomfoolery as a reasonable man would expect. It has even been said that Mr. Parnell was going to advise backing down on the Plan of Campaign and boycotting; but in his speech at the Eighty Club he simply threw the responsibility on the Catholic members, with a prudent reserve as to the Plan of Campaign not being necessary to Irish agitation; he also somewhat deprecates the Plan as having led to coercion. This all looks somewhat like hedging; as if he thinks surrender may be necessary. But surrender won't do. Whatever may be said of the Plan, the boycott is a necessary weapon to a people who cannot fight and will not yield.

And all this fuss about an old man representing a superstition all but extinct; in fact extinct everywhere except in Ireland. The once redoubtable Pope of Rome has now become a *don*, and the expression of his opinions about as important as those of the Vice-Chancellor of the University of Oxford; or indeed of the head beadle of that reverent presence, the old gentleman in the gown and the round flat cap that used to be called the head gold-stick in my young days. Yet at least this sham of what was once a real power, dried up and effete as it is, is good enough to be used as a policeman by the reactionary party. What a desperately shabby resource to use. An innocent intelligent onlooker would say: My friend, as to the pure all things are pure, so to the shabby all things are shabby.

Anyhow this bugbear of a gold-stick has to be faced by the Irish people, and surely the sooner the better: a revolution led by an ecclesiastical hierarchy, even though the first grade is composed of the parish priests, many of whom are thoroughly good fellows individually, "is to us suspect."

Meanwhile the reaction is harping vigorously on the other string, and Mr. O'Brien is in for another three months. Of course whatever force there may be in Mr. Balfour comes of his obstinacy; he hopes to pit this quality in himself against the same quality in the Irish; and apart from his advantage that he has nothing to *suffer* in playing the game, he has an advantage in the stupid carelessness of the British nation which whether or no it be an original national quality, has been so much fostered by the commercial life which we have brought to such a perfection of degradation and cowardice.

For these imprisonments for political offences are now becoming so common that though they once shocked public opinion somewhat, they are beginning to wear it out, and people who are not put in prison, thinks Balfour, will soon cease to notice them, and then will begin their "deterrent effect" on the offenders. Certainly he is justified in having such hopes. It is the custom of the British to be much impressed, and perhaps genuinely so with some disgraceful outcome of the system which enslaves us, and to make a great outcry about it for a little time, and then, the disgrace all the time going on, and even getting worse, to drop it all, as if there had been no disgrace, and no outcry. Balfour is probably right to count on this cowardice which has become so characteristic of us.

Besides why should we not get used to a few people being punished by prison-torture for their political opinions when we are quite used to a great many people having the same punishment administered to them for the crime of *poverty*?

Nay, can we say the *same* punishment? Our political offenders whether they have worn the prison dress or protested against wearing it, whether they have performed or protested against the "menial labour" which by the way they condemn nice-looking girls to perform for them every day, when they come out of prison return to "refined" homes and the applause of at least a wide circle of "respectable" people.

The punishment of poverty is far different from that: tendencies harmless or even good in themselves perverted, inevitable degradation forced, many a weak good-natured, or self-indulgent, or hot-tempered person not worse than the average taken altogether; criminal habits forced on him, and then prison, and confirmation of the criminal habits and further degradation, and the man who might have been harmless or even useful has but one use now, and that a terrible one. He is "an enemy of society." This is the punishment of poverty, and yet

we are so used to it, that we think we are living in a state of profound peace in England! Fools that we are!

Or indeed to many thousands, what is the earth on which we live, so full of beauty and such infinite resources for pleasure and well-doing as it is, but one huge prison? Listen once more to the often-told tale, the tale we have got so used to, and which we heed so little; this time told, I must say, by a person who has developed strange opinions out of the dreadful facts that he has seen and the conventional habits of thought which have been *forced*, we will say, upon him.

"The Rev. W. Adamson, Vicar of Old Ford, stated [before the Commission of the House of Lords] that his parish had a population of 11,066, and contained no middle-class. He said that the sweating-system had always existed, but had become aggravated from the results of civilisation, competition and early marriages, and necessarily from that [which?] overpopulation. Large builders, though forbidden in their contracts, practised sweating by subletting at a mere fraction of the contract price. In the making of match-boxes  $2\frac{3}{4}$ d. per gross was paid until the Salvation Army came into competition [the Army denies this] and reduced the price to  $2\frac{1}{2}$ d. And now the making of the boxes was sublet for  $1\frac{3}{4}$ d. per gross, the workers finding their own paste. A woman assisted by her children, when at home from school, could earn from 4s. 6d. to 5s. per week. Early marriages arose from the two sexes herding together in the same rooms [What does *that* arise from?], from men marrying in order to be partially supported by their wives' earnings, and from men and women thinking [poor souls!] their united wages would be better, though poor, than single wages."

Mr. Adamson then discussed as to whether clergymen are bound to marry people before the age of twenty-one, as though "marriage" were necessary to breeding, and then gets on to the "foreigner" question. "He agreed with other witnesses that the immigration of paupers had an appreciable effect, and that the foreigners were at least as moral, and more sober than the English [what a curious concatenation!]; but they neglected sanitation, and might in that way be the means of spreading infectious disease." (But then, according to the Arnold White theory, in this respect they ought to be useful in helping forward "the elimination of the unfit," because people die of infectious diseases pretty often.)

More sweating details: silk mantles made for  $7\frac{1}{2}$ d., sold (with the silk, such as it is, I suppose) at from 16s. to £1; asked if these were of the best class, thought they were the same mantles as were sold at £5. "He disapproved of the present system of education, because it fitted boys to be clerks; 200 of them would apply for a boy clerkship, and some would offer to take it for nothing in the hope of getting eventually a few shillings a-week. [Yes, even education, the good thing we are all crying out for, is turned into a curse, when robbery is the foundation of society.] Girls learned only the theory and not the practice of domestic work, and therefore went into factories or were compelled [note the word] to lead an immoral life." (Yes, people forgetting the merest elementary arts of life, as to my certain knowledge they are doing, in the country as well as in the towns: this is "civilisation"—*i.e.*, a reversion to an inferior kind of savagery.)

"As an instance of extreme poverty, he gave the case of a person who sold 6 fibre bags for 6d., and out of that spent 3d. for new material, 1d. for coals,  $1\frac{1}{4}$ d. for bread,  $\frac{1}{4}$ d. for milk,  $\frac{1}{4}$ d. for tea, to make a meal for four persons,"—and so on, and so on. (Remember, this is why Mr. O'Brien's rations will be so scanty; the prison must try not to compete in attractions with the workshop.)

"He admitted [?] that the middleman saved the principal a great deal of trouble, because the latter might not wish to have a number of poor persons about his premises. Teaching boys and girls to work for their own living might check the competition of unskilled labour [how? in the name of wonder!], but would have no great effect so long as over-population [*i.e.*, unregulated slave-breeding] existed. In this utilitarian [say thievish and murderous] age, the sweeter wished to get his work done as cheaply as possible, and did not care whether it was done by horse, ass, or man."

Now for the remedies: "He would impose a poll-tax on foreigners, and would inflict a penalty on men marrying before twenty-one and girls before eighteen years of age"!!!

This is certainly a wonderful result to come out of all the ~~reverend~~ gentleman's experience, if he has not been misrepresented by the newspaper reporter, which after all is very possible; in which case the general journalistic conscience must bear the burden. In any case the "remedy" means once more that we are engaged in slave-breeding, and have overdone it, and can now see nothing to be done but trying to regulate the slave-breeding, and if we possibly can, reducing the number of the slaves to the limit of profit to us. We have got used to these horrors, and since they do not happen to ourselves, we find we can bear them pretty well— But patience! something will take place as a result of them which *will* be hard to bear, if we do not find better "remedies" than Arnold White and Co. suggest to us: nor can we find any remedy, as long as such lives as these are necessary to the lives of those who are ordained to live on the labour of others.

W. M.

## FRANCE IN 1848--1888.

WHEN, in 1848, the Republic was proclaimed, the people thought that all was accomplished that was necessary to their salvation. They thought of the great changes that took place during the revolution at the close of the last century, and they expected changes equally great to follow the proclamation of the Republic of 1848. But during the fifty years, great economical changes had taken place, and a powerful financial aristocracy had taken the place of the old nobility. The clergy, too, had regained their influence in the rural districts, while the mass of the rural population had become peasant proprietors. In 1848 the people of the towns had to deal with new conditions and with evils that did not exist at the close of the last century.

The proclamation of the Republic in 1848 found the revolutionary forces in an immense minority, and the reaction began from the day the Republic was proclaimed. The Provisional Government inaugurated on February 24 was itself reactionary, the majority being royalists; the small trading classes being represented by two and the labour party by two. The agitation that led to the revolution was organised by the small trading classes against the great capitalists and the stock exchange, and their demand was for parliamentary reform; but one of the first decrees adopted by the Provisional Government was to pay the fund-holders of the public debt their dividends six months in advance. Then it was clearly seen that the oppressed peoples of the Continent looked to France to aid them in their struggles for freedom; but Lamartine, as minister of foreign affairs, issued his famous (or infamous) dispatch, recognising all existing governments. The first of these measures destroyed the revolution in France, the second gave confidence to the despotisms of the Continent, and destroyed the hopes of the peoples.

When the Constituent Assembly met, it was found to consist almost exclusively of royalists, clericals, and friends of the financial aristocracy. The reaction was triumphant. The vote of the millions had not saved the people. To the rural population the Republic had brought increased taxation. The rural voters therefore returned men who were opposed to the Republic. The revolution threatened the supremacy of the clergy. The clergy therefore organised the ignorance of the population against the revolution. The proletarians demanded the emancipation of labour, and the capitalists replied by throwing hundreds of thousands idle on the streets. Public works were organised, chiefly of an unproductive kind, while the workers were paid out of the rates; this punished the small trading classes for their share in the revolution, and set them and the workers by the ears. The workshops were closed and the June insurrection followed. The reaction was now triumphant in the streets of Paris, and the Republic only a sham; its existence only a question of time. Henceforth the task of the reaction was an easy one, to repress the revolutionary spirit at home and discredit the Republic abroad.

It is not necessary to refer to the measures against the liberty of the press and the freedom of association. Nor is it necessary to refer to the brutal suppression of the Roman Republic and the re-establishment by force of arms of the power of the Papacy, the effects of which are even yet felt in the relations of France and Italy. But let us come to the year 1850.

On the 10th and 28th of March that year a number of by-elections took place, and 21 Socialists or Red Republicans were returned, including three for Paris. These three were returned by very large majorities, the numbers voting for them being—for De Flotte, 126,982; Vidal, 128,439; and for H. Carnot, 132,797. A large number of the small trading classes had again joined the proletarians. The rage of the reactionists knew no bounds. It was not the Republic that was in danger, but the very foundations of society. The press demanded the revision of the Constitution and the purification of universal suffrage. The workers were condemned as "savage barbarians." The *Patrie*, a Government evening paper, declared, "We are surrounded by cannibals. If they remain in their lair they must be *extinguished*; if they come out they must be cut to pieces." In the Chamber Montelembert declared in the most emphatic manner, "I say it is necessary to undertake against Socialism which is devouring us a Roman expedition at home. War was made by France against the Roman Republic. God blessed the undertaking. You are precisely in the same situation by Socialism at home. There only remains for us war—war carried on energetically and by every means."

An "Electoral Reform Bill" was introduced, for which urgency was voted on May 21, by 462 to 227. The Bill soon became law. The number of electors on the register was 9,268,449. It was proposed

to restrict the vote to those who could prove a three years' residence, which would disfranchise the great bulk of the working classes in towns. Second, to those who paid personal taxes to the amount of twelve francs per annum, numbering 6,009,420. That clause would disfranchise over 3,200,000 electors. There were many other restrictions. The effect of the measure was to disfranchise close on two-thirds of the electors. Every deputy who voted for that Bill was guilty of treason—treason against the Constitution, and treason against the people. The very first article of the Constitution read as follows: "The sovereignty resides in the universality of French citizens: it is inalienable and imprescriptible. No individual, no fraction of the people, can assume the exclusive exercise of it." Article 55: "All Frenchmen, twenty-one years of age, and enjoying their civil and political rights, are electors without any conditions of qualification." The words of the Constitution were clear and precise. The Electoral Reform Bill was a violation of that Constitution. Nay, it was a violation of the rights of the people, which are antecedent to all Constitutions. It was an act of war against the people, and if every traitor had been seized and lynched in the streets of Paris, he would have received the just reward of his treason.

The treason of the Assembly, supported by the bloodthirsty Order-mongers of every country, prepared the way for the treason of Louis Napoleon. That Assembly had destroyed the liberty of the people; it had declared war against the interests of the proletarians; and its authority rested on usurpation. It had dishonoured the very name of the Republic abroad, and its words inspired no confidence. And when Napoleon swept it away, it only received at the hands of a bloodstained usurper what it ought to have received at the hands of the people.

Of the reign of that red-handed scoundrel it is not necessary to dwell. Suffice it to say, that in 1851 the taxation of France was £50,000,000; in 1869, over £85,000,000. In 1851 the debt was rather over £220,000,000; in 1869, £570,000,000. The cost of the war of 1870 to France was another £560,000,000, which brought the debt in 1871 to over £999,000,000, the yearly charge of which was over £39,900,000. Nor have things improved since then. In 1882 the taxation was over £142,000,000, and the debt is still over 900,000,000.

And look at France to-day. She is still the victim of the gods of finance. The vampires of usury are still bleeding her at every pore. After three revolutions and numberless insurrections, with parliamentary action for four generations, the financial aristocracy are still supreme. Everywhere the people are crushed to the earth. Nowhere does the Assembly inspire confidence. Everywhere the royalists and the reactionists again demand the *revision* of the Constitution. And another would-be dictator is in the field, boldly demanding the extinction of the Assembly and the Constitution. True, the present Government may rally around it the revolutionary forces to some extent. True, it may attempt to ameliorate the condition of the proletarians. But let us not be deceived. The royalists and the reactionists once more fear the spread of revolutionary ideas; they once more fear the spread of Socialism; and they again mean war, war against the people, war against the principle of eternal justice. And they will grasp the hand of any pretender, they will give their support to any usurper, who will guarantee them in safety the continued plunder of the people.

As to the proposed "revision" of the Constitution, what will it be when it comes? Will it be more favourable to the royalists, or will it be more democratic? The Royalists and the Napoleonists, and the friends of Boulanger all demand the revision. The revolutionary parties also want the revision. The present Constitution gives far more power to the reactionary than to the revolutionary parties. All classes, except the Opportunists, want the revision. The revision, therefore, is sure to come; the question is, What will come next? As for the great Boulanger, he wants to be all things to all men. He is the great mystery man of the present day; but above all he is a military man, and represents the military element. It is true France may think that she requires a military genius to save her from extinction, but is she right? Instead of a Dictator, France requires honest men who can raise up the masses, who can inspire the millions with the love of liberty, who can raise their aspirations upward, and lead them onward to the conquest of the Social Revolution.

But look at the number to-day interested in supporting the financial aristocracy. Holders of French National Stock—

Year.	No. in thousands.	Average sum.
1810	146	£480
1830	195	1,230
1850	846	350
1860	1,074	395
1870	1,254	360
1880	4,630	170

Here we have over four million six hundred thousand interested in upholding the present system. What can free her from the rule of the traitors; what can liberate her from the grasp of the usurers; what can raise her to liberty and dignity, and the people to freedom and prosperity? The revolution alone can do this. But the revolution means war to the death against every form of treason, against usurpation in all its shapes; war against usury through all the ramifications of society. And let us hope that the people will be equal to the work before them, equal to the task imposed upon them.

J. SKETCHLEY.

Over 3000 emigrants left Queenstown last week for America, a number exceeding those of any week this or last year.



INTERNATIONAL NOTES.

ITALY.

VARESE.—Three hundred bricklayers are out on strike here, in the hopes of getting a rise in their wages.

BERNALDA BASILICATA.—The inhabitants of this town made a hostile demonstration before the municipality last week, in consequence of the raising of a local tax. The carabinieri fired on the crowd, and killed four men, besides wounding several. Costa, in his observations in the Camera on this occurrence, remarked that it could scarcely be doubted that the carabinieri would be found in the right, as the Government and its satellites naturally desired that the people should be crushed down by taxation and be silent under it.

The small proprietors of Italy are disappearing rapidly, and what remains of this system will soon be among the things that were. Small estates and factories are confiscated in the name of the Government when the necessary taxes due to the State are after a certain time not forthcoming. From the 1st Jan. 1873 to the 30th June 1887, nearly 55 million real-estate owners were in this way expropriated. A great part of these real estates, when put up to auction, are not bid for by any one, even at the lowest prices, and thus about 35 thousand of all these small holdings remain wasted, that is, in the hands of Government, neither capable of returning to the proprietors, nor of being sold or let. The Government, moreover, has to pay a large sum on this unused land for communal and provincial taxes, and in fact does pay nearly 277 thousand lire per annum, and this on practically wasted territory. The fertility of some part of Italy would render it the garden of Europe under reasonable cultivation, yet here we have a country essentially agricultural going to ruin under a preposterous no-system of waste and indolence, and its people among the poorest and most tax-ridden of this age.

SPAIN.

BARCELONA.—The strike of cabinet-workers continues here, some few of the masters having already accepted the working day of nine hours demanded by the strikers.

MATARÓ.—A correspondent to *El Socialista* gives in a recent letter the worst possible character to some of the spinning and weaving factories of this town. For the masters to alter the tariff of wages at their caprice is of common occurrence, and over-work in the factories is disgracefully frequent, at one place men being many times kept labouring until two in the morning.

SESTAO.—The Socialists of Bilbao held a propagandist meeting here on Sunday week, which was so well attended that the place where it was held, though of a good size, was not large enough to hold all the working-men who answered the summons of the Socialists. These explained at length the principles of the party, which were so kindly taken to that at the close of the proceedings a branch was formed for the neighbourhood. The mayor and townfolk, when they heard of the proposed meeting, took all possible measures to prevent its success, though ineffectually. The factory-owners threatened their employés with dismissal if they showed at the meeting, while the authorities arrested two men who were foremost in distributing bills and placing announcements, sending them, bound like dangerous criminals, to Bilbao, where they were locked up during the time of excitement. The difficulty of popularising Socialism in the minor towns of any country is here exemplified; everybody knows everybody, officials act the autocrat, individuals are noted in a moment in any departure from the rule of conduct, and the *esprit de corps* which is the foundation of an automatic community is overpowered and lost amid the confusion caused by tyranny on the one side and timidity on the other.

M.

Articles of interest to Socialists in May magazines:—*Nineteenth Century*: 'The Clergy and the Land,' R. E. Prothero. *National Review*: 'The Working Classes and Religion,' Edward Salmon; 'Conservatism and Property,' W. H. Mallock. *Quarterly Review*: 'Friendly Societies,' 'The Monarchy of July and its Lessons,' 'Difficulties of Good Government.' *Fortnightly Review*: 'The House of Lords and the County Councils,' E. A. Freeman; 'The Revival of Architecture,' Wm. Morris. *Contemporary Review*: 'The Occupancy of Land,' Leonard Courtenay, M.P.; 'The Dislocations of Industry,' Wm. Smart; 'The Position of Women in Ancient Rome,' Principal Donald, LL.D. *Journal of Education*: 'Ethical Teaching of Froebel,' Mrs. C. G. Montefiore. *Harper's*: 'Russian Convicts in the Salt Mines of Iletsk,' Dr. H. Lansdell, F.R.G.S.

MARK TWAIN WAS WROUGHT UP.—Mr. George Kennan, vice-president of the Washington Literary Society, created something of a sensation at a meeting of that body by appearing clad in tattered garments and loaded down with heavy chains while he read some affecting letters from Russian State prisoners detailing the cruelties to which the imprisoned subjects of the Czar were subjected. The reading had such an effect on the company that many of them were moved to tears, and Samuel L. Clemens, more familiar as Mark Twain, was so wrought up that he declared in all seriousness that if he were a Russian he would certainly be a revolutionist. That's all very well. We all knew Mark had a heart, and some who found their way there said it was a big one; but from this anecdote it looks as if he kept its public appearances to the times when Russian atrocities are talked of. How would the equal miseries endured in his own land strike him? And if he sized up America wouldn't he find that revolutionists were needed as much there as anywhere else?

SOLIDARITY.—Where sacrifice is for gain in money returns, it is, in a measure, a mercantile transaction; an outlay from which a gainful return is expected. Even in that case, however, the risk and loss are not all incurred for the individual striker's own advantage only, for it inures to the general good of all concerned in the trades, wherever located. The men engaged in the strike, who make the sacrifice, are not necessarily the beneficiaries. Moneys in hand, the savings of labour, are voluntarily paid out for possible future good to the whole calling. Present earnings are refused, present privations are incurred, by the comparatively few, in the hope of a future good for the many. It must be borne in mind that this self-taxation for a principle is quite voluntary. It is not the taxation by a government, imposed by a central power—it is a personal operation in which every individual can, and if he pleases, does, have his say. It may not always be a work of wisdom, but it is proof of terrible earnestness, and when the loss is incurred in what is called the "sympathetic" strike, it is a proof of unselfishness and the sense of special interest in the general welfare.—*Labour Commissioner, State of New York.*

VICE VERSA.

I dreamt of a wonderful world last night,  
Most woefully topsy-turvey,  
Where things which we think proper and right,  
Are scouted as mean and scurvy.

For there the classes that live on rents  
And draw their dividends gaily,  
Are about on a par with the luckless gents  
Who adorn the dock of Old Bailey.

And there I found, with a pang of pain,  
How pampered the meanest trade is;  
For the humblest workers with hand or brain,  
Are treated like lords and ladies.

A criminal there on the bench I saw,  
Enveloped in scarlet and ermine,  
Sentencing shoals of the lights of the law  
Just as if they were Socialist vermin.

But strangest of all was to see the pews  
Full of parsons in hushed attention,  
While an Atheist fellow put forth such views  
As I really should blush to mention.

The philanthropist they reckon a knave,  
They scorn the professor's learning,  
And the toppers make noble attempts to save  
Blue-ribbon "brands from the burning."

But while I was showing them where they were wrong,  
Less in anger than sorrow and pity,  
I woke, and found I had slept too long,  
And I should be late at the City.

C. W. BECKETT.

CORRESPONDENCE.

PROPAGANDA AMONGST THE EAST-END WORKERS.

COMRADES.—The members of the East-end branches of the Socialist League, feeling that it is literally true in the present position of European industrialism and politics that no one knows what a year may bring forth, have decided to throw themselves more energetically than ever into the spread of our ideas amongst that huge mass of workers living in all degrees of misery and want in the East-end of London; so that when the chance comes again to us, or any of the other workers in civilisation, as it came to our Paris brothers in 1871, we may not fail here in this centre of the world Capitalism because the workers have not been able to grasp our ideal. Confident in the transparent truth of our ideas, we feel convinced it only requires to place them fairly before the workers to secure, as with ourselves and our Continental brothers, their immediate and enthusiastic adoption by at least a large section. But the system has crushed them into such a deadly state of apathy and indifference that we feel it is necessary to go to and amongst the people instead of expecting them to come to us at our meetings, etc., where, from various reasons, we could not possibly influence more than a fractional part of this huge population. The East-end section of the Socialist League, with the assistance of our foreign comrades living here, have therefore formed—1st, a bill-posting brigade to spread our bills, leaflets, etc., amongst the various courts, yards, and streets; 2nd, volunteer bands for distribution from house to house in all the streets, lanes, etc., of this district a four-page leaflet containing on two pages "What Socialists Want," by W. Morris, on the third a list of some of the cheap pamphlets published by the various Socialist bodies, which will be on sale at all our meetings for those who may be induced to examine the question further, and on the fourth page a list of some 25 or more indoor and outdoor places where we intend holding regular meetings, of course as usual inviting questions and discussions from all who feel difficulties or obligations to accepting the principles of or working for the social revolution. We then intend following up this distribution of leaflets by a similar systematic distribution of pamphlets on the style of the various Christian and temperance tract agencies, leaving a copy at all the houses in a street, then calling for them again in about seven days and taking them to another street, and so on. Of course to do this thoroughly requires perhaps some 400,000 leaflets and a lending stock of not less than 20,000 or 30,000 pamphlets, and workers in proportion. Though fully realising the need for both funds and workers in all directions and on all hands, we feel that the pre-eminent importance of doing such work in such a district quite justifies us in asking all our comrades who can to help us, either by contributing to our fund for the purchase of literature, which, however small, we shall be pleased to receive and acknowledge in the *Weal*, or by the personal assistance of those living in London, either in speaking at our meeting or in helping us in our house-to-house distribution of literature.

While we are still enabled, however hampered by police interference, to carry on an active open agitation, and in view of how throughout Europe the reaction is closing up its ranks, let us not allow our great opportunities to pass us by, but realising fully the duties and responsibilities which rest upon us who live in this transition period, I would strongly urge for help from all to prepare earnestly and enthusiastically amongst the disinherited in this huge ugly centre of capitalism for the coming International Social Revolution, signs of whose approach are even now visible on all hands to those who care to look for them, and thus to encourage and help in perhaps the best and most effective manner our comrades who are maintaining a g suc a hard fight in some other parts of the world.

And especially in view of a threatened anti-foreigner agitation, to urge all our comrades to come and throw themselves heartily into the English propaganda, and show that the international solidarity of Labour is something more than a fine theory.—Yours in the Cause,  
F. CHARLES.  
38 Ainsley Street, Bethnal Green Junction, E.



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

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

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

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

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

MATTER—Henry Maudsley's works are: 'On the Method of the Study of Mind,' Churchill, 1865; 'Body and Mind,' Macmillan, 1873; 'Responsibility in Mental Disease,' H. S. King, 1874; 'The Physiology of Mind,' Macmillan, 1876; 'The Pathology of Mind,' Macmillan, 1879; 'Natural Causes and Supernatural Seemings,' Kegan Paul, 1886. Every line of every one of them is worth reading; begin with the last. The 'Science' you speak of is the foulest and most insidious form of pandering to epicene sensuality.

UNSUITABLE for various reasons—An Onlooker; J. D. (Alyth); J. S. (Manchester)

Periodicals received during the week ending Wednesday May 9.

ENGLAND Christian Socialist Die Autonomie Leaflet Newspaper London—Freie Presse Norwich—Daylight Personal Rights Journal Railway Review Worker's Friend	NEW SOUTH WALES Hamilton—Radical	INDIA Bankipore—Behar Herald	UNITED STATES New York—Der Sozialist Truthseeker Volkszeitung Jewish Volkszeitung Boston—Woman's Journal Liberty Chicago—Labor Enquirer Knights of Labor Buffalo—Arbeiter-Zeitung	Detroit—Der Arme Teufel Douglasville (Ga.)—Roll Call Fort Worth (Tex.)—South West Milwaukee (Wis.)—Volksblatt Arbeiter Zeitung N Haven—Workmen's Advocate Providence (R.I.)—The People St. Louis (Mo.)—Altruist San Francisco (Cal) The People	FRANCE Paris—Cri du Peuple (daily) Journal du Peuple Le Coup de Feu	HOLLAND Hague—Recht voor Allen	BELGIUM Seraing (Ougree)—Le Reveil Ghent—Vooruit Antwerp—De Werker Brussels—L'Avant-Garde En Avant Liege—L'Avenir	SWITZERLAND Geneva—Przedsturt Zurich—Arbeiterstimme	ITALY Milan—Il Fascio Operaio Rome—L'Emancipazione Marsala—La Nuova Eta Cremona—La Freccia	SPAIN Madrid—El Socialista Cadiz—El Socialismo Barcelona—Acracia	GERMANY Berlin—Volks Tribune	AUSTRIA Arbeiterstimme Wien—Gleichheit	HUNGARY Arbeiter-Wochen-Chronik	ROUMANIA Vittorie Romanie Jassy—Municipalium
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THE NEW "SAVIOUR."

No need to fear Socialism any more! At last the era of universal peace among nations, and the settlement of national disputes by arbitration is at hand. The Lion (of Resolute Government) and the Lamb (of "Christianity") are preparing to lie down together. The growing terror of labour troubles has found a potent enemy, which will quell all disturbances, and the great dread of over-population is drawing near its end. Soon the world will be free to follow up that destiny of evolution, of which Professor Huxley told us in the *Nineteenth Century* some months ago; and the struggle for existence, which is to result in the survival of the fittest, will have free scope.

The Gatling gun is to be the great agency of civilisation, and war (that disease so long impeding the way of progress) is to be cured by homœopathic treatment, on the "hair of the dog that bit you" principle. At least this will be the case so far as concerns civilised countries, i.e., countries whose people labour to support a Government and governing class. For the Gatling gun—that "*facile princeps* of all modern inventions that pertain to the great science of war"—is such a powerful machine, that we are told in the prospectus: "With it three men can do the work of hundreds armed with ordinary arms. Its use will, to a great extent, supersede the necessity of large armies; hence its use will be in the interest of economy." So that, "with a few hundred Gatlings on each side," says the Indianapolis (U.S.A.) *Sentinel*, "armies would melt away like the dew before the sun" (well enough the press may rise to poetic simile), "and men would have to settle their disputes by arbitration, or some other means less destructive of life." And, as we intimated, Christianity, or at least Philanthropy, may fairly claim its share in this miracle. The *Economist* (U.S.A.) informs us: "Strange as it may seem, humanity prompted Gatling to invent this destructive engine of war. Sick of the suffering in our civil war, he determined to make war short, sharp, and decisive. The Gatling gun is the fruit of that decision."

But how, then, when this happy time is reached, will the Company pay the dividend which is to tempt speculators to invest their money in this wonderful scheme? When war has ceased, what need of engines of war?

Shortsighted people may ask this question, but they need not fear. We mentioned labour troubles, and the question of over-population.

Each of these difficulties will be for a time increased by the cessation of international warfare, since it is evident that those who now compose the great armies of the world, besides the thousands engaged in the manufacture of those arms which will be superseded by the Gatling gun, must find some other occupation, and the effect of their competition will cause serious disturbance in the labour market. Many of them too will be unable to find a honest living, and will join the ranks of the unemployed—that great surplus population which infests our large towns, and is become such a nuisance to respectable and deserving tradespeople, frightening away their trade and lowering their profits. Nevertheless, this competition is necessary for that evolution which is to culminate in the survival of the fittest, of which Professor Huxley has taught. In that struggle the race will be to the strong; to that nation whose working-classes have the best physique to stand against the starvation which over-population renders necessary in order that the upper class may make profit, and competition amongst the workers is the sure way to reach the starvation limit of wages.

But in countries like ours many abuses block the way to this desirable end. In the rights of combination, free speech, public meeting, etc., the lower orders have been lapped so luxuriously, that they have actually begun to imagine that that great law of nature, the struggle for existence, might be ignored by them. Too long has King Mob held sway, until numberless Acts of Parliament extorted by the terror of the people's wrath—from the "Great Reform Act" and earlier, to the "Criminal Law Amendment Act"—have deprived our Old Nobility, and the respectable classes generally, of all their dearest and most sacred privileges.

For this the Gatling Gun Company now has found a remedy. In the "Police Gatling Gun" (so named, we presume, after the heroes of Mitchelstown and Trafalgar Square) a little machine has been invented which will enable our capitalists to compete with foreigners, without fear of strikes, unemployed demonstrations, or any interference of trades' unions and labour parties. With the assistance of this little instrument the workers of England may be compelled to submit to any regulations which the wisdom of their masters may impose; and all meetings, processions, etc., may be put down, and all organisations broken up. To be sure, the prospectus says "every foreign municipality, city, and commune where a police force exists, will find the new Gatling Police Gun of incalculable value"; but that is only the promoters' natural delicacy, and we may rest assured that they would not refuse to supply the authorities at home in case of need.

This wonderful machine (for which, doubtless, there will be a great demand when the necessity for the larger gun no longer exists) "can be charged, pointed, and fired by one man, and will throw about 700 bullets per minute," and "will kill a man a mile distant." The *Broad Arrow* says, "It is at any rate evident that the new model Gatling is a terrible instrument, capable of awful doings on occasion, as for instance when it is desired to sweep the streets in a riot," and the *United Service Gazette* tells us, "In case of street fighting this gun would be most invaluable. Mounted upon a movable platform upon rollers, protected by shields, and pushed along from the rear, buildings and streets could soon be cleared with little exposure to the men manœuvring the gun. A platform having two guns mounted on it—one to clear the streets and first stories with direct fire, and the other to clear the upper stories, roofs, and parapets by indirect and high angles—would be found very efficacious." Moreover, "A Gatling gun placed in one street can fire over the tops of buildings into a parallel street with great effect, by means of its positive feed device, which makes high-angle or parabolic fire practical."

Rejoice, brave Balfour; and Warren, lift up your head! No more need the Irish constabulary run the risk of appearing at a window and cutting their knuckles with broken glass. Safe in their backyard, the Gatling gun will annihilate the mob of savage murderers howling for blood in the Square round the corner; and a Gatling gun on each of Landseer's lions will mow down the processions of agitators long before they reach Trafalgar Square. Thus, too, the poor rates will be lightened by the destruction of the unemployed, and the English nation, free of the burden of a pauper population, and knowing how to get rid of them as fast as the introduction of labour-saving machinery produces them, may compete successfully with other nations, and Professor Huxley and his class may enjoy their dinners in peace, untroubled by fear of those who are starving. For, paradox though it seem, the new method of establishing our pre-eminence and enriching our own country, is not by slaying our enemies' soldiers but by reducing to the smallest number the producers of wealth at home; the tendency of "Civilisation" being towards the final elimination or extinction of the labouring class, and the survival of the capitalists, who will live, without labour, on the profits made by interchanging their goods with one another.

It was most fitting that this new gospel should appear in the pages of that apostle of liberty and progress, the *Daily News*. And the glorious tidings are already bearing fruit in its columns. What else could have inspired that journal to its courageous onslaught on Cunningham Graham and Keir Hardie, after the Mid-Lanark election (April 27th), but the knowledge that its well-beloved and much-slandered police might soon be rendered invincible by aid of the Gatling gun? Now the leader-writers take courage, strong in the new-acquired faith that "underneath are the everlasting (fire)-arms to bear them up."

Thus then, shall the "*facile princeps* in the Science of war" give place to a corresponding article in the Science of exploitation. Yet not immediately, for war will still be necessary to open up new markets and to establish a trade with uncivilised peoples. For this purpose

the Gatling gun, "terrible in its power of disabling men," has already proved its adaptability. We read with enthusiasm how "when all was over, and we counted the dead, there lay within a radius of 500 yards 473 'Zulus. They lay in groups in some places of 14 to 30 dead, mowed down by the fire of the Gatling;" or, "Captain Howard, who operated the Gatling . . . with cool daring . . . opening fire, literally mowed the rebels down;" and once more, "This machine gun was too much for them. Skulking under the parapet were found a few poor devils, too frightened to retire, yet willing enough to stab a Christian if helpless and wounded. The trenches were full of dead. But few wounded were found." Think of it, you Christians, and invest your money! For every dead nigger will help to swell your dividends!

So may our Christian traders rush to victory with their new saviour fighting for them in the van, and literally mowing the rebellious heathen down, till, having established their supremacy, they may, with the police-Gatling gun force the "devils" (as we observe they are called) to yield up their fancied rights and liberty, and work for them, as the toilers do at home, for starvation wages. Profit will be made, and the kingdom of Capitalism will be established.

Only let the authorities take heed in time. Not only are the Social Democrats spreading disaffection in the army itself, but all over the country Socialists are teaching the discontented masses that all that machinery (which their forefathers foolishly thought was going to injure them) belongs to them. Should they be allowed to learn the lesson the consequences will be terrible indeed, involving a complete subversion of the present beneficent system, accompanied by a repetition of the scenes of the Paris Commune. For, in accordance with the Socialist teaching, the masses would seize the Gatling guns with the other machinery; the power of capitalism would be at an end, and they would turn round upon the aristocracy, taunting them with being over-population, and bidding them emigrate or work for their living. For this sort of thing a remedy must be applied speedily and rigorously, without any sham sentiment of pity for the idle vagabonds and discontented workmen who would plunge our beloved country into the horrors of Revolution. To avoid bloodshed the authorities should acquire Gatlings, and use them remorselessly on the slightest occasion. Too long have the Socialist agitators had it their own way, and we know no better argument to meet their pernicious doctrines than that provided by the "Police Gatling Gun." GEORGE STURT.

## NOTES FROM SCOTLAND.

THE Prince of Wales and his wife will visit Glasgow this week.

A state carriage with six horses will be specially brought down from London for the occasion. They will probably be used for a couple of hours.

Here, in our "dark, sea-born city, with its throne set on a surge-vexed shore," as Robert Buchanan, in his 'Exhibition Ode,' so poetically describes what to ordinary sight appears a flat wilderness of chimney-stacks and steeples, set eighteen miles inland, by the side of a filthy river and beneath a smoke-laden atmosphere, thousands of well-to-do and otherwise sensible people are having sleepless nights wondering how they will appear and how they will behave themselves in the presence of a man whose intellectual achievements mainly consist in the selection of his cigars, and who is chiefly distinguished as an amiable patron of pugilists and professional beauties.

The Prince—always intent, however, in doing really useful work—comes to open the International Exhibition. Great manifestations of popular loyalty are in active preparation, consisting mainly of cheap Turkey-red bannerets and benevolent mottoes painted on cotton adulterated 60 per cent.

I know of several Socialists and Fenians who are in the decoration line, and who are making quite a good thing out of meeting the popular demand for quaint and touching words of welcome to the royal pair.

£3,000 are to be expended by the Corporation to barricade the streets and otherwise prepare the way for the coming of his Royal Highness.

When the starving unemployed ask the Corporation for relief, the treasury is, strangely enough, invariably found to be empty; but when a brace of well-fed and gorgeously-attired unemployed members of royalty condescend to visit the city, the treasury forthwith becomes miraculously replenished to overflowing. Whether the miracle be of God or the Devil it is deemed blasphemy for poor wretches like us to inquire.

On the opening day the creator of the universe is to receive an express tribute of praise, given, too, under the immediate patronage and presence of his Royal Highness, in honor of the event. No doubt the various exhibitors will commingle with the solemn sounds of "Praise ye the Lord" and the affluence of the princely presence, devout thoughts of how much filthy lucre the expensive speculation will perchance bring into their money-bags.

The Glasgow United Trades' Council—in which, I am glad to say, there are several good Socialists—recently passed a resolution asking working men to boycott the Exhibition, because the council of the Exhibition refused to grant season tickets of admission to artisans at reduced rates. The local newspapers jeered the Trades' Council for

behaving so foolishly, and scolded the members for their impudence and want of patriotism. Of course the boycott will be inoperative. The Trades' Council has little or no influence in social or even trades' matters, and is not likely to have so long as it is composed chiefly of capitalist flunkeys and self-seeking wire-pullers.

The Mid-Lanarkshire election has resulted in the triumphant return of the official Liberal candidate and the total defeat of Mr. Keir Hardie, the labour candidate. Mr. Hardie especially appealed to the miners. His programme was a most advanced one; he frankly avowed himself a Socialist, and was gallantly supported by Mr. Conybeare, M.P., Mr. Cunninghame Graham, M.P., as well as H. H. Champion, Tom Mann, J. L. Mahon, A. K. Donald (Socialists), and a host of Land Restorers and extreme Radicals. The Irish vote, as a matter of course, was given to the official Liberal. Only a small portion, however, of the miners can have voted for Mr. Hardie, as his total vote was only 617, while that of Mr. Bousfield, the Unionist, was 2,917 and that of Mr. Philips, the Gladstonian, 3,847.

Although not expressly standing as a Socialist, his Socialist utterances and the support he received from known Socialists constituted Mr. Hardie, in the eyes of the electors and the public, a Socialist. The result is therefore instructive to us.

It is bad policy, when advising a stranger that the road you are going to take is also the quickest road for him, to invite him at the outset to give your donkey-cart a shove up the hill. Yet this is exactly what our Socialist and semi-Socialist friends did in promoting the candidature of Mr. Hardie. Membership of Parliament is a much-coveted position; and when you endeavour to persuade working people that your notion of what their interests are is by far the best, and forthwith invite them to assist you or your "excellent friend" into that high place of privilege and power, working people are naturally apt to suspect there is a deal of humbug in the affair. And so there was in the labour contest in Mid-Lanark.

Mr. Hardie is, so far as I can ascertain, a straightforward and honest working man, and that he is really anxious to benefit his fellow-workers I believe; but that he or his friends were well advised in believing that to contest a seat in Parliament was the first and best means of accomplishing that end, it did not require last week's election to disprove.

The Lanarkshire miners are a very democratic body. Socialist teaching has been received by them with marvellous favour, and many of them are declared Socialists. Yet it must not be forgotten that except in revolutionary times, men's opinions, however sincere, are not readily translated into action, especially when that action is directed against habits and prejudices of all their former course of life. People persist often in remaining in their old homes, damp and unwholesome though they be, even after they have well-nigh got their death by rheumatics and typhoid fever. A man, too, may learn that his family lawyer has been systematically defrauding him for years, and yet hesitate for some time, even when the peculations are repeated, to send the culprit to gaol.

These may, indeed, be weak points in human nature, but we must take them into account, even as our enemy the newspaper editor adviseth us to do unceasingly.

We must let the seed lie in the ground for a season before we can expect to reap any harvest, and it is well to see that our sickles are sharp before we begin. There is a time and a place for everything; or, as our facetious friend Brown puts it, never try to kiss a girl on her mother's doorstep—wait till she comes fairly out in the lane.

I trust this attempt to force Socialism prematurely into the strife of "practical politics" and the rut of party contest will not prejudice the miners of Lanarkshire against listening to or accepting our teaching upon its own merits in future. If we wish really to rouse the people to do great deeds, we must be wary not to sully our banner with the personal ambition, subterfuge, insincerity, and compromise inherent in party politics, but with a bold idealistic aim endeavor to stir up the better sympathies and nobler impulses of the people towards resolute, wise, and irresistible revolutionary effort. J. BRUCE GLASIER.

## DEFINITIONS.

**CAPITALIST.**—One who becomes clothed with legal rights over the land, or over the man, which authorise him to take from the labourer or from the land the fruits of industry, to the production of which he has not contributed.

**INTEREST.**—A fraudulent claim of one party to an exchange, by which a charge is made for the "flight of time" between the inception and the completion of an exchange; or it is a charge for having a value conserved, and for which service compensation is due, not to the creditor, but to the debtor.

**PROFIT.**—A false entry in the business ledger, in which a dealer charges twice for the same thing. Firstly, for the service he has rendered; and, secondly, for a profit on the goods he has sold his customer. The charge which compensates all the service rendered is not profit, nor is such increase of price as may be required to average risks, and guard against losses unavoidable to the business.

**RENT.**—"An immoral tax"; a tribute for privilege to be, to labour, or to exercise the right and duty of Use. It is similar to profit and interest, and constitutes the basis on which they both depend.

**USURY.**—The same as interest. The law which attempts to distinguish between them has no ethical, economic, or logical basis; one, or one hundred per cent. being the same in nature, and only differing in degree.—J. K. Ingalls, 'Social Wealth.'



## THE LABOUR STRUGGLE.

### BRITAIN.

The platers at Stockton shipyards have given notice for a demand of 12½ per cent. advance in wages.

The operative section of the Midland Iron and Steel Wages Board have given a month's notice of their intention to claim an advance of wages.

The Bolton master cotton-spinners on Wednesday evening refused the application for an advance of 5 per cent. It was agreed to support the Oldham masters, in the event of a strike there, by working short time in Bolton.

**BACUP WEAVERS.**—The weavers of Bacup have held a meeting and resolved to form an association. Not before it was wanted, according to reports of the arbitrary conduct of some of the employers.

**STRIKE OF JEWISH TAILORS.**—Twelve hundred Jews engaged in the tailoring trade at Leeds decided on Saturday to strike against their excessively long hours of labour. They will also endeavour to compel their employers to accept "society shops." The men demand that the hours of labour shall not exceed fifty-eight per week.

**EMPLOYERS CLAIMING £1000 DAMAGES.**—The proprietors of the Pantig Steel Works, South Wales, have issued a writ against the workmen now on strike, claiming £1000 damages for stopping the works. In the Rhondda Valley over 600 men employed at the Allyn Collieries have brought up their tools from the pits owing to a wages dispute with the employers.

**OLDHAM VELVET LIST.**—On Thursday afternoon last week Messrs. T. Birtwhistle, J. P., David Holmes, Abraham Bulkley, Joshua Barrows, and W. H. Wilkinson met by arrangement the representatives of the Oldham Cotton Spinners and Manufacturers' Association, at the rooms of the latter, and came to a settlement. The basis list will come into operation on June 1st, but the extras will not take effect before the 1st of September, on which date a further meeting will be held to consider whether the time is opportune.

**BOLTON—A THOUGHTFUL (?) FIRM.**—At a certain mill of the town the following extraordinary notice has been posted: "Savings for Whit-week and stoppage.—These mills and sheds will stop at Whit-week for four weeks for repairs. We insist on everyone putting in the bank each week not less than 15 per cent. of their earnings, or 3s. for each pound received in wages. Anyone wishing to be exempt must get a certificate stating cause from either a minister of religion or a doctor, and this must also be signed by the overlooker and the manager.—By order." Next?—*Cotton Factory Times.*

**STALYBRIDGE—A DREADFUL SCARE.**—At a certain mill in this district, which is peculiarly situated, there are only two ways of access, and the back entrance has been closed for a couple of weeks. One day last week a very tall, shabby-genteel sort of person, with a tall, fine-looking silk hat on his head, was seen going at full speed down the road, which is nearly a quarter of a mile long, at about twenty minutes to one, and the signal was given that the inspector was coming, and the officials and spinners were busying themselves in getting out the piercers, and the females in the cardroom, but on the arrival of the "inspector" it turned out to be an old hat cleaner, who, it is said, was ordered off about his business.—*Cotton Factory Times.*

Grievous complaints are being made with respect to the London and North-Western Railway Company's Pension Fund, the rules of which are evidently framed on anything but a fair and considerate basis. The principal matter complained of is that while those men whom the company discharge from its service are, on dismissal, refunded their share in the fund, less a small amount for management, those who leave the service of their own accord have to forfeit every penny they have paid in, thus placing the man who may have honestly served the company for a number of years, and who leaves it for the purpose of accepting a better situation, at a disadvantage as compared with the man who, through neglect of duty or gross misconduct, receives his discharge.—*Railway Review.*

**WEDNESBURY PUDDLERS.**—The puddlers at the Patent Shaft and Axletree Company's works at Wednesbury were this week "at play," with the view of getting an alteration of the rule which requires a week's wages to be left in hand. It will be remembered that last week the men agreed to a general reduction amounting in the case of puddlers to 2½ per cent., and in the case of millmen to the usual proportionate reduction, stipulating at the same time that as they had come down to country rates they should work according to country rules instead of according to special rules. The keeping of a week's wages in hand is regarded as a non-compliance with the stipulation, and hence the abstention of the puddlers from work, and the consequent enforced idleness of other branches of workmen.

**THE WROUGHT NAIL TRADE.**—In consequence of the disorganised state of the operatives in the wrought nail trade in the Sedgley, Halesowen, Rowley, Old Hill, Dudley, Netherton, and Cradley districts, coupled with the underselling which is taking place, a large number of operatives were on Saturday called upon to submit to a reduction of 10 per cent. in wages. The workmen state they cannot possibly get a living at the reduced prices, and there is every probability that another disastrous strike will be resorted to. Arrangements have been made for a conference of employers and workmen to be held at Old Hill, Rowley Regis, on the 14th inst., to consider the question of wages in the various branches of the nail trade, and an effort will be made to adopt revised lists of prices.

**TRADE UNIONISTS DISPENSED WITH.**—A strike of steelworkers is threatened at Darlington, owing to the Darlington Steel and Iron Company objecting to their men belonging to the Steelworkers' Association, which has its headquarters at Middlesbrough. A notice has been issued by the managers intimating that the company would dispense with the services of the men who had joined the Steelworkers' Association. A meeting of the men was at once held, and addressed by some of the workmen. Mr. H. Linden, the President of the Association, also spoke, and deprecated the effort of the company to break up the Union, stating that the men at Darlington were entitled to higher wages, although wages had not come into question. It remains to be seen what action will be taken.

**FEMALE LABOUR IN THE BLACK COUNTRY.**—On Wednesday a meeting of the members of the Midland Trades' Federation was held at the Castle Hotel, Dudley; Mr. Z. Taylor presiding. Nailmakers from several districts attended, as did also tube-makers, miners, nut and bolt-makers, chain-makers, rivet-makers, lock-filers, and others. Mr. Juggins advocated the abolition of female labour in the nail and chain trades so as to find work for the men who were wandering about begging for work. A bill was to be introduced into the House providing for the non-employment of women at heavy nails

and chains, and closing their shops at six o'clock, the same as factories. A Nailer said women frequently worked till nine o'clock at night, and then had to wash and iron until one o'clock in the morning. A Gas Tube-maker said it was a demoralising sight to see females at work over fires, and only partially dressed. All workmen ought to be able to maintain their wives and children without compelling the former to work. A list of subjects for discussion at the conference on the 14th inst. was set down as follows:—Discussion on the price list, female labour, the question of carriage, truck, and payment for the use of tools.

**NUT AND BOLT TRADE.**—The strike in the nut and bolt trade continues, this being the sixteenth week. Mr. Juggins has brought the matter under the notice of the Midland Counties Trades' Federation, and in response to his appeal a grant of £10 has been made. A public meeting in connection with the strike was held at Darlaston last Friday. Mr. R. Juggins presided, and explained that the matter they had met to discuss was one of great importance to the greater part of South Staffordshire. In 1872, and for several years after, it was customary for the employers to meet and arrange lists of prices, which as a rule were adhered to, but since 1881 he regretted that many of the employers in Darlaston had systematically violated the list of prices, the reductions enforced being from 10 to 25 per cent. In order to give the employers a chance of meeting and discussing the matter amicably conferences had been called, but the employers had treated them with contempt. Consequently the men must now act, and the result of a ballot among the men showed that it was sufficient to warrant a general strike at those factories where wages had been reduced. They were not asking for a rise, but for the restitution of that which had been taken from them. After several speakers had referred to the disgraceful way in which the workers had been served, it was eventually decided to give notice of a general strike in shops where the 1881 list was not in vogue, commencing May 19th.

**INTENSIFICATION OF LABOUR—EVILS OF PIECEWORK.**—One of the results of the development of machinery under the competitive system of industry is the increased facilities afforded for the robbery of labour by the employers. And the worst of it is that the workers are often unconscious agents of their plunderers and themselves provide the very means by which they are fleeced. An illustration of this fact is afforded by the action of the managers of several spinning companies in Oldham, who, in order to discount the proposed 5 per cent. advance, have given their spinners notice of a revision in their prices. The reason assigned is that the mules are running at a quicker speed than when the prices were last agreed upon. In some cases, we are told the prices are being reduced because the spinners by their own efforts have increased the speed of their mules about a couple of seconds in three stretches. That is to say, the men are pushed and stimulated to get out a large production of yarn, and then when by the utmost ingenuity they manage to increase the speed of their mules by a couple of seconds in the space of 364 inches, which the mules travel in a given time, they are to be denied the trifling benefits which result from their vigilance, although the employers reap all the advantage of the increased production at no extra charge. It is stated, however—and no wonder—that a strike will be ordered at every mill where the prices are reduced, unless there has been some change made in the driving department.

**THE SWEATING SYSTEM.—DRIVEN MAD BY MISERY.**—A correspondent living in the district and acquainted with the circumstances requests me to publish the following lamentable illustration of our commercial civilisation, based as it is upon the "sweating" system:—"A poor young Jew, who had a wife and two children to support, has been employed at the tailoring factory of Mr. K—, in Bethnal Green, East London, where he earned 1s. per day for working as sleeve lining feller, from early in the morning till late at night. Last Saturday week, his brother noticing a great melancholy on his face asked him the reason, and received the reply, 'Why, look at my clothes, my boots; see the horrible state of my poor family.' His brother offered him a few shillings to buy boots, but the unfortunate man refused to accept unearned money. Last Tuesday the man became mad, and is now in the hospital. In consequence of that the Christian manufacturer ordered a bill to be stuck at the workshop (as the employees are mostly foreign Jews, it was written in the Hebrew-German dialect) calling on the workpeople to contribute towards a subscription for the family of the victim, himself giving the capital donation of two shillings and sixpence. The employees, as it may be imagined, could hardly afford to give more than one or two pence. In this factory, it may be interesting to know, military, police, and post-office uniforms are manufactured." T. BINNING.

### NEW YORK LABOUR BUREAU REPORT.

In the Fifth Annual Report of the Labour Bureau of New York State, recently issued, the most remarkable feature is the strong position which the Commissioner of the Labour Bureau takes against the oft repeated assertion that strikes do no good. He looks upon the strike as an established factor in our competitive industrial system, and proceeds to show wherein and how strikes have been instrumental in improving the condition of the workers. Strikes he contends have helped to raise wages, to shorten the hours of toil, to improve the condition not only of the particular workingmen going out on strike but of the masses in general. He instances the bakers as having reduced their hours of labour from eighteen to twelve per day. Wages in whole trades have been raised from 10 to 20 per cent, because the men in certain shops have struck and forced their claims to recognition. Even a lost strike he claims is not always a dead loss but often a positive and material benefit. While the employer may not feel the pinch of poverty through the stoppage of the works he must feel anxious about maturing bills and the prospects of loss of trade through such stoppage. Strikes, even unsuccessful in immediate results, always teach a valuable lesson, and with the fear of its repetition before him, has forced many a taskmaster to do tardy justice.

"EDUCATION!"—What result can be expected from the education of children in the Board Schools when a great light of the educational world writes such nonsense as follows for the guidance of teachers. He is speaking of moral training and how important it is, "the relation of employer and labourer, a clear understanding of what capital is, and of the fact that wages are paid out of capital (and the consequent importance of holding sacred the rights of property, of rejoicing in the accumulations of others) . . . the advantages, in some cases the duty of emigration" should be "properly handled by the schoolmaster." This is written by S. S. Laurie, Professor of Education in the University of Edinburgh. It seems high time that intelligent workmen should administer the Education Acts themselves and prevent such humbug being taught their children.—D.

REVOLUTIONARY CALENDAR.

WEEK ENDING MAY 19, 1888.

13	Sun.	1848. Insurrection in Vienna.
14	Mon.	1771. Robert Owen born. 1820. Henry Grattan died. 1885. Louis Riel captured.
15	Tues.	1820. Henry Hunt sentenced for sedition. 1847. Dan O'Connell died. 1848. Trial of Smith O'Brien for sedition. 1871. Russian police armed with revolvers. 1881. Second secret press of the <i>Will of the People</i> captured with bloodshed.
16	Wed.	1848. Trial of T. F. Meagher and John Mitchel for sedition. 1871. Vendome Column destroyed. 1882. Prosecution of the <i>Freiheit</i> for article on Phoenix Park murder.
17	Thur.	1802. Action of John Hevey against Major Sirr for assault and false imprisonment. 1880. Trial of Dr. Weimar.
18	Fri.	1756. War declared against the King of France by George II., "King of Great Britain, France, and Ireland."
19	Sat.	1796. P. T. Lemaître and others tried for treason. 1825. St. Simon died. 1886. Strikes in Belgium.

*Henry Grattan.*—Born in Dublin, July 3, 1746; died in London, June 4, 1820. "The man who led the van of the Irish volunteers," and who, speaking of Irish Independence, could say, "I watched by its cradle; I followed its hearse," was essentially a Conservative, but, like so many other Irish Conservatives, was forced into a quasi-revolutionary attitude by the necessity of combatting the English Government. During his long life he placed no blot upon his fair fame; those who went beyond him and those who did not go so far, confessed his worth alike. His marvellous oratorical power was always employed for the right, fearlessly and without ceasing. He fought furiously against the Union, and when it was carried said, "Finding all useless, we retire with safe consciences but breaking hearts." However, his heart did not break enough to make him cease fighting, for he kept on until his death, and then died in an effort to get once more to the House of Commons to speak for freedom.—S.

*Death of Daniel O'Connell.*—The "Liberator" was the descendant of a very old Irish family, and was born at Carhen, near Cahirciveen, on August 6, 1775. In 1773, English authority met a rebuff in America. Boston harbour was covered with tea; then the trouble began which resulted April, 1775, in the battle of Lexington "first blood," which ended in the "Republic of America." Law'n'-order got a scare, and began to think that possibly some nearer home might conceive of revolt, so as a sop, a trifle of amelioration in the position of Roman Catholics was graciously permitted, after much talk, to become law. This "sop" seems to have entered into the dietary of baby O'Connell with his other sop, for he was fated repeatedly to damn his immense possibilities later in life by accepting any "sop" offered by any "expedient mongers" in power for the time being. Daniel and his brother Maurice were adopted by an uncle, and at thirteen he was sent to school; does not seem to have been in any way a remarkable scholar, although it is on record that when four years old he learned the alphabet in "an hour and a half." After a year in this school he was sent to the Continent, staying one year at the College at St. Omer, 1791-92, then for a short term at the English College at Douay. The Revolution troubles drove him to England; the excesses and horrors of which he says "seeming to make him a confirmed aristocrat in feeling"; this later on was shown to be not very confirmed. In 1798, O'Connell was called to the bar and soon made a name, and in not a very long time a large income. But for the Emancipation Act of 1793, O'Connell, a Roman Catholic, could not have been called. His first speech as a public man was in opposition to the Union, a tolerably risky experiment. This speech was made in Dublin Royal Exchange, January 13, 1800. In 1802 he married. In 1806 he made his power felt in things political by carrying his views in favour of agitation, in opposition to Keogh, who believed in waiting in "dignified silence" on the good favours of Lord Granville and the Whigs. In 1810 the Dublin Corporation were active in asking for Repeal, and at one meeting O'Connell exposed his expediency notions, "I trample under foot the Catholic claims if they can interfere with Repeal; I abandon all wish for Emancipation if it delays Repeal. Nay, were Mr. Perceval to-morrow to offer me the Repeal of the Union, upon the terms of re-enacting the entire Penal Code, I declare from my heart, and in the presence of my God, that I would most cheerfully embrace his offer." In 1823 he founded the "Irish Catholic Association," on May 12th. Forty-seven names being given in to start an organisation, which it is claimed "struck the chains off seven millions of people in six years from its formation." Whether it really did so or not, may perhaps be doubted in presence of Irish affairs to-day. (See *Commonweal* April 7th and 28th for notes practically dealing with this same matter, and unnecessary to repeat.) In 1824, on Dec. 17th, he made a speech in which, speaking of Bolivar and the South-American Revolution and the London *Examiner's* sympathy for the Greek Revolution, he used words in favour of armed resistance, for which he was prosecuted by the Government. The proceedings ended in fizzle, the grand jury ignoring the bills Jan. 4, 1825. In 1825 Session opened Feb. 3, and one of the very earliest businesses was for the Irish Secretary Goulburn to bring in a bill to put down the Catholic Association. A deputation was sent over from Ireland with the hope of being heard at the bar of the House, but permission for this was refused by 222 against 89, "quite English you know." The Bill for suppression passed by 253 to 107. This bit of work O'Connell called the "Algerine Act." As a sop he was allowed to draft the Emancipation Bill, but he was shamefully juggled by the tricksters in power. When the "Algerine Act" snuffed out the Catholic Association, O'Connell at once began a new Association, and brought the resources of his whole legal knowledge to bear in drafting a constitution which should evade the Act of suppression. The new Association began business July 16, 1825, so not much time was lost. At the General Election of 1826 the Irish party scored well, Louth, Armagh, and Waterford being conspicuous examples in the defeats given to immense territorial influence. 1828 began a busy year by putting into practice an idea of Richard Lalor Sheil's of simultaneous meetings; two thousand meetings convened for January 13th attended; it is computed, by five millions of persons; this discount by the way an idea just recently claimed as quite new. This must have given "Law'n'-Order" a shock, but must have been a trifle compared with that felt when O'Connell in July was elected against Vesey Fitzgerald, who had to be re-elected by reason of taking office as President of the Board of Trade. To beat a member of the Cabinet by 2057 votes to 982, out of a total of only 3000, was something to make any Government sit-up, and did, as the defeated man wrote to his master, Sir Robert Peel, "open a tremendous prospect." It was not until May 15, 1829, that O'Connell formally presented himself to claim his seat, whereupon at once was exposed one of the petty tricks in which banked bigotry delights; a clause was inserted in the Emancipation Act which allowed the Speaker to demand O'Connell should take the old oaths. As O'Connell had gained his seat solely on account and solely for the purpose of not taking the old oaths, he refused. Brougham suggested O'Connell should be called to the table to plead his case; after discussion it was decided he should be heard at the bar, and his speech is a legal argument covering fourteen pages of "Hansard." After a discussion the House decided in favour of bigotry by 190 votes for administering the old oaths, 116 voting against them. O'Connell returned to Clare,

was re-elected, and this election being after the passing of the Act he conquered. As popular lawyer and leader of Irish politics his time must have been pretty well filled, added to which in 1841 he was sworn in as the first Lord Mayor of Dublin under the New Corporation Act, and yet in spite of this he was for some time a considerable power among English Democrats, taking a very busy part in the Chartist agitation. (See Chartist notes.) His election as mayor about dates the top of his power, for now, after being played with by the tricksters in power with promises never meant to be fulfilled, he commenced a busy Repeal agitation. His ideas were opposed by Isaac Butt, who was to prove the most important leader of Irishmen. There had also been growing up a strong physical force party, and perhaps this it was which made O'Connell talk somewhat more forcibly than had been his wont. He went so far as to almost fix a date for the Repeal of the Union. A meeting was fixed to be held a Clontarf, Oct. 5, 1843, Sunday; about 4 o'clock Saturday afternoon it was proclaimed. A shameful farce called a trial followed, and instead of Repeal and College Parliament House, Connell was in prison. On appeal to House of Lords the verdict was reversed, but O'Connell's prestige was gone; the enormous strain and excitement of his life broke down his health. The end was not immediate. Peel managed to buy the Vatican, this helped to weaken O'Connell; for a time the physical force party had great sway during 1846-7-8. On April 3, 1846, his last important speech in the House, but continued attendance some ten months more, speaking for the last time in February, 1847, and the day after broke down, was ordered abroad, and died at Genoa, May 15, 1847. He is buried in Glasnevin Cemetery, Ireland. As an interesting fact it may be noted that in Carpenter's "Political Letters," it is recorded, No. 22, Feb. 18, 1831, that meeting in the shop of Ridgway, the bookseller in Piccadilly, with Thomas Hardy, on being introduced he took Hardy's hand, saying, "You are the very man who was instrumental in my conversion. I had just returned from France... opinions and connections all of the Tory cast. I attended with great interest to the nine days' trial (for treason), and by the end of that trial my political opinions and principles were completely changed to those of a reformer."—T. S.

*Action against Major Sirr.*—This is a good illustration of what has gone on in Ireland, and is now not quite unknown there. In 1798, Major Sirr, from utter obscurity blazed forth as the most skilful and cold-blooded suborner of perjury and arranger of judicial murder that even English rule had ever produced. Mr. Hevey had, by accident, been able to incur his enmity by exposing an informer who had been in Mr. Hevey's employ and shown himself a rascal. Soon after he had Hevey abducted and imprisoned without trial, and without warrant or anything else. Kept in prison along with other unfortunates until one of them had been tortured into "denouncing" him, Hevey was then tried by court-martial and sentenced to death. Chance brought the record before Cornwallis; even he recoiled from the stupid and malignant barbarity of the proceedings, and he struck out the sentence and ordered the prisoner's release. Three years after Hevey was in a Dublin coffee-house; Sirr was there also, and seeing his intended victim began abusing him, and saying he should have been hanged. The natural retort was made that he was a slanderous scoundrel, whereupon the same game was at once played, and Hevey again haled off to prison without warrant. Offered freedom at the price of "abject submission" he again and again refused, in spite of many trials and tortures, but was at length subdued by the entreaties of his relatives, signed an "apology" and was released. He soon made use of his freedom to bring an action against Sirr for assault and false imprisonment. Curren was his advocate, and made a splendid ringing speech, smashed up the hostile witnesses in cross-examination, and secured a verdict for the plaintiff—damages £150 with costs.—S.

*Trial of P. T. Lemaître and others.*—See note last week on trial of Crossfield. These trials and many others of equal or greater interest are reported in full in Howell's "State Trials," which are on the reference shelves of the British Museum.—S.

*Dr. Weimar.*—This man, who was the hero as a doctor of the Russo-Turkish war, rendered assistance to Solovieff in his attempt upon Alexander II., and was sentenced to 20 years in the mines therefor. He died in the mines in 1882.—T.C.H.

*The Seven Years' War.*—Although the people at large have had little real interest in the quarrels of bellicose monarchs, except to pay the piper, the great duel between Louis the Well-Beloved and Georgius Secundus, the "snuffy old drone from the German hive," was of the utmost ultimate utility to the proletariat, the Seven Years' War being the cause of both the American and French Revolutions, whereby the two grandsons and immediate successors of this brace of combative kings lost, the one his head, and the other half the realm, under circumstances which laid the foundation of the modern avowed acceptance of the doctrine of the "rights of man," which every honest reformer is trying to-day to work out to a logical conclusion.—L. W.

THE SOCIALIST LEAGUE.

OFFICES: 13 FARRINGTON ROAD, E.C.

**Annual Conference.**—The Fourth Annual Conference of the Socialist League will be held at 13 Farringdon Road, on Whit-Sunday, May 20. The time of meeting will be as follows—Morning, 10 till 1; Afternoon, 2 till 5; Evening, 6 till business is concluded. All members attending Conference must, before admittance, produce card of membership. Branches are particularly requested to supply their delegates with written mandates. Provender—Comrades wishing provision to be made for them are requested to send in their names at once.

**Branch Subscriptions Paid.**—1887: Hastings, Nottingham, Pelsall—None. Croydon, Glasgow, Leeds, Merton—to end of March. Ipswich (?), Norwich (?), —to end of May. Hull—to end of September. Mitcham, Wednesday—to end of October. Edinburgh—to end of November. 1888:—Marylebone—to end of January. Acton, Bloomsbury, Bradford, Clerkenwell, Hammersmith, Hackney, Leicester, L.E.L. (Hoxton), Oxford, Stamford Hill, Walsall—to end of March. Fulham, North London, Mile-end—to end of April.

"COMMONWEAL" PRINTING FUND.

Weekly—W. B., 6d. C. J. F., 2s. 6d. K. F., 1s. Langley, 2s. P. W., 6d. Oxford Branch, 2s.

REPORTS.

**BLOOMSBURY.**—On Thursday, W. H. Utley lectured on "The Progress and Prospect of Socialism in England." On Sunday morning a meeting was held at Ossulston Street.

**CLERKENWELL.**—On Wednesday, May 2, H. H. Sparling lectured on "Early Closing." Good discussion followed.—B.

**FULHAM.**—Tuesday evening, Catterton Smith and Bullock held meeting at opposite Liberal Club. Sunday morning, Mahony and McCormack spoke to good audience; in evening in rooms Tocciatti lectured on "Human Nature and Socialism."—S. B. G.

**HACKNEY.**—A very successful meeting was addressed at the Salmon and Ball on Sunday morning; by Cores, Samuels, and Davis.

**HYDE PARK.**—A very large gathering assembled here on Sunday afternoon: Cantwell, Brookes, Donald, Banner, and Parker were the Socialist speakers, opposition being given by Murphy and Connor; 2s. 8d. collected. *Commonweal* sold well.

**MIRCHAM.**—A good meeting on the Fair Green Sunday morning, addressed by Eden and Kitz. Good sale of *Commonweal*. We intend holding a debating class in club-room every Thursday at 8.30 p.m.—G.

**NORTH LONDON.**—A good meeting was held at Regent's Park on Sunday morning. Cantwell, Nicoll, and Henderson were the speakers. Whelan offered opposition; 8s. 4d. collected.

**STAMFORD HILL.**—An excellent meeting was held here on Sunday evening by Lane, Charles, and Parker. Many questions were put and answered to the satisfaction of a large majority of the audience. Two new members made.

**GLASGOW.**—Report for last week's issue not sent through inadvertence. On the Sunday a very successful meeting was held at Paisley Road, and Glasier lectured in the Secularist Hall on "Equality, Social and Physical." Last Sunday, Glasier lectured to the Townshend Branch of the National League, where the papal manifesto was denounced with refreshing vigour by one Irishman after another. In the evening we held our usual meeting at Paisley Road Toll; there was a good audience.

**NORWICH.**—Friday last good meeting held on St. Catherine's Plain; Sunday morning meeting at St. Faith's by Houghton and Darley. Comrade Sparling, of London, assisted us in the morning at two outdoor meetings, Market Place and Catton; in afternoon a mass meeting in Market Place, largest held since Mowbray's release; Sparling met with a splendid reception, Mowbray also took part. In evening another outdoor meeting in Market Place, addressed by Poynts and Mowbray. At Gordon Hall, Sparling lectured on "The Blind Samson," hall packed, Morley in chair. The branch is making very rapid progress, on Sundays carrying on five and six meetings. Special effort will be made to carry on active work during the summer, and to push the *Commonweal*.

**WALSALL.**—Monday, Deakin and Sanders spoke at indoor meeting; Saturday open-air meeting on The Bridge addressed by Sanders, Tarn (Birmingham), and Deakin. Sunday morning, Sanders and Deakin addressed meeting of several hundred ironworkers and miners on the West Bromwich Road. The audience was most attentive and enthusiastic, requesting us to pay them a weekly visit.—J. T. D.

**L.E.L. CLUB AND INSTITUTE.**—On Sunday evening last, F. Henderson lectured to a large audience on "Socialism and the English Poets." The lecture was much appreciated. This institute is making good progress, and extra premises have had to be taken to accommodate its members. In the morning good meeting was held at Hoxton Church, the proceedings throughout being extremely lively, owing to the presence of an anti-Socialist local magnate.—H. A. B.

**UNITED RADICAL CLUB.**—On Sunday evening last, H. A. Barker began a course of four lectures at the United Radical Club, Kay Street, Hackney Road, on "Socialism, what it is and what it is not." The lecture was well received, and followed by good discussion.

**LECTURE DIARY.**  
LONDON.

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

**Bloomsbury.**—Communist Club, 49 Tottenham Street, Tottenham Court Road. Thursday May 10, at 8.30, A. K. Donald, "History of Land-Holding in England." 17th. Concert in aid of Branch—Programmes 6d. 24th. Business Meeting. 31st. G. B. Shaw, a lecture. June 7. Dr. E. B. Aveling, "Evolution and Socialism."

**Clerkenwell.**—Hall of the Socialist League, 13 Farringdon Rd., E.C. Business meeting every Sunday at 7. Sunday May 13, at 8 p.m. sharp, A Dramatic and Musical Entertainment. Wednesday May 16, at 8.30, Wm. Blundell, "Revolution, Educational or Bloody, which?"

**Fulham.**—8 Effie Road, Walham Green. Sunday May 13, at 8 p.m., H. Halliday Sparling, "The Last Revolution."

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

**Hammersmith.**—Kelmscott House, Upper Mall, W. Sunday at 8.

**Hoxton.**—Labour Emancipation League Club and Institute, 1 Hoxton Square (near Shoreditch Ch.). Sunday May 13, at 8 p.m., W. C. Wade, "The Communist Manifesto."

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

**Mile-end and Bethnal Green.**—95 Boston St., Hackney Road. Business meeting every Thursday evening at 9 p.m. Debating Class for members after meeting.

**North London.**—The business meetings will be held on Friday evenings at the Autonomie Club, Windmill Street, Tottenham Court Road, after the open-air meeting at Ossulton Street. All members are asked to attend at Ossulton Street at 8 o'clock. Secretary, Nelly Parker, 109 Cavendish Buildings, opposite Holborn Town Hall.

**PROVINCES.**

**Aberdeen** (Scottish Section).—Sunday night meetings in Baker Street Hall, at 6. Secretary, J. Leatham, 15 St. Nicholas Street.

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

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

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

**Edinburgh** (Scottish Section).—4 Park Street. Discussion every Thursday at 8.

**Galafruels** (Scot. Sect.).—J. Walker, 6 Victoria St., sec.

**Gallatin and Dysart** (Scottish Section: Fife).—Meet every Tuesday at 7 p.m. in Gallatoun Public School. Secretary, A. Paterson, 152 Rosslyn St.

**Glasgow.**—84 John St. Reading-room open 10 a.m. till 10 p.m. daily. On Sunday first, at 6.30, a meeting will be held to give instructions to delegates at the forthcoming Conference. Members earnestly urged to turn up.

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

**Leicester.**—Hosiery Union, Horsefair St. Fridays at 8.

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- 11 ...Turnham Green—Front Common ...Acton Beh.
- 11.30...Hackney—Salmon and Ball .....Brooks
- 11.30...Hammersmith—Eadon Road .....The Branch
- 11.30...Hoxton Ch., Pitfield St.....Pope & Mackenzie
- 11.30...Kingsland Green .....Charles
- 11.30...Merton—Haydons Road.....Eden
- 11.30...Mile-end Waste .....Mainwaring
- 11.30...Mitcham Fair Green .....Kitz
- 11.30...Regent's Park .....Davis & Henderson
- 11.30...St. Pancras Arches .....Bloomsbury Branch
- 11.30...Walham Green .....Fulham Branch
- 3 ...Victoria Park .....Charles
- 3.30...Hyde Park .....Henderson & Samuels
- 7.30...Clerkenwell Green .....Samuels
- 7.30...Stamford Hill .....Charles & Mainwaring

Tuesday.

8 ...Mile-end Waste .....Lane & Charles

Wednesday.

8 ...Broadway, London Fields .....Charles

Friday.

8 ...Euston Rd.—Ossulton Street .....Charles

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# THE COMMONWEAL

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SATURDAY, MAY 19, 1888.

WEEKLY; ONE PENNY.

## NOTES ON NEWS.

MR. PARNELL'S speech at the Eighty Club has some interest for us, although that by no means lies in the long statement of his dealings with Lord Carnarvon. On that head, what does it matter what either Lord Carnarvon or all the Government said to Mr. Parnell when they thought the support of the Irish parliamentary party worth buying, since they now think they can do without it? Does anybody really suppose that the Tory party would be likely to turn Home Rulers without compulsion of some sort. The real interest in Mr. Parnell's speech hangs on the fact that having tried the Tories and found that nothing could be done in that direction, he was able to have recourse to the Liberals, whom he had *compelled* to become Home Rulers: and certainly his game was cleverly played, since the same stone killed both birds; tried the Tories and found them wanting, and drove the Liberals to support the Irish party on pain of having to endure an apparently perpetual Tory majority.

And now Mr. Parnell has to pay the price for this great parliamentary success, for this alliance with the party who a year or two ago were the coercionists, because they were the party in power, the rulers in England. What is the price which he has to pay? In the fewest words, he has to engage himself to the spreading of Whiggery in Ireland: a Whiggery indeed suited to the soil, including if necessary protection of Irish industries, but still Whiggery. He is anxious to show that all the Irish want can be gained by purely constitutional means, and to repudiate all revolutionary and illegal action. And yet he knows perfectly well that but for the revolutionary spirit in the Irish people, but for their many illegal acts, he and his party in parliament would have been nowhere; and as soon as that spirit of revolution dies out in Ireland, Home Rule will become a mere piece of political pedantry.

To tell men that it is "their duty to suffer any thing and to dare any thing *within the law*" is sheer nonsense. Only those can suffer from the criminal law who disobey it. That sounds perhaps like a law-and-order maxim; but what it means is that there is always law enough in a society founded on wrong to make everybody a criminal who does not sit down quietly under his wrongs: or to put it in another way, no one either in Ireland or England can be a good citizen and a law-abiding person.

The Coercion Act is just as constitutional as the parliament which passed it; and parliament will be always ready if necessary at twenty-four hours' notice to pass any other addition to the "Constitution" which will have the effect of keeping people down when they become conscious that they are wronged, as we are only too glad to think that the Irish people is conscious. Let it keep that consciousness till no man in Ireland is wronged, and then it may use Mr. Parnell and not let him use it. But if does less than this it will have changed its tyrant but not its tyranny.

A defence-scare on again—and the defenders all by the ears. Lord Salisbury losing his temper and flying out at Lord Wolseley; the *Telegraph* with posters out calculated to make timid people take a ticket for some station in the north of Scotland, and inquisitive ones rush to Dover with the largest telescopes procurable. What will come of it all? Well, a job or two, or a job or twenty—that most certainly: probably absolutely nothing else. Luckily it is not possible to make the English army a perfect machine like the German one is. Let us be glad of that at least, that its power as a reactionary instrument is limited by our natural tendency to muddle and job.

W. M.

By Baron Huddleston's decision it now appears that the law of libel—that precious safeguard of private character—may be violated with impunity by railway companies, who, if they have obtained a conviction for the so-called fraud of travelling without a ticket, may proceed deliberately to inflict injury and annoyance on a man by posting up his name in every station on their line, and *this even though the conviction is subsequently proved to have been unfounded*. Now the *Commonweal*, or any newspaper, if it published a *single* statement calculated to injure a man's reputation in the world, would immediately have an action lie against it for libel. A more glaring iniquity, therefore, it is impossible to conceive. But we have at least this remedy. Although the modern joint-stock company is the supreme concern of the bourgeois law, we can untiringly proclaim our contempt for this law and for the

spurious morality on which it is based, and we can show our sympathy to the utmost of our power with the unfortunate victims of these rascally prosecutions; in other words, of the despotism of bloodless, soulless Capital in its most brutal form.

At a recent general conference of the Methodist body, when the subject of "foreign missions" was being discussed, the support of the well-to-do classes for them was openly invoked on the ground that the "gospel" was the best pioneer of the trader. As one of the speakers admirably expressed it, "Commerce follows the Cross." We are glad we can agree at least in one point with the distinguished body in question—"shoddy" goods certainly do follow the "shoddy" creed which is their ideal expression. We are sometimes indignantly assured that Christianity is not hostile to Socialism: however this may be, it seems by its own confession it is very friendly to Capitalism.

E. B. B.

The deference for law-'n'-order shown by the promoters of the Saturday afternoon "conversation meetings" in Trafalgar Square has not prevented the police from getting up a few cases of imaginary offences. Although the experiment may be useful in forcing upon observers the absurdity of the whole affair, it would be idle to hope for anything more from it. If Londoners *want* the right of public meeting they must *win* it. Craven submission to a dictator to begin with, and then shouts of triumph because a partial evasion of his decree does not bring down the bludgeon on their heads, does not look as if they did care much for the "right" they so loudly talk of.

For connecting Christ with Trafalgar Square, our comrade Stewart Headlam has just been punished. He prosecuted the *Record* for libelling his language in the Square, and Baron Huddleston gave the case against him very obviously on the ground that he had said that if Christ came to earth again and went to the Square he would be arrested. This horrified the baron, who could not understand that a member of the Church could have held such "disgusting" ideas; he evidently thinks of Christ in the garb of a bishop—a well-born, well-bred ecclesiastic like Soapy Sam—unable to speak anything but politeness of the high ones of the earth! Poor Christ!

Which was right, the lawyer or the laity? When Mr. Justice Stephens had his watch stolen, a bystander turned himself into an amateur detective and had the wrong man arrested. The magistrate in admitting the mistake said, nevertheless, he had "acted as a good citizen." But the crowd had called him a "sneaking scoundrel," a "b— nark," and so on. According to the ethics of individual enterprise, unlimited competition, and the rest of it, he was unfairly interfering with the survival of the fittest, so that under the commercial system of society he could not be deemed a "good citizen," and so the lawyer was wrong.

But it is on another count that the crowd were right. They were for the most part workmen, unconsciously feeling that they have no real interest in the maintenance of the law, which, as William Joyce puts it, is "a set of rules drawn up to allow men to make money of other people's misfortunes." So that when one of their number gratuitously chipped in to aid the hired upholders of the law, the "moral miracles" who have shown the workmen so clearly and so often that they recognise no master but the money-bag, the healthy instinct of the crowd went against the sneak who had not even the bad excuse that it was his business.

Poor law-'n'-order! Another of its volunteer (!) upholders has "gone over to the other side." Few men have been more "useful to Society" in the orthodox sense than Leone Levi, who had ready at all times an interminable stream of figures to show the happiness of the workman and the goodness of his employer. But he many times, by the way as it were, and despite himself, feathered an arrow for the Socialist quiver, and so "did better than he knew." May he rest in peace!

But Arnold White is yet alive—and kicking. Though his twaddle of sterilisation, etc., brings him the contempt he deserves, on the other hand the noise he makes over the sweating system is helping to draw notice to the fact that the *whole* order of Society to-day is no more nor less than a gigantic sweating system. The extract from the *Star* in another column puts the case very neatly and clearly. We have been alone so long in preaching the truth, it is cheering to see it taken up in a "regular newspaper."

Meanwhile, the *Pall Mall* is still behind, and cannot quite come over to the truth; talks of the anti-Chinese precautions of the colonies, and goes in half-heartedly for the like here.

A little while ago it will be remembered that two girls were imprisoned with hard labour, because they were poor enough to be compelled to sleep in the open-air and resented the tortures of the workhouse. When asked about the sentence, the genial Matthews answered out that it was given to enable the prison chaplain to exert his saving influence. But Cunninghame Graham kept on with his questions, and now the hard labour is remitted, though the poor devils will have to stay out their time—not that this is such an awful hardship in these days, as the prison is much more healthy and comfortable than the “homes” of millions. S.

## SOCIALISM IN A PALACE.

THE *Commonweal* of 28th April contained comrade Mark Manly's experience of a Socialist at a Primrose League banquet. This week we have to chronicle a more startling incident—that of Socialism being preached in a palace. The scene took place at the palatial residence of Lieut. Colonel Thorneycroft, Tettenhall Towers, near Wolverhampton, upon the occasion of the gathering of the Tettenhall Branch of the Primrose League in his private theatre. The theatre itself, to fully describe, would require the artistic abilities of our comrade William Morris. We therefore content ourselves with saying that its walls were graced by some of the most beautiful specimens of oak carvings, together with relics of bygone times in the shape of old armour and trophies of the chase. Added to this the massive building itself, together with the graceful artificial lights provided, falling, as they did, on an audience composed of every phase of society from the aristocratic idler up to the hard-handed artisan, rendered the scene at once charming and unique. The object of the gathering was to discuss the question of “How best to improve trade for the benefit of the working classes.” The intentions of the gallant colonel were evidently of the purest, for he had invited some twenty or thirty different leading men among the working classes to attend and take part in the discussion. Great praise is due to him for so bold a step. Among others who attended and took part were Mr. R. Juggins, agent for the trades' unionists of Darlaston and district; Mr. Homer, Cradley Heath Chainmakers; Mr. Cocking, of the Wolverhampton Compositors' Society; and William Haydn Sanders, as delegate of the Walsall Branch of the Socialist League. It is almost needless to say that Colonel Thorneycroft's views are those of a Fair Trader. In his opinion a prohibitive tax on all manufactured or partly manufactured goods imported into this country is nearly all that is required to give six days' work a week to the working classes, with a couple of hours' daily toil thrown in by the children, in order to help keep the family. This is the blessing they deduce from the application of Fair Trade, and this it was that the meeting was asked to assist in bringing about. To the great surprise of all, Mr. Juggins gave his personal support to the proposition, although in his speech he clearly admitted that the gunlock-makers and nut-bolt forgers, and also the chainmakers, were working sixty hours per week for wages varying from 7s. up to 15s. per week, although they had no foreign competition to encounter in those trades, and yet he was so blind and dead to economic facts that he failed to see that such a proposition as Fair Trade in no wise affected those whom he represented. He was followed by Mr. Homer, the “heaven-sent leader” of the Cradley Heath chainmakers, who, with shame and regret be it said, had no better news to tell the audience than that there were plenty of men among his class, the workers, whom he knew, who were able to earn for themselves and family a living, and yet were too idle and drunken to do so. It never seemed to dawn on this “heaven-sent leader's” mind that the present system breeds these wastrels, and that so long as it is retained wastrels there ever must be. It is noteworthy that none of the rich idlers present denounced any of their class for living luxurious and licentious lives, and we hope this will be a lesson for even Mr. Homer on a future occasion. He concluded by inveighing against overtime and advocating the eight hours system. Comrade Sanders was then called upon, and, in a vigorous, eloquent, and able speech, in which he demolished all ideas of ever improving the condition of the workers by political change, said that the salvation of the workers would not be brought about by simply demolishing the House of Lords, the throne, or the church, free education, free sale of land, and such-like political tinkering. All these things had been carried out generations ago in other countries and had failed, for workers of America, France, Germany, and other countries were under the heel of the capitalist, as here. The evil did not lie in overtime, nor was the remedy Free Trade or Fair Trade. As for work, we (the workers) did too much already, and the idea imagined by Colonel Thorneycroft, that working men wanted six days' work a week, was entirely wrong. They wanted less work, more leisure, and the full fruits of their labour. To-day working men built splendid houses and palaces for the rich, and miserable huts and slums for themselves. They made beautiful clothes for the rich, and shoddy clothes for themselves. They tilled the soil which produced beautiful food, and yet lived on garbage and rubbish. Everywhere we saw those who worked hardest fared the hardest.

In support of his statements he quoted statistics from Mulhall, Leone Levi, Giffen, and others, showing that the total production of

wealth to day was more than enough to provide comforts for all. The national income was £1,250,000,000 per year, and of that sum the workers were said to get £450,000,000, or one pound out of every three. The other £800,000,000 going for rent, interest, and profit; 222,000 families receiving £333,000,000 between them, or an average income of £1,665, *vide* Mulhall's ‘Dictionary of Statistics.’ Men with £33 per week, he said, did not generally work. Here, then, lay the cause of poverty for the workers. The rich men consume, the poor men produce, and the remedy is to be found in a reconstruction of society wherein the rich of to-day shall labour for what they consume and the poor of to-day shall consume what they produce by their own labour. All the means of labour must be nationalised and treated as the common property of all—the land, the mines, factories, machinery, etc., all these must be under the full control of the workers; then they would be regulated so that every one shall have an equal opportunity of working, and the full fruits of his labour when he has worked.

This speech produced a marked impression on all present, and was followed by Mr. Cocking, who put forward as a remedy, taxing of all uncultivated lands, royalties on minerals to go to the State, and reduction in the hours of labour to eight per day.

The discussion was continued by Mr. Staveley Hill, Q.C., M.P., who pointed out that Mr. Juggins failed entirely to put forward any remedy, whilst with Mr. Homer he strongly agreed. As for Mr. Cocking's proposals he expressed his abhorrence, and regarded nationalisation of royalties as confiscation, and contended that Parliament had no right to interfere with private property. As for taxing uncultivated land, the fact was it would not pay to cultivate. With regard to Socialism, Mr. Hill seemed powerless to cope with it, for he admitted that all men were equal in the sight of God and should be in the sight of men, and wisely left comrade Sanders severely alone.

In response to an invitation of the chairman for any of the audience to take part in the discussion, comrade J. T. Deakin took the opportunity of severely criticising Mr. Staveley Hill, M.P., pointing out that Parliament had interfered with private property to the tune of confiscating 40 per cent. of landlord's rents in Ireland during the last few years, and that during the last century the dominant class had confiscated from the people no less than ten million acres of common land, and pointedly asked whether it was not a fact that the rent paid to landlords was the true reason why land would not pay to cultivate? It would grow grain, etc., for the people, but not keep an idle class; and the people when they got common sense would be very unlikely to continue the payment of rent. Labour was the source of all wealth; therefore all wealth belonged to the labourer, and he urged the working-men to organise for the purpose of asserting their rights. This could only come through Socialism, and Socialism would come to displace the present system as surely as past systems had given way to the present.

Mr. Hill, in reply, evaded the points raised; and in closing the meeting Lieut.-Col. Thorneycroft expressed himself pleased with the information elicited, and heartily invited all delegates to be present at the next gathering in a few weeks' time, when our comrades will not fail to attend. J. T. D.

## SOCIALISM FROM THE ROOT UP.

### CHAPTER XXIII (*concluded*).—SOCIALISM TRIUMPHANT.

It remains to say something on the religious and ethical basis of which the life of Communal Society may be called an expression, although from another aspect the religion may be said to be an expression of that life; the two together forming an harmonious whole.

The word religion has been, and is still in most minds, connected with supernatural beliefs, and consequently the use of the word has been attacked as unjustifiable where this element is absent. But, as we shall proceed to show in a few words, this is rather accessory to it than essential.

In the first instance religion had for its object the continuance and glory of the kinship—Society; whether as clan, tribe, or people, ancestor worship forming the leading feature in its early phases. That in such an epoch religion should have been connected with what we now call superstition was inevitable, since at that time no distinction was drawn between the human and any other form of existence, whether in animal life or in inanimate matters, all being alike considered conscious and intelligent.

Consequently, with the development of material civilisation from the domination of things by persons to that of persons by things, and the consequent falling asunder of Society into two classes, a possessing and dominating class, and a non-possessing and dominated one, arose a condition of Society which gave leisure to the possessing or slave-holding class, the result of which was a possibility of observation and reflection amongst the upper class. As a consequence of this a process of reflection arose among this class which distinguished man as a conscious being from the rest of nature. From this again arose a dual conception of things: on the one hand was man, which was familiar and known, on the other nature, which was mysterious and relatively unknown. In nature itself grew a further distinction between its visible objects now regarded as unconscious things, and a supposed motive power which acted on them from behind, which was conceived of as manlike in character, but above mankind in knowledge and power, and no longer a part of the things themselves, but without them, and moving and controlling them.

Another set of dual conceptions arose along with this, firstly the distinction between the individual and Society, and secondly within the individual the distinction between the soul and the body. Religion now became definitely supernatural, and at last superstitious, as far as the cultured class was concerned, since they had gradually lost their old habit of belief in it.

At this stage there arose a conflict not only of belief but also of ethical conceptions; the ceremonies and customs based on the earlier ideas, on a nature composed of beings who were all conscious, became meaningless and in many cases repulsive to the advanced minds of the epoch; hence arose a system of esoteric explanation and the Mysteries.<sup>1</sup> An importance began to be attached to the idea of a future life for the individual soul, which had nothing in common with the old idea of a scarcely broken existence, founded not on any positive doctrine, but on the impossibility of an existing being conceiving of its non-existence; an idea naively expressed, for instance, in the burial ceremonies of all early races, in which food, horses, arms, etc., are buried with the dead man as a provision for his journey to the unknown country. These ideas, and the doctrines and ceremonies embodying them, grow in number and body as the stream of history broadens down, till they finally issue in the universal or ethical religions (as opposed to the tribal or nature-religions) of which Buddhism and Christianity are the great historical examples, and in which the original ceremonies and their meaning have become fused with each other, and with the new ethics of these religions, and are supposed to express these ethics more or less symbolically. An illustration of what has here been said may be found in the fusion of the ancient notions of sacrifices in the doctrine of the Atonement.<sup>2</sup>

We have said that with the rise of civilisation tribal society became divided into classes, owing to the growth of the individual ownership of property as opposed to its corporate ownership. The old relations of persons to society were thus destroyed, and with them much of the meaning of the old ethical ideas. In the tribal society, the responsibility of the individual to the limited society of which he formed a part was strongly felt, while he recognised no duty outside his tribe. In the new conception of morality which now arose he had, it is true, duties to all men as a man, irrespective of the community to which he belonged, but they were vague and could be evaded or explained away with little disturbance of the conscience; because the central point round which morality revolved was a spiritual deity who was the source of morality and directly revealed himself to the individual conscience. These two, the tribal ethics, the responsibility to a community however limited, and the universal or introspective ethics, or responsibility to a divinity to whom humanity was but a means of realising himself, and to whom therefore the duties of man to man were of secondary importance<sup>1</sup>—are the two ethical poles. But though the tendency was in this direction from the beginnings of civilisation, it took historically many centuries to realise itself, and only reached its final development in Christianity; and has now under the influence of competitive economics taken the final form of the devil-take-the-hindmost doctrine and practice of modern society.

As regards the future form of the moral consciousness, we may safely predict that it will be in a sense a return on a higher level to the ethics of the older society, with the difference that the limitation of scope to the kinship society in its narrower sense, which was one of the elements of the dissolution of ancient society, will disappear, and the identification of individual with social interests will be so complete that any divorce between the two will be inconceivable to the average man.

We may say in conclusion that this new ethic is no longer a mere theoretic speculation, but that many thousands of lives are already under its inspiration. Its first great popular manifestation was given in the heroic devotion of the working-classes of Paris in the Commune of 1871 to the idea of true and universal freedom, which was carried on by the no less complete devotion of the little band of Russian revolutionists who made so little account of their individual lives in their engrossing passion for the general life of humanity.

Everywhere the same feeling is spreading, and even in England, the chosen home of bourgeois bureaucracy, which, with the instinctive cunning of a business country, gives every opportunity to well-to-do persons for forgetting the general welfare in that of the individual, it is getting more irrepressible every day. This wave of ethical feeling is no doubt the result of the development of the class struggle now rapidly approaching to the crisis which will abolish all classes: in fact, the mere hope, ever growing nearer to realisation, of an economical change which will make life easy and refined for all, is what has made this ethical idea possible, as the habits which the new economical system will engender will make any other form of ethics inconceivable: since once for all a change in the economical system of society must always be accompanied by fresh ethical ideas.

<sup>1</sup> The mysteries were nothing but a practice of the ancient rude ceremonies now treated as revelations to certain privileged persons of this hidden meaning which could not be understood by the vulgar: that is, people began to assume that the ancient rude and sometimes coarse ceremonies (belief in which directly as explanations of natural events now appeared to them incredible) wrapped up mystical meanings in an allegorical manner; e.g., a simple sun-myth would be turned into an allegory of the soul and the divinity,—their relative dealings with a present and future life.

<sup>2</sup> See article "Sacrifice" in the 'Encyclopædia Britannica' (9th Edition), by Professor Robertson Smith.

<sup>1</sup> "Morality, thou dreadful bane,  
What tens of thousands thou hast slain!"

(Protestant hymn.)

We may be asked, since we have been putting forward the doctrine of evolution throughout these chapters, what Socialism in its turn will evolve. We can only answer that Socialism denies the finality of human progress, and that any system of which we can now conceive of as Socialism must necessarily give way to a new development of society. But that development is necessarily hidden from us by the unfinished struggle in which we live, in which for us the supreme goal is the Socialism we have been putting forward. Nor do we repine at this limitation of our insight; that goal is sublime and beautiful enough which promises to us the elevation of the whole of the people to a level of intelligent happiness and pleasurable energy, which at present is reached, if at all, only by a chosen few at the expense of the misery and degradation of the greater part of mankind; and even by those few, is held on such a precarious tenure that it is to them little better than a pleasant dream disturbed by fantastic fears which have their birth from the terribly real sufferings of the ordinary life of the masses on whom they live.

E. BELFORD BAX AND WILLIAM MORRIS.

### BRUMMAGEM SWEATING.

In a discussion recently at a meeting of the Birmingham Trades' Council, some shocking revelations were made as to "sweating" carried on in the town. The Birmingham *Daily Post* took up the subject and appointed a representative, whose inquiries have disclosed a still more appalling state of things than was presented to the Trades' Council. After some general remarks as to the "sordid, coarse, callous" ruffians who form the large majority of the employers, and the aspect of the wretched victims who eke out a miserable existence in the sweating dens, the writer concludes:—"There is reason to affirm that the half has not been, and cannot be told. The tour of inspection revealed 66 sweaters in the town, and 129 men and 240 women working for them. Six girls, a machinist, a presser, and the contractor were found in one room, so small that no girl could leave her place unless others quitted the room to make passage for her. Ten women and three men occupied the small attic of a good-looking house in Bath Row. These are typical cases. Trade is slack during nine months of the year, and busy during three months. When the busy season comes it is not uncommon for men to work several days and nights without intermission; while women ply their needles from six o'clock in the morning, and girls, who, for fear of the Factory Acts, are sent home at eight o'clock with a heavy allotted task to finish overnight, work often still longer. The average wage earned under these conditions is said by the toilers to be 12s. a-week by women, something more by men, and a few shillings less by girls. Some of the women and girls in the busiest season, and most of them in the slack season, earn only 5s. to 7s. 6d. a week. After working harder than any slave ever worked on a sugar plantation, the women are content, and even proud, to take home 16s. or 18s. at a week end, and one woman was heard to boast that by stopping up all night, like a man, she had once made 20s. in a week. A Hungarian who employs ten girls at trousers-making, contracts to do for 3s. 9d. the kind of work for which the price recognised by the workman's trade society is 5s. 6d. For the performance of that work by the people he employs, he pays 1s. 9d. at the most. There is one place in town which turns out sixty pairs of trousers every week, and if the profits be at the rate named the sweater makes £6 for himself. A still lower price is contracted for by a sweater who has nine girls and a few men working for him. He undertakes to make up any kind of trousers at 3s. 6d. a pair, although the price ranges in legitimate working from 5s. 3d. to 7s. 6d. He then pays 1s. or 9d. a pair to his girls and women for doing the greater part of such work as cannot be done by machine. 'I have known men start work on a Thursday morning,' said one man, 'and not finish until Sunday evening at seven. They take their meals and their beer while working. It is 'nigger driving.' When they are not paid by the piece the contractor stands and watches them work, for fear they should rest for a minute; and when it is piecework they're at, the price is so low that they nigger-drive themselves.' The tyranny of the sweaters is absolute."

### THE CHEAPEST MARKET.

We deny in toto that saying which is taken as an axiom in our devil-take-the-hindmost system of political economy to the effect that a man has a right to "buy in the cheapest market." He has no right to do any such thing. He employs the labour that produces the goods that he buys; the "cheapest market" means slave labour; the man who maintains that he has a right to "buy in the cheapest market" thereby asserts that he has a right to employ slave labour and perpetuate slavery, and, as we said before, he has no right to do any such thing.

The man who employs labour, whether directly as a so-called employer, or indirectly as a consumer, owes a duty to labour which he employs—a duty which he may not shirk without reaping the penalty either as an individual or as a member of the body politic; either in his own person, or by having his sins visited upon his children. It is his duty to lift the labour which he employs up to a higher standard of social, moral and intellectual life—up to a larger degree of freedom.

But it is a good deal easier to find fault with others' short-comings than it is to keep ourselves free from sin in this direction. We apply the epithets of "heartless," "grasping," "soulless," and the like to men who are directly employing labour, while we ourselves, when we say to a dealer "Are those your best figures?" "Can't you let me have that just a few cents cheaper?" are equally grasping, and heartless, and soulless, for every cent we thus save comes out of the labour at the other end—the two cents difference between the 50c. and the 48c. shirt means a cut of 24 cents per dozen to the wretched being who stitched on them 18 hours a day in the misery of the living death of slow starvation.

Far from having the "right to buy in the cheapest market," it is the duty of every man to buy the goods that pay living wages to labour. Labour must co-operate with labour instead of competing against labour. If every man who buys will ask for goods with a square label, and buy no others, labour will be protected in receiving living wages, and no need of a tariff to help it along either.—*Cleveland Workman.*





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

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

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

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

**Subscriptions.**—For Europe and United States, including postage, per year, 6s. six months, 3s.; three months, 1s. 6d.

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

S.—'Cobbett; or, A Rural Ride,' by G. S. Venables and H. Lushington, appeared in *Macmillan* for Nov. '59—the first number issued.

UNSATISFACTORY for various reasons—T. B.; H. O.; J. S. (Constitution); J. C. K. ("The Mill").

CONTRIBUTIONS received—will be used—C. J. F.; E. B. B.; T. S.; A. C. H.

Periodicals received during the week ending Wednesday May 16.

ENGLAND		FRANCE		ANTWERP—De Werker	
Democrat	Liberty	Chicago—Labor Enquirer	Chicago (Ill.)—Vorbote	Liege—L'Avenir	
Freedom	Chicago (Ill.)—Vorbote	Buffalo—Arbeiter-Zeitung	Denver (Col.)—Labor Enquirer	SWITZERLAND	
Justice	Buffalo—Arbeiter-Zeitung	Detroit—Der Arme Teufel	Fort Worth (Tex.)—South West	Zurich—Arbeiterstimme	
Leaflet Newspaper	Fort Worth (Tex.)—South West	Milwaukee (Wis.)—Volksblatt	Milwaukee (Wis.)—Volksblatt	ITALY	
London—Freie Presse	Milwaukee (Wis.)—Volksblatt	Arbeiter Zeitung	Arbeiter Zeitung	Milan—Il Fascio Operaio	
Labour Tribune	Arbeiter Zeitung	Providence (R.I.)—The People	Providence (R.I.)—The People	Rome—L'Emancipazione	
Norwich—Daylight	Providence (R.I.)—The People	St. Louis (Mo.)—Altruist	St. Louis (Mo.)—Altruist	Marsala—La Nuova Eta	
Railway Review	St. Louis (Mo.)—Altruist	San Francisco—Commonwealth	San Francisco—Commonwealth	SPAIN	
Worker's Friend	San Francisco—Commonwealth	Coast Seamen's Journal	Coast Seamen's Journal	El Productor	
NEW SOUTH WALES	Coast Seamen's Journal			PORTUGAL	
Hamilton—Radical				Lisbon—O Protesto Operario	
CANADA				GERMANY	
Toronto—Labor Reformer				Berlin—Volks Tribune	
INDIA				AUSTRIA	
Bankipore—Behar Herald				Arbeiterstimme	
Madras—People's Friend				Brunn—Volksfreund	
UNITED STATES				ROUMANIA	
New York—Der Sozialist				Vittorie Romanie	
Truthseeker				Jassy—Muncitorul	
Volkzeitung				SWEDEN	
Jewish Volkzeitung				Malmö—Arbetet	
Boston—Woman's Journal					

## NEO-JINGOISM.

SOME of us foreign Socialists have hitherto been of opinion that the term "Pauperism" was a specifically English one for describing the chronic and hopeless poverty of the great masses of population in the lowest strata of industrial society; that in England, where capitalism is farthest developed, it was born and bred; and that other nations, instead of coining a word of their own for it, simply adapted the English original to the requirements of their tongue.

We also fancied, that in a country where the number of actual paupers is ever on the increase, there must be an enormous number of poverty-stricken workers, trembling between employment with semi-starvation and the poor-house, and that for such a state of things the obtaining mode of creation and distribution of wealth was solely to blame.

Our friend, the *Pall Mall Gazette*, however, being nothing if not novel and sensational, has suddenly discovered that the cause of all the wide-spread poverty among the working-classes of England, and especially of London, is—the immigration of *needy* foreigners! The discovery was made, it seems, through the evidence given before the Commission of the House of Lords, now sitting to inquire into the evils of the Sweating System. It seems to have come upon the *Pall Mall Gazette* like a revelation, and in the leader of its issue of May 7, the editor unlocks the flood-gates of his indignation, and declares that the thing *must be put a stop to*. From which determined declaration we may safely assume that poverty in the British Isles will soon be a thing of the past!

"A feeling that it is all due to the 'foreigners,'" says the leader, "is the one clear opinion which an East-end workman or workwoman has about the causes of poverty." The "leader" you will think, of course, proceeds to show the East-end workman that he is mistaken, that the cause of his poverty is the fact of his being a "free" wage-slave, that is, one who is not kept by his owner, but who has to compete for his life with his fellow wage-slaves all the civilised world over. You are mistaken. On the contrary, the democratic leader tells his "Demos" that "the evidence already given before the Committee on Emigration and Immigration—coupled with the investigations of the Sweating Committee—goes very far to prove the *prima facie* case, and it is by no means improbable that a crusade against the foreign paupers in our midst will rapidly come within the range of practical politics."

The leader goes on to assert that "the foreigner is starving our

people out of hearth and home," and that hence "we are beginning to be aware of his presence." It gives a sketch (from the evidence before the Sweating Committee) of the poor and unhealthy life of those wretched victims of "free competition," and exclaims: "This is how wages are brought down, and the standard of comfort is lowered in our great cities!"

Finally, the leader is afraid that the English are "almost too good" to the foreigners, and that the invasion of needy aliens should be put a stop to anyhow.

This is how "Neo-Journalism," the embodiment of Christianity and Democracy, treats the most momentous question of all times in a sensational manner. Why not bring it "within the range of practical politics" at once by proclaiming a crusade against the poor Jews (not the money-lenders, who are all honourable men); by taking the lead of all that is ignorant and selfish and, starting from Trafalgar Square (weather and Sir Charles permitting), drive the foreign invaders into the sea?

How easy and well-to-do the East-end workmen and workwomen would then become, all of a sudden! How all their troubles would cease; how their standard of comfort would jump up like a Jack-in-the-box, and how they could culture themselves in the People's Palace, which true British philanthropists have for them provided!

For observe, that the British working-men *never* compete with each other, and thereby reduce their wages. The Salvation Army, which, according to the evidence before the Commission, offered to make match-boxes for 2½d., that is a *halfpenny cheaper per gross* than the unorganised starvelings of the East-end, was not the Christian Army of which the *Pall Mall Gazette* is so vehement a friend, but a Semite bogus institution, got up by the Jewish Board of Guardians.

The British workers do not indulge in large families either, like the Germans and the Chinese, and the Malthusian League was only started to convert the Jews and the Frenchmen from their evil ways; nor do they hardly ever emigrate and starve or drive other people and their kings (who says "Ja Ja!") from hearth and home. The Irish never cross the Channel, but are happy at home under the rule of British landlords, who, with fatherly care do not sweat their flock—but only fleece them. To Ireland the poor foreign Jews have, as yet, not penetrated (probably they could not save up the fares), and hence the standard of comfort of the Irish peasants and wage-workers is an almost ideal one (the man lying down with the hog). That there are, in the lower quarters of English industrial centres, people who talk the Irish brogue, cannot certainly be denied; but these are most probably foreign Jews, who, as we know to our cost, are capable of imitating almost any tongue. The Sheffield knife grinders, the Leeds shoddy hands, the miners of Wales, Lanarkshire, and Northumberland, the nail makers of the Black Country, the Lancashire cotton spinners, and the Scottish crofters are, it must be allowed, in somewhat pinched circumstances; but if only the Royal Commission sits long enough, and Mr. Arnold White be spared (Leone Levi, the great, good foreign Jew, alas! is gone), we shall soon find, that at the bottom of all which is not square and Christian-like in the life of our native workpeople, there is the competition of these wretched, foreign Israelites!

Nay, but dropping irony, is there nothing grimly grotesque in this national hypocrisy; in this desperate social Jew-baiting as a last attempt to blind the native workers against the real causes of their misery?

For consider who it is that sets those sweating toilers at each others' throats; consider who it is that "starves our people out of hearth and home," and gets all the profit out of this hellish science of flaying man alive! How could all these evil deeds be done, *if there were no British head-sweaters, no British Capital-jews*, who gave the orders and took the "goods" (what a mocking name!) to their West-end shops for sale to British ladies and gentlemen?

Since when has it become the fashion in this paradise of "Free Trade" to blame and curse the outraged workers for the effects of that freedom of competition, of which they are not the originators but the victims?

How long is it since Miss Cass was Endacotted and the *Pall Mall Gazette* took the lead in the "Social Purity" crusade? That there is in London, as in every capitalist centre, an open market, in which, for the love or the need of money, women offer the use of their bodies to "lords of creation," everybody seemed to be aware of; that among the women thus trading in themselves there were many of foreign origin, and even Jewesses, nobody could gainsay; yet the leader of the Purity crusade would neither notice the foreign tongue nor the ditto garb of theirs but look at the women merely, the women pure and simple (or impure and artful), and champion their cause, whilst for the immorality of their transactions he made the *men alone* responsible. And his argument? "If there were no men ready and eager to buy, no woman could possibly sell herself."

The *men*, then, were to blame; *they* were the lusty, idling brutes (most of them foreigners, to be sure!); they were, in fact, the "pests of society," and nothing would do for them but the *lash*!

Now for the parallel. Does it not occur to the instructor of Demos that if there were in England no market for the labour of those starving aliens, they could not possibly sell themselves as they do?

Should we not expect the democratic leader to take the part of the sweated rather than that of the sweaters? Why does he not call *them* low, greedy brutes, fattening on the sweat of their fellow-men, veritable pests of society? Why does he not claim the lash for the Whiteleys, Maples, and Oetzmanns, as well as for their aiders and abettors?

And yet, the parallel is not complete. Among the women who

through the West-end in vile and gay array, there are many who are prompted into the market as sexual commodities not by hunger, want, and destitution, but merely by the preference of an idle, lustful life to the joyless life of a worker; whilst the poor victims of international capitalistic rapacity have no choice whatever, but from the moment of their landing on the shores of this "free country" are doomed to a life of unremitting drudgery, to hunger, filth and pestilence, no matter what the creed or nationality may be of him for whom they are bound to toil.

But why do they come, then, if the flesh-pots of Great Britain be not the attraction? For answer look to the leader in question: "The great attraction to the foreign Jews, said a witness on Friday, is the liberty and freedom enjoyed in this country compared with the despotic country they were in."

That the rule of the Balfours and Warrens is comparative "liberty and freedom" to the foreign Jews, whose fault is it? Why don't they stay at home and fight for their liberties as *we do* (who laughs there?) here in London?

There again we must turn to some friends of Neo-Journalism—the Czar and Prince Bismark (and, since he has had a friendly lunch with her British Majesty, also Francis Joseph of Austria). It is *their* despotism the poor Jews and Christians are escaping from. The "honest, chivalrous, and mild-ruling Czar," and the "mighty Chancellor, whose deeds for the German nation are beyond the praise of human tongue," are manifestly "too good" for those deluded foreigners; they run away (or are driven away in thousands by brute-force) to the land of Law and Liberty, and—as the British evidently are also "too good" for them—jump from the frying-pan into the fire.

But they must not do so any longer for nothing. If they have a burning desire to be fried in the British fashion, they will have to pay a tax first, suggests the neo-Christian leader.

Anyhow, the influx of "destitute aliens" must be stopped. How ingenious! To begin with: How do you know whether they are *altogether* destitute? Perhaps they are destitute only of the "filthy lucre"; yet they may be (some of them may be, at any rate) endowed with brains and virtues, waiting only their opportunity to develop to your advantage under the fertilising influence of your British sun, your British sky, and your British munificence! Who knows how many of the professional stars in art and science, whom English society delights to honour *now*, would never have got the chance to instruct or amuse the British public, if at the time of their landing they had been asked to pay a "capitation" tax of £10 like any other bloated Chinese in the ports of Australia?

Again, the purpose of such a tax may be defeated—by the English sweaters themselves. It is *their* interest to have a destitute surplus population, as the "free" competing hands are ready to work for anything that looks like a living. As an English female witness before the sweating Lords' Commission pointed out (quite without rancour against her foreign brethren, for the people are always better than their "leaders"), such a tax would be futile as "the employers would go and pay it *for* the foreigners," rather than let them sail away unsweated. This shows that the poor aliens are rather wanted by the grasping capitalists of this country. As an employer of labour, whose best man had been run in overnight, duly appears in court on the morrow to "bail" him out into the sweet liberty of his master's shop, so the agents of British model sweaters would, no doubt, on arrival of a boatful of "destitute aliens" hasten there to "Maple" out those in want of the capitation tax and make them pay it back in weekly instalments with five or ten per cent in addition as interest for friendliness shown in an emergency.

Then consider, that if you make these foreigners pay a tax for merely setting foot on British shores, you are bound to give them something in return, at least a guarantee of their finding work to do. Can you undertake that? At present they are nothing to you but beggars; then they will be paupers you have to care for according to your principle of taxation. Again, if you send them back, they will work at home still cheaper than they can do it here, and the wares, results of their labour, will be landed instead, to compete with English work.

So what remains?

Drown them in mid-ocean with a mill-stone round their necks? Even that, if applied universally, would deprive the capitalists of "hands" to make profit for them, and thus endanger, among others, the lives of English gentlemen, not bred to work, but to despoil.

Thus to the Christian and democratic mind, so much imbued with imperial sentiment, the problem must appear puzzling. But it is not so to the mind of those workers who look at the social question as one of the *power of economic circumstances*, dividing the population of all the capitalised world into two nationalities and beliefs only—the *exploiters and the exploited*.

The number of English working men who take this view, is growing fast in spite of the preachers of Social Jingoism, and this is the *one* hopeful sign in this time of shams, hypocrites, and petty crusades. The workers of all countries are engaged in guerilla warfare, leading up to the one great and final reckoning with their common foe—the *International Exploiter of Labour*.

ANDREAS SCHEU.

Canny Carnegie, the iron-monger and author of the pretentious 'Triumph of Democracy,' has a strike on his hands, and his Edgar Thompson steel works are being guarded by armed men. The strikers are Knights of Labour, who don't take much stock in Carnegie's kind of "democracy."—*Workmen's Advocate*.

## INTERNATIONAL NOTES.

### SWEDEN.

Our comrade Axel Danielson, the editor of *Arbetet* (the Work) published at Malmö, and who has done lately a considerable propaganda tour all over the land, has now been sentenced to one year's imprisonment.

### SWITZERLAND.

The Federal Council of the Swiss "Republic" at Berne has instructed several Post-office directors of the country to send in the names and addresses of all those persons who are subscribers of the *Sozial Demokrat*. Prussification of Switzerland goes on very nicely!

A new paper has been started at Berne, entitled *Die Parole*. It is a special organ for the Swiss compositors and intends to deal with the various topics of Socialism. It is published by Fr. Marlin and will appear twice monthly.

### BELGIUM.

Little Belgium, which is ruled by Mr. Leopold Saxe-Coburg, sovereign of the African Congo State, and by M. Bismark, emperor of Germany, had its fair share of work last week. Comrade Bernstein, expelled from Switzerland, arrived at Brussels, en route—for elsewhere. He was duly received at the railway station by two police officers, headed by a *political agent sent from Berlin*, who intimated to him Puttkammer's order to at once leave that German province called Belgium. Another Socialist, our French comrade Jules Guesde, who intended to lecture at Liege, was presented with a royal decree of expulsion, even before he had reached the Chinese wall which encloses that unfortunate land. A third Socialist, our Dutch comrade Cohen, has been expelled from Belgium, because he has suffered six months' imprisonment in Holland for some political offence. The clerical government there is even more stupid than it is allowed to any government to be.

From the beginning of May the *Peuple*, the daily Socialist organ of our Belgian comrades, is issued in a much larger size than before. The price of the paper, although somewhat higher, is a remarkably cheap one: *three centimes—i.e., a little more than one farthing*.

Last Sunday the first number of a new Socialist paper was issued at Jolimont—*Le Progres*—and it is to be the organ of the working-men of the Centre district (miners and glassblowers).

Comrade Louis Bertrand, one of the editors of the *Peuple* and of the *Avant-Garde* (the Vanguard), has published a considerable work on the 'Lodgings of the Poor,' which will be of great value to all those who care for the study of social questions. His book (2s. 6d.) is introduced to the reader in a masterly preface by our learned friend Dr. César De Paepe, on the "Hygiene of the Worker."

### GERMANY.

Puttkammer and his colleagues of the German police continue more actively than ever to persecute our Socialist comrades all over the country. From the beginning of the present month hundreds of Socialist homes have been searched by the Ihring-Mahlovs and the Naporras who adorn by their presence the blessed fatherland. Last Friday week a Berlin comrade was searched, apparently in consequence of a denunciation, and 35,000 copies of a pamphlet, ready for distribution, were found in his possession. At the same time, at the address of another Berlin Socialist 6000 copies of the same revolutionary pamphlet were seized. These two comrades were arrested, and besides these, four other friends who were concerned in the same propaganda work. At Hamburg and at Dresden several Socialists have been arrested because they had been distributing copies of the *Sozialdemokrat*. At Elberfeld, comrade Grimpe has met with the same fate. It is impossible to relate week after week the innumerable prosecutions and imprisonments undergone by our German comrades; everyone knows that Germany is more despotically ruled than any other country in Europe, and it will be so as long as our friends, who certainly deserve all praise for the patient and resigned manner in which they suffer, do not become somewhat more energetic in their opposition to all these Puttkammer brutalities.

The German Socialists have presented the family of the deputy Hasenclever, who has become incurably insane, with a sum of 12,000 marks, acknowledging thereby the services rendered by the unfortunate man to the cause of Socialism in Germany.

At Berlin 12,000 shoemakers have lately decided to strike. But as these workers are not sufficiently organised and have not funds enough to secure a victory over their employers, this strike will not last very long and will only assume the form of a large demonstration, in order to attract the attention of the public to the awful misery which prevails among the workers of that particular trade. Most of the Berlin shoemakers have to work 18 hours a-day, and the best paid "hands" get 18s. per week, the average wages only being 14s. weekly.

Joseph Dietzgen, a German Socialist of considerable knowledge, died at Chicago, where he acted as editor of the *Arbeiterzeitung* (the Workers' Journal), in the latter part of last month. A skinner by trade, he devoted a large portion of his time and life to the study of social economics. Among the working-men he is certainly the one who has best understood the economical theories of Karl Marx, and who has done most to popularise the doctrines of the modern or scientific Socialism. This was publicly acknowledged by Karl Marx himself, in the preface to the second German edition of 'Das Kapital,' where Marx stated that Dietzgen had undoubtedly won a brilliant victory over all the bourgeois economists who had attacked his views. Dietzgen was the author of a series of articles on Capital which appeared at that time in the *Volkstaat*, and created a good deal of sensation. He edited a great number of pamphlets; among others, 'die Religion der Sozialdemokratie' (Religion of Socialism), 'Nationaloekonomisches' (on political economy), 'die Zukunft der Sozialdemokratie' (the Future of Social-democracy), etc., etc. Dietzgen was not only an economist, he was a philosopher too; and I should like to say, contrarily to the adopted views, that he has rendered even more service in the field of philosophical thought than in that of pure economics. As he was a disciple of Marx in economical matters, so also he adopted Marx's method of interpretation of history, but he did not only follow his master's materialistic views, he also made personal investigations which led him to the conception of a new system that was published in 1869, under the title of 'Das Wesen der menschlichen Kopfarbeit' (The essence of man's intellectual work). Dietzgen went to New York in the Lent of 1884, and became the first editor of the now widely-spread organ of the German Socialists in America, *Der Sozialist*. In 1886 he withdrew from the editorship of the New York paper and went to Chicago, where, in the month of May of that year, he entered the *Arbeiterzeitung*. He died at the age of sixty years.

V. D.

## THE LABOUR STRUGGLE.

BRITAIN.

**ABERDEEN BAKERS.**—A branch of the Operative Bakers' National Federal Union was inaugurated in Aberdeen last week. There are now thirty-one centres in connection with the Union, with a membership of 3275.

**NUT AND BOLT TRADE.**—On Saturday, in accordance with the decision of the men, seven days' notice was served upon the Darlston nut and bolt manufacturers, demanding the restoration of the 1881 list, less 5 per cent.

**THE SELF-HELP MOVEMENT.**—Some time ago there was some talk about the formation of a self-help concern in Todmorden, but it fell through. The matter has again been revived, and it is to be hoped it will be well supported.

**BAKERS' STRIKE AT THE EAST END.**—A movement in connection with the excessive hours of labour in the East End of London, culminated in a strike on Monday, when some three hundred Jewish and German journeymen bakers left their work. They demand better wages as well as shorter hours, and much sympathy is expressed for them by men of other trades. The men paraded the streets during the day, stopping at every baker's shop and cheering, the result generally being that the men inside turned out and joined the strikers. Considerable excitement prevailed during the day.

**RETTALIATING.**—It may be remembered that a fortnight ago we reported a settlement as having taken place at Angola Mill, and that the weavers had resumed work on the previous Tuesday morning, the employer having conceded the demands of the operatives. We are informed that now the employer referred to has adopted a system of retaliation, and instead of posting up a list of prices has substituted a list of fines, of which the following is a copy: Five minutes late, 1d.; ten minutes, 2d.; breakfast time, 6d.; absent one day, 1s.; thin places, 1d.; thick places, 1d.; ends weaving out 6 inches but under 1 yard, 1d.; 1 to 2 yards, 2d.; 2 to 3 yards, 3d.; 3 to 4 yards, 4d.; all through the cut, 6d.; floats, 3d. each; wrong check, 1d.; seam, 6d.—*Cotton Factory Times*.

**RAILWAY EMPLOYEES' HOURS OF LABOUR.**—The return of the long hours worked on railways is beginning to have some effect with several companies. Reports from Leeds and other large centres all give accounts of the readjustment of the day's work allotted the men; and there is a prospect of more regular work taking the place of the three or four long days and two blank ones, which has been the customary method of making up a week's duty. We regret, however, to find, in some cases, that the companies—or to be more accurate, the officials—are enforcing the new order of things in a sort of spiteful spirit, and with the evident intention of making the cure appear to be worse than the disease. In such cases complaints should be made to the chief officials, who we hope may be trusted to see that no injustice is done the men.—*Railway Review*.

**FILCHING EXTRAORDINARY.**—The miners employed at Messrs. Gardner and Sons' colliery, Kirkintilloch, are at present on strike. The cause of the dispute is the loss on the output of coal insisted on by the employers when the least particle of dirt is mixed up in it. For 4 lbs. of "wild" coal the men lose 1 cwt., and so on up to 14 lbs.; for every additional 1 lb. found in a man's work he loses 1 ton 4 cwt. And according to Mr. Gardner the scale is unusually moderate. The firm has been getting a good proportion of the coal dug for nothing for several months past, but the men now see the folly of labouring in vain, and hence the strike. It is satisfactory to know that the shale miners of the West Calder and Broxburn district have voted a weekly sum of £4 while the dispute lasts.—The foregoing statement seems almost incredible, but it is reported by a trustworthy correspondent in the district.

**INTERNATIONAL TRADES UNION CONGRESS.**—The International Trades Union Congress will meet in London on November 6. The official language of the Congress will be French. The chairman of the Parliamentary Committee (Mr. W. Crawford, M.P.) will preside at the congress, and deliver an address of welcome to the foreign delegates. Reports as to the condition of labour in the respective countries will be presented by each nationality represented at the congress. The subjects for debate will include: 1st, the most efficacious means for removing the obstacles to free combination in foreign countries; 2nd, the best methods of combination among the workers in various countries; 3rd, the limitation of production by means of the reduction of the hours of labour; the desirability, or otherwise of State regulation of the hours of labour. The voting will be by nationality. There will be a reception of the foreign delegates by the British trades on the Monday evening previous to the conference.

**EVADING THE FACTORY ACTS.**—The Spinners' Union has resolved upon vigorous action to put a stop to the practice now widely prevalent by which employers and managers seek to shift their responsibility for breaches of the Factory Acts by hanging up notices in the mills. These notices make the spinners and heads of departments responsible if any boy, girl, or woman is caught working during prohibited hours. The Spinners' Union is determined that this innovation shall not in future be brought into play against any of its members, and the committee has decided upon three propositions. If the spinners are to be held responsible for their little pieces being caught working during meal hours, they will insist upon being allowed proper time during engine hours for cleaning. If this right is denied them, they will insist upon the notices being pulled down. In case employers and managers refuse to pull down the notices and allow matters to take their own chance, as formerly was the case, and be responsible as far as all fines and costs are concerned when prosecutions take place, the men will be brought out on strike until such notices are withdrawn.

**THE PENDING STRIKE AT OLDHAM.**—The result of the ballot amongst the Oldham spinners as to the demand for a 5 per cent. advance in wages shows that 3,995 are in favour of striking if the advance is not granted, whilst only 102 are against. The employers have not yet come to any decision. The impression in the district, however, is general that the advance will be grudgingly yielded. The *Cotton Factory Times* says: "We have not yet heard of any employer saying he would not give the advance when the month's notice for the same expired. True, there has been a lot of grumbling among shareholders, directors, and mill managers; but these are all coming to, and making up their minds, now that the spinners and cardroom workers are not to be frightened into withdrawing their notices, that the wisest thing to do is to grant the operatives their modest claim. The chairman of a spinning company was heard to say during the present week that if he must have his mind he would starve the workpeople into submission, and make them afraid to ever ask for another advance; but, he remarked, 'I reckon we shall have to give it them.' This very same man is now in an independent position, and made his fortune mostly out of the working

classes, and yet he dislikes seeing them trying to improve their position in life. It is a true saying that most of the men who have lifted themselves out of the ruck of the masses are the worst employers to work for."

**THE MEANING OF THE SWEATER.**—Few people have yet grasped the real moral of the evidence now being poured in daily to the Lords Committee on "Sweating," under the skilful management of Mr. Arnold White. We are all much too ready to abuse the so-called "sweater," the sub-contractor who grinds the faces of the very poor. But the sub-contractor is himself merely the instrument of superior forces. The surplus value produced by the "hands" under his supervision is not for him. He cedes the produce to larger capitalists, and is allowed to retain, on an average, only the competition wage of his own slave-driving ability. The classes who really profit by his exertions are three in number, and only by their restraint and gradual elimination can the worker obtain the full product of his labour. There is first the landlord, of town site or slum tenement, whose rents are raised by the overcrowding and local congestion which makes sweating possible. Then there is the large contractor, whose command over the instrument of production enables him, by advances, discounts, rebates, and what not, to squeeze his sub-contractor. And, finally, the investing capitalist, himself holding aloof from the contamination of actual trade, innocently shares the plunder with the contractor in the form of dividends, interest on bank deposits, and so on. But the first two classes sit in Parliament, and the third philanthropically goes "slumming." Hence all the social obloquy is reserved for their poor tool, the sub-contractor, who does not in the least understand what it is all about.—*Star*.

**FREEDOM!**—Before the Committee on Sweating last Friday Johann Franks, a Russian Jew, said he had worked in Russia and Roumania twelve or thirteen hours a day before he came to London, three years ago, because in Russia there was no liberty. In London he had freedom, but worked seventeen to eighteen hours a day, and sometimes more. (!)

**STATE-OWNERSHIP OF RAILWAYS.**—Whatever may be the feeling among the people of this kingdom regarding the State-ownership of the railways, there is evidently very little sympathy with it among their representatives in the House of Commons, as was very clearly shown in the debate, when Mr. Watt, who introduced the subject, found scarcely any support. It is a large debatable question that could not be settled in a day; and whatever disadvantages can be hurled at the proposal, it has advantages worthy of consideration—particularly the revenue the country would derive from its possession of the railways, and the feasible proposition that they would be worked for the benefit of the community instead of, as at present, for immense dividends.—*Railway Review*.

**"SATAN REPROVING SIN."**—One of the strikers at Hargher Clough Mill, was recently charged at the Burnley police court with using abusive language to another operative who had remained at work. In opening the case the lawyer for the plaintiff said, "These people had a right to go on strike, but they had no right to deny freedom of contract to everybody but themselves, and they had no right to influence other people who were willing to work, after they had struck work." This is very funny coming from a member of the Lawyers Union, one of the strictest in the country. It is more than likely that a lawyer who had exercised his "freedom of contract" to the detriment of his fellows, in the manner of the "knobstick" weaver, would have encountered something more damaging than a little abusive language.

**STAND BY YOUR COMRADES.**—It is not without regret, and even annoyance, that we notice how even members of trade unions are inclined to believe what managers tell them when they (the men) are wanted to fill up the places of men on strike. With a piece-work system which depends on the quality of the work supplied, if an operative is to earn decent wages there will always be a certain proportion of strikes going on amongst the hundreds of mills in the four counties. Except in very exceptional cases, and then only after consulting their local secretaries, operatives should always fight shy of firms advertising for hands. Promises to pay this, that, or the other list should be taken no notice of, as all concerned may rest assured that strikes will not be resorted to unless something is wrong. When a dispute occurs between the workpeople and their employers, all operatives ought to make it a point of honour to let them have it to themselves, and give no more trouble than they would like to have themselves under similar circumstances.—*Cotton Factory Times*.

The eight years that witnessed the transformation of the 95,000,000 dollars left by the old Commodore Vanderbilt into 217,000,000 in the hands of his son William, also saw the creation of an army of tramps a million strong.—*Providence (R. I.) People*.

**DISUNIONISTS.**—It is well for Socialists to remember that the people will not advance towards Socialism any faster than they acquire a knowledge of sound political economy, and the presence of scheming, glib-tongued disorganisers in a labour organisation can do much towards hindering the bulk of the members from acquiring such knowledge by filibustering methods, such as the spreading of calumnies and creating suspicion against those who would assist evolution by advocating the most democratic methods of organisation and procedure.—*Workmen's Advocate*.

**A NATURAL FRONTIER.**—The Spanish Government has re-opened negotiations with France for the making of two new lines of railway across the Pyrenees, one passing through Canfranc, in Upper Aragon, and the other along the Noguera Valley, in the district of Lerida, Catalonia. The Cortes will vote a subsidy of forty thousand pesetas per kilometre for both lines, native capital being offered in Saragossa and Barcelona for the whole amount required. The only serious difficulty in both countries is the resistance offered by military men and many politicians, on the ground of the dangers that might result from the opening of two tunnels in a great natural mountain barrier. Thus does the present ridiculous condition of the "civilised" world hinder the drawing near together of the peoples! What in the name of wonder can be the "dangers" of lessening the "natural barrier" except under an artificial system of isolation and suspicion?

**THAT SHARE.**—Since labour creates all values except what are the free gift of God to man, labour must receive its just share of what it creates.—*Journal of United Labour*.—Yes, evidently. But why quibble about what that share is? If God recognises no favouritism in the distribution of his gift—nature—and labour creates all else, then evidently labour's share is all wealth. Brain work as well as hand work, wages of superintendence as well as of other work must be considered in the term labour. This being done, the demand should be for the total product of industry. Through a co-operative system this should be accomplished, and interest, profit, and rent abolished.—*People*.



REVOLUTIONARY CALENDAR.

WEEK ENDING MAY 26, 1888.

20	Sun.	1796. Trial of John Reeves for seditious libel. 1820. Murder of Sandt, executioner of Kotzebue.
21	Mon.	1358. Revolt of the Jacquarie. 1798. Trial of James O'Coigly, Arthur O'Connor, John Binns, John Allen, and Jeremiah Leary.
22	Tues.	1885. Victor Hugo died.
23	Wed.	1498. Savonarola burned. 1851. Lalor Shiel died.
24	Thur.	1744. Marat born. 1804. Trial of Wm. Cobbett for libel. 1879. W. L. Garrison died. 1885. Rioting at Paris.
25	Fri.	1803. R. W. Emerson born. 1848. John Mitchel transported for 14 years. 1871. Strike of 9,050 engineers at Newcastle. 1881. Most found guilty; judgment deferred for argument of legal points.
26	Sat.	1804. Trial of W. Cobbett for libel. 1817. Trial of Niel Douglas for sedition. 1868. Michael Barrett hung. 1879. Osinski, Brandner, and Svizidenko hanged in Kieff for Socialist propaganda and resisting arrest.

*Trial of John Reeves.*—This, which was tried at the Guildhall before a special jury, was for a stupid reactionary pamphlet, that offended the susceptibilities of the Commons by belittling their place in the Constitution; it resulted in a verdict of "Not Guilty."—S.

*Trial of Arthur O'Connor, and others.*—This has been already spoken of under April 25, the date of O'Connor's death, in the account of his life. O'Coigly's life will be given under June 7, the date of his execution. The prisoners were arrested at Margate, Feb. 28, 1798, where they had gone to get across to France, with papers upon them addressed to the French directory from a revolutionary committee in England. Committed to the Tower, March 6, on a charge of high treason, taken to Maidstone gaol on April 7, and tried before a Special Commission there on May 21 and 22. Witnesses for the defence included C. J. Fox, R. B. Sheridan, and many others of repute. O'Connor was acquitted, but held on a warrant as already told; O'Coigly found guilty, sentenced, and hung; Binns, Allen, and Leary were acquitted and discharged.—S.

*Death of Richard Lalor Shiel.*—Poet, lawyer, revolutionist, M.P., office-holder, Whig, and reactionary. This is the exact order of things in the mental and social evolution of a man, who at one part of his career bid fair to be one of the most powerful elements in upsetting despotism in Ireland. He was the son of a merchant, at one time in a large way of business in Cadiz. Was born at Bellevue House, County Waterford, August 16, 1791. At 11 was a pupil at a school kept by Prince de Broglie at Kensington; from there went to Stonyhurst, and in November, 1807, entered Trinity College, Dublin, graduating 1811. His family's circumstances changing he was indebted to friends for the means of studying for the bar, adding to such support some rather large sums of money which he earned by dramatic authorship, some of his dramas being immensely successful, much of the success being due it is said to a very popular actress of the time. As a lawyer he was not a very great success. His political speech-making began as early as eighteen, and were tremendous successes. In 1822 he gave much labour to the Catholic Association, and was sent with O'Connell to plead at the bar of the House against the suppression of the Association (see *Commonweal* ante). This not being allowed by Parliament, when he returned to Ireland his speeches were so violent that he was prosecuted; but before the trial came on Lord Liverpool was seized with that fortunate attack of apoplexy which took him from the House of Lords to the House of Gods, and the proceedings were abandoned. The Roman Catholic Relief Bill allowed Shiel to be returned to Parliament, being elected in 1829 for Lord Anglesey's borough of Milbourne Port. His theatrical style of speech in the House were for a time rather a surprise, but he became a great favourite. In 1838 he was appointed one of the Commissioners of Greenwich Hospital. Like so many others who for a time have almost held the fate of a whole nation at command, Shiel sold himself for a mess of pottage. He had, he said, "forgotten all his law" when Lord Melbourne asked him to take office, and so having been a lawyer and forgotten all his law, it was seriously proposed to find him a good job at the Ordnance. This is the sort of thing which makes our army and navy a gigantic fraud on the nation. Men who take any sort of post so long as there is good pay to be drawn. In 1839 he was appointed Vice-President of the Board of Trade, and sworn in a privy councillor. In 1841 he was for a few months Judge Advocate General, and in 1846 was appointed Minister to the Court of Tuscany at Florence, which was worked for the purpose of relieving him from the necessity of voting directly for or against the Government in their anti-Catholic schemes of the time, and to have a friend close to the seat of the Pope to work the oracle in case of necessity. Naturally, when he had once touched Government gold he opposed all his old ideas and friends—

"We now  
Contaminate our fingers with base bribes;  
I'd rather be a dog and bay the moon  
Than such."

He died at Florence, May 23, 1851; his body was conveyed to Ireland, he had betrayed, and buried at Long Orchard, Tipperary.—T. S.

*Trial of W. Cobbett.*—That on the 24th was for "libel" in having attacked the Lord Lieutenant, Lord Chancellor, and other Irish officials, in a letter entitled 'Affairs of Ireland,' which appeared in his *Register*. He was found guilty but not called up for sentence, on condition that he appeared as Crown witness against Mr. Justice Johnson, the real writer of the letter; this he did. On the 26th Cobbett was tried for a libel on W. C. Plunkett, Solicitor-General of Ireland, who had prosecuted Emmett, and was bitterly attacked for his conduct on the trial by Cobbett in the *Register*; £500 damages.—S.

*Jerome Savonarola.*—The famous Puritan monk of Florence was born at Ferrara on the 21st of September, 1452, of a distinguished family of scholars in the age when rejuvenated Italy was the seat of all the arts, sciences, and luxuries of life. He had hardly attained manhood when, renouncing an almost certain prospect of being the petted idol of all the rich and powerful in a country commanding the tribute of all the earth, he secretly fled from his father's house and buried for life his commanding features and eyes of living fire in the sable hood of the Dominicans. As the careless world without was more gross and gorgeous in its heartless career of vice and crime than is recorded of any other age or clime, so did this disciple of Saint Dominic make his solitary cell the more severely mortifying to the tender flesh. From that cell poured forth to an astounded world before long such a flood of soul-stirring oratory as far surpassed the combined utterances of all other black friars rolled into one, although it is the special attribute and ambition of this sombre sect to be known as "preachers." Popes and kings shook in their shoes when they heard the fierce philippic of Frater Hieronymus, Fra Girolamo, or Brother Jerome. They sent humble messages to his convent to procure his good graces. He was arbiter of the disputes of nations. More than this, a society sunk in selfish sensual indulgence, which listened to

nothing else, yet listened to him. He became a social volcano, upheaving the rooted customs of centuries. Voluptuous lords and ladies flung their treasures at his feet, and begged him to lead them to a new manner of life. But in a fatal moment, at the height of his power, the great Jerome turned his scathing rhetoric at a power which has never brooked the interference of monk or monarch, angel from heaven or fiend from hell. Savonarola attacked the solid phalanx of the children of mammon, the money-changers and profit-mongers, the all-powerful gentry upon whose artful schemes of plunder every luxurious society is founded. The end was short and terrible. Though popes and kings had feared him, they were powerless to harm, for the people had followed him as a living god. Not so the Mammonites. They rose as one man against their latest enemy. They filled the very air with lying accusations against the fearless, incorruptible monk. They swayed the foolish mob like reeds before the wind. They caused the never wincing Jerome to be dragged to the public square of Florence, burned alive as he hung from a cross in chains, and then had even his ashes flung into the swift river, so that no vestige of his mortal frame should be left behind. Even as the Florence of 1498, so is the Chicago of 1887!—L. W.

*William Lloyd Garrison.*—The man to whom, above all others, the negro owes his freedom to-day from chattel slavery, was born on the 10th of December, 1805, on a spot which was even then a shrine to thousands, and is to-day a place of pilgrimage to thousands more. This is a certain church in the town of Newburyport, which town lies at the mouth of the Merrimac River in North-eastern Massachusetts. Within a few feet of the little house, where in dire poverty Garrison was born, still lies the embalmed form of the greatest pulpit orator who has used the English tongue, the man to whom in Tottenham Court Road so many thousands

"Came to scoff, and stayed to pray."

Above the body of Whitfield in the old church is the pulpit from which the venerable Jonathan Parsons (who lies now by Whitfield's side, and was in life second only to him) thundered forth the passionate appeal to sons of liberty among his parishioners to form a company in the broad aisle of the meeting-house on a famous Sunday in 1775, which company was one of the foremost in the little band which thrice sent the red-coated hirelings of British oppression reeling down the slope of what is now called Bunker Hill. Born in such an atmosphere, how could Garrison be anything else but a child of liberty? His father, a clever but dissipated rover of the sea, died soon after the son's birth. The mother was left to struggle with a large family of infants. Young Garrison served his seven years in the printing-office of the *Newburyport Herald*, an obsequious political organ of the commercial aristocracy of New England, opposed to all Radicals and reformers, and of course to such social disturbers as "abolitionists," had there been any then existing. As is often the case in newspaper offices, those who are too near the throne or behind the scenes are influenced by contraries in regard to the ex-cathedra utterances of the editorial room, young Garrison became everything which the newspaper abhorred. He started an anti-slavery paper of his own. He spoke against slavery, and was promptly mobbed by the "respectable" elements of the day. He bearded the lion in his den, publishing an anti-slavery paper in Baltimore, the citadel of the most belligerent of the slave-owning class. Of course, Garrison was promptly thrown into prison. After getting released he began his well-known *Liberator*, of Boston, which thundered forth for thirty-five years a voice for freedom which had to be heard, and which only died with Lincoln's proclamation of emancipation. Garrison was one of the most earnest, indomitable, and persistent of men, cold and courageous, casting aside all interest in aught but the work he had in hand. It was this concentration of energy which made him accomplish such a glorious victory. Yet he was not, like so many more puny-minded reformers, unable to see the importance of other work, although of necessity he left it to other hands. The familiar scoff of the slave-owners, that some abolitionists were upholders of worse slavery elsewhere, could never be applied to Garrison. As he was "without fear," so was he "without reproach."—L. W.

*Trial of Niel Douglas.*—This prisoner, who had been a member of the celebrated British Convention of 1793, in the proceedings of which he took a prominent part, was a Universalist preacher. He was accused of having, at the Andersonian Institution class-room, John Street, Glasgow, made certain "prayers, sermons, or declamations," in which King George was likened to Nebuchadnezzar, the Regent called a poor infatuated wretch and a worshipper of Bacchus, and the House of Commons told that its members were sold like bullocks and the House itself corrupt. Found by the jury not guilty, and told by the judge not to do it again.—S.

*Hanging Barrett.*—Michael Barrett was hung for his part in the Clerkenwell explosion, and was the last to suffer in public in England. His demeanour was admirable; no bravado, but firm, unshaken, dignified. The prison officials gave public expression to their favourable opinion of him gained from his conduct while in their charge, and all witnesses affirm the calmness of his face as he scanned the crowd who had come to see him die.—S.

THE SOCIALIST LEAGUE.

OFFICES: 13 FARRINGTON ROAD, E.C.

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

**Annual Conference.**—The Fourth Annual Conference of the Socialist League will be held at 13 Farringdon Road, on Whit-Sunday, May 20. The time of meeting will be as follows—Morning, 10 till 1; Afternoon, 2 till 5; Evening, 6 till business is concluded. All members attending Conference must, before admittance, produce card of membership. Branches are particularly requested to supply their delegates with written mandates. Provender—Comrades wishing provision to be made for them are requested to send in their names at once.

**Branch Subscriptions Paid.**—1887: Hastings, Nottingham, Pelsall—None. Croydon, Glasgow, Leeds—to end of March. Ipswich (?)—to end of May. Hull—to end of September. Norwich (?), Wednesday—to end of October. Edinburgh—to end of November. 1888:—Marylebone—to end of January. Acton, Bloomsbury, Bradford, Hackney Leicester, L.E.L. (Hoxton), Oxford, Stamford Hill, Walsall—to end of March. Clerkenwell, Fulham, Hammersmith, Merton, North London, Mile-end—to end of April. Mitcham—to end of May.

"COMMONWEAL" PRINTING FUND.

*Weekly*—W. B., 6d. C. J. F., 2s. 6d. K. F., 1s. Langley, 2s. P. W., 6d. Oxford Branch, 2s.

**Propaganda Fund.**—Collected at Regent's Park, 10s. 1d. Collected at Hyde Park, 1s. 8½d.

**East-end Propaganda Fund.**—May 8th, collected at Berners Street Club, 3s. 3d. May 15th, collected at Victoria Park, 4s. 4½d. Donation, Mrs. Sandham, 7s. 6d.—JOSEPH LANE, Treasurer.

## REPORTS.

**BLOOMSBURY.**—On Thursday last, A. K. Donald lectured here on "The History of Land Holding in England." Slight discussion. On Sunday, Donald, Manly, and Bartlett addressed meeting at St. Pancras Arches.—W. W. B.

**CLERKENWELL.**—On Sunday evening, May 13th, Alfred Adams' Dramatic and Musical Class gave an entertainment for the benefit of the New Branch Premises Fund. The hall was well filled. The programme consisted of two very funny farces and vocal concert. According to a London evening newspaper, "everybody seemed very jolly, especially the women, who laughed till the tears ran down their cheeks. . . . The Marseillaise finished a very pleasant evening.—B.

**FULHAM.**—Tuesday evening, opposite Liberal Club, good meeting addressed by Morris; some opposition easily disposed of. Sunday morning Morris spoke. Fair sale of *Weal*; 2s. 2d. collected for branch. In evening, Catterson Smith and Groser spoke outside, and Sparling lectured on "The Last Revolution."—G.

**HYDE PARK.**—Sunday afternoon, Donald, Mahon, and Samuels spoke; 1s. 8½d. collected. 31 *Commonweal* sold.

**KINGSLAND GREEN.**—Sunday morning, Charles and Parker spoke. Two new members.

**MERTON.**—This branch has now secured a new and commodious club-house, and are making arrangements for a fresh open-air station at Tooting Railway Bridge. Our premises will be opened on May 28th with a concert, to which all members of the League are welcome.—F. KITZ.

**MILE END AND BETHNAL GREEN.**—Sunday morning, Mainwaring spoke on Mile-end Waste. Afternoon in Victoria Park, Mainwaring, Brooks, Davis, Charles, and Parker spoke to largest meeting we have ever held there, lasting three hours and a-half. Sold one quire of *Commonweal*. Collected for East-end Propaganda, 4s. 4½d.—H. M.

**MITCHAM.**—Sunday, good meeting on Mitcham Fair Green, addressed by Kitz, Eden, and Knight. Good sale of *Commonweal*.—H. G.

**NORTH LONDON.**—Good meeting at Ossulston Street on Friday evening by Cantwell, Donald, Parker, and Bartlett.

**REGENT'S PARK.**—Our meeting here was a complete success. The speakers were Cantwell, Henderson, and Davis. Two quires of *Commonweal* sold, and 10s. 1d. collected.

**STAMFORD HILL.**—Brooks, Charles, Parker, and Mainwaring spoke here on Sunday evening. One new member.

**EDINBURGH.**—Weekly meetings for training speakers pretty well attended. On 3rd, Davidson on "How to realise Socialism"; on 10th, Donaldson on "Christianity and Socialism." Great many took part in discussions.

**GLASGOW.**—On Saturday, Glasier, Pollock, and Gilbert held a meeting at Cambuslang. On Sunday afternoon Glasier addressed a very large and attentive crowd on Jail Square. In the evening at Paisley Road Pollock and Glasier spoke to another large audience. There are always a number of people waiting us at this station who appear to be greatly interested in our teaching. Afterwards, in our rooms, comrades Muirhead and Glasier were appointed delegates to the Conference, with instructions.

**IPSWICH.**—Sunday week, good meeting. Saturday 12th, meeting at Barrack Corner; many questions put and answered. Sunday, attentive meeting at Ship Launch.

**LEEDS.**—During past week we have been very busy in connection with a strike of Jewish tailors here. Over a dozen meetings have been addressed during the strike, and comrade Kimmellor, the chairman of the Associated Societies, has worked indefatigably. On Sunday afternoon we addressed a meeting of about 3,500 people in Vicar's Croft. The crowd, besides being in hearty sympathy with the strikers, contributed towards their expenses. We hope to give details next week.—P.

**LEICESTER.**—May 13, Fowkes discussed "Socialism v. Individualism" with an anti-Socialist named Roberts at Highfields Working Men's Club, Barclay and Robson also present. All round discussion followed.

**NORWICH.**—Friday last, meeting on St Catharine's Plain by Mowbray. Another on Sunday morning at Catton; also at Eaton by Adams and Morley. In the afternoon at Market Place; in evening another enthusiastic and attentive outdoor meeting addressed by Poynts and Mowbray. Good sale *Commonweal*. Tuesday last Sutton and Nowbray elected delegates.

**WALSALL.**—Last Monday Deakin lectured on "The Socialism of Carlyle." Saturday, Sanders spoke in open-air; many questions put and answered. Sanders also addressed meeting on Sunday on the West Bromwich Road.—J. T. D.

**L.E.L. CLUB AND INSTITUTE.**—On Sunday last, W. C. Wade lectured to a good audience on "The Communist Manifesto." Discussion followed.

**JUNIOR SOCIALIST EDUCATIONAL SOCIETY.**—Owing to non-attendance of Lefevre last Saturday, a visitor opened a discussion on "The Organisation of the Different Socialist Bodies." Received with some opposition.—A. F.

**UNITED RADICAL CLUB.**—On Sunday evening last, H. A. Barker lectured at the United Radical Club, Kay Street, Hackney Road, on "The Moral and Economic Bases of Socialism."

Mrs. Wardle will supply Branch Subscription Cards at 9d. per doz. Leaflet Press, Cursitor street.

## LECTURE DIARY.

## LONDON.

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

**Bloomsbury.**—Communist Club, 49 Tottenham Street, Tottenham Court Road. Thursday May 17, at 8.30. Concert in aid of Branch—Programmes 6d. 24th. Business Meeting. 31st. G. B. Shaw, a lecture. June 7. Dr. E. B. Aveling, "Evolution and Socialism."

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

**Fulham.**—8 Effie Road, Walham Green. Sunday May 20, at 8 p.m., R. Catterson Smith, "Socialism and Morals."

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

**Hammersmith.**—Kelmescott House, Upper Mall, W. No lecture Sunday 20th, because of Conference.

**Hoxton.**—Labour Emancipation League Club and Institute, 1 Hoxton Square (near Shoreditch Ch.).

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

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

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11.30...Hackney—Salmon and Ball .....Cores  
11.30...Hammersmith—Deaddon Road .....The Branch  
11.30...Walham Green .....Fulham Branch  
7.30...Stamford Hill .....Charles & Mainwaring

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# THE COMMONWEAL

The Official Journal of the Socialist League.

VOL. 4.—No. 124.

SATURDAY, MAY 26, 1888.

WEEKLY; ONE PENNY.

## NOTES ON NEWS.

The Liberals had a grand meeting at the Memorial Hall the other evening, to condemn the coercion and imprisonment proceedings of the Government in Ireland. This is well enough, and everyone who thinks freedom a matter worth considering must agree with their resolution against the stupid bourgeois tyrants who have set themselves the task of conquering a determined people by a kind of persecution, which proves conclusively that they themselves at home are the masters of a country nowise free. But there are one or two points to be considered before we can let our Liberals blow their trumpet too loudly. These very same men, when *they* were opposed by the Irish people, acted much in the same way as those whom they now condemn, and would do so again if occasion served. Far greater applause greeted the news of the imprisonment of Mr. Parnell and his colleagues at the hands of Mr. Gladstone than is now uttered at an anti-coercion Liberal meeting.

The truth is, once more, that the Liberal leaders only use this "imprisonment for political offences" as a stalking-horse for getting a shot at the official benches, and the ordinary Liberal follows his leader blindly and hilloas when he is told. This has been often enough said, but it is necessary to remember it in order to calm one's amazement at the shamelessness of Liberal politicians in holding a meeting about the prisoners of liberty and not saying one word about those who had suffered close to their own doors. So it is! Gladstone has given his fiat that nothing is to be said about Trafalgar Square, and all his following do his bidding with a tameness that has no parallel in the animal world; and poor Harrison must rot in prison and have his life worn out month after month, and no notice taken of him because his case doesn't come within the scope of "practical politics."

W. M.

One of the lessons of the Canonbury murder seems to be that the morally-miraculous police in being made an efficient instrument of coercion has lost proportionately in the power of preventing or detecting crime. Men whose training has been intended to fit them for the suppression of public meetings or the bludgeoning of passers-by, are necessarily not the best to look after the lives and limbs of unoffending citizens; the military drill and dependence on command take out all individual initiative and fertility of resource. Besides, if so much effort is expended on Trafalgar Square and Socialist meetings, it is evident that it must be withdrawn from somewhere else.

A few days after the Canonbury affair came one in Holborn, where a man was knocked down, had his leg broken and his watch stolen, and the men got off safe with their plunder. But, after all, I Warren, is not intended for anything else but what he is, the suppressor of the people. Not only in his neglect of the rudiments of public safety, but in his consistent refusal to interfere with disorderly houses and the like, he has always shown an utter disregard of anything but the comfort and pleasure of the "upper" classes.

I Warren, and the Government were neatly stopped by Mr. Firth in their endeavour to work the blackmailing cases as that of Endacott was worked; that is, to get up a "prosecution" with a pre-arranged programme, and a wind-up of whitewash. Mr. Firth refused all evidence without a *public* enquiry was granted into the whole system; the Government was "afraid to face the music," and the enquiry was burked.

An incidental side-light is thrown on the Government and its supporters by the fact that Mr. Maple, M.P., presented himself at the Sweating Committee when a man who had worked for him was about to give evidence against him, remaining while the witness was giving his evidence, plainly for the purpose of intimidation. That this man Maple should do such a thing will cause no surprise, but it certainly does a little surprise one that the Committee and the Government alike are unable or unwilling to protect witnesses who are called on for evidence.

At the same committee, Lord Thring asked one of the witnesses if he believed that "men who were well fed were killed by hard work." Whereon the *Pall Mall* expostulates: "Why the point of the whole inquiry is that it is barely possible for the sweaters' victims to keep flesh and bones together on the starvation wages. Why did he not ask the witness if good dinners were matters of every-day occurrence in

the working dens? If meat was often served on the tables of the workpeople? If they had tables to serve it upon? Bread and tea, with a stray bloater on high days and holidays, we should say, form the menu which is most familiar. There are other little matters which the noble lord seems to ignore, such as fresh air, rest and sleep. Of course recreation is unknown."

But there is "hope for the weary"! A large number of M.P.'s on both sides of the House have organised themselves to work for "Legislative Social Reform." They have long been, so they say, dissatisfied with the apathy of Parliament on social questions, and they are now going to try and alter it. High hopes are being built on this foundation, slender enough though it seems to us, especially as the components of the organisation include landlords, capitalists and privileged people galore. Can the leopard change his spots, the lion lie down with the lamb *not* inside him, or the social parasite refrain from performing his "due function" of feeding on the people? S.

## THE HISTORY OF A SWEATER.

### HIS DEVELOPMENT.

My name is Myer Wilchinski. I came from the city of Kohl, near Carlsh, Russian Poland. My father occupied a good social position, as he was a wealthy carman and contractor, besides owning several omnibuses which ran between our city and Carlsh. At the age of eighteen, I and others were called on by the authorities for the conscription. My father spent many roubles in trying to get me off, but it was only for a time, and I had to join the army of the Czar a year later. We were all sent to Tomazow, and then I began to feel my position most acutely. I, who had had such a happy, comfortable life, with all the pleasures that my father's wealth could procure, to have to mix up, by day and by night, with such specimens of humanity as the abominable conditions of Russia alone can produce. When I considered that for eighteen years I should have to serve, and have to fight for, so rotten and so cruel a despotism, it was maddening to think of. And how well I remembered our (Polish) people telling the stories of how their dear native land was barbarously torn from them, and with what cruelty they and their wives and children were treated by the invaders, and the right to speak their own language denied them, under heavy pains and penalties. To think that I should have to serve such brutal scoundrels made me watch for the opportunity to desert and escape from such a holy Christian country. (Can you blame me, reader?)

To escape was a comparatively easy task, as I had money, and was generally liked because of that; and so corrupt is Russian officialism that it is a byword with the people that you can buy a policeman or sentry for a salt herring or a drop of schnapps (spirituous liquor) and their superior for a silver rouble. One night I determined to make the attempt. To change my clothes and bribe the sentry was a very easy matter, to bribe another on the outside also not a risky job. Once on the road, to get a lift from a kindly waggoner, and tell him my tale, got me a long ride and a little rest. I rewarded him, to his entire satisfaction, as he understood my motives and sympathised with me. We soon reached a part of the road where a small wood was all that was between me and the granitz (frontier). I here parted company with my good friend, who, after warning me to be very cautious, cracked his whip and went. I had really to be very careful, as it was getting daylight and the sentries were looking to be relieved; but a few more small bits of silver did the trick, and at last I was off Russian territory.

I felt for my passport (which my father had manufactured for me), and made my way to the resident official, but I had a difficult task to speak German without the Jewish accent, so I determined to speak as little as possible, and tied my face round with my handkerchief, as if I had faceache. By the aid of a bottle of good rum, I soon was on good terms with the resident official, and we drank each other's health several times. I then got my passport signed, which completed all that was necessary to take me all through Germany to Hamburg. There I was uncertain what to do next, but determined on placing water between us, I took the boat for Hull, remembering that England was the land of the "free," where Jews enjoyed the same privileges as others; where there were Jew members of Parliament and a Jew prime minister.



On the ship I met others who had left other paternal governments for various reasons, among whom were several who had been in a good way of business, one as a druggist, another as a ladies' shoemaker, who were both obliged to leave Galicia (Austrian Poland) wholly and solely because they were Jews. They related how they were continually robbed and maltreated by the ignorant, superstitious peasantry, especially on Catholic holy days, and when they appealed to the authorities they received only insult. Being in the minority, they were greatly disliked; and on one occasion a Jew retorted, "You all ought to be much obliged to us, for if we had not hanged Christ you would not have had a Saviour." Now these men who came to England to breathe the air of freedom (as they thought) were soon penniless and living on charity.

When we arrived at Hull I parted from the rest, as I wanted time for reflection. I was now in a strange land, with no idea of the language, and no knowledge of any trade, with only thirty roubles in my possession. Seeing so much squalor and wretchedness around me, I determined to go to London, the richest city in the world, where the largest number of people lived together, and where every nationality in Europe was represented in separate localities. There, thought I, will I be able to find something, especially as I am young, strong, and educated (more in theology than in any thing else, I must admit).

Well, I reached London one fine foggy, drizzly day in February 1882. I soon found the Russian Polish colony in Whitechapel, and soon felt somewhat in my native element, but the filth and poverty and misery appalled me. On the Saturday following I was invited to go to the chgazar marrk (swine market), which I was surprised to find was no market at all, but only the place in an open thoroughfare where the masters met the men who were seeking employment—a veritable slave-market, to which place I would gladly accompany anyone, and speak to these people in their own dialect. Many of them, like myself, "greeners" (new arrivals), willing to work at anything that would bring them the scantiest means of existence; some married and with families, and all with that enquiring, beseeching look, that half-starved, helpless, hopeless human beings must of necessity possess. I, looking perhaps brighter than the majority (who really looked like so many unwashed corpses) soon got into conversation with a master, who told me he was a barber and wanted a smart fellow to learn the trade; he wanted no premium, but would give lodgings and coffee to such a one. I declined the offer, not feeling quite so destitute as the fellow that went with him must have done. I received the same offer from a rivetter (boot and shoes), who told me that his trade was easy to learn to anyone that had naturally quick movements. I thought that I should see others first, so I promised to think it over and see him at night. I was then beginning to feel kind of interested and independent, but remembering that I only possessed eleven shillings, I determined to chance my luck, and closed with a tailor who offered to teach me the trade and give me lodgings and coffee for three weeks, and six shillings a-week afterwards, until I learned one branch of the trade (coat-making), when I would be able, he said, to demand from forty to eight shillings a-day for my toil. He lived in one of the many dirty streets in Spitalfields, and the work he made was railway and seamen's coats—hard heavy work, that required more brute strength than skill. He occupied two rooms on the second floor, for which he paid seven shillings a-week; had a wife, and three children aged respectively seven, four, two; very intelligent, almost crafty.

The room we worked in was used for cooking also, and there I had to sleep on the floor. The wife helped as much as she could at the trade, besides doing all the work of the house and the children. A young woman worked the machine from eight in the morning till nine at night, for 3s. a-day; not very often making a full week's work. My work at first was to keep up a good fire with coke, and soap the seams and edges; and the elbow-grease I used was considerable. I had to get up in the morning about half-past five, and we finished at night between ten and eleven, and turned out every week about thirty coats, which came to about £4. The master himself worked very hard indeed; and he himself told me afterwards that he had left the old country for the same reason as myself, and that a few years previously he had been a cow-keeper and dairyman, but was now a "tailor."

I soon learned to sew on buttons and do bits of hand-sewing, as well as pressing the seams. The three weeks passed, and I had learned to make myself tolerably useful; and my master told me that if I was willing to work the machine he would give me the 6s. a-week that he had promised me. I was rather pleased at this, so I consented; but the young woman who had previously done the work was sent away. For the next few weeks my life was anything but pleasant; but my master was most patient with me, and I learned to operate the machine.

In about three months I learned from others in the trade that I was being imposed upon, and that I was worth more wages; so I went and discussed the matter over with my master, who said that I was very ungrateful, but at last consented to give me 15s. a-week.

About this time I made up my mind to drop the latter part of my name, so I called myself Mr. Myers. The reason was that the greater part of my acquaintances did the same thing as soon as they began to get on a bit. About four months later I left my situation to work for a larger employer, for 30s. a-week as machiner. I worked from seven in the morning till nine at night, and this is called proper hours, even now, among both the masters and the men. Often we worked only two days a-week, which would make my wages only 10s. But I was contented, because I saw so many other men, better than myself, work in longer hours for less money.

Communicated by HENRY SAMUELS.

(To be concluded.)

## THE SAVING OF LABOUR.

One of the gods of our age is cheapness; it has been eulogised on all hands as a universal benefactor to the people. Now one great element in the question of cheapness is the cost of labour; hence anyone who can reduce the amount of labour or the price of labour necessary to the production of an article, and can so cheapen it, is held by some to be a general benefactor. If labour should make any protest it will be told that, although the amount of labour required in that particular business may be less, still the cheapness of the article will enable people to buy more of other things, and so more labour will be wanted elsewhere. Or, if it should be a question of the reduced price of labour, it will be told that although the money wages may be less, still, on account of the reduced cost of the articles bought with them, the real reward of labour will be as much, or even more, than it was before.

Let us take an instance of the first case, which is really the application of labour-saving machinery. We will suppose that a large iron company lays down £400 of capital in a hydraulic crane to take the place of a steam one, thereby saving the labour of an engine-man, which we will suppose cost them £60 per annum, what will be the result? The gross saving to the company is £60 per annum, of which £20 will go as interest on the capital used in making the change, leaving £40 net saving. With this £40 the company can do two things—either keep it to increase their profits, or cheapen their iron to that extent. If possible they will do the former, in which case the £40 will follow the £20 into the pockets of the shareholders. The chances are that this £60, which has found its way into the pockets of shareholders instead of into those of the engine-driver, will be spent in the ordinary way as part of the shareholders' income. The net result of the proceeding, then, is that the labouring class have lost and the capitalist class have gained £60 a year: for we must not allow ourselves to be led away and confused by following the £60 through a series of exchanges which in reality have nothing to do with the case. This would doubtless be attempted; thus the supporter of the present system of cheapening at the cost of labour would say that the capitalist spending his £60 extra a year would give employment to the same amount of labour as had been thrown out. But then would not the engine-driver's spending of his £60 have equally given employment? That fact is often lost sight of. The engine-driver is unable to give this employment, as he has lost his £60 a year; so that if there anything in this giving of employment at all, it is the same in both cases. It is not a question of spending, but of who shall spend! The tradespeople and those whom they employ are equally well off whether the £60 is spent by the engine-driver or the shareholders. The real question is, Who is enabled to enjoy the produce of £60 worth of labour, the labourer or the capitalist? This question of giving employment is a very common bugbear. Let me show how absurd it is. The shareholder gets his £60. We will suppose he spends it in clothes; well, according to the common idea, he gives employment to one man for about a year making clothes for him (or, what is the same thing, perhaps he gives employment to four men working three months). But now our tailor has £60; therefore, of course, he can give employment to a man for a year growing food for him. Again, the farmer has £60 to spend, so he can give employment to a man for a year making ploughs for him. But this plough-maker must live; he has now £60 to spend, so he, too, can employ a farmer for a year growing food for him, and naturally wishing to deal with a good customer, he goes to the same farmer and with his £60 employs him to grow his food. But we will not follow this wonderful £60 any further—the magic purse into which, if the owner puts a £5 note, each time he takes it out he will find it increases, is nothing to the £60. We have already seen that this £60 which was saved from the engine-man's wages has provided £60 worth of clothes for the shareholder, £60 worth of food for the tailor, £60 worth of ploughs for the farmer, £60 worth of food for the plough-maker, and £60 in hard cash for the fortunate farmer, who has already had ploughs out of it to the same amount! Whence, then, comes this absurdity? Simply from the fact that we had forgotten that money is a commodity. Had the shareholder been paid in pig-iron, we should not have fallen into the error; for if he gives pig-iron for clothing he has simply made an exchange, not found employment for anyone, for to the extent to which he may have stimulated the clothing trade, to exactly the same extent he has depressed the pig-iron trade. The real question of importance to labour is not whether the pig-iron shall be exchanged for clothes or stocked for future use, but whether the shareholder or the engine-driver is to be allowed to spend—that is, exchange—the pig-iron for food and clothing; for evidently, if the engine-driver spends it and enjoys the use of the food and clothing, the shareholder cannot do the same, and if the shareholder spends it, the engine-driver goes short.

The only man who gives employment by spending is the man who produces something. If a man produces something which someone else wants, he thereby causes that man to produce something else which he wants, and they exchange for their mutual advantage. The producer gives employment because he has produced something with which to reward it. All other men simply use the means of employment which they have been able to get hold of in one way or another from the producer. And here we come to the simple groundwork of all honest economics, that a man should enjoy what he produces, and of the produce of other men's labour he should enjoy what he pays for with an equivalent amount of his own, and no more than that is he entitled to.

But to return to our instance, for we have by no means exhausted it yet. There is one way, and, so far as I know, only one, in which the labouring class may not lose the whole of the £40 after it has gone to

the shareholder. Suppose that, instead of spending it as a portion of his yearly income, he uses it to put down some capital, it is conceivable under the following conditions that the result may be to save labour from the entire loss of the £40. If there happens to be an opening for producing something which would not otherwise be produced, if this £40 is the only capital available for the purpose, and if it would not have been used for this purpose had it gone to pay for labour, then and then only might labour be compensated in part, or possibly even to a greater extent than the original loss. That these conditions often occur is now impossible, for there is not a trade in which the amount of trade already existing is not large enough to produce many times the quantity of goods which is now turned out. Nor is there a trade which could not easily get enough capital to take advantage of any new departure. Hence we may say, I think, that at the present time, our powers and instruments of production being vastly in excess of the utmost requirements of our trade, and capital being plentiful, that any new labour-saving machinery which increases the interest paid for capital or the profits of shareholders is a source of loss to the workers.

We must now consider the other alternative which we saw the company had of reducing the price of the article to the extent of the £40. The £20 must go in any case. Should the article thus reduced be one exclusively used by the workers, then their class would gain the advantage of the cheapened article to the extent of £40, or two-thirds of their loss as a class; but this is an extreme case. Taking the wealth produced, we may say roughly that the producers consume one-third of it; hence, if an average article is cheapened, they will regain in cheapness one-third of their loss in the price paid for labour; the other two-thirds will go to the idlers. It is, of course, conceivable that the reduction of £40 in the price of the pig-iron turned out by the company in the year might stimulate increased demand for the iron, and so labour might recover some of its loss in this way, and no doubt, when the question is narrowed from the whole classes of labour and capital to the portions of those classes in one country, this may often be the case. In fact, the small reduction in price resulting from the introduction of this labour-saving crane might conceivably bring such a large addition of foreign trade as would more than compensate the labourers of this country for the loss of £60, but at the same time the loss to the labourers of some other country would equal their gain!

But enough has been said, I think, to prove abundantly that the introduction of labour-saving appliances is very frequently attended by loss to the labouring population, while all the gain goes to the capital-owning class. The other point which I alluded to in opening, and which I shall now deal with, is the question of reducing the price of goods by reducing the price of labour. It has been asserted on the one hand that when the article is one used by the workers, they gain as much by the reduction in price as they lose by the reduction in wages. It has also been asserted—once, at all events, by a writer in the *Commonweal*—that should the workers force up wages, the consequent rise in prices would bring their actual wages to the same level as they were before.

In both these statements the fact seems to be lost sight of that on the average the worker only consumes one-third of what he produces; hence that when his wages are reduced to reduce the price of an article, he has to suffer the whole loss in the reduction of his wages, and only shares in one-third of the gain of reduced prices. For example, a worker making three suits of clothes in a week, we will suppose, gets 9s. a suit for making them, or 27s. a week. The suits sell for 27s. each. Now in order to reduce the price to 24s., the worker is dropped from 9s. to 6s. a suit, or to 18s. a week. Taking the usual average, we will suppose the worker consumes one-third of the produce, then he will gain 3s. on the price of his suit and lose 9s. in his wages, or a net loss of 6s. a week.

For the same reason the rise in prices resulting from a rise of wages does not deprive the worker of all he gains. The increased price is put on to the goods, and as the worker only consumes one-third, he only has to pay one-third of the total increase, while he obtains the whole of the increased wage which was the cause of the enhanced prices. So that cheapness, so far as it is due to cheap labour, is bad for the workers, because they lose the whole amount which all articles are cheapened out of their wages, and only recover in cheapness on the comparatively small portion which they consume. On the other hand, high prices due to high wages do not take away the advantage of the better wages, because the high prices on the greater part of goods have to be paid by the non-workers. It is natural, therefore, that the upper classes should so glory in cheapness, for they get all the gain and none of the loss which comes with it.

I think the examination of these few points in the economics of our present system must convince us of the absolute necessity, when we rush into the labyrinth of economical discussion, of keeping the simple fundamental truth before us, all the more that the worker produces all wealth, and that only the man who has produced wealth to offer in exchange ought to be able to command the services of another or the result of his work. Since the introduction of associated labour and complicated labour-saving machinery, Socialism is the only economic system which can put this truth in practice. Socialism will enable the worker to share in all the improved processes of production, will enable each man to produce in the easiest way known and to enjoy the fruits of his own labour, and as much of the fruits of other men's labour as he pays for with his own; hence Socialism may be said to be the adaptation of the highest economic teachings to the needs of modern times.

RAYMOND UNWIN.

## THE PRISONER AT THE BAR.

(A REMINISCENCE OF TROUBLED TIMES.)

By J. DE JEAN FRASER.

(Reprinted from the 'Irish Felon,' July 15, 1848.)

'Tis a jest to ask me, why For my deeds I should not die? I appeal for my reply, To your thoughts! To my corn beneath the hoof! To the flame-flag from my roof! Do ye want more maddening proof Of my wrongs?	If some tyrant's blood I spilt, On the tyrant is the guilt; If I met him hilt to hilt For my own: And—free me from this chain, I will dare you thus again— Though you gird with cannon train Me alone.
Honest men before my eyes, Have been tortured into lies! And ye bought, from perjured spies, Priceless blood. Ye corrupted and debased, Ye inveigled, trapped, and chased, Ye o'erswept, deformed, defaced— Like a flood.	It may by heaven be meant That oppressors should relent; But not the oppressed repent Of the few Brave deeds of heart or hand, They can do to lift their land From the <i>grovelling</i> to the grand, Up anew!
The loftiest—or the least— In the fight—or when it ceased— The fair virgin—or the priest— Did ye spare? Till now, by force and fraud, Human feeling is outlawed, And oppression stalks abroad, Bold and bare.	And this persisting zeal, Which all trampled men must feel, Will defy your fire and steel, Till ye yield The plunder ye have gained, And the captives ye have chained; To a host—perchance untrained To the field.
Ye plunderers of our plains! Ye exhausters of our veins! Ye firers of our fanes! If I be, For resistance, when ye trod Flesh and spirit as the clod— A dark Felon before God; What are ye?	Though my fate be in your hands, With my life's fast-falling sands, I will lay my stern commands On my son; By the honour of his wife, By his fame in death or life, To be faithful to this strife, Till 'tis won!

### HOW A SALOON-KEEPER WAS INDUCED TO APPEAL TO HEAVEN.

AT Detroit, Mich., the Women's Temperance Union, or the women crusaders and Salvation Army, visited a liquor saloon and tried by hard praying to induce the proprietor to close the place. The proprietor invited the ladies to seats and asked them to pray, and he himself offered the following prayer: "Almighty Creator, Thou who hast made the heaven and the earth and created man after Thine own image as rulers of the earth, while animals are living on grass and water, Thou didst teach Thy servant Noah to make wine, and Thou didst punish him for making intemperate use of it. At the wedding of Cana Thine own son, Jesus Christ, transformed water into wine when the juice of the grape was exhausted that the enjoyment of the guests might not be disturbed. The great reformer, Martin Luther, said: 'He who does not love wine, woman, and song, remains a fool all his life long,' and one of the divine commands of the book Thou hast given us is: 'That man shall drink no longer water, but shall use a little wine for the stomach's sake and his often infirmities.' All great men of this earth have been drinking of the wine Thou hast given Thy children upon the earth. O Lord, we pray Thee, have pity on the women here, who are even like the beasts of the field and drink water like an ox, while they dress extravagantly and lead their husbands by other extravagances, not tending to our well being, to be bankrupt, depriving them of the pleasures of this world; yes, driving them to suicide. O Lord! have mercy on these ladies; look upon them. They wear not even the colour of the face which Thou hast given them, but they are sinning against Thee, and not content with nature they paint their faces. O Lord! Thou canst also perceive that their figure is not as Thou hast made it, but they wear humps on their backs like camels. Thou seest, O Lord, that their head-dress consists of false hair, and when they open their mouths Thou seest their false teeth; and, O Lord, just make a note of the spiral spring and cotton batting contrivances they wear in their bosoms, for no other purpose than to make themselves voluptuous, and to excite in man a much worse passion than the use of wine; and for the same reason they have a number six foot pinched into a number three shoe; and a number forty waist squeezed into a number seventeen corset. O Lord, these women will not bear the burden of married life, and obey Thy commands to multiply and replenish the earth, but they are too lazy to raise their children, and, O Lord, Thou knowest the crimes they commit. O Lord, have mercy on them and take them back into Thy bosom; take folly out of their hearts; give them common sense that they may see their own foolishness, and grant that they may be good, worthy citizens of our beloved city of Detroit. O Lord, we thank Thee for all the blessings Thou hast bestowed upon us, and ask Thee to deliver us from all evil, especially hypocritical, lying women, and Thine shall be the praise for ever and ever. Amen.

—*Duncannon Record*.

We have received a pamphlet issued by Mr. A. D. Duvivier, 32 Gloucester Road, Regent's Park, in which he sets forth his grievances against the managing clique of the Royal Academy of Music for wrongful dismissal. Upon the face it appears a very bad case, and one that should be taken up by some organ more influential in ordinary circles than we can be.

THE BATTERSEA VESTRY AND THE S.D.F.—Comrade John Burns asks us to announce "that the four candidates for the local vestry run by the Battersea Branch S.D.F. were all elected by very large majorities, much to the surprise of the old gang. Three of the candidates are workmen—one bricklayer, one bootmaker, one modeller. This makes five Socialists now on our vestry. The conditions under which they were elected were as follows: All local work, buildings, etc., to be done by local authority without contractor; where not done by vestry, only by builders who pay union rate and work their men decent hours. Employés of parish authorities to have better wages and conditions of work; salaries of high officials to be reduced; Reverse the prohibition against costermongers trading in the streets. Better cleaning and repairing of roads and streets in working-class districts; etc."



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

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

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

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 six months, 3s.; three months, 1s. 6d.

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

CONTRIBUTIONS received—will be used: J. L.; T. S.; A. C. H. Unsuitable:  
 G. F. (Catechism); A Swiss.

Periodicals received during the week ending Wednesday May 23.

<b>ENGLAND</b>	Liberty	Antwerp—De Werker
Democrat	Chicago—Labor Enquirer	Liege—L'Avenir
Freedom	Chicago (Ill)—Vorbote	SWITZERLAND
Justice	Buffalo—Arbeiter-Zeitung	Zurich—Arbeiterstimme
Leaflet Newspaper	Denver (Col.) Labor Enquirer	ITALY
London—Freie Presse	Detroit—Der Arme Teufel	Milan—Il Fascio Operaio
Labour Tribune	Fort Worth (Tex)—South West	Rome—L'Emancipazione
Norwich—Daylight	Milwaukee (Wis.)—Volkblatt	Marsala—La Nuova Eta
Railway Review	Arbeiter Zeitung	SPAIN
Worker's Friend	Providence (R.I.)—The People	El Productor
<b>NEW SOUTH WALES</b>	St. Louis (Mo.)—Altruist	PORTUGAL
Hamilton—Radical	San Francisco—Commonwealth	Lisbon—O Protesto Operario
<b>CANADA</b>	Coast Seamen's Journal	GERMANY
Toronto—Labor Reformer	FRANCE	Berlin—Volks Tribune
<b>INDIA</b>	Paris—Cri du Peuple (daily)	AUSTRIA
Bankipore—Behar Herald	La Revolte	Arbeiterstimme
Madras—People's Friend	Journal du Peuple	Brunn—Volksfreund
<b>UNITED STATES</b>	HOLLAND	ROUMANIA
New York—Der Sozialist	Hague—Recht voor Allen	Vittorie Romanie
Truthseeker	Amsterdam—Voorwaarts	Jassy—Muncitorul
Volkszeitung	BELGIUM	SWEDEN
Truthseeker	En Avant	Malmö—Arbetet
Jewish Volkszeitung	Ghent—Vooruit	
Boston—Woman's Journal		

## MODIFIED MURDERERS.

THE characteristics of our present society, indifference to life and the plenty of shoddy goods, are in their essence the same. We find embedded in the ancient literatures, amidst the evil and bloodshed pictured in them, the marks of the uprising in men's minds of the doubt, whether the slavery or death of one's enemy were all that men should aim at. Cain's defiant question "Am I my brother's keeper?" had to do with one part of life, but for the murder of the soul take Homer's words—"A man loses half his manhood on the day that makes him a slave." These two together mark the gradual change from the bestial into the human mind, noted and promoted by the seers, prophets, or poets, who have ever been before their time. Such movements are slow: they may fall motionless, not dead, for centuries. Their real revival, their fresh start, has been embodied in that poetic language, which a people deeply moved is capable of, and which touches and animates hundreds of generations, whether it tell the story of the carpenter's son of Nazareth or the camel-driver of Mecca. That impulse has spent itself: otherwise we should not resort so often to the satire or the joke. When we once more become real, we shall not so show our shame of appearing to have a genuine feeling about anything, we shall not put away our views of murder in such rough and jocose rhymes as these—

"Taint your eppylets an' feathers  
 Make the thing a grain more right;  
 'Taint a-follerin' your bell-wethers  
 Will excuse ye in His sight.  
 Ef you take a sword an' dror it,  
 An' go stick a fellow thru,  
 Guv'ment aint to answer for it,  
 God'll send the bill to you.

"I dunno but wut it's pooty,  
 Trainin' round in bobtail coats,—  
 But it's curus Christian dooty  
 This 'ere cuttin' folks's throats."

These verses are the modern way of putting Cain's question—"Am I or is government to be responsible for a murder?" The answer has wavered backwards and forwards; sometimes it has taken the form of exacting the life of one or more of the particular tribe which committed the murder of a stranger, or, as in Ireland quite lately, of fining a district in which a murder has taken place, at others of hanging or more effectually slaying the murderer by shutting him up for life. But these few items sink into insignificance beside the gigantic killing, whether by gun or sword, or some other form of coercion, carried out by governments, and approved by the respectable classes throughout the world.

That society gives its approval to the more obvious forms of murder requires but little proof in the present state of Europe, overshadowed as it is by the storm-cloud of impending war, a war to be waged for the purposes of the interested classes—of the stockjobbers and usurers. Society puts the actors in the drama into eminent positions, treats the occupation as the only one fit for a "gentleman," and dresses up its princes in habits suited to the business. M. Emile de Laveleye is mistaken in supposing that "the residence of the Pope is the only place in the world where murder is publicly glorified" (*Pall Mall Gazette*, April 24, 1888). But is this the worst kind of killing even in respect of the body? It is not so bad as the "child-torture, assault, starvation, neglect, desertion, cruel exposure to excite sympathy in the streets," and so on, set forth in the *Pall Mall Gazette*, Dec. 23, 1887, and coupled with an appeal, which is supported by certain Countesses and Honourable Ladies, people of the class whose sympathy has to be excited by the "cruel exposure in the streets." It is not so bad as the sweating system, nor, for the matter of that, as the commercial system in general; the details of some bad bits of which the Committee of the House of Lords is listening to with interest. Their lordships also hear the suggested remedies, and in particular that given by the reverend vicar of Old Ford. This is very weighty, for he belongs to a body which is very prolific, perhaps even more so than the proletariat. He might compare his class with the poorest in this respect, and determine whether this curious result does not arise from the dullness of life, on the one hand from superior respectability, and on the other from extra misery. Even the commercial conscience is shocked, both at the evil and at the remedies, but it merely proposes to drive its slaves a little more slowly, as it is unpleasant to see them drop out of the ranks and die at our very feet: let them go a little easier, so that they may reach the workhouse or hospital, and get themselves out of the way there.

Reformers desire, no doubt, to amend the present condition, but they cry out against "a Socialist dreamer," or ask with a sneer when our millenium is coming, if one says that the remedies proposed are worse than the disease. I do not mind being called a visionary, since every man must be that who tries to look into the causes of things. If from the seventeenth century and from Voltaire satire has flourished, and the sneer of disbelief has marked the privileged classes, that is the best proof of the rottenness of society. That this is too far gone for mending is not more plainly shown by the coercion of violence now being carried on by the privileged classes in defence of their interests, than by the more covert coercion of the examination system at schools and universities, and of the teetotal-system which our temperance people propose for us. The latter is just as much an attempt to force the workers to accept certain tenets of the idle classes, as Balfour's bayonets are to force the Irish to submit to certain exactions. The seal of bigotry is on the first, and as such it touches and degrades the mind in a way that the oppression of the body can scarcely do, until it goes so far as to bring down men to physical slavery. But the slavery of guiding one's life by other people's fancies is the worst of all.

There was a meeting on April 11, 1888, of the Central Association for stopping the sale of Intoxicating Liquors on Sunday. The Archbishop of York (in the chair) said "the Lord's Day was sacred to bodily repose and spiritual sanctification." I don't know, nor is it a matter of much importance, whether this particular Grace employs flunkies, cooks, horses and carriages on Sundays to get him to church and back again, or to attend when he gives his body that repose and food in the pleasant retreat at Bishopstowe, so well deserved by his morning's attempts towards the spiritual sanctification of himself and others, according to the fashion of his tribe. But we do know that he belongs to and supports the minority who live on the misery of the poor: and he called on his fellow-coercionists to complete the work of rent-coercion by compelling people to cease drinking on Sundays. The Archbishop went on: "They were in fact asserting what had been the charter of the people from the first, and no majority has the right to do anything which would compel any portion of the minority to work on Sunday." An archbishop standing up for the people's rights is a queer sight, and he does it in a queer fashion. For how about the minority who have so arranged matters as to compel the majority to work for a bare living morning, noon, and night, without regarding whether it is a Sunday or a week-day, and this, too, in a way much more like compulsion than anything that can be said of keepers of public-houses? He continued, however, and pitied the brewer's publican who could not take out a six days' licence, instead of one for seven days, without the brewer's permission—"this is a very dangerous state of things from the point of view of a lover of freedom." A lover of freedom!—it makes one's gorge rise to hear this archetype of the enslaver of men's minds talk of freedom. "What he wanted was to have publics closed altogether on Sunday, . . . and this was not a matter for County Boards, but of Imperial legislation." To be coerced by the Imperial Legislature, not even to have the very dim chance of using one's own judgment, promised by the new Bill with its County Boards,—this is how a representative of the education of society slays the freedom which it pretends to nurture.

Woe to that Society which sets success before it as an ideal! For it is this that has ruined the process of education, and made it into a machinery for turning out not men, but cramped and hide-bound beings fitted for business, or, as it is put, for the "battle of life." They have not imagination enough left in them to understand the co-operation of life, and the dignity of work, but fix their thoughts on that success which gives to the leisured classes a leisure resting on the waste of labour and the shoddy lives of the masses. It is impossible that these successful ones can have any sympathy with those whom they have



crushed in their ascent. Yet these are they whom the author of the phrase, "the classes and the masses," flatters with the idea that they will for ever bear rule over others. Their poverty-struck imagination shows itself in their schools and universities, which are mere idling places, to which their sons may be banished during the noisy period of boyhood and youth. If anything is taught there it is the art of making a fortune, and but little heed is given to the "religion, learning, and education" which they flourish on their sign-boards and advertisements. Their religion is exhibited in their five or ten thousand-pounder princes of the Church, and in the ineffable drivel of Convocation. Their learning?—and their education? It is sunk to the cramming of the mind with formulas; men's natural turn is killed out, and the void filled with other people's ideas. They come out of the education-mill labelled Tory, Whig, or Radical, but with no understanding of the phrases which they have been severally taught to use, and they follow the steps of some party leader. There could be no such thing as party if there were any real education; for no one with any sense of the dignity of man could consent to oppose in public what he advocates in private. This system of lies, which it is openly declared that a party man must fall in with, is a natural result when success is put before us from our very birth as the object of life. To aim at that object one must fill the mind with cant, and to attain it must drop one after the other every reasonable principle of life. The idea dominates the whole system, from the infant-school upwards. We choose as teachers in the Board Schools those who long for success, without having the capacity for reaching it. We know that it is in the time of infancy and childhood that ideas, good or bad, get most firmly rooted in the mind. Yet we not only secure inefficiency in the teachers, but go further and make their pay depend upon a wretched success in training the children to get marks in examination. The abominable idea of competition and the ridiculous distinction of classes, in such a system, destroy the innocent socialism of childhood, and turn them into snobs before they are well in their teens. It is a slaughter of the innocents, worse than to take them and dash them against the stones. This is what our boasted respect for life comes to, an indifference with regard to the body, but a very mockery towards that freedom of the soul, without which true life cannot be. There are but few who escape from this slaying of the true life; it is hard to say whether it is the leisured classes who suffer more from their overcharge of the competitive-intellectual food, or the worker from his scanty allowance of it.

This is what Socialists have to put before themselves. It is not the killing of the bodies, but of the minds of men that we have to see to. The first will inevitably produce its natural fruit in a revolution. But till the mind is educated, we should not recognise freedom if it came to us. I take it that our real business is to turn all our energies to educating men for freedom, to the nurture of an ideal which shall enable them to see and know what freedom is. Let the leisured classes go on their way; as a class they are of no concern to us. They may garrison their institutions by bribing small numbers to their side by allotments or peasant farms; or by the coercionist palliatives which they adopt, they may perhaps defer the struggle for a few years. Do Socialists wish for this putting off? or if they do desire it, is it not that the time will be all too short, even with their utmost efforts, for the necessary work of education? C. J. F.

### THE LEEDS JEWISH TAILORS' STRIKE.

AFTER a spirited battle of about a fortnight's duration, the strike amongst the Jewish tailors has collapsed. Some three years ago, when the men struck for a reduction in the hours of labour, the expiration of a week saw them successful. At the present time the hours worked are from 62 to 72 per week; and the wages vary from 2s. 6d., 3s., 3s. 6d., 4s., 5s., up to (in a few instances) 7s. per day. The average number of days worked per week during twelve months, will be about 3, or at the outside 3½, so that the best paid workmen, taking brisk and slack times together, does not earn more than about 24s. weekly. Against these conditions the men struck. Their demands were a week of no more than 58 hours for tailor's pressers and machinists, overtime to be paid at the rate of time and a-half, and "society shops." A circular was addressed to the employers, some 65 in number, asking them to meet a deputation of the men. One only put in an appearance. Nothing remained but to call out the men, which was done, and about 1,200 of them struck. Altogether about 3,500 men and girls were rendered idle. The employers, trusting to the docility and lack of organisation amongst the hands, were furious, especially as they saw a forecast of the entire Whitsuntide trade being lost to them. What was more, public opinion from the very first has been with the men, and the masters to prevent this resorted to the most barefaced calumnies. They circulated through the press that the objects the men had in view would put a stop to the employment of English girls. The average wages, according to them, were from 6s. to 7s. per day; and the time worked 5½ days per week. At a meeting of the English girls employed in the Jewish workshops, a resolution was passed denying the statement of the employers and expressing sympathy with the men; and in answer to the statement respecting the wages paid, it was declared at a meeting of about 6,000 people convened opposite the Town Hall, that 1,000 of the strikers were willing to sign an agreement for two years to accept a standing salary of 22s. per week. The employers have been discredited right and left, and had it not been for the conduct of a handful of scabs occasionally going in, and

thereby raising hopes that the men were giving way, I believe the strike would have ended favourably to the strikers. Nothing more mean than the tactics of the employers could be imagined. They frightened the grocers into refusing any goods on credit to the families of those on strike, but the difficulty was overcome by giving securities to a couple of shopkeepers for goods to the extent of about £20. Another of their mean dodges was to go to the infirmary and dispensary—both public institutions—and influence them to refuse assistance to the strikers. But though the men have lost this battle, they have doomed the existence of the middleman. Deputations of the workmen waited upon the large warehouses—from whence the sweaters obtain their work—and opened their eyes to the amount of bribery and corruption which exists betwixt the sweaters and the functionaries who have the letting out of the work. At several of the warehouses a wish was expressed to dispense with the middlemen altogether, and bring the workmen inside.

Of funds there was little or nothing to fall back upon. In this lay the great mistake, and although several small sums of money were collected from private persons and from meetings held to express sympathy with the men, they were inadequate to keep the strike going. As it is the men will have a harder life than ever after this strike, and many have expressed a determination to leave the town. Comrade Kimmelhor, chairman of the Associated Societies—the head and front of the strike—and others who took an active part in the strike, will be surely boycotted from the trade in Leeds. To meet this evil they intend opening a workshop on co-operative principles, and expect to commence within a week.

Our branch has, from the commencement, taken up the strike vigorously. In addition to Kimmelhor, who worked night and day while the strike was on, Maguire and myself will have addressed no less than 15 meetings. Several of the most active men amongst them are members of our branch, and we expect another accession now that the strike is over.

T. W. P.

### CHANTS OF LABOUR.<sup>1</sup>

SUCH a book as this has been long desired and looked for; now that it has been prepared and published it should be given the heartiest welcome and no effort should be spared to make it a success. Valuable as a propagandising influence, helpful to while away profitably a spare minute (if a true Socialist has ever such!), the songs of labour have hitherto been practically inaccessible. One knew this and another that, this had been published and that not, and so on; but now, although there are some that will be missed, the selected 55 are fairly comprehensive, and will afford something for every taste. The book, too, is produced at such a low figure that one marvels "how it was done"; 100 closely-printed pages of clear music and small type for a shilling is bargain enough to appeal even to a commercial mind. Thirty-four writers have been chosen from, and for the most part the selections are happy. The only ones to quarrel with are the three Irish songs. The version of the "Wearing of the Green" given is by no means the best. If two of Sullivan's were needed, why not give "God Save Ireland" and "From the Backwoods"?

On fitting tunes to the songs, however, it is that there is most room given for fault-finding. Ernest Jones's "Song of the 'Lower Classes'" is torn away from its own air, the one written for it, and to which it was published, and quite unnecessarily given another, hitherto unconnected with it. Most's "Hymn of the Proletariate" is unjustifiably divorced from "Zu Mantua in Banden" ("Andreas Hofer"), to which it has always been sung, and violently wedded to the uncongenial and impossible "British Grenadiers"! "The Voice of Toil" may be sung to "Ye Banks and Braes," but is assuredly not suited to it. Why is Bax's setting of "All for the Cause" put aside for a nondescript "English air" which is not a tithe so appropriate? Josef Scheu's really impressive setting of his brother's fine song is given, but being apparently thought insufficient, the song is repeated with a very commonplace air by another writer, thus taking up room to no purpose that might have been filled by another song. But the worst feature of the book is formed by two feeble travesties of church anthems, made out of some words of Walt Whitman's, about the poetry of which there may be doubt, but about the applicability of which to their present purpose there can be none.

Omissions there are many, as of course there must necessarily be. It is to be hoped that the venture will not only succeed enough to warrant another edition, in which the few faults of the present may be remedied, but that a second volume also will soon be found necessary, in which room can be found for another half-hundred favourites.

S.

A prominent member of the Government was recently hanged in effigy<sup>2</sup> and the ordinary citizen is going around saying "History may well ask: Why in effigy?"

Do you say that the highest aim ought not to be merely the production of wealth cheaply, but the happiness and the elevation of mankind? Surely you haven't studied political economy or you would not entertain such un-scholarly ideas. What, you insist! You say that men are more important than bales of merchandise; and the souls of men of greater value than hoarded dollars. Ah, it is to be feared that you are tainted with socialism, or agrarianism or "some other ism of violence and blood." The police must see to you, you must be suppressed.—*Canadian Labor Reformer.*

<sup>1</sup> 'Chants of Labour,' with Music. Edited by Edward Carpenter. With front and title by Walter Crane. Swan Sonnenschein, 1s.

## THE LABOUR STRUGGLE.

BRITAIN.

The outlook for Bury (Lancashire) is very depressing. Six out of about fifty mills are now closed, besides three large foundries, and the railway company have also removed their works.

The woollen trade is very bad in Littleborough. It is stated that a number of workplaces are about to be closed for a considerable time.

The miners employed in the No. 1 pit of the Hermand Oil Company, West Calder, have struck work until a definite answer has been obtained from the manager in reference to their check-weighman.

The riveters employed in the shipbuilding yard of Messrs. Scott & Co., Greenock, are on strike for an advance of 1s. per 100 rivets. The riveters in Messrs. Caird & Co.'s yard, who came out about a month ago, remain out.

OLDHAM.—A general meeting of the Oldham Master Cotton-spinners' Association, held on Thursday night, decided to concede an advance of wages to the operatives. This declaration affects about 30,000 workpeople.

The strike at Palmer's ship-building yard at Jarrow, still continues. During the week over 120 labourers have been imported from Sheffield to take the place of the platers' helpers. On arriving at the yard, a number of the "strangers" refused to work, alleging that they had been misled.

BLACKBURN.—Notices have been given by the loomers and drapers at fifty Blackburn cotton mills to cease work, as the masters have refused to adopt the uniform list of wages proposed by the men. This will seriously affect the weaving and spinning branches of the cotton trade.

A MEAN ADVANTAGE.—The weavers at Gannon (Burnley) resumed work last Thursday after a nine day's strike, the employers insisting on stopping each weaver 2s. per loom for power, and deducted it from the wages earned before the strike, amounting altogether to £106, there being 1,060 looms. As may be supposed considerable dissatisfaction exists, and it is very doubtful if the firm will be any gainers in the long run.

"A LESSON FROM THE ENEMY."—From the division list of the voting on the occasion when the second reading of the Steam Engine and Boilers Bill was defeated in the House of Commons, it will be seen that the "Noes" contain Whigs, Radicals, and Tories, and shows how all shades of politicians can combine to protect their interests when their position as capitalists is assailed. What a lesson is there not here for working-men—railwaymen in particular!—*Railway Review*.

COLNE.—ANOTHER STRIKE AT GARDEN VALE MILLS.—A batch of about 19 weavers who have been working at this place since the strike, which began about six months ago, have come out on strike and another batch have given in their notices. Not one of the original strike hands have yet returned to work. The twenty-fifth report of the strike committee shows an income of £80 3s. 10d. The expenditure includes 2s. per loom for 584 looms, and sundry payments to winders, twistors, tenters, and a small sum for children.

EMPLOYING MARINES AS DOCKYARD LABOURERS.—The *Western Daily Mercury* announces that the dockyard authorities at Devonport have within the past few days been instructed to draw 100 men from the local division of marines in order to execute labourers' work in Keyham yard in consequence of the dearth of employes due to the late reductions. Of these fifty had to be obtained from Chatham, and the local division is now so weak that little more than a score of men are available for ordinary duty. It is, moreover, asserted that the marines in question are not effective. Great discontent prevails amongst the marines and in the dockyards.

A RENEGADE'S PORTRAIT.—The Amalgamated Hosiery Union of Leicester are using the photographic art in a manner at once amusing and effective, for the purpose of "showing up" a former member who has lately turned renegade. In a firm where a dispute is still unsettled, this man has gone in as a knobstick foreman, and is trying to induce other men to follow his example. Some of the members happen to have had a portrait of this man, taken when he was once picketing a shop for the Union. At the time he was taken he had a clay pipe in his mouth, and the Association have had his photograph reproduced, clay pipe and all, and have pasted a copy in each of their monthly reports. The gentleman in question is likely, therefore, to become tolerably well known, in a sense not conducive to his comfort nor popularity.

A TYPICAL EXAMPLE.—Boys' and girls' boots at 6d. a pair! Such is the statement made, not before the Sweating Committee, but at the meeting of the City Board of Guardians. The chairman admitted it was true that boys' and girls' boots were supplied by contract to the Central District Schools at Hanwell at 6d. a pair, that they cost 1s. 6d. to repair, and that new boots had now been ordered instead of repairing old ones. What must be the wages of the workpeople employed in making these articles? A mystery of the contract system, Mr. Lyon said, in explanation of the low price. Mr. Lindsey's description of it as a scandal was more to the point. Unless the contractor is recouping himself by overcharging upon other parts of his contract, there must be a good deal of pain and poverty connected with the turning out of boots at 6d. a pair. The Sweating Committee should probe this case to the bottom.—*Pall Mall Gazette*.

"BIG ROGUES AND LITTLE ONES."—A Midland porter has been sentenced to three months' imprisonment, with hard labour, by the Luton magistrates, for appropriating excess fares paid by passengers to the amount of 9s. 4d. He had been in the service of the company since 1877, and had a wife and eight children. His wages were 17s. a-week, and it is said he had hitherto borne a good character. We by no means wish it to be thought that we could encourage the retention of excess fares by any company's servant, nor can we defend the action of the unfortunate porter in this case; but we cannot pass over the fact of the man having only 17s. per week upon which to maintain a wife and eight children. The company could surely never expect that this man could fulfil his obligations to his family out of the bare pittance allowed him for wages, and they might have been sure that the temptation of augmenting his income out of excess fare money would be difficult for him to resist. To offer a man such a wage is a disgrace to so wealthy a company, while to expect him to be honest with it was hardly consistent.—*Railway Review*.

THREATENED STRIKE IN THE NUT AND BOLT TRADE.—Thursday night a meeting of the Council of the Midland Counties Trades Federation was held at the Castle Hotel, Castle Street, Dudley; Mr. John Taylor presiding. Mr. Juggins, the secretary, said the efforts of the spike-nail makers had been successful so far as they had gone. The masters met the men in a

friendly spirit, and there was a general belief that matters required amending. The only question was as to the amount of the advance. A list had been submitted, but it was rejected on the ground that some of the items were an advance of 50 per cent. It was, however, agreed that the highest prices and the lowest prices should be put together, divided, and then 25 per cent. added. That was an agreeable advance, but it was likely to be still further improved. He (Mr. Juggins) trusted the men would remember the manner in which the masters had treated them, and do their best to see that there was no running in and asking for work at less prices. In reply to the chairman, the secretary said the other subjects connected with the spike trade had not been broached, for the wages question lasted two hours. The question of female labour would have to be soon discussed, for it was sweating in another direction. The next business was the threatened strike in the nut and bolt trade. Mr. Juggins said the men had done all they could, and had asked for a meeting with the employers on three occasions; but they had been treated with contempt. When the masters refused to meet the men they had a bad case. Nearly all the masters in Darlston had broken the list, whilst in other places there was a disposition to pay the list, and more, if there was unity in the matter. But such masters could not go on selling nuts and bolts whilst paying more for wages than the others. Consequently nothing less could be done than to issue a general notice to all masters to raise the standard of wages, and the men would come out on Saturday. Some of the masters were pursuing strange tactics, and were stating that the men were never to come back. They were also trying to adopt a system of deduction by which a man would have to receive about 12s. when he had earned £1. In reply to a question, Mr. Juggins said the men paid 1s. 6d. for blast and 4d. for the placing of the breezes on the hearth, a matter which he believed would come under the provisions of Mr. Bradlaugh's Truck Act. He hoped, too, that the carriage question would come under the same Act. The men by ballot had voted 300 to 1 in favour of a general strike. It would be the most serious thing for Darlston since 1877. Mr. Juggins and Mr. Millichip were appointed a deputation to wait on the masters at Darlston to-morrow. A vote of sympathy with, and a promise of support to, the nut and bolt makers, was passed unanimously.

METROPOLITAN PAUPERISM.—The weekly return of metropolitan pauperism shows that the total number of paupers relieved in the first week of the current month was 99,712, of whom 57,466 were indoor and 42,246 outdoor paupers. The total number relieved shows an increase of 5,725 over the corresponding week of last year, 8,213 over 1886, and 11,863 over 1885. The total number of vagrants relieved on the last day of the week was 1,068, of whom 842 were men, 199 women, and 27 children under sixteen.

AS ELSEWHERE.—The Dutch workman illustrates the old law of labour familiar to students of factory life—that long hours lead to comparatively less production. He works twelve, thirteen, and fourteen hours for wages from 2d. to 3d. an hour, reaching to 6d. and 8d. for skilled painters and engravers, and he does not turn out as much as an English workman would do in half the time. A poor diet and little sleep lead to a low state of nervous energy, whilst in the factories night and day shifts of workmen prevent effective ventilation. The Royal Commission, which has been recently investigating the facts, has presented a terrible picture of toil and competition, of evaded laws for the protection of children, and of popular ignorance. Legislation is imperative, and the Dutch Government is copying, in some respects, our own factory laws. Labour questions are just now attracting immense attention everywhere, and there is a weird similarity about many of the revelations that suggests a social cataclysm in the near future.—*Pall Mall Gazette*.

THE LABOUR PARTY.—Labour is not the peculiar function of a particular class. All men able to do so are presumed to labour. Nature imposes this as a necessity upon every person, and punishes for disobedience to her decree. He who is able and does not labour is not worthy of consideration one way or the other. No able man can be honest and an idler at the same time. He owes it to himself as well as to humanity to exercise and utilise the faculties which he possesses to the fullest extent. Such being the fact and labour nature's universal demand upon normal humanity—not only a necessity but a duty—there is no sense in referring to labour as including only a class. It embraces all of humanity worthy of the name. What is needed in the country to-day is a party having the protection and elevation of humanity as its primal aim. A party that will place the protection of labour as more important than the protection of what labour has created—or capital. In its creed the creator and not the created should be the first consideration. We know that the old existing parties are not actuated by this spirit but the reverse. Their own and ablest men admit this, that money rules and manhood is enslaved; that capital has been favoured by special legislation and labour wronged and robbed by the same process; that property has been petted and privileged while humanity has been left to sink into serfdom and degradation. Every honest, earnest effort to reverse those conditions should be commended and encouraged.—*South West*.

TRADE GUILDS IN CHINA.—A report containing some curious facts about Chinese trade guilds has been got up by the American Minister to China. He says that in every city in China there are guilds controlling arbitrarily every branch of business. Boycotting is carried out in the most thorough manner. In the great cities there are numerous trade unions who regulate hours of labour, strikes, and prices on the most approved American plan. These guilds have existed time out of mind. In most cities each province has its own guild. The guild protects its members against sectional prejudice, prevents litigation, and performs the usual functions of a chamber of commerce. Trade unions are very numerous, and some of them are very wealthy. There are unions for blacksmiths, carpenters, wire-drawers, silk-weavers, millers, postal companies, and barbers. Provincial compatriot guilds have two main objects in view—protection against sectional prejudice, and for the prevention of litigation among its members. These guilds are local affairs, and their membership seldom exceeds 30. Funds for their support are raised by self-imposed tax on commodities sold by the members. The books of each establishment or house are examined every month, the examination being made by the clerks of the firms in rotation. Punishment is provided for against any false rendering of amount of sales. The penalty is expulsion and the withholding of all intercourse with the offending member for ever after, and "any member discovered to have dealings with either from sympathy or friendship shall pay a fine of 100 taels." Each guild provides its own weights and measures, as there is no common standard. A Chicago speculator would not know how to do business in China. Fictitious buying and selling being illegal, Chinese legislation provides against every species of monopoly.

**THE LIVING TO THE DEAD.**

(Words to Luther's Air, "Now thank we all our God.")

O dumb forgotten ones,  
O brave, unsung in story,  
In us, your sons of sons,  
Behold your joy and glory.  
Say, was your toil for naught,  
Or lost your patient lore,  
Whereby to us was brought  
The torch of Hope ye bore?

No lords doth Labour need,  
Our thought no priestcraft smothers;  
One all-embracing creed  
We boast, that men are brothers.  
Whereso, afar or near,  
Our glad new gospel flies,  
See bondage disappear,  
See Fellowship arise.

No Golden Age ye knew;  
For this our mothers bore us,  
That fairer world to woo,  
The world that is before us.  
Your spirits none the less  
Are with our conquering band;  
Yea, side by side we press  
To gain yon promised land.

Wherever one may roam,  
When Wealth gives way to Labour,  
No land but shall be home,  
No man but shall be neighbour;  
And Fear shall melt in Mirth,  
And Mirth such charm shall strow,  
That our poor loveless earth  
True Paradise shall grow.

C. W. BECKETT.

**LONDON'S INDUSTRIAL MARTYRS.**

MR. CHARLES BOOTH read his second paper on "The Condition and Occupation of the People of East London and Hackney, 1887," at the Statistical Society's meeting on the 15th, and gave some most interesting statistics. For the past three years Mr. Booth has employed himself in compiling, with the aid of the 66 School Board visitors, the district registrars, and other authorities, a complete census of East London, setting forth the condition of life of the one million people who live west of the City and the Kingsland Road, and north of the Thames. His conclusions were extremely startling. He stated that his lowest class, the predatory and idle vagabonds who loom so large in the eyes of respectably middle-class society, comprise less than 1 1/4 per cent. of the population. In East London there were 11,000 loafers and semi-criminals. Passing from these, his next class was that of the "very poor," people in receipt of casual wages, amounting to "considerably below" 18s. to 21s. per week. This class, "who live in a state of chronic want," number no less than 11 1/4 per cent. of the population. There are no fewer than 100,000 of these "very poor" (one quarter being adult men), whose means are insufficient for any decent life, in East London.

The "poor," with intermittent earnings of 18s. to 21s. weekly, number 75,000; those with the same incomes more regularly earned comprise 128,000. These two classes, barely able with constant struggle to make both ends meet, make up nearly a quarter of the whole population.

The two next classes, the regularly employed wage-earners (377,000) and the "aristocrats of labour" (121,000), make up together 55 per cent. In all East London there are only 80,000 middle-class, or less than 10 per cent., even including all the small shopkeepers, clerks, etc. Nine out of every ten of the population are in receipt of weekly wages for manual labour. Out of every nine, one is chronically destitute, ill-fed and ill-clad, and two just manage to struggle along. In addition there are the paupers, criminals, invalids, and idiots. Truly a fine result of our industrial civilisation!

Of the "very poor," Mr. Booth gave as the immediate causes of their destitution:—Drink, 14 per cent. only; sickness, large families, and infirmity, 27 per cent.; irregularity and want of employment, 55 per cent.; "loafers," 4 per cent.

Mr. Booth then passed to the whole of London, and from the data collected estimated that its 4,000,000 people include—

"Loafers," etc. ... ..	50,000
"Very poor" (in chronic want) ... ..	300,000
Poor { Irregular earnings ... ..	250,000
{ Regular, but low pay ... ..	400,000
Regular standard earnings, and all above that ... ..	1,000,000
	3,000,000
	4,000,000

In conclusion, Mr. Booth pointed out how the 300,000 chronically destitute "very poor" pressed constantly on the heels of the struggling poor above them, and made harder their fierce fight for life.

A discussion followed of the kind usual in such places; later marriages, technical education, and a removal of the coal dues were most in favour among the "remedies" suggested.

Neither days nor lives can be made holy by doing nothing in them. The best prayer at the beginning of a day is, that we may not lose its moments; and the best grace before meat is the consciousness that we have earned our dinner.—*John Ruskin.*

The proletariat, in the last analysis, is the only one who really stands between the worker and his natural right to the land, and the just remuneration of his toil, because the ultimate resort is to physical force. When "bayonets think," and the soldier fraternises with the people, then comes the end of monarchy and of all arbitrary power. When the troops, ordered out at the behests of the corporation kings, refuse to fire upon their own class, disputes between employer and employed will be submitted to rational arbitration. And when working-men refuse to waste their force in voting the kept solicitors of capital into places of power and profit, there will be more attention paid to their rights by those who seek office.—*J. K. Ingalls.*

Take care that in every town the little roofs are built before the large ones, and that everyone who wants one has got one. And we must try also to make everybody want one. That is to say, at some not very advanced period of life, men should desire to have a home which they do not wish to quit any more, suited to their habits of life, and likely to be more and more suitable to them until their death. And men must desire to have these their dwelling places built as strongly as possible, and furnished and decorated daintily, and set in pleasant places, in bright light and good air, being able to choose for themselves that at least as well as swallows. And when the houses are grouped together in cities, men must have so much civic fellowship as to subject their architecture to a common law, and so much civic pride as to desire that the whole gathered group of human dwellings should be a lovely thing, not a frightful one, on the face of the earth.—*Ruskin.*

**REVOLUTIONARY CALENDAR.**

WEEK ENDING JUNE 2, 1888.

27	Sun.	1793. Trial of John Frost for seditious words. 1797. Babeuf killed himself. 1660. Palermo taken by Garibaldi.
28	Mon.	1807. Agassiz born. 1871. Fall of the Paris Commune.
29	Tues.	1630. Trial for publishing "A Proposition for His Majesty's Service to bridle the impertinence of Parliaments." 1660. English Monarchy restored.
30	Wed.	1778. Voltaire died. 1844. O'Connell and others sentenced for political conspiracy. 1684. Dynamite explosion at Scotland Yard, etc. 1887. Co-operative Congress at Carlisle.
31	Thur.	1882. Strike of iron and steel workers in United States.
1	Fri.	1821. J. T. Wooleer sentenced to 15 months' imprisonment.
2	Sat.	1777. Trial of John Almon for selling Junius' "Letter to the King." 1780. "No Popery" Riots. 1817. Trial of Andrew McKinley for administering unlawful oaths. 1831. Labour Riots at Merthyr, red flag carried. 1878. Nobbling's attempt on the Emperor William. 1882. Garibaldi died.

*Trial of John Frost.*—On November 6, 1792, John Frost, an attorney, "being a person of a depraved, impious, and disquiet mind, and of a seditious disposition," did, at the Percy Coffee-house in Marylebone, say publicly that he saw no reason why any man should not be on a footing with another, and he was for equality. On May 27, 1793, he was tried, and as he was a well-known reformer, having been associated with Horne Tooke, and Wilkes, and others, his fate was fore-ordered, and in spite of Erskine's eloquence he was found guilty. On the 19th of June he attended to receive judgment, and was sentenced to six months' imprisonment, during that time to be pilloried at Charing Cross for an hour daily, and afterward to give five years bonds of good behaviour. He was also struck off the roll. On December 19th, between 11 and 12, he was released from Newgate and placed in a coach, rolled in blankets and apparently very feeble. After entering in recognisances at the house of Mr. Justice Grose in Bloomsbury Square, he was discharged from custody. As soon as he was at liberty the people took the horses out of the carriage, and drew him home to Spring Gardens, stopping at St. James's Palace and such places to cheer vociferously. On December, 1813, he received a "free pardon" from the Prince Regent, but was not replaced on the rolls.—S.

*Trial of Andrew McKinley.*—December 20, 1816, some people met at the house of a weaver in Abercromby Street, Glasgow, and there the defendant was said to have administered the following "unlawful oath": "In awful presence of God, I, A. B., do voluntarily swear that I will persevere in my endeavouring to form a brotherhood of affection amongst Britons of every description, who are considered worthy of confidence; and that I will persevere in my endeavours to obtain for all the people in Great Britain and Ireland, not disqualified by crimes or insanity, the elective franchise, at the age of 21, with free and equal representation, and annual Parliaments; and that I will support the same to the utmost of my power, either by moral or physical strength, as the case may require. And I do further swear, that neither hopes, fears, rewards, or punishments, shall induce me to inform on, or give evidence against, any member or members, collectively or individually, for any act or expression done or made, in or out, in this or similar societies, under the punishment of death, to be inflicted on me by any member or members of such societies. So help me God and keep me steadfast." He was brought up for trial in the High Court of Justiciary in Edinburgh, on June 2 and other days; on July 19 the charge was declared "Not Proven," and the prisoner dismissed.—S.

**THE SOCIALIST LEAGUE.**

OFFICES: 13 FARRINGTON ROAD, E.C.

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

*Annual Conference.*—On Sunday last the Annual Conference was held, delegates attending from the Glasgow, Edinburgh, Norwich, Ipswich, Walsall, Leicester, Oxford, Bradford, Mitcham, Merton, Acton, Fulham, Hammersmith, Marylebone, Bloomsbury, Hoxton (L.E.L.), North London, Stamford Hill, Mile-end, Hackney, and Clerkenwell branches and affiliated bodies of the S.L. Fuller details will be given next week.

*East-end Propaganda Fund.*—Princes Square (donation), 10s. Collected at Princes Square, May 22, 3s. 7 1/2d.—JOSEPH LANE, Treasurer.

**"COMMONWEAL" PRINTING FUND.**

C. J. F., 2s. 6d. P. W., 6d. Langley, 2s. Oxford Branch, 2s. K. F., 1s.

**REPORTS.**

**BLOOMSBURY.**—A very successful concert was held here last Thursday in aid of branch. The entertainment was of an exceptionally good character.—W. B. MILE END AND BETHNAL GREEN. — On Tuesday, Davie spoke on Mile-end Waste. Saturday evening, Blundell opened meeting on Waste with music. Addresses by Blundell, Mowbray, and Davis. Slight opposition, and good sale of *Commonweal*.—H. M.

**ABERDEEN.**—Open-air propaganda for the season commenced on May 19. Aiken as chairman made vigorous opening speech. Leatham thereafter lectured to large crowd on "Socialism the only Hope for the Workers," speaking for over an hour, and dealing with all the suggested "remedies" of Malthusianism, Teetotalism, Republicanism, Protection, and Co-operation. No opposition, but attempt made by religious body to drive the meeting off the ground. Good sale of literature.—J. L.

**GLASGOW.**—At 10.30 on Sunday morning, Pollock and Downie held a very successful meeting on Jail Square. Many people evidently on their way to church, remained at our meeting and heard the principles of Socialism explained. At 5 o'clock our usual meeting was held at Paisley Road Toll by Gilbert, Pollock, McCulloch, and Downie; and at 7 o'clock our comrades went to hold another meeting in Infirmary Square, but as several evangelical meetings were going on they retired to the rooms for business meeting.—S. D.

**LEEDS.**—On Sunday morning we held a meeting in Vicar's Croft, and collected 10s. 1d. towards the proposed co-operative workshop amongst the Jewish tailors.—P.



**NORWICH.**—A well attended meeting was held on St. Catharine's Plain last Friday night by C. W. Mowbray and Poynts. Successful meetings were held at Catton and Market Place on Sunday, addressed by Turner, Poynts, Morley, Browne, and Swash. Fair collection for propaganda fund, and average number of *Commonweal* sold.—E. B.

**WALSALL.**—On Monday at indoor meeting, Sanders lectured to a fair audience on "The A B C of Socialism." Tarn (Birmingham) addressed a good open-air meeting on The Bridge on Saturday evening. Sunday morning, Guillemard and Deakin spoke to large audience on the West Bromwich Road, a favourite spot for the gathering of workers on Sundays, and our speakers have on each visit met with a hearty reception. Good sale of pamphlets. Deakin also lectured on Saturday to the Young Men's Improvement Society, Bilston; subject, "Has Machinery Benefited the Working Classes?" Good and useful discussion at close.—J. T. D.

**JUNIOR SOCIALIST EDUCATIONAL SOCIETY.**—The discussion on "Authority" will be opened by Lefevre at 14, Kemsford Gardens, West Brompton, on Saturday, May 26, at 8 o'clock.—A. F.

**L.E.L. CLUB AND INSTITUTE.**—On Saturday last a Concert on behalf of the above took place here. The facilities afforded by this institution for gatherings of this character being somewhat meagre, some difficulty was experienced in finding accommodation for the numbers which attended, the place being crowded to excess throughout the evening. The success which has up till now attended us here augurs well for the future. Classes for instruction in French, Political Economy, Logic, Physiology, Shorthand, etc., are about to be established.—H. A. B.

## LECTURE DIARY.

### LONDON.

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

**Bloomsbury.**—Communist Club, 49 Tottenham Street, Tottenham Court Road. Thursday May 24, at 8.30. Business Meeting. 31st. G. B. Shaw, a lecture. June 7. Dr. E. B. Aveling, "Evolution and Socialism."

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

**Fulham.**—8 Effie Road, Walham Green.

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

**Hammersmith.**—Kelmescott House, Upper Mall, W.

**Hendon.**—Labour Emancipation League Club and Institute, 1 Hoxton Square (near Shoreditch Ch.). Sunday May 27, at 8 p.m., a Lecture.

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

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

**Mile-end and Bethnal Green.**—95 Boston St., Hackney Road. Business meeting every Thursday evening at 9 p.m. Debating Class for members after meeting.

**North London.**—The business meetings will be held on Friday evenings at the Autonomie Club, Windmill Street, Tottenham Court Road, after the open-air meeting at Ossulton Street. All members are asked to attend at Ossulton Street at 8 o'clock. Secretary, Nelly Parker, 109 Cavendish Buildings, opposite Holborn Town Hall.

### PROVINCES.

**Aberdeen** (Scottish Section).—On Saturday May 26, at 8 p.m., Leatham will lecture at Castle Street on "Socialism: What it is, and what it is not."

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

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

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

**Edinburgh** (Scottish Section).—4 Park Street. Discussion every Thursday at 8.

**Galafruels** (Scot Sect).—J. Walker, 6 Victoria St., sec

**Gallatoun and Dysart** (Scottish Section: Fife).—Meet every Tuesday at 7 p.m. in Gallatoun Public School. Secretary, A. Paterson, 152 Rosslyn St.

**Glasgow.**—84 John St. Reading-room open 10 a.m. till 10 p.m. daily.

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

**Leicester.**—Hosiery Union, Horsefair St. Fridays at 8.

**Lochgelly** (Scottish Section: Fife).—Secs. (*pro tem.*), John Greig and Hugh Conway, The Square.

**Norwich.**—Gordon Hall. Tuesday at 8.30. Members meeting. Wednesday at 8.30. Ways and Means and Literary Committees. Thursday, open from 8 until 10.30 p.m. Saturday, Co-operative Clothing Association, 8 until 10.30. No lectures will be held in Gordon Hall on Sunday evenings during summer months. Sunday May 27th, at 11 a.m., a meeting will be held at Wymondham, addressed by comrades Adams and Sutton.

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

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

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

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

## OPEN-AIR PROPAGANDA.

LONDON—Sunday 27.

11 ...Turnham Green—Front Common ...Acton Bch.  
11.30...Hammersmith—Beadon Road ...The Branch  
11.30...Hoxton Ch., Pitfield St.....Pope & Mackenzie  
11.30...Merton—Haydons Road.....The Branch  
11.30...Mitcham Fair Green .....The Branch  
11.30...Regent's Park .....The Branch  
11.30...St. Pancras Arches .....Bloomsbury Branch  
11.30...Walham Green .....Fulham Branch  
3.30...Hyde Park.....The Branch  
7.30...Clerkenwell Green .....The Branch

Friday.

8 ...Euston Rd.—Ossulton Street...N. London Bch.

## PROVINCES.

**Glasgow.**—Sunday: Jail's Square at 10.30; Paisley Road at 5.

**Leeds.**—Sunday: Vicar's Croft, at 11 a.m.

**Norwich.**—Sunday: Market Place at 3 and 7.45.

**West Bromwich.**—Near the Fountain, every Sunday morning at 11.15.

**Smethwick.**—Near Spon Lane, every Sunday morning at 12.

## EAST-END PROPAGANDA.

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# THE COMMONWEAL

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WEEKLY; ONE PENNY.

## NOTES ON NEWS.

THERE is no doubt that the Southampton election is a heavy blow for the Government as things go; and little doubt that the election turned on the compensation clauses in that piece of humbug, the Local Government Bill. This is quite natural, since this question which is, we must suppose, beginning to excite people dreadfully, is after all and considering the bill it has to do with, a small matter compared with the independence of Ireland; and being a smaller matter, people are sure to take more interest in it, because the whole of their political education tends to turn their thoughts towards mere pettinesses. It is a matter of course that if some piece of mere local politics, especially if it were a personal affair, of little importance to themselves and none at all to anyone else, could have been pushed into the front for the consideration of the good people of Southampton, they would have been more excited still about the election.

However the Government must not console themselves for their defeat on these grounds. On the contrary, the fact that the Southampton electors were thinking less of the Irish question than the Government bill is an unlucky sign for the Ins, and shows that their time for being the Outs is drawing near. The fact is that the Government has been compelled to make a show of doing something besides repressing Ireland and London, and is beginning to reap the harvest of its activity. This is an old story, and will have to be told of every Government in future: they come in on the back of a faction excited about something or another, and are happy and glorious; and could they remain with no other work than talking bunkum about the defeated faction, they might remain *in* happy and glorious for quite a long time. But there is a conventional idea that they must attempt to do something, and so they turn to; but as there is nothing to be done but an attempt to tinker that which only a few Whig pedants really believe can be tinkered, and which it is the interest of most powerful people should have as many holes as a sieve in it, the first step in their attempt at doing something means their first step towards the door.

The Tories have now taken more than one step in that direction, so that we Socialists will probably soon have to be thinking as to what our prospects will be with Mr. Gladstone in office again; and the only question of any interest to be asked about this matter is, will the compromise which will in all probability be come to in the Irish matter let that question rest for a while, and so deprive politicians of a satisfactory refuge from the necessity of at least pretending to deal with the general condition of labour? Of course desperate attempts will be made on both sides to spin out the Irish question. How far will they succeed? Will Socialism become a matter of practical politics? If it does it will be very certainly dragged through the mud a great deal; and it will be especially necessary for all who know what they are striving for, to keep its true ideal steadily before people's eyes.

The Co-operationists have just had a very important congress. It would be impossible to criticise the speeches and addresses delivered there from the curt and garbled reports of the daily press; but pending the careful consideration of more trustworthy accounts of its proceedings, we cannot fail to note that there was a conflict of opinion there between those who have an ideal of Co-operation and those who have not. Our sympathies are of course on the side of those who have the ideal, especially as their opponents appear to an onlooker to be about as grovelling a set of profit-hunters as ever encumbered the earth. Nevertheless it is necessary to point out to them that they are in a false position, and that Co-operation is certain to drift completely into mere joint-stockery with minutely subdivided shares.

Since the days of Robert Owen the position of Co-operation has been quite changed by the uprising of *revolutionary* Socialism as a result of the application of the doctrine of evolution to human society, and the consequent perception of the class-struggle. The Co-operationists of Robert Owen's time did not perceive the existence of the class-struggle, and their Co-operation was but a part of their ideal of Socialism in the future, and a means to that end in the present. They knew that monopoly of the means of production existed, but they did not know (in spite of Adam Smith) that it was an essential part of the society, political and economic, under which they lived.

But now that a living and militant Socialism has made manifest the

antagonism of the classes, it should be clear to our Co-operationist friends that true co-operation and privilege cannot exist together. The monopolists of the means of production will only allow the Co-operationists to rise out of their class misery *on condition that they themselves shall join the ranks of the privileged, and live on interest, rent, and profit*, thus forming a new class of owners, whose business is in the main keeping down the producers.

It is true, of course, that a great part of this new class would be living by producing, as well as by owning wealth, that they would be exploited as well as exploiters; but there is nothing new in slaves owning slaves. That condition existed as long ago at least as the time when the 'Odyssey' was written. In that book, Eumæus, an obvious thrall, often complaining of his thralldom, has a thrall of his own, "bought with his own money." Surely the "idealist Co-operators" cannot think this a high ideal to aim at.

If they will only look at the matter with eyes cleared from prejudice they will see that Socialism embraces in its programme whatever is really feasible in their ideal, and that the Socialists and not themselves are the true opponents of the sordid profit-grubbing which they are attacking in their own associations. Meantime, it seems to me that these profit-grubbing Co-operationists are doing a service to the Cause of Labour by pointing out the "Thus far shalt thou go and no further" to those Co-operationists who really have nobler views, and are not engaged in the favourite scheme of the dominant class of today, to wit, the fashioning of a new middle-class out of the working-class, *and at their expense*, as a barrier to revolutionary Socialism.

Perhaps I may as well meet an objection likely to be made, and which was in fact made at a Radical club in my presence, that the Socialists themselves are establishing a Co-operative Society. That society (to which I wish all success) makes it an essential part of its plan that no interest shall be paid on money borrowed, and no dividends of profit made to individual shareholders, which is a demonstration on its part of its views of the impossibility of true co-operation under the present system; as it implies that it does not think it worth while to start a Co-operationist Society unless those that help it are content to sacrifice the *privilege of capital* which the laws of our modern monopolist Society confers on them.

Lord Salisbury's impudence and insolence really pass all bounds. When we heard that the Government had refused to recognise officially the Paris Exhibition of next year, everybody thought it only meant the usual official apathy and red-tape; and the matter might surely have been allowed to rest there unless some special fool could have been dug up for the occasion. However, that special fool *has* been dug up in the person of the most noble himself. He has thought it necessary to give a reason for the refusal, which is an insult to the French nation, and is clearly meant to be. His given reason for not appointing an English Commission to help to organise the Exhibition, is that it is intended to be a commemoration of the French Revolution! Such an answer almost makes one think that the Government is "riding for a fall." This is the day of panics. Some timid people will be thinking that when the *coup d'état* of Baker the First (Boulangier) comes off, we shall be sending a *corps d'armée* (if we have got it) to help that hero in putting down opposition. Really it quite puts one in spirits to see that our "rulers" can be such blundering block-heads as this.

The Bishop of Limerick has fulminated against the Mayor of that city, who called a meeting to uphold the Plan against the Rescripts, which meeting, with several others, has been successfully held. This as far as it goes is satisfactory, especially when taken together with the condemnation of the Plan by the Protestant Mr. Parnell, since it tends to stiffen whatever of revolutionary or at least progressive in the Irish movement. The cleavage between Whiggery and Revolution is growing wider daily.

W. M.

## "THAT BLESSED WORD."

TALKING with a friend some time ago, the observation was made to me, how easy it was to evoke emotion by using traditional channels. My friend went on to relate that he was addressing a public meeting a few days previously and was trying to show that the Liberal Party did not always express sentiments favourable to the cause of labour. In the

course of his remarks he quoted some observations from a speech of a well-known Radical leader, which were not of a nature to stimulate the enthusiasm of a working-class audience. The views enunciated were, as might have been expected, being vigorously hissed, when some one rose and challenged him to give the name of their author. No sooner had he done so, than the hissing changed to equally vigorous cheering. The familiar sound which had been cheered so many times before was quite irresistible. The emotion responded to it by a sort of "reflex action." The same phenomenon may be traced through everything. "Mesopotamia" is by no means the only "blessed word" in the economy of human emotion.

Take the case of jokes (as my friend further remarked). Look through the comic papers, go to any circus or music-hall, and you will find the old story perennially evoking the old merriment; the time-honoured *dramatis personæ*, the mother-in-law, the drunken man trying to open the street-door with his watch-key, the husband who kisses the housemaid on the sly—things that have been laughed at ever since man first began to make jokes.

Again, in literature and in art how many people persuade themselves they admire what they think they ought to admire, with the most lamb-like simplicity? Quote the merest fustian, and cap it with the "blessed word" Shakespeare, and see if he won't "tumble" to it! Or quote Shakespeare and tell him it is an inferior modern versifier, and see if he will not display emotion accordingly!

But it is in the realm of moral and religious sentiment that "blessed words" most of all assert their efficacy. Hence the success of "revival" and similar movements. Hence also the popularity with lecturers or popular orators of phrases about "him who had not where to lay his head," invocations of "our common Christianity," and the like. (An amusing illustration of the possible dangers in the use of the "blessed word" under new conditions was afforded by Mr. Burt at the Trades-union Congress at Paris in 1883. The English "labour representative" wound up his speech on the claims of labour with an eloquent peroration in which "our common Christianity" played an important rôle. Poor Mr. Burt doubtless thought this touching allusion would "melt" the French proletarian conference as though it had been a "Liberal" meeting of English philanthropic shopkeepers. His interpreter, however, knew better, and to save Mr. Burt the humiliation of having his oration greeted with a storm of hisses, omitted the Exeter-Hall-stirring climax.)

There is a tendency in all successful movements to form deposits of "blessed words," which stir up a kind of bastard enthusiasm or melting emotion by their mere sound and apart from any intellectual meaning being attached to them. As already hinted, modern Christianity is a mere coagulation of "blessed words," as any one may convince himself by listening to a sermon any Sunday morning.<sup>1</sup> In France the Great Revolution has left behind it a plentiful crop of such words. How many journalists and platform orators attach any particular meaning to the words "La République" or "La Révolution"? The proof of their fatuous nature in the mouths of many persons is shown by the fact that they are employed where an effect has to be produced indifferently by Conservative and Radical Republicans and Socialists, and sometimes even by Imperialists. They all know the magic in the words, the ringing applause which greets them, their potency in filling up a vacuum in a discourse or newspaper article!

Now all this explains the "pull" which the conservative forces of society have over the revolutionary. The former possess an enormous reserve force of these blessed words, the emotion connected with which is inherited, which the latter do not possess. The fact is, most men resent being made to evolve their emotion out of their own thought. It gives them trouble, which they are saved when they can have the emotional tap instinctively turned on by a phrase. Every Socialist agitator knows the extreme difficulty of divorcing the working-man from the "Liberal party"—how after apparently enthusiastic insight into the fact that the welfare of his class must be sought outside the ranks of current political parties, he will yet at every election return (like the dog of holy writ) to his Liberal vomit. He cannot bring himself to separate from what its adherents are pleased to term the "party of progress," or to risk the horrible danger of letting in a "reactionary," a "Tory," who in the general way would be found, in reality, neither more nor less reactionary than his opponent, if the principles of both were compared. But for the revolutionist there is also another side to the matter. Although the average man doesn't want the trouble of thinking, although, unlike the Athenians of old, he doesn't want to hear some new thing, but at most only the old things or phrases put in a slightly new setting, yet none of the "blessed words" in which he delights can in the end resist the solvent influence of the genuine thought which is the expression of new conditions. Disheartening as it may be to the propagandist of a new truth to find the apparently overwhelming influence of the emotional prepossessions attaching to old jingles and catchwords, yet every time the new truth is proclaimed by tongue or pen something crumbles off the surface of the time-worn phrase. Our propagandist may therefore safely adopt the attitude of the villain of transpontine melodrama, and shaking his fist at the crowds applauding the opposition leader, the popular preacher, etc., which he sadly compares with his own "good meetings" of thirty people, may enunciate in the deep and measured tones of real conviction, "Never mind—a time will come!" for assuredly it will—when the tables will be turned.

<sup>1</sup> For instance, the darker sides of savage ritual surviving in the Christian dogma of the Atonement—the efficacy of blood, washing with blood, etc.—would strike the wives and daughters of the suburban villa as very nasty if they fully realised what it meant—as they would but for the conventional associations connected with it and the stereotyped phraseology in which it is couched.

Let us always remember that most of these "blessed words" have had a meaning once. Although the men who use them now don't think, yet their fathers who invented them have thought. They prefer using hereditary to self-acquired notions. That much abused word Liberty, as implying "freedom of contract," had, as I have before pointed out, a very real meaning when the claims of a superannuated Feudalism were felt to be "the enemy." Even the "blood of Jesus," sin, holiness, etc., were not as now mere jingle—evocative, if of anything at all, of nothing but a mawkish sentiment, empty of all intelligible meaning—to the subject of imperial Rome in the first century, who first used it, with the notion of bloody sacrifice confronting him at every step, and with his disgust at the decaying forms of ancient city-life driving every serious-minded man to seek satisfaction in self-brooding. As before said, there is a tendency in all great popular movements to form these crystals of "blessed words" which produce emotion by reflex action. The modern Socialist movement is no exception. How often are not the phrases "emancipation of labour," "social revolution," "revolutionary crisis," "Socialism and Individualism," "Communist-Anarchism" (!) in the mouths of those for whom they are no better than "blessed words"? This is inevitable to some extent, I know, but for a young movement it is eminently desirable to prevent this process of crystallisation as much as possible by continually driving into its phrases the fresh air of intelligence. After all, it were perhaps not an altogether unreasonable hope that Socialism might form an exception to the general rule of popular movements in the matter of "blessed words," and rely for its strength rather on the realities implied in its conceptions than on the words connoting them. The extinction of class-society with all that this society involves, and the rise of a new social order; the equalisation of the material conditions of human happiness; the abolition of "shams," speculative as well as practical; the installation of realities in their place,—this may be difficult for all to fully grasp, but I think we have a right to expect that everyone who calls himself a Socialist, and still more who professes to preach Socialism, should form for himself some conception of what all this means.

While we are on the subject of "blessed words," it may not be out of place to make a few suggestions on the question of sincerity and insincerity or humbug on the part of those who are or profess to be influenced by them. It is a common thing for Socialists and Free-thinkers to hurl the accusation of hypocrisy at Individualists, Malthusians, Liberals, etc., and at Christians. This accusation is of course indignantly repudiated, and plausible cases are adduced in plenty of persons alleged to be undoubtedly sincere who hold Liberalism or Conservatism (as the case may be), Malthusianism, profit-sharing, or what-not, to be really conducive to the welfare of the people, and Socialism as "impracticable" and "pernicious"; or, who believe the Christian theology to enshrine "eternal verities."

Now it may be said are these people all humbugs? Their arguments are for the most part little else than "blessed words" spread out thin. But, then, may not they really find satisfaction in them? The question, in spite of its plain appearance is a complex one, and not susceptible of a simple Yes or No answer. I offer the following as a tentative solution:—Insincerity, Humbug, Hypocrisy, may be divided into four kinds or classes—(1) There is the conscious, deliberate, intentional pretence to opinions known or believed to be false for direct personal ends—the humbug or hypocrite of this class is, of course, never anything more nor less than a rogue or scoundrel; (2) There is the adoption of views, or sentiments, which the adopter or holder would like to believe were true or correct, because the holding of them redounds to his interest, and which by a process of self-deception he often does really come to think he believes. This is the unconscious humbug of a very large class, the great historical type of which may probably be found in Mr. Gladstone. Each of these types, the conscious and the unconscious humbug, has its pendant. In their simple and primary form it is individual interest which is the object sought after; in their secondary and derived form it is not necessarily individual interest directly, but *class-interest*. No man to-day dare openly confess that he cares only for his own class. No man dare say with Foulon "let the people eat grass." As a consequence, the man who is only capable of that extension of self-interest of which class-interest consists, must hide the latter like the former under the mask of interest in truth, or in the commonwealth, as the case may be. It is to the conscious humbug of this kind that the philanthropic moderate Liberal politician usually belongs. He knows that his nostrums are simply so much dust thrown in the eyes of the working classes, with a view of allaying discontent and bolstering up class-society, just as in his heart he despises the dogmas promulgated by the missionary society at whose meeting he presides, but which he thinks a desirable adjunct to the bayonet in procuring fresh commercial outlets. The first concern in such a man as this is very often not personal interest *per se*, but personal interest as identified with class-interest. As to those whose humbug is based on unconscious class-interest their name is legion, embracing as they do the bulk of the middle-classes. Very good people they are too, some of them, in themselves, but so blinded by class-prejudice inherited or acquired, or both, that they instinctively wince at truths which tell against the interests of the dominant classes, and instinctively accept fallacies which tell in favour of those classes. They cannot see straight. Arguments which on an indifferent matter would at once carry conviction to them, in this case appear inadequate; on the other hand, arguments on the other side, which on an indifferent matter would appear grossly inadequate, now carry conviction. Most of the "undoubtedly sincere" belief in the religious world may be reduced to unconscious humbug, having its root



in class-interest. The feeling that religion is "respectable," i.e., proper for the dominant classes to profess, and that it is desirable that the poor should be taught to look to heavenly rather than earthly joys for compensation, is what lies in the background of conscience of many a "gentleman" or "lady" who tries more or less successfully to persuade himself or herself that it is true, or at least that there is "a sort of something" in it.

These, then, are in the view of the present writer, the four forms of humbug, insincerity, or hypocrisy, and for one and all of them "blessed words" are godsend. To one or other of them may be reduced well-nigh all the fallacies and superstitions influential in the modern world. The first kind is brutally apparent, and easily recognisable; the third, which corresponds to it, is also easily detected. In both of them the insincerity is intentional. In the second and fourth, on the other hand, when it is more or less unconscious and unintentional in the subject of it, there is much greater difficulty in deciding in any individual case. But here also, it must be remembered, that the humbug although unconscious is none the less there. The thought, or action, is not straight, direct, and clear—is not what it professes to be—but directed by a definite pervading tendency, to wit, the inordinate love of self or class as such.

E. BELFORT BAX.

## GENERALITIES AND PARTICULARITIES.

In hearing speeches and in reading books and articles in which the evils of social life are dealt with in a generalising, categorical manner, our sense of the actual enormity of those evils is but faintly appealed to. When we listen to a platform speaker as he alludes to "the poor," "the have-nots," "the unemployed," we do not, as a rule, consider the full significance of these phrases. We do not pause to think of the wealth of honest endeavour and the volume of desperate, desolate penury comprehended in the words "the poor." We do not think of the misery endured by the workman who goes from shop to shop, from yard to yard, in quest of employment, only to meet with rebuffs, refusals, or the mockery of an invitation to "look back in a few days," and who goes home at night, jaded and heart-sick, to his patient, careworn wife and hungry, whimpering children, with no word of hope or cheer to make their suffering more bearable. When we speak or hear of "the tramp," our thoughts do not always go out to the thousands of homeless wretches who trudge along our streets and highways, moved on by policemen, harshly roused up from their unquiet slumber by hedge-side and dyke-side, or hunted out from pent-houses, lobbies, and staircases, where they have essayed for a while to stretch their weary limbs,—every man's hand against them, and their own hands—oftenest thrust into what remnants of pockets their looped and windowed raggedness may contain, but if sometimes meddling with that which is called "not theirs," what wonder? When in the writings of economists we meet with such phrases as "the iron law of wages," in spite of the grim significance of the combination of words, we receive them with scarce a thought for the system of grinding pressure which they denote. By constant repetition from press and platform we have got familiarised with the idea of the slums and their denizens and the pittance wages paid to the sempstress and the maker of match-boxes. We can even read in a "high-class" poem of the couch of incest that crowds the warrens of the poor without any very insupportable thrill of horror and indignation being aroused in our minds against the social system that breeds and fosters these things. Aye; and the words "class-war" convey but a vague conception of the bitterness which is growing up against those who live by the spoliation and degradation of their brothers and sisters.

The ordinary economist, and indeed some of ourselves unavoidably, have got into the habit of theorising, regarding human beings as if they were so many quantities in a mathematical problem. As a nation we have got accustomed to the idea of having in our midst thousands of men without work, food, or shelter—with little save a brute-like envy, a vague sense of wrong suffered by them, and an inarticulate hatred of those who have more than they need and a thousand times more than they deserve. Our magazine-writers and our ordinary politicians speak and write of all this suffering and degradation with placid gravity, as if they considered such things disagreeable developments, certainly, of our civilisation, but just what was to be expected since the masses will go on breeding at such a scandalous rate and wasting their earnings on drink, and since those foreign paupers (princes not included!) will continue to pour into Free Britain. As middle and upper-class men they know little of the actual pinch of poverty, and feel as little for those who do; and their readiness to throw the blame of the poverty suffered by the masses on the masses themselves is only equalled by their eagerness to demolish any proposal for social amelioration put forward by those whose humanity is not wholly withered up by selfishness nor stifled by conventional cant.

Our sensibilities are blunted and our enthusiasm for the cause of humanity is in danger of being abated by mere theorising and generalising. We require to have our sympathies refreshed by occasionally bringing ourselves face to face as it were with the details of nineteenth-century barbarism; and it is well for the cause of the dispossessed that every now and again some iniquity grows too murderous to be kept out of sight any longer, and obtrudes itself upon the attention of the public, to startle it to a sense of how its social and economic "laws" are working among men, women, and children. When, it may be, a "Bitter Cry of Outcast London" comes from the press some morning, or when a report is published of how men are sweated and bled and fleeced in the dark places of Christian Uncivilisation—then,

and not till then, do we realise anything of the meaning of "the struggle for existence," "the iron law of wages," the "law of rent," "freedom of contract," and the rest of those generalities that flow with such cultured deliberation from the lips of our sweaters and fleecers. Through the medium of quiet, unadorned, sometimes official, prose, we gather an idea of the ghastly realities; and once in a while when the picture is more than ordinarily revolting we will choke down the lump that rises in our throat, vainly trying to ease our feelings with a curse on the taskmasters. I cannot conceive a man with a heart taking things quietly after reading a narrative like the following, which is by no means an extraordinary newspaper "swatch":—

"There is no exceptional distress in the metropolis; but on one night seven men and one woman were refused admission to a single casual ward on the ground that it was already full. On the following morning one of the men was brought before a magistrate and charged with 'not having any home or any visible means of existence,' because he slept in the street. The crime of homelessness," adds the writer, "is doubtless a heinous one; but one may surmise that James Dirole would have preferred a comfortable bed under shelter to the pavement of Lucretia Road, Lambeth, had the choice been open to him, and that his crime was, therefore, of the involuntary kind. It makes the heart sick to think of these roving homeless creatures, tossed from casual ward to casual ward till too weary to tramp further, and then when they curl themselves up on the pavement to sleep, dragged off by a policeman to the station, and charged before a magistrate on the following day.—In another case a man named William Hyde was refused admission at four casual wards, and at last despairingly threw a stone at a public-house window in order that he might be locked up and so obtain food and shelter. 'The man,' said the constable to whom he spoke, 'appeared to be starving and very much cut up.'—Another man, name unknown, who did not make his way to the gaol-refuge, was found lying on the pavement dead; the medical evidence showed that for years the man had been in a state of destitution, and death was practically due to starvation.—In yet a fourth case, a hawker out of work had for some time been dependent on his wife's earnings, who kept him and seven children by preparing toothpicks, receiving 5d. for 1,200. By very hard work she could get through 3,600 a-day, and so earned 1s. 3d. On this the nine persons 'lived'; but the other day James Lockyer grew weary, and was found dead in his bed when the February light struggled into his hovel."

It would be mightily easing to one's conscience if one could get oneself to believe that these persons reduced themselves to their wretched pass by drink, or that their misery was caused by overpopulation, by the appreciation of gold, or by the depreciation of silver, and so on, and so on in the same vein. I can almost envy the person who believes that such work can be put an end to by shutting the public-house, or by prohibiting the immigration of "destitute foreigners." But when I read in the same publication that "the late Baron Herman Stern has just transmitted to his heirs the sum of £3,541,366 19s. 0d. as his nett personal property in England," I set my teeth for the quite other "methods" which lie before us.

It is a faithful saying and worthy of all acceptance, though it came from Whig-Malthusian Macaulay, that in description the particular exceeds the general in the vividness of impression which it creates.

JAMES LEATHAM.

## DANIEL O'CONNELL.

A correspondent who dissents from the view taken of O'Connell in the Calendar note by T. S. a few weeks ago, sends the following letter, written in 1884, by Ainge Devyr, the writer of the powerful "Odd Book," who knew more than any one other man of the Irish and English movements half a century ago. The letter is worth reprinting, and is here given:

SIR,—I have received the *Newcastle Weekly Chronicle* of October 21, containing the first instalment of extracts from my 'Odd Book.' I write this to request that you will allow me to state the *why* I call O'Connell an 'evil man,' otherwise many good men, ignorant of his career, will think me, not him, the evil man.

1. In 1798, O'Connell entered the Lawyers' Corps to fight the United Men.
2. To emancipate a few lords and loungers he sacrificed 100,000 forty shilling freeholders, and as a condition to emancipation swore every one of the emancipated to become a spy of the Government.
3. On the lapse, by termination, of the Tory coercion law, he voted and spoke for its continuance—when the Whigs were in power in 1834 or '35.
4. He voted to pay the debts of Victoria's mother, who could not live on £30,000 a year. He would not see his Queen's mother distressed.
5. He voted for £70,000 worth of new stables for Prince Albert, and to add £10,000 to his salary.
6. He offered 500,000 pikemen to push the Chartists into the sea, for daring to disturb "the quiet of his dear little Queen."
7. He offered to pull down the American eagle and put the British lion up in its place; and to raze "with fire and sword the midnight homes of New York State, if she dared to touch a hair of M'Leod's head."
8. He ridiculed Sharman Crawford and tenant-right; and at every adjournment he made a new humbug society to ask another trial for the Whigs.

And these are only samples of what he did. He was a bred Bourbon Tory, and brought home those principles from St. Omer, where he was educated. He abused the trades unions in Dublin, had the Chartist delegation sent from Newcastle mobbed by his followers, and said their leaders' heads ought "to roll on the scaffold." Had I not reason, Mr. Editor, to call him an evil man? Now, had he backed Sharman-Crawford when I was in London in 1833 he would have secured a tenant-right that would, through its improvements, have saved every life that perished in 1847. What could I call him but an evil man?

DEVYR.

Green Point, New York, Nov. 3.

METROPOLITAN PAUPERISM.—The weekly return of metropolitan pauperism shows that the total number of paupers relieved in the second week of the current month was 98,038, of whom 56,698 were indoor and 41,340 outdoor paupers. The total number relieved shows an increase of 5,768 over the corresponding week of last year, 7,575 over 1886, and 10,937 over 1885. The total number of vagrants relieved on the last day of the week was 1,019, of 816 were men, 180 women, and 23 children under sixteen.



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

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

*As all articles are signed, no special significance attaches to them because of their posi-  
 tion in these pages. None to be taken as more than in a general manner expressing  
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*Business communications to be addressed to Manager of the COMMONWEAL, 13 Far-  
 rington Road, E.C. Remittances in Postal Orders or halfpenny stamps.*

CONTRIBUTIONS received—will be used: R. U. Unsuitable: A. W. F.  
 Too late—Thomas (Ipswich).

*Periodicals received during the week ending Wednesday May 30.*

ENGLAND	Chicago (Ill)—Vorbote	SWITZERLAND
Die Autonomie	Buffalo—Arbeiter-Zeitung	Zurich—Sozial Demokrat
Justice	Detroit—Der Arme Teufel	ITALY
Leaflet Newspaper	Fort Worth (Tex.)—South West	Gazetta Operaia
London—Freie Presse	Milwaukee (Wis.)—Volksblatt	Milan—Il Fascio Operaio
Labour Tribune	Arbeiter Zeitung	Rome—L'Emancipazione
Norwich—Daylight	Providence (R.I.)—The People	Marsala—La Nuova Eta
Railway Review	Paterson (N.J.) Labor Standard	Cremona—La Freccia
Worker's Friend	St. Louis (Mo.)—Die Parole	SPAIN
NEW SOUTH WALES	Coast Seamen's Journal	Madrid—El Socialista
Hamilton—Radical	FRANCE	PORTUGAL
SOUTH AUSTRALIA	Paris—Cri du Peuple (daily)	Lisbon—O Protesto Operario
Adelaide—Our Commonwealth	Journal du Peuple	AUSTRIA
INDIA	Lille—Le Travailleur	Arbeiterstimme
Bankipore—Behar Herald	Havre—L'Idée Ouvriere	Brunn—Volksfreund
UNITED STATES	Hague—Recht voor Allen	ROUMANIA
New York—Der Sozialist	BELGIUM	Jassy—Muncitorul
Truthseeker	En Avant	DENMARK
Volkszeitung	Ghent—Vooruit	Social-Demokraten
Boston—Woman's Journal	Antwerp—De Werker	SWEDEN
Liberty	Liege—L'Avenir	Stockholm, Social-Demokraten
Chicago—Labor Enquirer		Malmö—Arbetet

## NO COMPENSATION.

THE supporters of the liquor interest, now threatened by a Bill before Parliament, are clamouring about "confiscation" and calling for "compensation." To this the temperance folk retort with a cry of "No compensation," and to-day (Saturday) a motley crowd of Socialists, Radicals, temperance advocates, and others are met together to lend their voices to the shout. No compensation for the refusal to renew a bargain—that is the meaning of to-day's meeting.

By law the drink traffic has been made into a monopoly, and the "licenses," of which we are hearing so much, are merely the tokens of admission into the ring of monopolists. Knowing the highly profitable nature of liquor-selling, the Government has retained the control of it in its own hands, restricted the number of those engaged in it, made them pay for the privilege, and terminated its exercise when they abused it. The licenses have to be renewed annually, or, in other words, the share which every publican holds in the great drink monopoly is only hired by the year and not bought outright. He has no more "vested interest" in it than a yearly tenant has in the house he rents, or any other hirer of any other article when the term of his hiring has expired. This has always been the legal view of the matter up to the present. But then the monopoly brings in to the governmental coffers the sum of thirty millions per year, and the small monopolists are anxious to share even more largely than they do in the plunder obtained from it.

What the particular proposals are on either side does not much matter; what they mean is simply that the shares in the monopoly are on the one hand proposed to be reduced in number, and heightened in productiveness and price, and on the other hand it is asked that they be left as they are, or that any present shareholder shall be "compensated" when his time of holding is over should the bargain not be renewed. Very naturally and rightly it is being pointed out by opponents of "compensation" that the publicans have no prescriptive right beyond the time for which they have bargained; that the power which gave has the power to take away; and that in the exercise of their monopoly they have as a class somewhat more than "compensated" themselves already. Further than that go many of the opponents, who point out also that the "value" of a public-house is not made by what is put into it, in fact is not in itself at all; that its "value" as a profit-making concern is dependent on the people who by necessity or convenience are compelled to make use of it; that the profit of the publican and the "magnificent revenue of the Chancellor of the Exchequer" come alike from the pennies of the consumer or the wages of the producer. Between the worker who brews the beer or distils the spirit, on the one hand, and the consumer who

drinks either on the other, there stand in line the capitalist brewer or distiller, the publican, and the Government, who each have a finger in the pie and take out a plum as it passes.

The teetotaler adds another plea: that the effect of the traffic is mischievous and degrading, and year by year inflicts misery and want upon millions and entails enormous loss upon the country at large; that anything which tends to its restriction is good in itself, and that the man who has been allowed, "for a consideration," to take part in it has incurred a heavy responsibility rather than acquired a right to further reward. One of the features of to-day's demonstration was to be a van-load of poor children, ragged and woe-begone, with the legend in large letters, "Who is to compensate all these?"

With all these pleas the Socialist has to avow his sympathy, but he is at the same time compelled to say that they are unsound if taken on the basis of the present property system, and are not carried to their logical conclusion if accepted as binding on their own merits. The conditions upon which all property, landed and other, is held to-day are virtually the same as those upon which the drink monopoly is maintained. All the material resources of the country are held as a monopoly by a class; Government levies a toll upon each man's share of this monopoly, protects him in its exercise, and interferes with its abuse (sometimes). If Lord Coleridge may be trusted, there is no legal right to compensation on the part of any man whose share is curtailed, taken away, or otherwise interfered with; but the whole of society to-day goes upon the assumption that each man's share is "his own to do what he likes with," and to be heavily paid for if taken from him. It is "his own" just in the same way and no other as that in which the publican's share in the drink monopoly is his; for so long as the community agree to give it him. If it be decided that property in land, or factories, or machinery, or, as it really is, in the power which these things give of extorting wealth from the workers, is to carry the right of compensation, then also must property in the liquor trade. So that our friends who cry "No compensation," being landlords or capitalists of some kind, had better reconsider their position, and reflect they are departing from the standpoint of the property-system of to-day, which, if they accept it, would make them "give compensation" whenever a monopoly was interfered with, or an abuse rectified. But if they have thought out the matter and still hold to "No compensation" and the rest of it? Then they must carry out their principles to their logical conclusion, and become Socialists. This a good many are very unlikely to do, but there are some who may be able to see the case clearly when it is put before them. First, the stern teetotaler who puts the publican beyond the pale of consideration because the very existence of his class implies widespread poverty with all its evils. Even granting for a moment that some part of the poverty is "due to drink," is not a much larger part due to the existence of a capitalist class which consumes without producing, and therefore lives upon the workers? For every ten the publican has killed there have been a thousand slain by the landlord and the capitalist; should not these men's power be broken? And of the proletariat whom these men have plunged in misery, "who is to compensate all these?"

The "value" of property in land, or houses, or machinery, or anything else, is not inherent in it, or put into it by the holder, but depends on how much the holding of it will enable its "owner" to exploit from other people. Between the producer and the consumer stands the capitalist, saying "Producer, you shall not produce; Consumer, you shall not consume, unless I also share in the wealth produced." Suppose the producer and consumer combine in refusing to let him share any longer, will our friends then join us in crying "No compensation"? All this which is now agitating the public mind is, when all is said, but a small part of the monopoly which oppresses us, which is being increasingly felt and will be questioned more closely day by day. The more closely it is questioned, the more clearly it will be seen to be merely a vast engine for robbing or defrauding the workers of the fruit of their labour. Whether directly by actual taking away the product of their toil in the workshop or on the land, or indirectly by fooling them out of their scanty pay in the grog-shop, the same thing is done—the producer is fleeced of the product. For laying a finger on part of the vested right of robbery, the people are asked to "compensate" those they disturb. Many people are advising the people not to do so, but of all these the Socialist alone is clear-headed or honest enough to freely explain the reason and set forth its application. S.

## THE HISTORY OF A SWEATER.

### HIS DEVELOPMENT.

(Concluded from p. 162.)

I now tried to get employment in the West-end, having an ambition to get into a better position, and I was taken on by a sweater in Warwick Street, Regent Street, at 7s. 6d. a-day, from seven till nine. I still continued to live in the East-end, because I could not tear myself away from all the familiar surroundings; but after awhile the strain became too great to get to work by seven, and get back at night. So I came to live up town, and began to consider myself a great person. Soon after, something happened which interested me greatly. A friend of my master's, hearing of and seeing me at work, conceived the idea of sending and offering me more money to leave my then employer. I foolishly told my master of it, and he was so en-

raged at the treachery of his friend that when he saw him again he threatened him with all kinds of things. But for some reason or other he would not raise my wages; so I left him at the end of the week, without saying anything, and went to work for his "friend," and received 8s. a-day.

I now began to feel that I could raise myself still higher in the social scale, so I avoided card-playing, lotteries, and other kinds of gambling, dressed myself well, and saved my money. Several interested people now broached the subject of matrimony to me, but I was too intent on money-getting, and gave them no hopes. I had also by this time disregarded the teachings of the orthodox religion, as I found that it interfered very much with my efforts to live with, and like, the majority, who seemed to be only striving after gain.

About this time my hitherto successful efforts received a severe check, as I fell ill through some sudden violent exertion which injured me internally, and I was obliged to go to the hospital at Dalston. I now thought that my race was run. My people had disowned me for being too atheistic, which is the greatest offence possible among the Jews. After two months I was discharged, and it was now in the slack time of the year. I did not relish the idea of going to work at the slop-work again, and so I lived a few weeks on my savings. I longed to be home again, but I dare not return to my native land, for fear of being punished and sent to Siberia as a deserter.

I now thought that I should make the attempt to start on my own account. I unfolded my plan to an acquaintance of mine, who was a tailor, but had been a few years before, in his own country, a tanner; and we decided to start that very day. So we came up to the west, and I, being the better dressed, went into many of the fine shops, applying for work as a first-class coat-maker. My efforts were successful, and I got the promise of plenty of work at prices about half what the tailors' log came to. We looked about for a suitable place in the vicinity that we could use for a work-room, which we found through looking in at a baker's shop window near Regent Street, where I noticed numerous advertisements stuck up, calling for the help of persons of both sexes at different branches of many occupations. As we were, we could not ourselves have made a coat, as I could only machine and he baste; we needs must have a good tailoress to make the button-holes and sew on the braid, etc. To discuss this and sundry other matters over we adjourned to a neighbouring coffee-tavern, and there made our plans for the future. We were sorely in need of the necessary capital, but we soon borrowed five pounds from some friends on the strength of our expectations, which was enough to get a table, sleeve-board, irons and lamps, etc., and a machine from the Singer Machine Company, which we got for ten shillings down and half-a-crown a-week after until all the purchase-money (£7, 7s.) was paid.

I now began to dream of a glorious future, that would be possible if we could only get sufficient hands and work enough. I was now a sweater. Through the agency of the baker's shop we were able to get a really good tailor—a poor, ragged fellow, who was too dirty to get work in any of the West-end shops, and so was glad to come and work for me for 5s. 6d. a-day from eight till nine. We also got a good tailoress, who was in the same deplorable condition, whom we paid 3s. 6d. a-day, from eight till eight. These two caused us great inconvenience and anxiety, as they invariably stayed away from work drinking on Monday and Tuesday, especially when we were busy. This was rather curious to me, because they were so much in need of money that they would ask for "the boot" (advance) on the first day that they started work. Well, these two and my partner, with myself and a girl, who did our house-work and went to and from the shop that we worked for, we managed to turn out nearly thirty garments a-week, and we nearly always managed to have £4 a-piece each week after paying all expenses.

This went on for some time, when one day the foreman, who up till now had hardly spoken to me, asked me to make an overcoat for him. I joyfully consented, and when it was finished I took it myself to his house. He did not ask me for the bill, and I did not like to ask him for the money, so he never paid me for that coat, as well as for others that we made for him. Now of course I felt more familiar with him, and so one night I invited him to a good supper, with wine, etc., *à la carte*, when he promised to give me as much work as I wished—for a consideration, of course. It is needless for me to relate the exact words that passed between us, but I agreed to pay him a percentage of 2s. for every £ that I earned; he on his part promising to give me the easiest and best paid for work of that he had under his control. We parted, and we both fulfilled our parts of the arrangement.

I now had to get a larger workshop and more people; and from this time I worked the machine no more. I also got a quantity of stock coats to make, which I brought home, and after extracting the sewing-silk, etc., from each bundle, gave them out to several of my friends to make, and paid them 20 per cent. less than I received, I taking the difference for my trouble. This is, correctly speaking, pure "sweating." I soon afterwards bought out my partner, who continued to manage my workshop, for which I paid him well. I was now clearing about £7 a-week. This went on for two or three years, when I had to my credit in the Post Office Savings Bank a comfortable sum. So I began to look round for some means of investing "my" money. I was recommended to buy a small cigar business, which, after due investigation, I bought, my sweating concern going on all right in Golden Square.

Sometimes now I think of the fate of my unhappy country, and I help in many ways the Nihilist movement. I try to treat my employes as well as the best of employers, and I am always ready to "help a lame dog over the stile." *Communicated by HENRY SAMUELS.*

## INTERNATIONAL NOTES.

### FRANCE.

The glassblowers strike of Pantin, near Paris, or rather the lock-out organised by the masters against 3000 workers, has come to an end, and we are glad to say that the glassblowers have won their battle on all points. All the furnaces are to be worked again; all the working-men, without exception, resume work; and Amiable, the foreman against whom the workers of one of the factories made complaints, has to be removed to some other department. During this struggle, the French workers generally, and the blowers of Lyons in particular, have shown a great and admirable sense of solidarity.

Another strike which has lasted over six weeks has ended with the victory of the workers—namely, that of the slate-quarries of Rimogne (Ardennes Department). There also the masters have been compelled to re-engage all the workers, without exception.

### GERMANY.

We need scarcely say that the police persecutions and arrests of Socialists are going on as usual in Germany. Last week at Berlin several comrades had their houses searched by the Naporras of the Spree, and were arrested afterwards. Two other comrades were sentenced to several months' hospitality in his Majesty's prisons for having distributed the *Freiheit* and the *Sozial Demokrat*. Those who have been lately arrested for the distribution of that leaflet, of which 40,000 copies fell into the hands of the police, will be tried for offence against the general press laws, against the anti-Socialist laws, against the Kaiser, for secret conspiracy, and for some other reasons. All that for a leaflet! This week we will have at Leipzig a trial with 43 accused Socialists only, all of them being concerned with the wholesale spreading of a pamphlet remembering the 18th of March. A fortnight or three weeks ago, 18 stonecutters were tried for "secret conspiracy" and 13 of them sentenced to several months of jail. And so forth, everywhere throughout the jolly blessed land. But how long is it going to last? We feel somewhat inclined to cry to our friends there over the Rhine: "Get up, Lazarus!"

It is expected that in a few weeks there will be all through Germany a considerable strike of ironfounders. These workers are pretty well organised, and have prepared themselves for the last six months to that effect. Last week a secret gathering of delegates of the German ironfounders was held at Chemnitz, in Saxony, and important resolutions taken concerning the forthcoming struggle. It appears likely that the workers of Magdeburg, where several thousands of founders are at work in the Gruson factories, will commence the battle against their exploiters. During the last few months, several delegates of the German founders have also acquainted their comrades of the same trade in other countries with their plan of action. We will soon have, in all probability, somewhat more to say about this very important affair.

In the districts of Glauchau and Meerane, mostly devoted to the textile and weaving industry, there is a considerable amount of poverty and misery among the workers. More than one half of the people are out of work, and those who have managed to remain at their occupation earn somewhat over sixpence a-day. But even in good times these poor weavers, for fourteen and sixteen hours daily work, do not get more than from £15 to £20 yearly. They have often tried to ameliorate their miserable condition by convening meetings, in order to take some steps which could lead to a bettering of their lives, but the "authorities" are still more barbarous there than elsewhere; never do the workers get the necessary authorisation for combining. They are left to starve in their dens, hopeless and desperate. Could not the German Socialist deputies do better work there than in Bismark's Reichstag, where they can do nothing whatever for the sake of these unfortunate beings? They would also find good work to do in some other districts where the weavers are badly off, as for instance at Crefeld where 7,000 frameworks are at a standstill, at Sanct-Tocnis where there are 800, and at Süchteln where there are 1,000 in the same condition.

### AUSTRIA-HUNGARY.

The last issue of *Gleichheit* (Equality) has again been confiscated; but it was soon followed by a second edition, duly expurgated according to the wish of the "authorities."

Comrade Ignatius Bluch, one of the most energetic and intelligent propagators of Socialism in Austria, died at Dornbirn at the beginning of the month, after a long and painful disease.

### BELGIUM.

The *Avant-Garde* (the Vanguard), organ of the *Parti ouvrier* at Brussels, has breathed its last, owing to the modification introduced in their daily paper, *Le Peuple*, the size of which has been considerably enlarged.

The members of the Belgian *Parti ouvrier* are very busy just now in wasting their time. They run candidates for the provincial councils, who are to be defeated on the 27th inst., and candidates for parliament, who will meet with the same fate on the 12th of June. And if they were not to be beaten the whole affair would exactly amount to the same result: Nothingness.

At the same time the *Parti ouvrier* has decided to commence propaganda work on a large scale among the labourers of the agricultural districts throughout the country, in order to win them for the Socialist ideas. That is useful business, provided they refrain from all parliamentary ramblings.

### NORWAY.

One of the most prominent forerunners of the revolutionary Socialist cause in Denmark died in the beginning of this month at Bergen, in Norway. Comrade Sophus Pihl was born at Copenhagen in 1840, and was initiated in the doctrines of Socialism by Ferdinand Lassalle, whom he knew, in the year 1863, at Frankfort-on-the-Maine. One of the founders of the International Workingmen's Association in his country, he represented his fellow-comrades at the Congress of The Hague in 1872, where he came into contact with Marx, Engels, Longuet, and several others. In the same year he was tried at Copenhagen in consequence of a revolutionary speech delivered before 50,000 workers, and sentenced to one year's imprisonment. After many other prosecutions inflicted upon him by the Danish Government, he went to South Africa, where he resided over seven years. He then came to Norway, and became editor of the *Friend of the People*, published at Bergen. He organised there the Socialist Workingmen's Club, which soon became very flourishing. Having spent all his money in the service of the Cause he died a very poor man, and his Socialist friends had to pay the expenses of his burial. Sophus Pihl was a most eloquent speaker, and an organiser of great ability, who fully deserves to be remembered by the proletariat of all countries. V. D.



## THE LABOUR STRUGGLE.

BRITAIN.

The Bolton cotton spinners have resolved that notice for an increase of 5 per cent. in wages be served on masters on the 27th of June.

There is a dispute in the tailoring trade at Mullingar owing to the employers giving notice of a reduction of wages. The men threaten to strike.

All the furnace fillers at Shotts are on strike after having wrought a fortnight's warning. The men demand 6d. on their shift, or an extra man on the limestone.

The Hull moulders, who have been out six weeks on strike for an advance of 2s., have returned to work. They are to have a shilling advance in July, and a similar rise later on if the state of trade permits it.

A conference is being arranged between the Tee-side shipbuilders and men to settle the wages question. Should no settlement be arrived at, the men at Middlesbrough, Stockton and Hartlepool, will strike.

The employés at Carn Brea and Tincroft Mines, Cornwall, have received notice that their wages will be reduced from 60s. to 55s. per month. The men are very dissatisfied, and a strike is imminent.

At a conference of delegates of the Ayrshire Miners' Union last week at Kilmarnock, it was agreed to recommend the members to remodel the union somewhat on the lines of the Knights of Labour.

DUNDEE IRON SHIPBUILDERS.—The iron shipbuilders in three of the yards in Dundee have struck work in consequence of the masters refusing an advance of wages. The riveters ask an increase of 7½ and the caulkers of 5 per cent., while the time hands, whose wages were raised a month ago from 6d. to 6½d., now demand 7d. per hour. Messrs. Alexander Stephen and Sons have given the advance asked by the men.

OPERATIVE BOOT AND SHOE RIVETTERS AND FINISHERS.—A conference of delegates met in Norwich last week, and in connection therewith a public meeting to further the cause of trades unionism was held. There were three Socialists among the delegates; our comrade Mowbray also addressed the meeting on the question of Socialism, which was well received. A large number of pamphlets and leaflets were distributed. A resolution pledging the meeting to promote the organisation of labour was passed.

STRIKE OF GRINDERS AND GLAZIERS.—The strike of grinders and glaziers at Mason's, Globe Works, Rochdale, still continues. It is now some weeks since the strike commenced, with no signs of any settlement up to the present. Some other portions of the work have been compelled to stop half-time, as the men are very determined, and very few of the stones are working. The cause of the strike was that the men wanted to be paid by the standard list paid by other firms in Rochdale—viz., 32s. per week—while the above firm have only been paying 30s.

STRIKE OF BIRMINGHAM LABOURERS.—About thirty men employed by the Corporation contractor to remove the macadam in Congreve Street, Birmingham, prior to laying down a wood pavement, struck work last Friday. T. Smith, 5 Court, 5 house, Bishopsgate Street, who writes for the men on strike, says: "Through the influence of one or two of the borough officials we have been reduced in our wages from 5d. to 4½d., and now they want us to work for 4d. per hour. In bad weather we are knocked off, and have no opportunity of obtaining extras. We are only poor men, and ask for a fair day's pay for a fair day's work."

THE WAGES QUESTION AT ROCHDALE.—The Wappers and Card and Blowing Room Association and the Operative Spinners' Association are co-operating in a demand for 5 per cent advance in wages. A Lancashire correspondent says the intimation that the employers of Oldham are not prepared to resist the application, has given the greatest satisfaction among the spinners and winders of North and North-East Lancashire. It is now probable that the advance will have to be extended all round in the spinning departments of the northern counties.

STRIKE ON THE TYNE.—There is a general lock-out in all the shipyards on the Tyne. Several thousand men are involved in the dispute, which promises to be prolonged and bitter. The beginning of the affair was the demand of the helpers in Jarrow shipyard for an advance in wages, which was refused, and the men struck work. Other shipbuilders, to support Palmer's Company, gave their helpers notice, unless Palmer's men withdrew their demand, which they refused to do and are still on strike. Efforts have been made to fill their places with men from Sheffield and Blackwall, with only partial success.

STRIKE OF BLANKET-WEAVERS.—The women employed in several of the Heckinondwike blanket manufactories have struck work against an attempt to withdraw the extra halfpenny allowed in certain cases for change of shuttle. The firms for whom they were working are Messrs. J. and T. Tattersfield, Staincliffe; Messrs. Jeremiah Tattersfield and Sons, Kilpin Hill; Mr. Joseph Tattersfield, Kilpin Hill; and Mr. William Crabtree, Dewsbury Moor. The weavers allege that the reduction is a halfpenny per wartern of 6lb., equal to 2s. per week. They appear determined to stand out, but have no union of their own to provide them with funds.

COLNE.—GARDEN VALE MILLS STRIKE.—This notable strike, which is now in its 27th week, seems likely before long to terminate in a victory for the workers. The moral effect is worth all that it is likely to cost. It is to be hoped there will be no slackening in the efforts of those who have up till now supported the committee in carrying on the fight. The 26th report shows that there are now fewer looms running than ever, a lot of the weavers having ceased working, as reported last week. The amount paid last week to strikers and their families, with expenses, was £98 10s. 5d. The total amount paid since the strike commenced is £2,529 3s. 2d.

THREATENED GENERAL STRIKE AT BLACKBURN.—The masters have declined to grant the demand of the loomers and drawers for a new standard list of prices and troublous times are expected. The employers are preparing for the conflict by the usual means, setting one portion of the workers against their fellows. It is stated that some of the mill managers are being allowed upwards of £10 per week for training traitors after the usual working hours in order that they may take the places of those who have given in their notices or have threatened to do so. It is rumoured in the district that an importation of East-end Londoners is contemplated to take the place of the strikers. Such a proceeding would cause extraordinary commotion, and the exasperation of the operatives would doubtless lead to serious results.

NUT AND BOLT MAKERS.—At a meeting of the nut and bolt makers, held at Darlaston last week, it was stated that the masters at the Staffordshire Works were willing to give the price-list to all their men with the exception

of three, who they said were apprentices; whilst Mr. Richards, of the firm of C. Richards and Co., refused to do anything in the matter until he had seen the other employers. He promised, however, to do the same as the others did. Mr. Robinson (Fallings Heath) had accepted the notice, but had subsequently expressed his willingness to pay the list; and Messrs. Cotterell had stated that they would pay the price asked for to all the employed except non-union men. A resolution was passed requesting all men who had resumed work on the understanding that the list price would be conceded, less 5 per cent., to leave work again after Saturday if they found then that the full prices were not paid to them.

MACCLESFIELD—WEAVERS' STRIKE.—The power loom weavers at Mr. Nicholson's still remain out. Mr. Nicholson has issued a statement that no trial has been made on the work, and that he offered to revise the price if it was shown that a good living could not be obtained. A reply has been issued by the weavers, in which they say they offered to weave the job in dispute for 20s. a-week, but he would not pay even that. (Mr. Nicholson's way of doing business seems to be more straightforward than some. He coolly tells his workers he will give them bread and cheese if they will allow him to sweat all he can out of them; and if they will show him they are not earning bread and cheese now—or a "good living," as he calls it—he may perhaps allow them a little more of their own produce. And yet there are no wage-slaves! The weavers should make offer to Mr. Nicholson to accept his standard of a "good living.")

IRISH WAGE-SLAVES.—An enquiry regarding the condition of the Lurgan linen-weavers has revealed a terrible state of destitution. In one house, a family was found huddled together in one room in which a loom was at work. The family consisted of father, mother, a girl ill with consumption, three very young children, and a boy of eleven. Most shocking of all is the statement that the latter was actually chained to his work at a wheel, the father keeping the key in his pocket. The mother was out at the time, looking for something to eat. The report denounces "those who, instead of letting the parents of these poor children earn a fair living, go on with their unjust dealings, heaping up their thousands and thousands of pounds, and building splendid mansions, each one grander than the other, and with everything possible to adorn and beautify their surroundings, never dreaming of that great and terrible day when they shall stand at the great bar, face to face with all their unjust actions and with the men and women they have so ill-used."

FOREIGN WAGE-SLAVES IN ENGLAND.—At Winsford, Cheshire, there is a large colony of Polish workmen employed in the salt manufacture. At the monthly meeting of the Winsford Local Board last week, the surveyor reported a case of small-pox at Meadow Bank. The patient was a Pole. Two slight cases of scarlet fever had also been reported at Meadow Bank; the victims were young children of English parents. He had made a midnight inspection of the cottages occupied by the foreigners at Meadow Bank. He found overcrowding everywhere. At the Cocoa-rooms he found in one room on the ground floor six men, one woman, and four young children, eleven in all, and in the lobby one man; in another room on the ground floor there were four men; and in another three men, one woman, and five children. Upstairs there were ten men in one room, and eight in another. At a cottage in the yard and adjoining the stables were three men in the front room, seven in another room, and one woman and two children in a back room. The rent was paid to a Mr. Falk, and he packed the people in, as many as he could get. He believed the system adopted was to take the money for lodgings out of their wages.

SELF-HELP.—A question of considerable importance to the weavers of Burnley is growing out of the success of the Self Help companies in that town. Attempts have been made by some employers to induce their weavers to take up shares in their concerns. The operatives should be very careful in these matters. If it is desirable to extend the principle of self-help, the concerns by all means should start on a sound footing by getting new machinery, and not have old looms forced upon them at such a price that in a few years the looms will be done and the operatives bankrupt. The operatives at Nelson the other week declined to have anything whatever to do with a proposition simply because the price was too high for old looms. The Nelson weavers are evidently looking ahead. An attempt was made the other week to float another old firm in Whittlefield, the employer having purchased another shed in another part of the borough. The weavers refused to have it. It seems that private employers are not particularly fond of their workpeople becoming shareholders in new places. We have heard of some employers discharging their tacklers who have taken up shares in places other than where they are employed. This looks like vindictiveness, and private employers seem to be jealous that the trade is slipping through their fingers.—*Cotton Factory Times*.

FEMALE RAILWAY DETECTIVES.—The following excellent letter appeared in last Saturday's issue of the *Railway Review*:—"It was with feelings of shame for my own sex that I read in your paper last week an account of the wife of a railway detective having engaged herself to the North-Western Railway Company as a spy to find out little petty larcenies on the part of poor railwaymen, and I was more than grieved to find she had been what I suppose will be termed successful. Successful, indeed—in what? Read, my sister. Successful in getting the station-master at Perry Bar, not merely fined 40s. and costs, for that was comparatively trifling, but in losing him his situation and bringing disgrace and suffering upon himself and family (if he has one). Any female who can derive any satisfaction from such results of her action needs to have a better idea instilled into her of what true womanhood is. It is not a woman's mission to cause grief and trouble; it is no part of her duty to deprive a man of his daily bread. No! the womanly part is to do the very opposite, to carry peace and comfort wherever she can. Why couldn't this female detective have gone quietly to the station-master and given him a good talking to, and have pointed out the dangers he was risking? This would have been nobler than trapping him, yet nothing more than should have been expected from a true woman. As for Mr. Detective, I am surprised at him degrading his wife by sending her to such work, but I suppose he is like a deal more of his class I sometimes hear spoken of—case-hardened and lost all fellow-feeling. If this sort of thing is to develop, I pray that wives will object to undertake such unprincipled work. I know that my husband has more respect for me than to ask me to do such a thing, and I fancy he knows it would be no use doing so; but if I was so engaged I would go and warn every man beforehand, and those I couldn't get at I should refuse to entrap. Let my sisters show some courage over this matter, and not allow themselves to become degraded.—A SERGEANT'S WIFE."

REVOLUTIONARY CALENDAR.

WEEK ENDING JUNE 9, 1888.

3	Sun.	1793. Trial of D. I. Eaton for publishing 2nd part of the "Rights of Man." 1804. Richard Cobden born. 1849. Outbreak at Dresden. 1882. James Thompson ("B.V.") died. 1885. Police Outrage at International Club.
4	Mon.	1793. Adam Smith born. 1798. Sir E. Crosbie hanged for high treason.
5	Tues.	1817. J. T. Wooller tried for seditious libel. 1887. Great Socialist Feast at Copenhagen.
6	Wed.	1787. Trial of Lord George Gordon for libel on Queen of France. 1817. Wooller again tried for seditious libel.
7	Thur.	1649. Republican Thanksgiving in London. 1753. Dr. Archibald Cameron hanged for being "out in the '45." 1798. Execution of O'Coighly. 1832. First Reform Bill passed.
8	Fri.	1688. Imprisonment of 7 Bishops. 1809. Tom Paine died. 1831. Riot at the Forest of Dean. 1876. Georges Sand died. 1882. Garibaldi buried at Caprera.
9	Sat.	1817. James Watson, the elder and younger, Arthur Thistlewood, Thomas Preston, and John Hooper tried for high treason. 1870. Charles Dickens died. 1878. Colliery Explosion at Haydock.

*Death of James Thompson.*—The poet-pessimist, author of the "City of Dreadful Night," was born at Port Glasgow, November 23, 1834. His father, who held a post in the merchant service, and his mother, a zealous Irvingite, having both died while he was still a child, he was educated at the Caledonian Orphan Asylum. From about 1850 to 1862 he served as an army schoolmaster; on leaving the army he devoted himself to literature and journalism, contributing under the *nom-de-plume* of "B. V." (i.e., Bysshe Vanolis, in memory of Shelley and Novalis) to the *National Reformer*, *Secularist*, *Tobacco Plant*, and other papers. Owing partly to an inherited melancholia, partly to his severe bereavements and misfortunes, chief among which was the sudden death of a young girl to whom he was betrothed, Thompson's life was a singularly tragic one, an intense weariness of spirit underlying his natural gaiety of manner and brilliant powers of conversation. His opinions were of a strongly pessimistic cast; his belief, as expressed in the "City of Dreadful Night," and other writings, being that there is no real progress in human affairs, but only a seeming advance in a circle. Nevertheless, in nature and sentiment he was an ardent democrat, and his sympathies were wholly with the people; as may be seen from his prose phantasy, "In our Forest of the Past," and from several political poems. It is as a poet, and especially as the poet of pessimism, that Thompson will chiefly be known; but he also deserves record in the Revolutionary Calendar as a thorough-going revolutionist, and the most brilliant free-lance of the Secularist movement. Shelley, Heine, and Leopardi were the three writers to whom Thompson had most affinity in thought and temperament.—H. S. S.

*The City Junket of 1649.*—Of all years in the whole range of English history, none can in the least compare with the year 1649 for interest and instruction to the student of political and social organisations. Yet no year is more completely shrouded in mystery for all but a few persevering explorers into the records of the past. The "fierce light which beats upon a throne," poured now with ever-increasing effulgence upon that one short episode, the last dismal journey across St. James's Park and out of the window of what is now the Chapel Royal in Whitehall, performed by that cold-blooded coward, Charles Stuart, has thrown the balance of 1649 into a Cimmerian shroud. Yet the miserable fate of the "royal martyr" is of no importance to the bulk of us compared with many other doings of the year. The whole comedy and tragedy of the eternal social war was rehearsed on the English historic stage in that historic year. Not the least significant, in fact one of the most instructive, of public events, was the London Thanksgiving of the 7th of June. Just a week before the royal statues had been thrown down and the Republic proclaimed. Yet the hewers of wood and drawers of water were taught a sharp lesson that the revolution was not for them. No! no! it was for the over-gorged traders of the city and the new class of land-grabbers in the shires that the best blood of the land had been shed like water. Veteran heroes like honest John Lilburne, who had borne the brunt of battle, were told that though there was to be a levelling down of kings and nobles there was to be no levelling up of the great body of the people below. The Levellers were denounced from pulpit and parliament as disturbers of a happy family. Foremost in this infamous betrayal of the true cause of liberty and justice was the ever-infamous Corporation of London. Let not honest workers be deluded by boasts of turtle-soup guzzlers that the Corporation of London has been the champion of liberty. It is and has ever been the most venomous enemy of the industrial worker. It flaunts as its crest the accursed dagger with which a cowardly assassin and Lord Mayor stabbed the noblest champion of the English workers ever raised in the land. The City has been ever true to its heraldic device. At the epoch noted in the Calendar, it was instrumental in debauching and deluding the crowd to prevent there being a true revolution in England, cunningly reserving all benefit for the profit-mongers and land-thieves. The thanksgiving service was held in the Grocer's Hall, and Fairfax and Cromwell were given magnificent bribes for "putting down the Levellers," while great sums of money were sent about the town to induce the poor working slaves to sell their new birthright for a mess of pottage in the shape of a few pence for a day's roystering.—L. W.

*James O'Coighly.*—Born in County Armagh about 1762, educated in the Irish College of Paris, where his youthful efforts at reform embroiled him with his superiors, the outbreaking of the French Revolution forced him to fly home-ward. On arrival he found persecution raging, and the result made even worse by Government intrigues, which fomented religious feuds in order to "divide and govern." With all the force of his ardent nature he flung himself into the breach, and succeeded for some years in bringing about relations between the Dissenters and Catholics that afterwards merged in the Northern United Irishmen. O'Coighly became connected with Napper Tandy, and placed him in communication amongst others with the Louth defenders. He was well known and thoroughly trusted by the united leaders, but for a long time was not in sympathy with revolutionary designs. But his fruitless efforts on behalf of the Orangemen or "Wreckers" of Armagh, 1794-5-6, made him a revolutionist. To cite only one of the cases will be enough to show how pure and unspotted are the loyalist saints who yell horror at the "Parnellite gang." A man named McVeagh at O'Nieland East was held prisoner by Orangemen, while four others held his wife before his eyes and outraged her in turn. For this offence by strenuous effort, O'Coighly and others managed to force a prosecution from the Government and a conviction from a packed jury; whereon the Government stepped in, took the prisoner from the hands of justice and sent him on board the fleet! O'Coighly after this became a trusted agent of the Ulster directory, going to France on their behalf, but on the occasion of his capture it seems well nigh certain that he was only fleeing from renewed persecution by those to whom

his former conduct had made him obnoxious. However, he was taken, "tried," and died like a hero.—S.

*Trial of Watson and others.*—This was for their part in the Spa-fields meeting, already spoken of, and resulted in a verdict of "Not Guilty." This result was largely owing to the fact that popular sentiment, even among the jury-forming classes, was on their side, as the "evidence" which the prosecution had prepared and produced was much more complete than had often served to hang men on. That they carried a tricolour flag inscribed "Nature to feed the hungry—Truth to protect the oppressed—Justice to punish offenders," would have served the purpose a little before, and would again a little after, but just then they escaped.—S.

**C. A.**—Of course the Calendar cannot be made complete "at one fell swoop." It is compiled from original sources, and the matter in it has never before been brought together. We have to rely on the few contributors we can get, and when any one of these is overpowered with private work his department of the Calendar has to go to the wall for that week. We hope to remedy most omissions by the time the volume appears.

A LETTER FROM CHICAGO.

STRIKES, strikes, and nothing but strikes—that is the present aspect of the labour movement in the United States. A struggle of some months' duration on the Pennsylvania and Reading Railroad, in conjunction with the coalminers in the Lehigh Valley and with the miners of the Reading system, started the fight between capital and labour this year. The men fought splendidly, but at last were beaten by circumstances and treachery, and now I read in a paper with reliable information the following paragraph: "The old employes of the Reading Railroad, who were discharged on account of the recent strike, have issued a circular stating that they are in abject want, and asking councils to provide them with employment. They say that the Reading managers will not take them back, and that their distress in consequence is deplorable. It is probable that councils at their meeting on Thursday will take some action in the matter. Many of the strikers with their families have been compelled to go to the almshouse."

No sooner was the strike on the Reading system declared off than we were confronted with a new strike. Two thousand engineers and firemen on the large Chicago, Burlington, and Quincy railroad left their jobs on account of inequality of wages. The men belonged to the most aristocratic labour organisation in the whole world—to the Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers, an organisation whose president, a Mr. Arthur, once made the assertion that a working-man who can earn 3 to 4 dollars a-day has nothing in common with a working-man who can only earn 1 or 1½ dollars a-day—in fact, that the interest of the former was diametrically opposed to the interest of the latter. The Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers is the richest, most powerful and compact organisation of labour in America, and has always been a favourite with the capitalist. Mayor Hewitt of New York, Chauncey M. Depew, and such like, have always flattered them, and Dick Oglesby, Governor of Illinois, one of the murderers of our comrades, at a dinner party invited all other labour organisations to follow the good example in the "law and order" line of the Brotherhood.

And to-day! Well, the table is turned. As soon as the men had left their places the vacancies were instantly filled by people out of employment. Of course these men could not work as well as the old hands, but after some weeks' struggle they knew the business sufficiently to carry on the traffic. This enraged the strikers. They attacked the scabs, shots got exchanged, some men were killed, they wrecked trains, and the locomotive engineers, once so well-beloved by all capitalists, are now declared to be "anarchists" of the worst type. Every day all capitalistic sheets are raising hell because of some act committed by the strikers. Such is the force of events. The strike, however, is practically lost, and the men had better look out for other jobs. This is the second strike the Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers has lost within a year.

The third big strike is the strike of the brewery workers. About two years ago the brewery bosses in Chicago signed a contract through which they recognised the union and pledged themselves to engage only union men. This contract expired about the middle of April, and the bosses refused to sign a new contract with the old conditions. The bosses had meanwhile organised themselves and had formed a pool. The fight was of two-fold character: first, to destroy the union; and second, the big bosses wanted to eat up the little ones. I watched the strike from the day it broke out, and I can frankly affirm I never saw a strike fought so gallantly as the strike of the brewery workmen in Chicago. About 550 men went out (about 650 men are engaged in the breweries), and of these 550 men, during a strike now lasting four weeks, only ten men went back. At the meetings always the greatest harmony and order prevailed. After about three days from the time the strike broke out every place was filled with a scab, and now the breweries are working with full force. Every organisation in Chicago supported the strikers with all the money they had in their cash-boxes. At the time the men went on strike they had about 120 dollars; and after four weeks struggle, and after having assisted a good many families, they had about 1500 dollars to their credit in the bank. You will see from that how well the men were supported. And in spite of all these sacrifices, in my opinion the strike is already lost to-day. In New York and some other places the brewery workers were also forced to strike, and I hear that the situation is about the same as in Chicago—viz., practically lost.

Organised Capital has declared throughout the United States that Organised Labour will in future no longer be recognised. The war has been openly declared, and up till now Organised Labour has been defeated all along the line.

The time for strikes over here has passed. It has been calculated—and this calculation has been affirmed by Samuel Gompers—that there are at present nearly one million men out of work in the United States. Add to these the swarms of emigrants who land every day, and who are forced to accept work under any circumstances, and you will easily see that it is impossible to win any more a strike of any importance. Organised Capital can afford to spend some money in teaching scabs—and we cannot forget that scabs are also human beings—while on the other hand Organised Labour has very little money to fall back upon. I can see very clearly, and I have watched things with a great deal of interest, all labour organisations on the basis they are constructed to-day will be broken up one by one, and then let it be hoped that they will be reconstructed on a revolutionary basis  
Chicago, May 10th, 1888.  
HENRY F. CHARLES

THE SOCIALIST LEAGUE.

OFFICES: 13 FARRINGTON ROAD, E.C.

Executive.—At the meeting of Council held on Thursday, May 24, 1888, the following officers were elected for the ensuing year:—General Secretary: F. Charles, in place of H. A. Barker, resigned. Treasurer: Philip Webb. Financial Secretary: H. B. Tarleton, in place of J. Turner, resigned. Last week intimated to comrades that a report of the Conference would be given this week. The Executive, however, have decided to print as last year in pamphlet form the report of proceedings of Conference.—H. A. B.

East-end Propaganda Fund.—May 6, Collected at Princes Square Club, 2s. 8½d.; Berner Street Club, 1s. 7d.; May 27, Victoria Park, 5s. 2d.; Mitcham, 1s. 2d.; total, 10s. 7½d.—JOSEPH LANE, Treasurer.

REPORTS.

BLOOMSBURY.—On Thursday last, the quarterly business meeting was held. Very large attendance. On Sunday last we held two meetings in aid of the Leeds tailors, now on strike. Bartlett, Manley, and Mahon spoke at the Arches, and Mahon and Springfield at Ossulton Street. 6s. 4d. collected for strikers, and good sale of *Commonweal*.—W. W. B.

CLERKENWELL.—On Sunday evening, May 27th, good meeting on Green addressed by Blundell. In hall, J. Turner lectured on "The Control of Capital." Good discussion and fair sale of *Commonweal*.—B.

FULHAM.—Tuesday evening, opposite Liberal Club, meeting addressed by Catterson Smith and Groser. One member made. Sunday morning, Tarleton and Sparling spoke. *Commonweal* sold well, two members made, and 1s. 8d. collected. In evening, Beasley, Groser, and Tochatti spoke outside, and G. B. Shaw lectured in rooms on "Practical Socialism," Fry in chair. Several questions and some opposition well dealt with by lecturer.—S. B. G.

MITCHAM.—Sunday, good meeting on Mitcham Fair Green, addressed by Turner. Good branch meeting held in club-room in evening, and collected 1s. 2d. for propaganda.—F. K.

NORTH LONDON.—Good meeting at Ossulton Street on Friday evening, addressed by Blundell, who also sang some labour songs. On Sunday, Cantwell and Nicoll spoke at Regent's Park.

GLASGOW.—On Sunday at 11 o'clock, Pollock and Glasier held a good meeting on Jail Square. At 5 o'clock our usual meeting was held at Paisley Road, where Glasier and Pollock spoke to a large and attentive audience. Afterwards in our rooms, Glasier gave an account of the proceedings at the Conference.

LEICESTER.—We held our first open-air meeting this season Sunday morning in Russel Square, was well attended; good discussion. Speakers, Barclay and Robson; Gorrie, Evans, and Sandall supported. At night, Robson lectured at Highfields Working-men's Club, on "The Malthusian Error"; stormy discussion. Our branch intends to do more work this year, and show up better at next Conference and celebration of Revolution Centenary.—T. P. B.

NORWICH.—Good meetings held on Friday at St. Catherine's Plain by Poynts and Mowbray; on Sunday morning at St. Faith's and Catton by Poynts, Barker, and Morley. New station opened in morning at Bishop Bridge, large number present addressed by Darley and Mowbray; all papers sold we took with us. In afternoon and evening, large meetings in Market Place, addressed by Mowbray. We sold about 12s. worth of *Commonweal* during the day, and had very good collections.

WALSALL.—Last Friday, Sanders and Deakin visited Pelsall, and addressed meeting of miners and iron-workers. A most successful meeting was also held here on The Bridge on Saturday evening. On Sunday, Sanders spoke on the West Bromwich Road to good audience. Considerable discussion at the close.—D.

EAST-END PROPAGANDA.

Good meetings were held at all the stations last Sunday. Lane and Rochman at Leman Street, Shadwell, sold 19 *Weals*, and had in their audience about 20 policemen. Brooks addressed a fair meeting at Kingland Green, and Charles a similar one at Mile-end Waste. Mainwaring held a very large meeting at Salmon and Ball, and Parker also had a good meeting at Lea Bridge Road. In the afternoon a very large and successful meeting, lasting over four hours, was addressed in the Park by Brooks, Davis, Charles, Parker, and Mainwaring. 5s. 2d. collected towards East-End Propaganda, apparently contrary to some new-fangled regulation of the Board of Works, as upon the Christians calling the park-keeper's attention to the fact they took the names of Charles and Mainwaring, promising them some further attention during the week. In the evening a good meeting was held at the Gibraltar Walk, thanks to five policemen, who, standing together on the footpath, attracted an audience for us, which, after being addressed by Cores, Charles, and Mordhurst (of Hammersmith), adjourned to the Monarch Coffee House to hear a lecture by J. Lane on "Different Schools of Socialistic Thought." Brooks spoke to a fair audience on Stone Bridge Common, and Parker and Mainwaring finished up a good day's propaganda by addressing another very large audience at Stamford Hill. Literature sold well during the day, and we were assisted in our attempt to introduce the singing of revolutionary songs by some friends from Hammersmith. Davis being unwell in the morning, and Blundell missing some of our comrades, compelled us to drop two of our meetings; but we intend carrying them all on next Sunday, and

hope the police will turn up at them all in equal numbers, as we feel sure they will hear much to their advantage and ours.

JUNIOR SOCIALIST EDUCATIONAL SOCIETY.—Last Saturday night, Henderson opened a discussion on "Authority." Lefevre read his paper as part of the discussion, which was very interesting.—A. F.

L.E.L. CLUB AND INSTITUTE.—On Sunday last, T. Shore gave an interesting lecture to a numerous audience on "Socialism, its Present Crisis." The attention of friends is specially directed to next Sundays lecture (June 3rd) on "Socialist Co-operation," this being the first exposition here of the subject. A large attendance is expected.

DUBLIN.—At Industrial League, 75, Aungier Street, Tuesday, May 22nd, O'Gorman opened a debate on "Has Combination improved the Condition of the Working Classes," tracing the use of trades' unionism and advocating Internationalism. Hamilton, Tyrrell, P. Stephens, and several others spoke.

EDINBURGH.—Meetings for discussion well attended. Donaldson on 10th and Howie on 17th read capital papers. Only business meeting on 24th owing to holiday. Songs from Carpenter's book at all our meetings. Hope to begin regular open-air meetings on Sunday first. Smith, Bain, and others have been occasionally speaking on Meadows.

WOOLWICH.—Banner and Donald opened the summer campaign on Sunday at the Arsenal Gates. Towards the close of the meeting an attempt to create a disturbance was made by some Irishmen, who are under the delusion that the Irish people only have grievances.

LECTURE DIARY.

LONDON.

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

Bloomsbury.—Communist Club, 49 Tottenham Street, Tottenham Court Road. Thursday May 31, at 8.30, G. B. Shaw, a lecture. June 7, Dr. E. B. Aveling, "Evolution and Socialism." 14th. Mrs. S. Gostling, "The Period of Apathy?—1851-1871."

Clerkenwell.—Hall of the Socialist League, 13 Farringdon Rd., E.C. Business meeting every Sunday at 7. Sunday June 3, at 8.30, Free Concert by Wm. Blundell and Friends. Wednesday June 6, at 8.30, F. Henderson, a lecture.

Fulham.—8 Effie Road, Walham Green. Sunday June 3, at 8 p.m., Graham Wallas, "The History of the Chartist Movement."

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

Hammersmith.—Kelmescott House, Upper Mall, W. Sunday June 3, at 8.30, Percival Chubb (Fabian Society), "Democracy and its Aims."

Hoxton.—Labour Emancipation League Club and Institute, 1 Hoxton Square (near Shoreditch Ch.). Sunday June 3, at 8 p.m., A. C. Varley (Secretary Socialist Co-operative Federation) will lecture on "Socialist Co-operation."—On Sunday 24th the annual Excursion of members and friends will take place. The rendezvous is Walton-on-Thames. Brakes (four-horse) have been engaged, and there is, *Deo volente* and the weather permitting, every prospect of a pleasant day's outing.—H. A. B.

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

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

Mile-end and Bethnal Green.—95 Boston St., Hackney Road. Business meeting every Thursday evening at 9 p.m. Debating Class for members after meeting.

North London.—The business meetings will be held on Friday evenings at the Autonomie Club, Windmill Street, Tottenham Court Road, after the open-air meeting at Ossulton Street. All members are asked to attend at Ossulton Street at 8 o'clock. Secretary, Nelly Parker, 109 Cavendish Buildings, opposite Holborn Town Hall.

PROVINCES.

Edinburgh (Scottish Section).—4 Park Street. Discussion every Thursday at 8. May 31, "Best Methods of Realising Socialism." June 7, "Socialism and Teetotalism." 14th. "Duty of Socialists with Regard to Interest-taking." 21st. "Socialism and Malthusianism."

Glasgow.—84 John St. Reading-room open 10 a.m. till 10 p.m. daily.

Leicester.—Hosiery Union, Horsefair St. Fridays at 8.

Lochgelly (Scottish Section: Fife).—Secs. (pro tem.), John Greig and Hugh Conway, The Square.

Norwich.—Gordon Hall. Tuesday, at 8, a Special Meeting of Members—all comrades are requested to attend for important business. Wednesday at 8.30, Ways and Means and Literary Committees. Thursday, open from 8 until 10.30. Saturday, Co-operative Clothing Association, 8 until 10.30.

OPEN-AIR PROPAGANDA.

SUNDAY 3.

11 ...Turnham Green—Front Common ...Acton Bch. 11.30...Hammersmith—Beadon Road ...The Branch 11.30...Hoxton Ch., Pitfield St. ...Pope & Barker 11.30...Mitcham Fair Green ...Davis 11.30...Regent's Park ...Brookes & Mainwaring 11.30...St Pancras Arches ...Henderson

11.30...Walham Green ...Fulham Branch 3...Euston Rd.—Ossulton St. ...Bloomsbury Bch. 3.30...Hyde Park ...Parker & Mainwaring 7.30...Clerkenwell Green ...Turner

Friday.

8. ...Euston Rd.—Ossulton Street ...Parker

EAST END.

SUNDAY 3.

Mile-end Waste ... 11 ...Eden. "Salmon and Ball" ... 11 ...Turner. Leman Street, Shadwell 11 ...Parker. Gibraltar Walk, Bethnal Green Road. 7.30...Lane. Well Street, Hackney... 11.45...Brooks. Kingsland Green ... 11.30...Cores & Samuels. Wheler Street, Shoreditch 12 ...Lane. Victoria Park ... 3 ...Parker, etc. Stone Bridge Common, Haggerston. 7 ...Mainwaring. Triangle, Hackney Road 7 ...Brooks. Lea Bridge Road ... 11.30...Charles & Cantwell "Salmon and Ball" ... 7 ...Parker. Stamford Hill ... 7.30...Charles. Broadway, Plaistow ... 7.30...Fuller.

MONDAY.

Near Bow Church ... 8.30...

TUESDAY.

Southgate Grove, South-gate Road. 8.30...Lane.

Mile-end Waste ... 8.30...Flockton. Shacklewell Lane, Kingsland 8.30...Charles.

WEDNESDAY.

Broadway, London Fields 8.30...Mainwaring. Broadway, South Hackney 8.30...Davis. Charlotte St., Gt. Eastern St. 8.30...Lane.

THURSDAY.

Packington St., Essex Road 8.30...Mainwaring. Philpot St., Commercial Rd. 8.30...Flockton. Clapton Pond, Clapton Road 8.30...Charles.

FRIDAY.

Tottenham Rd, Kingsland Rd 8.30...Lane. Union St., Commercial Road 8.30...Charles.

SATURDAY.

Mile-end Waste ... 8 ...Parker. Ashgrove, Mare St, Hackney 8 ...Lane. "Weavers' Arms," Stoke Newington. 8 ...Charles.

PROVINCES.

Glasgow.—Sunday: Jail's Square at 10.30; Paisley Road at 5.

Leeds.—Sunday: Vicar's Croft, at 11 a.m.

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

Norwich.—Friday: St Catharine's Plain, at 8.15. Sunday: Bishop Bridge and Catton, at 11.30; Market Place, at 3 and 7.30. Monday: Thorpe Village, at 8.15.

West Bromwich.—Near the Fountain, every Sunday morning at 11.15.

Smethwick.—Near Spon Lane, every Sunday morning at 12.

LEICESTER.—Secular Hall, Humberstone Gate, Sun. June 3, at 6.30, J. Sketchley (of Birmingham)—subject, "Rome and the Revolution."

WOOLWICH.—Arsenal Gates, Sunday June 3, at 6.30 p.m., J. L. Mahon. June 10. M. Manley.

VICTORIA PARK.—A large meeting will be held on Sunday June 10, to protest against the addition to the regulations, etc., of the Park with reference to making collections, at which Annie Besant and several other speakers will take part. We earnestly appeal to all our comrades to make this meeting known.

NEW BRANCH PREMISES FUND (CLERKENWELL).—Will Branch secretaries kindly make their returns as speedily as possible.—Acknowledged last week, 8s. 6d. Received, Bloomsbury Branch, 3d.; Hoxton (L.E.L.), 6d.; J. Turner, 1s. 6d.—J. TURNER, R. TURNER, J. FLOCKTON, W. BLUNDELL, Entertainment Committee, 13 Farringdon Rd., E.C.

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

"Londoner Verlags-Genossenschaft." "LONDONER FREIE PRESSE."

Excursion to Epping Forest

(HIGH BEACH)

ON SUNDAY 24th JUNE.

FULL ENTERTAINMENT. All Friends of the Socialist Movement invited.

THE COMMITTEE.



# THE COMMONWEAL

## The Official Journal of the SOCIALIST LEAGUE.

VOL. 4.—No. 127.

SATURDAY, JUNE 16, 1888.

WEEKLY; ONE PENNY.

### NOTES ON NEWS.

THE Government have withdrawn their Compensation clauses—if anybody except the teetotalers cares about that, unless it is from the point of view of "legitimate party warfare," as it is called, and which is so contemptible that one wonders how people can be found who can pretend to look upon it seriously. Not unlikely that they put the clauses in so that the public might have something to ask for and have granted to them if by any chance the clauses could not be carried without any bother. But they have managed the whole affair ill enough to rejoice the electioneering gentlemen on the other side. A plague on both their houses!

A great Liberal-Radical meeting at St. James's Hall, and the utmost enthusiasm displayed against coercion—in Ireland. Mr. Morley as eloquent as such a man can be, but having the effrontery to say if such and such things had been done in London, it would have been in a blaze: and just the same things were done in London—but where's the blaze? Is it possible that Mr. Morley hasn't heard of all this? of course not. The man passes as a "sincere" man; but no doubt he has long ago learned the lesson that a politician must only air his sincerity when it is convenient for practical purposes.

Lord Wolseley in fanning the somewhat cold ashes of the invasion-scare which is to put a job or two in the way of naval and military gentlemen and their friends, said one or two curious things. It was a matter of course that he would like a conscription if he could get it, so as to raise a really formidable army; and in order to make such a proceeding seem somewhat more useful to the ordinary civil mind, he dwelt on the physical advantages drilling would confer on the undersized and stunted town population. All very well, my lord, but perhaps a little feeding from the cradle upwards would be of some use in the same direction, and a little better housing, and some more leisure: in short, to have a citizen-soldier you must have a citizen. But the army which Lord Wolseley would like to raise would be used chiefly for preventing the greater part of the population becoming citizens, for enforcing them to remain slaves—i.e., persons to be used by "the country" and not allowed to use it.

Luckily he won't get much of an army after all. The innate dishonesty of "the shopkeeping nation" will compel them to have everything connected with the army and navy done at the greatest possible expense with the result of the least possible efficiency. That is too old a condition to be broken with before the pinch comes, and when it does come—well, let us hope that it will turn us into something better than a shopkeeping nation! After all, the terrified public (who do not care a twopenny damn for the whole business out of the newspapers) may be reassured. The reactionary military powers wouldn't ruin bourgeois England if they could; since they well understand that she is the greatest champion of reaction; all the more useful because of her cant over "liberty" as over other matters. W. M.

The Sweating Committee goes on its aimless way, and there are by no means lacking other people besides Socialists, to suggest that it is and was meant to be a farce with an ordained conclusion of whitewash and fireworks. It is, of course, the most natural thing in the world for such a Committee, though it makes outsiders blaspheme, to allow the getting-round of inconvenient facts and such practices to be as shamelessly carried on as they are.

For instance, there seems no hope of any settlement of the Maple problem. On the one hand it is declared that the Maple firm is angelically pure, with a halo of generosity around their head; on the other, we know that Mr. Maple was allowed to intimidate a witness before the committee by his presence, and there are dark stories about. Can the committee not secure itself against such things? Can it not find if they be true? Or does it neither wish to guard nor know?

Their mode of doing business, however, being under the public eye,

cannot be so cynically brutal as that, say, of the Irish "administration." In that happy country the other day a "private inquiry" was held in the house of a local landowner by a magisterial and landlord ring, which sent witnesses to prison for refusing to answer inquisitorial questions, and otherwise behaved as a gang of unscrupulous ruffians might be expected to do when they had their enemies in their power, and law-'n'-order at their back.

The Parliamentary Committee on the Army and Navy, although sitting in London, is made-up delightfully near to the Dublin Castle pattern. It is formed to sit upon the War Office and its ways of working, and has (therefore) among its members three ex-War Ministers and a subordinate War Office official.

Wolf try wolf is a good arrangement for the wolves, though the sheep are like to fare ill enough under it. How long the people will be content to play sheep is for them to settle.

The way in which "our good friends, the police," get up sham plots and prove their sagacity in "finding" them afterwards, would be ludicrous altogether but for a touch of the tragic now and then. With seven or eight undiscovered murderers and a large number of assorted wrong-doers going around among us, under the very noses of the moral-miracles, we are compelled to smile as we read of the Clan-na-gael dynamite plots, and the thorough knowledge the police have of the would-be executants. Suppose you catch the others, Messieurs the Omniscient, before you talk so loudly of your cleverness?

You are very proud just now of the capture of Jackson, who for weeks baffled and eluded you; but it was his own folly which thrust him into the trap, no thanks to your acuteness. Perhaps you will explain your failure in his case before asking us to believe in your success with the Clan-na-gael?

How many "plots" have you discovered that you did not first make? How many "infernal machines" have you and your Continental *confrères* not made, planned, and "found"? And while you have been doing this kind of work how many swindlers, thieves, and murderers have not slipped through your fingers? Known liars, and proved incompetents, unable to do the most ordinary part of your business, you yet expect to be credited with superhuman powers!

Perhaps the "British public," many-headed ass that it is, may believe in you; but to all sensible people you are a by-word and a scorn. Surely the decent-minded among you, and there are many such, must be beginning to feel this, and to be disgusted with the dirty work you have to do?

Hardly has the Pope responded to the cry of the Irish landlord with a plea for the high morality of rent-paying by compulsion, when he is to be asked for what in a lower rank of life would be called a legalisation of incest. As it is the brother of a king and the daughter of a prince, and the union is to produce an heir to a throne, it would be impolite to use such a word, and the whole thing is again in accordance with the higher morality reserved (by Divine Grace) for the great ones of the earth. S.

### THE EUROPEAN POWERS AND THE FRENCH REVOLUTION.

To isolate France is to-day the great task of the League of Peace. Her isolation will soon be an accomplished fact, and the great conflagration draws near. It may burst forth during the present year, or it may be deferred till 1889. Before the close of the coming struggle it may be that more than one despotism will disappear. The despotisms of Germany, of Austria, of Italy, and most of the minor States depend on the fidelity of their armed legions. Though their

mercenaries number millions, they nevertheless tremble on their blood-stained thrones. They may isolate France, but the spectre of revolution will still be there. They may close their frontiers, but the spirit of the revolution will rise from the mountain-tops, it will roll through the distant valleys, and will penetrate the remotest villages. "Ideas will penetrate where armies cannot."

We are told that France is the embodiment of the revolution, and is therefore a danger to surrounding nations; that the Exhibition of 1889, to celebrate the centenary of the Revolution, is an event of which no monarchical government, or one with dynastic sympathies, can approve; that as 1789 was followed by 1792-3, so may the Exhibition of 1889 be followed by other events of anything but a peaceful character; that no monarchical government can wish for its subjects to visit France during the period of such Exhibition, where their minds might be contaminated by revolutionary ideas, or their sympathies roused by the traditions of 1792-3. The despots know, too, that great as were the revolutionary achievements of those years, the aims of the coming revolution will be greater still. Hence their determination to boycott France and ruin her by isolation.

Take a few of the things that followed August 4, 1792; and let us not forget the state of the other European countries at that time, as well as the state of France, and then judge of the changes accomplished. The revolution abolished serfdom and forced-labour for the benefit of the nobles. It abolished the jurisdiction of nobles and their exclusive right to hunting and fishing. It swept away the state church, applied its wealth to national purposes, and abolished the payment of tithes. It established equality of taxation and abolished all exemptions. It put an end to the purchase of offices, and to all pensions held in connection with titles. It established equality with regard to all civil and military offices. It accomplished the reform of all corporations, trade monopolies, etc. It abolished the octroi duties between towns and provinces, and thus established the unity of the country. And in February 1794 it abolished slavery in the West Indies. But going back to 1792, September 21 it abolished royalty, thus following the example of England in the seventeenth century.

Those measures, small as they may seem to-day, were great at the time they were accomplished. Each of those measures was a blow at the aristocracy and the priesthood, and shook to their foundations the thrones of the surrounding despots. The coalition of the European powers, instead of crushing the revolution spirit, developed it, and forced the revolutionary parties further than they otherwise would have gone. It was thus well for France, well for Europe, and well for the world that that coalition took place. In celebrating the year 1789, which was only the prologue to the years that followed, you inevitably call to mind the work of those years, the glorious spirit of the masses which set at defiance the allied despots of the earth, who failed to destroy what the revolution had accomplished.

It is true that to-day France is hastening to another revolution. Of that there is not the slightest doubt. Hence we have another coalition, another alliance of the despots, with measures of compression and isolation, and insults of the most contemptible character. The press, the pulpit and the platform are all at the service of the despots. But compression will fail and isolation in this age of steam and electricity is impossible. Nor will the lies of the press, the curses of the priest, or the thunders of the platform, prevent the revolution. The sympathies of the millions of every country will be with France; and the despots, with all their alliances, with their countless legions of mercenary cut-throats, will be hurled from their blood-stained thrones amid the rejoicing of the liberated peoples.

But to be successful the revolution must be international. The war against her will be international. And the revolution itself must be thorough. There must be no compromise with tyranny. No half measures. No mere expedients. But war against tyranny at home and abroad; war against corruption, against oppression in all its forms and through all the ramifications of society. The war against France, against the revolution, will be a war of extermination, a war for her extinction as a first-class power. She will succeed only by carrying the war into the enemies camp, by proclaiming a holy war for the freedom of the oppressed peoples, by organising the social revolution throughout the European continent.

At home, the revolution must be thorough. It must sweep away the financial aristocracy as the revolution following 1789 swept away the old feudal aristocracy. It must destroy for ever the curse of usury, free the rural population from the burdens that crush them to the earth, and thus win them to the revolution. It must destroy the agrarian evils that afflict the peasantry and declare the land public property. It must restore to the workers the instruments of production, and with a national currency and the organisation of credit, render possible the organisation of labour and the exchange of commodities on the basis of equivalents. It must break with the Papacy and win the confidence of the people of Italy. It must take from the priest the direction of education, free the youthful mind from the idle hopes and childish fears engendered by ignorance and superstition, and fill the human soul with dignity and independence. Abroad, France must grasp the hand and give help to every people prepared to struggle for its freedom. Its motto must be war against every tyranny, freedom and independence for every people. True, the task is a great one, the difficulties may appear insurmountable; but the revolutionary party, united and master at home, if true to itself, true to the glorious principles of the social revolution, sure of the sympathies of the toiling millions and the active support of tens of thousands of every country, will triumph over every obstacle, and lead the peoples on to the realisation of justice and liberty.

J. SKETCHLEY.

## BUBBLES.

BUBBLES are airy nothings with a watery circumference which cheat the senses. They are varied in form, colour, and kind. The soap bubble is very beautiful and harmless, affording innocent amusement to the blower. The "bubbles" blown for pay by the press, and other interested parties, are very frequently beautiful while they are being blown or "floated"; they afford occupation to the crafty and disaster to the confiding. There is more soap in some bubbles than in others. The "South-Sea Bubble" of last century was composed simply of the wind of the promoters and the tears of the shareholders. When the wind could not any longer be held together and the thing dissolved itself into tears only, it was thought that bubbles of that kind could never be floated again. We have had some bubbles, and still have them, which have a striking family resemblance to the South-Sea Bubble. We have others which are peculiar to our age and civilisation. Of such are the pious pretensions which, like the Canadian woodman, expect a livelihood for the "axing"—confidential advertisements and the disinterested opinions of the press run on commercial lines.

The pious pretension of an "up-grade" young man advertised itself the other day in an American paper in a manner characteristic of his class. This is the advertisement: "A pious young man desires to be received into a respectable family, where the excellence of his example and superior morality might be considered an equivalent for board and lodging." That advertisement offers a splendid chance to simple sinners—if that be not a contradiction in terms—but I hope, although such "bubbles" still float, this generation shall not pass away until they are burst.

The advertising "bubble" is made a fine art by Messrs. Pears. They recognise the fitness of things, when they can make it profitable to pay £2,200 for a picture of a boy blowing bubbles with a pipe, and to spend £40,000 per year for advertising. This expenditure enables them to float their particular "bubble" so that 6d. can be got for a tablet of their soap which, if the expense of blowing the "bubbles" were deducted, could be sold, at a profit, for 2d. It may be here noted that while medicine men get 6d. for the tablet—that price is stamped on it—grocers sell the same for 3½d. The medicine men get the former price because they trade on the bubbles peculiar to their own trade. The £40,000 per year spent on advertising by Pears adds nothing to the quality or quantity of the soap produced by them; it all goes to the "bubble" blowers. How many of our starving poor could it feed? Yet such diversions of large accumulations of wealth, which has been produced by labour somewhere and sometime, never disturb, it would appear, the "stream of tendency" which is the Alpha and Omega in, and through, which society has its being. Competition, we see, does not always fix the value of commodities in accordance with the cost of production; it often leaves a margin sufficient to make bubble-blowing profitable.

The bubbles blown by a disinterested press, run on commercial lines, when seen through the transactions of M. de Lesseps, have a peculiar colour. It is reported in the press that he spends over one million pounds per year in advertising his various schemes. The *Figaro*, it is stated, receives £25,000 every year, the *Gaulois* about the same, the *Nation* £10,000, and the *Petit Journal* £50,000 per year. The probabilities which these papers create in the imaginations of those who are desperate to get something for nothing are sufficient to make "bubbles" recoup this outlay. Whatever else the Panama Canal may be, it will never be the profitable concern for which the capitalists have advanced their money. But in all likelihood the capitalists got the money easily, and "what comes with the wind goes with the water"; is true of more kinds of "bubbles" than one. The Panama bubble will not likely dissolve in water, but it will in malarial mud.

Our social structure is at present floated on "bubbles," and when the workers who sustain it with useful work come to an understanding of the analysis of them all, the "bubbles" will not be worth an hour's purchase. The London correspondent of the *Glasgow Herald*, in writing about Mrs. Campbell of Craigie, throws some light on Society "bubbles." He says: "First introduced to the *beau monde* with Mrs. Cavendish Bentinck and the Countess of Cork as her social sponsors, she was soon enabled to fly alone, and for some years her Sunday dinners, her little suppers for Royalty, and her balls have been the best done things of the kind in London. She was distinguished by the lavishness of the presents which she bestowed upon her guests in the cotillions which terminated her dances, and on similar occasions. Last winter in the Riviera she had a cotillion for the Prince of Wales, when the presents were of unprecedented magnificence. Her popularity is extensive and genuine." Now anyone can see at a glance that her popularity is based on her magnificent presents, and that they are not her own products, or exchanges for anything she has done personally. The presents are altogether a chance possession—or property—and if she had no wealth showered on her by others, where would have been her popularity? Seeing her presents cannot be her genuine property, in the real sense of the word, how can her popularity be genuine? No; her popularity is just a Society "bubble," and when everyone gets their own such "bubbles" will not be able to "fly alone." Our political, social, and religious "bubbles" only need to be seen aright to be despised and—burst.

GEORGE McLEAN.

ITALY ABOLISHES CAPITAL PUNISHMENT.—The Italian Chamber of Deputies on the 8th, approved almost unanimously of the abolition of capital punishment.

## COLD-BLOODED ENTHUSIASM.

Concluded from p. 178.)

London moved latest and slowest, but when fairly moved Drury Lane Theatre could hardly hold the crowds at meeting after meeting during March, April, and May 1843. After Drury Lane, Covent Garden was taken. At the first meeting held there, September 28, 1843, the accounts for the preceding year were read. Total receipts, £50,290, 14s.; expenditure, £47,814, 3s. 9d. In, among other things, 9,026,000 tracts, etc.; salaries of fourteen lecturers, etc., etc.

The London papers, with the exception of the *Sun*, boycotted the League; and even the *Sun* was paid a very large sum. Country papers required orders for a large supply of copies before giving any specially long reports. When, however, the £100,000 fund was called for, the *Times* sent down reporters to Manchester, and was forced to admit that the League was "a great fact"; and the other papers also had to pay attention.

In 1842, a bazaar was held in Manchester which realised £10,000; and in 1845 Covent Garden Theatre was taken for a bazaar, which was attended by some 125,000 persons and which realised over £25,000, 400 ladies volunteering to conduct the sales. Speaking in Covent Garden Theatre June 18, 1845, George Wilson said with respect to the £100,000, on December 31, 1844, the public receipts in favour of that fund amounted to £86,009, 7s. 5d.; since received, £5,632, 5s. 2d.; bazaar, £25,046, 10s. 11d.; making a total of £116,687, 13s. 4d. The bazaar lasted seventeen days.

In October 28, 1845, at meeting in Free Trade Hall, 8,000 present, it was decided to call for £250,000; to open it at public meeting on December 23; and on that occasion was presented a scene which defies description; £60,000 at once subscribed, and this sum was more than enough to complete the whole of the work, for on July 2, 1846, at the Town Hall, Manchester, the final meeting of the League was held. At that meeting Cobden said they had "been spending during the last three years at the rate of £1,000 per week." The earnestness of those concerned can be fairly estimated by the meetings, council and public, attended by all concerned. This enthusiasm, moreover, did not go off in one fizzle, for in 1852, on a hint of Lord Derby and his Government going for Protection, the League was revived and £70,000 subscribed in less than one month.

Now for a change come to the present. I have not reliable figures as to income and expenditure of the Socialist organisations pure and simple.

The Cobdenites spent from £200,000 to £250,000 in seven years to abolish a tax of say about £2,500,000 per annum. Say 10 per cent.

The annual national income is about £1,300,000,000.

Col. Perronet Thompson scoffed at the semi-barbarous notion of finance which is expressed in the twenty million pounds' worth of gold stored in the vaults of the Bank of England; "for twenty millions would be £100 apiece to 200,000 men—the finest prize-money offered since the creation." But great as that prize is, what is that in comparison with the £1,300,000,000 which the Socialist hopes to control and redistribute more in accord with ideas of justice than now obtains?

The Cobdenites raised £250,000 to attack a monopoly of £2,500,000. I am not simple enough to suggest the remotest hope of raising ten per cent., or even one, or even one-hundredth per cent. on the gross—one-hundredth per cent., which is, roughly, 2½d., would give £130,000.

Instead of reckoning any percentage upon the gross, as the immediately greater part goes to those who do not earn it, and dealing only with that small portion which is allowed to remain with the workers, even then there is a sum on which any exceeding small toll would raise a fund which in a year or two would be repaid tenfold. Deal only with the 400 millions which are allowed as the reward of labour, and a tax of under 2½d. per £100 would produce £40,000 per annum. A sum which would enable such a propaganda to be carried on that all the monopolists of the earth would tremble. A sum which would send lecturers, journals, and pamphlets into every corner of the land and which would return tenfold to the subscribers in a very short time.

That there is warrant for this is proved by such a movement as the "National Agricultural Labourer's Union." This organisation began its work in February 1872, and at a public meeting at Leamington, June 14, 1873, the chairman, Geo. Dixon, M.P., said the effect had been that the aggregate rise in wages was no less than £1,000,000 ('Revolt of the Field,' Arthur Clayden). This was no bad bit of business for some half-million men to do on 2d. per week, and I claim, proves the absolute "£ s. d." value of enthusiasm.

Take another case of what is done, what should be done, and what would be the result of doing it. The English Land Restoration League has been doing its work on some £200 per annum, a pitiful sum with which to attack "Castle Rack Rent" and its two hundred millions of revenue. The total annual value of lands, houses, tithes, etc., as assessed for income-tax in 1884-5 was £194,375,167, not including rents of mines, quarries, ironworks, gasworks, canals, fishings, shootings, markets, tolls, etc. It will be quite safe to assume, taking such evidence as the Commission on the Housing of the Poor and the Sweating Commission, that a full half of the above two hundred millions is paid by those who earn under £2 per week. A subscription at the rate of one-hundredth per cent., or say 2½d. in the £100, would produce £10,000 per annum. In *Scribner's* some ten or twelve years ago appeared a novelette by Henry James, jun., with the catch-

ing title "The Ghostly Rental." As soon as the payers of the hundred millions above referred to fully appreciate the "£ s. d." value of enthusiasm, and sympathise with the troubles of others as much as they expect others to sympathise with them, and so soon as they sympathise to the extent of 2½d. per £100, they will put "Castle Rack Rent" in the position of depending on "A Ghostly Rental."

So long as Socialists "enthuse" over nothing else but the vaguest of generalisations and abstractions, and having "enthused" loudly, subscribe not at all; so long as they stand to swap horses in the middle of the stream; so long as they allow their own organs to die while they support some peddling bourgeois paper rather than lose their day's news,—so long will Capitalism laugh to scorn those who

"like sticklers of the war,  
First sought to inflame the parties, then to poise  
The quarrel loved, but did the cause abhor,  
And did not strike to hurt, but make a noise,"—

the people who never do anything but cavil at everything that is done, or left undone.

A traveller after a bad night in some not over cleanly quarters, said if the bugs and fleas had only been of one mind at one moment they could have dragged him out of bed,—suggesting that united action, even of vermin, can accomplish a great work which infinite sub-division fails to do.

THOMAS SHORE, jun.

## FIDDLE DE DEE.

HEY diddle diddle, come read me my riddle.

What is to be done with those goods in the store,

Which the hands cannot buy, howsoever they try!

Some say, "All we want is a jolly good war."

But that no better way from the wood there should be

Is fiddle de diddle de diddle de dee.

HEY diddle diddle, come read me my riddle.

What on earth is the use of the stock-jobbing crew?

Do these drones in the hive help us workers to thrive?

"Oh, they circulate money; else how would you do?"

But to say that two shillings by shuffling make three

Is fiddle de diddle de diddle de dee.

HEY diddle diddle, come read me my riddle.

Why should Labour's reward be less honey than sting?

Some people cry, "Oh! you can take it or go!"

Oh! freedom of contract's an excellent thing!"

But to say that a man who is starving is free,

Is fiddle de diddle de diddle de dee.

HEY diddle diddle, come read me my riddle.

Instead of two classes, why can't we have one?

Some reply, "We feel sure there will always be poor;

It's the will of the Lord, and His will must be done."

But such proof the proverbial schoolboy can see,

Is fiddle de diddle de diddle de dee.

HEY diddle diddle, here's the clue to the riddle.

All wealth must belong to the makers alone;

Those who toil not nor spin then will have to begin;

Want, worry, and war soon will hardly be known.

Perhaps we may grow too contented and fat,

Though a good many people won't grumble at that;

But to say we can fail to be happy and free,

Is fiddle de diddle de diddle de dee.

C. W. BECKETT.

## SIC VOS NON VOBIS.

Thus ye—but not for you!—oh birds, those nests contrive;

Thus ye—but not for you!—oh flocks, those fleeces breed;

Thus ye—but not for you!—oh bees, that honey hive;

Thus ye—but not for you!—oh farms, those oxen feed.

## CORRESPONDENCE.

COMRADES,—I should like to suggest to the readers of the *Commonweal*, residing in or near London, the desirability of forming a Ramblers' Club. An association of this description for say Saturday afternoon trips to High Beech, etc., would, I think, be useful for propaganda, and would also lead to more social intercourse between Socialists of the various schools now in existence.—Yours, etc.,  
C.

London, June 6, 1888.

Labour-saving machinery? No, not that, for what invention of them all has really resulted in the production of a labour-saving machine? Wages-saving machines we have in plenty, but of labour-saving machines none will ever be made till the wage system is extinct. While the machinery of exchange and the source of production are monopolised and the means of production owned by capital, Labour must toil on in the Egypt of its slavery, and no machine it can invent, will serve to diminish its tale of bricks.—  
*Canadian Labour Reformer.*





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

**Communications invited on Social Questions.** They should be written on one side of the paper, addressed to the Editors, 15 Farringdon Rd., E.C., and accompanied by the name and address of the writer, not necessarily for publication.

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

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COMMUNICATIONS—will be used: R. U. Unsuitable: S. S. ("Success").  
 J. L. (Aberdeen).—Report too late; have managed announcement.  
 M. B. W.—You do not give address of lecture-room.  
 TOM O'C. (Plumstead).—*Ca Ira*, 111 Rue Montmartre, Paris. 8 fr. per annum.  
 R. (Montrose).—We know no pamphlet lately written that will give what you ask for. A good one by Veron, *Les associations co-operatives*, was written about 1866 or 1867. The *Sozialdemokrat* (Zurich) has not been suppressed at all, and goes on the same lines as before. Address, Volksbuchhandlung, Hottingen, Zurich. Subscription 8 fr. a-year.

*Periodicals received during the week ending Wednesday June 13.*

ENGLAND Leaflet Newspaper London—Ereie Presse Norwich—Daylight Worker's Friend NEW SOUTH WALES Hamilton—Radical INDIA Bankipore—Behar Herald UNITED STATES New York—Jewish Volkzeitung Boston—Woman's Journal Liberty Chicago—Knights of Labor Buffalo—Arbeiter-Zeitung Fort Worth (Tex)—South West Milwaukee (Wis.)—Volksblatt San Francisco (Cal) The People	St. Louis (Mo.)—Die Parole Altruist FRANCE Paris—Cri du Peuple (daily) Le Ca Ira Journal du Peuple En Avant Havre—L'Idée Ouvriere HOLLAND Hague—Recht voor Allen Amsterdam—Voorwaarts BELGIUM Ghent—Vooruit Liege—L'Avenir ITALY Milan—Il Fascio Operaio Rome—L'Emancipazione	SWITZERLAND Zurich—Sozial Demokrat SPAIN Madrid—El Socialista Cadiz—El Socialismo Barcelona—Tierra y Libertad PORTUGAL Lisbon—O Protesto Operario GERMANY Berlin—Volks Tribune AUSTRIA Arbeiterstimme Wien—Gleichheit ROUMANIA Jassy—Muncitorul SWEDEN Malmo—Arbetet
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**THE SKELETON AT THE FEAST.**

THE consolation dinner to Mr. Jesse Collings was rather a comical business in so far as it was a party coddling-up of the poor well-intentioned feeble gentleman who got practically turned out of the society which he himself had planted and watered so carefully; and the speeches delivered at this queer celebration would afford amusement enough to a cynical man with a good memory for things not worth remembering—to wit, the politics of the last three years. In days which people who have serious work on hand are forgetting speedily, Mr. Collings manufactured a sort of stage landscape of a happy village, over which, as in other stage landscapes, shone a fatuous moon in the shape of three acres and a cow, a long way off: which (heaven knows why—or perhaps the election agents!) was so enticing to a great many members of parliament that rather than disturb it they gave an adverse vote against the then Tory Government and turned it out, it would seem to the great grief of Lord Hartington.

However, as might be expected, this beautiful scene became of little importance when the Outs had become Ins, and it was carried off to the lumber room—acres, cow and all. But again the Outs became Ins, and the new Ins with commendable prudence remembered that there would be another general election some day, and the votes of the field-labourers would then be of great importance to them; so they got up a new illusion scene, of which all that can be said is that it was somewhat more honest than the other in proclaiming itself an illusion; which, however, was not the reason why the Gladstonian Liberals turned their backs on it. Doubtless Mr. Jesse Collings friends were right in asserting that the Gladstonians treated the whole matter from an electioneering point of view; and also doubtless their own impudence in implying that they were not at that very moment treating it in exactly the same way would be enough to stagger people not used, as unluckily we are, to parliamentary dodgers. Well, to go on with this stupid story, the Gladstonites turned Mr. Collings out of the Allotments Association, and the Rural Labourers League (how many rural labourers are there in it, I wonder?) received him into its bosom, and there he sat the other night hugging his grievance, and drinking in the flattery of the friends of the ejectors of the Irish, and the Scotch crofters, perhaps at that moment the happiest man in Britain; probably not much disturbed at the fact that a French nobleman, turned on for the occasion, told him pretty plainly that his three acres and a cow was all rubbish, and that wholesale emigration was the real remedy

for the diminishing numbers of the English field-labourers, as well as for the discontent of the Irish "rebels"; while Mr. Chamberlain promised him another ally, a Yankee Tory, one Mr. Hurlburt, in his magnanimous hatred of the Irish peasant.

This is a scurvy story; and the worst of it is that I believe Mr. Collings was once in real earnest in wishing to do a good turn to the English field-labourers; but parliament knocked all that out of him and at last has dragged him through the mud, and stuck a fool's cap on his head, while it has been using his poor little foolish scheme, of making the field-labourers work double tides to pay their own poor-rates, for electioneering purposes, not heeding him or anybody else in playing its Bedlamite game.

To think of it, that while this banquetting flavoured with the keen amusement of the game aforesaid is going on, there are the field-labourers actually existing! Rubbing through life toward the work-house and the grave on ten shillings a-week. Go through the lovely country now in this "leafy month of June," and if you turn your thoughts from the mere beauty of the earth or the memories of past history which the external aspect of the old buildings help you to, can you, if you think of it, even if you are not a Socialist (if any one but a Socialist ever thinks about these things at all), help feeling that everything there is padlocked against the use of man—the men who have made it of use. These are the men whose forefathers built our cathedrals, wrote our poems for us, fought for our liberties (such as they are!), kept alive the history which links us to the past: and they themselves if they had had anything approaching to decent treatment would have done as much or more. And then look at them, working in their allotments if you please, pinched and heavy and vacant-looking, too poor to look anxious even; forbidden to think or to hope; losing all the arts of life which used to make their lives endurable; grown to be mere appendages to the great centres of population which will swallow up so many of them. To the parliament gentry at St. Stephens, what are they? Votes,—otherwise inconvenient, and to be emigrated out of the way if possible. And will either of our factions or all of them together do anything to unpadlock the wealth of the land for them? Certainly not; it will not; nay, it cannot. It is they themselves, with their brethren of the towns to help, who must knock off the padlock—or else what will happen? Sir Henry James, at that dismal tragic-farce of a consolation banquet, spoke of "the danger in which our inexperienced democracy [O Lord! inexperienced!] stood at this moment." What is the danger? He would say "disruption of the empire," or some such twaddle; others would say "revolution." Is it not rather "Starvation"? That is the skeleton sitting by the guests at the Whig feast.

WILLIAM MORRIS.

**BRAZIL'S FUTURE WITHOUT SLAVERY.**

It is, I suppose, an item of the advanced Radical creed that *slaves* should be freed. Any Radical, however, who will look at an article in the *Pall Mall Gazette* of June 2, might very well be excused for being put in doubt thereby. He might be puzzled to explain in what way the *slaves* of Brazil will be better off when they are *free*, that is free in the sense of the M.I.C.E., whose views are expressed in that article. The Pope gives his blessing, it appears, and as has lately been shown elsewhere, the help even of Antichrist is welcomed in preserving our "large stakes." The Member of the Institute of Commercial Enterprise waves his hand graciously at the "humanitarian aspect" of the question. We do not expect a commercial gent to understand any but his own peculiar language, or we might ask him whether this is what is to be done away with "when the serious aspect of slave emancipation is entirely dissipated." The editor of the paper in another article of the same date says, "interest—i.e., family interest—counts for a good deal in our Indian Empire." But there is an interest which comes much more home to us than any "merely sentimental interest," the interest of our loans, which amount in Brazil to something like a hundred millions sterling. "In view of such a tangible fact,"—I must repeat that I cannot be responsible for the language of this *Mens Insana* in Corpore Edurato—"In view of such a tangible fact, the question of the transference of labour in Brazil from the condition of serfdom to freedom must naturally affect Englishmen, apart from its humanitarian aspect." I hope he misrepresents Englishmen; but he certainly may claim to be a typical Member of the Interested Classes of Employers, and would not "let go his hold upon the country" on any account. "The future of Brazil may be a matter of moment," but let us leave that to silly people who will persist in looking for something more than "tangible facts." A little consideration will lead "to the conclusion that the abolition of slavery in Brazil can only be a blessing to that country financially,"—our teacher waves his hand graciously, and ends his sentence with "and socially." But we had perhaps better give a little more consideration to this part, particularly as we are not quite sure what "social blessings" may mean in his language.

We are, however, not long left in doubt. The slaves having become *free*, were apparently about as free to cultivate the ground as ours in England, and "wandered about homeless and foodless," and so in a short time came back to their old masters and "turned to and became sturdy labourers." Dear me! did they indeed? Yes, "and in consequence of the abolition and the increasing immigration, labour became far more plentiful and cheaper." Poor immigrants! "A healthy field hand who was a slave must have cost the planter £45 a-year, allowing for interest on cost, sinking fund, and maintenance; whereas in the

North any quantity of free labourers can be obtained for £20 per annum." Moreover, "if you know how to *handle* Brazilian workmen, it is really surprising what an immense amount of *continuous hard work* can be obtained from them. They will do what would astonish the European labourer, and think of it as only in the ordinary course of things." £20 a-year does not seem a large sum for such an astonishing amount of labour, not so large at all events as the £45 which the labourer "cost the planter" so long as he was a slave. Perhaps the slave wasted some of the £45, that is like enough; any form of amusement is highly wasteful in one out of whom has to be got "continuous hard work." But though the £45 has sunk to £20 already, it will probably sink lower, for "there can be no disputing that in a *new* country high wages are co-existent with progress and prosperity." Apparently then, the "financial blessing" that has resulted from the abolition of slavery, is that the large Brazilian planter now gets done the same amount of labour for less than half the cost. And he may expect to have more financial blessings of the same kind, as immigration increases and the country ceases to be *new*. The "social blessings" somehow seem to have disappeared from the programme of this mischief with his Itinerant Commercial Energy. He may have travelled "three thousand miles through Brazil," but he has looked at it only through the spectacles of finance. It can only be such eyes as can see "any credit to the Brazilian planters for an act which emancipated five or six hundred thousand slaves," and at the same time saves the pockets of the slave-owners certain millions of pounds every year. To financiers anything that saves the pockets of their class seems good; "its humanitarian aspect" may be left apart. The London Chamber of Commerce, no doubt, listened with pleasure to all the talk about speculation, financial stability, and the substitution of free for slave labour, with which the article concludes. The Chamber might start at the mention of Co-operation, but would be soothed again when it was assured that the Muddled Imbroglia of Co-operative Exploitation would still yield the usual "net profits." C. J. F.

## INTERNATIONAL NOTES.

### GERMANY.

The sixth conference of the German "Carpenters' Union" has lately been held at Hanover. There were thirty-three delegates present, representing 86 localities with 5948 members. The income from the 1st July 1887 to the 30th May 1888 amounted to 19,613 marcs 50 pfennige, the expenditure to 17,974 marcs 39 pf., leaving a balance of 1639 marcs 11 pf. Up to the present time the various local unions had to support the trade paper, *Zeitschrift der Zimmerkunst* (Review of the Carpentery), published at Hamburg; the conference have resolved that the paper shall henceforth be supported by the general fund of the Union.

The carpenters' strike at Solingen has ended. At Halberstadt 60 cabinet-makers are still striking, and 1500 at Hamburg. This last struggle has already cost 24,000 marcs, chiefly collected in Hamburg itself. In the same town the engineers have struck, and are, up to now, well supported by their Berlin trade comrades.

At Leipzig the stonecutters have been on strike for twenty-three weeks, and they intend to go on as long as they possibly can. They express great hope of victory in the final result of their struggle against capitalism and exploitation.

In the first days of July, twelve Socialists will have to stand their trial at Kopenick for having *secretly conspired* against dear Fatherland. It is interesting to note the kind of witnesses who have been chosen to charge our friends: criminal detective Schöne, communal detective Schückholz, soldier Poseler, non-commissioned officer Hubner, police sergeant Rusbild, police constable Beckelman, and police constable Jacob. With such a gang of selected defenders of law and order, it would be hardly necessary to go through the farce of a trial; the magistrates might as well send them all to jail at once!

Comrade Emil Jacob Jost has been sentenced at Pforzheim to three months' imprisonment for distribution of forbidden literature. It has been proved and *admitted by the tribunal* that Jost has only given his personal copy of the *Sozialdemokrat* to read to *one single worker* in his workshop, and that is what German law calls distributing and propagating prohibited papers!

At Leipzig 27 persons have been sentenced to nine years' imprisonment for having largely distributed a leaflet entitled "On the 18th of March." Only two have escaped the vengeance of the rascals who style themselves judges, and have been acquitted.

Puttkammer, the shameful Minister of Police in Berlin, the man who covered Switzerland, Belgium, England, etc., with police spies and *agents provocateurs*, has been sacked by the emperor. For once, let us cry Hip, hip, hurrah, Frederick!

### RUSSIA.

Our comrade Peter Lavroff, who has rendered to the cause of the Social Revolution the most eminent services, and whose name is closely connected with the development of the Socialist movement in Russia, has commenced the publication of a very considerable work, which no doubt will constitute the scientific testament of the great philosopher and truth-seeker. It will consist of five volumes, entitled, 'Essay of the history of thought in modern times.' The first volume will deal with the functions of the history of thought; the second is to contain the historical development of thought in modern times; the third and fourth volumes are devoted to the dualism in State and in science; the fifth to sociology and Socialism, the duties towards the future forming its general conclusions. The two first instalments of the first volume have just been issued, and have the following contents:—I. The problems of history: *a.* The elements of thought of the modern time and their periods of transition; *b.* The historical life; *c.* History as a science; *d.* The history of thought and its divisions. II. Pre-history: *a.* The history of man's development; *b.* Cosmic and geological development (matter—universe—solar system—geological process). III. The forms of the geological evolution: *a.* Geological classification; *b.* Primordial and primary formations; *c.* Secondary formations; *d.* Tertiary formations; *e.* The follow-

ing formations. IV. Evolution of the organisms: *a.* Life; *b.* The development of the functions of life; *c.* The development of the organic forms; *d.* Development of man as living being. V. Development of conscience and of social tendencies: *a.* Conscience and social tendencies in nature; *b.* The principal forms of conscience.

We earnestly hope that the new work of the learned author of the 'Historical Letters' may soon be entirely before the public, and also that the Occidental countries of Europe may as early as possible be enabled to read it, as we feel almost sure that it will be translated into more than one language.

### FRANCE.

Last week, at last, General Boulanger, fearing to be forgotten if he did not come forward, went to Parliament and delivered himself of an oration prepared by senator Naquet out of the speeches which Louis Napoleon, thirty years ago, with impunity spat in the faces of the so-called representatives of the people. But let it be said at once, we prefer Prince Napoleon, who at any rate made his speeches himself, to Boulanger, who wants to be wound up by that hunchback renegade exactly as he has been begging the literary services of a starving Jew in order to bring about his "story" of the Franco-German war. That he is nothing more or less than a Bonapartist would-be dictator, in spite of his "republican" phraseology, is becoming clearer every day. The Bonapartists are very well aware of that; hence their support. So, for instance, at a meeting held in the Salle Levis by the followers of Prince Victor Bonaparte, M. Robert Mitchell, who acts as a kind of demi-god in that camp, declared openly for Boulanger, amid the enthusiasm of his hearers, who cried, "Vive l'Empereur!" and "Vive Boulanger!" alike. "The Bonapartist leaders know what Gen. Boulanger's opinions and intentions are," concluded M. Robert Mitchell, "and our party will give useful aid at the proper time to those who are ready to overthrow the Republic," and these remarks again were received with immense applause. We don't care very much for the further existence or for the overthrow of the present Republic, which is entirely based on monarchical institutions; but certainly Boulanger's régime, which would be a military dictatorship with imperialist institutions, is worse than anything else that could be imagined. Boulanger thinks that France is not "governed" strongly enough; he wishes for his country a really strong government, with an all-powerful chief of the State, and a set of ministers only to be responsible to that dictator. As he doesn't think that times are ripe enough to suppress Parliament altogether, in spite of the rotten condition of parliamentarism in France, he condescends to its further existence, but reduces its rôle to that of a kind of Constituent Assembly, the decisions of which would be subject to the famous right of *veto* which proved so fatal to the monarchy of 1789. That is altogether imperialism of the worst kind, and it is really not to be believed that there should be any considerable portion of the French working-classes who intend to follow that nefarious soldier. France doesn't want at all a "strong" government, but rather as "little" government as possible, until the day comes when it shall get rid of every kind of central government.

### SPAIN.

The first number of a fortnightly Communist-Anarchist paper has made its appearance at Barcelona, under the heading of *Tierra y Libertad* (Land and Freedom). It is the first Spanish Anarchist paper that follows entirely the lines of *La Révolte* of Paris, and is likely to do a great deal of good work, besides the monthly review *Acracia*, and the weeklies *El Productor* and *El Socialismo*, which have succeeded in gathering around them important groups of workers all through Spain.

### SWITZERLAND.

*La Critique Sociale* (the Social Critic) has made its appearance at Geneva as a fortnightly Communist-Anarchist paper, the only one of its kind in the Swiss "Republic." The first number is very ably written, and we wish our new colleague good luck and speedy success.

### HOLLAND.

Domela Nieuwenhuis' work, 'The Normal Work-day,' a French translation of which we announced in our last issue, is now also being rendered in German. V. D.

## LITERARY NOTES.

Our comrade Kropotkin's articles, which are appearing in the *Nineteenth Century*, should be eagerly looked for and attentively read by everybody who takes interest in social and economical matters.

*Our Corner* keeps up to the high level at which it has maintained its position so long. The present number continues Bernard Shaw's article "A Refutation of Anarchism," which is well worth close reading by all Socialists. Even those who do not agree with all his views must admit the close reasoning and clear statement which this clever writer has applied to the subject. We hope that this monthly will continue its useful existence, as we can ill afford to lose any advanced periodical which is open to the discussion of Socialism from various points of view, especially one conducted with the ability which has always characterised *Our Corner*.

'PERCY BYSSHE SHELLEY,' by H. S. Salt (Swan Sonnenschein and Co.).—Of late it has rained Shelley books. Everybody has been reading either Jefferson's rancorous and philistine two volumes—"Caliban on Ariel," as Swinburne called them—or Professor Dowden's authorised version, or one of the many smaller biographies. The latest of these is H. S. Salt's sketchy little book. Mr. Salt has already written 'A Shelley Primer,' containing, besides some slight criticism, all manner of facts about Shelley records, Shelley biographies, the dates of his poems, his friends, etc.—an accurate, useful book. He is a Socialist, and makes the justification of this new Life his sympathy with the social and political theories of Shelley, all previous biographers having held with established things. Yet after all he has not much to say on these matters. On the other hand, it is pleasant to find no carping or cheap irony. As to the troubles and enigmas of Shelley's life, he avoids discussion by calling him a changeling; the real son of Mr. Timothy Shelley, landlord and Whig, was carried away, he supposes, by some thieving goblin of Sussex. On the whole, we have here a very readable though desperately sketchy little book. There are many books on the man Shelley: when will someone give us a history of his mind and poetry, his progress from materialism to extreme idealism, and the elaborate symbolism he loved in later times? Todhunter's 'Study,' the only book of the kind, though very valuable, is hardly in my opinion final.—Y.

## THE LABOUR STRUGGLE.

On Wednesday 6th, a number of men employed in the construction of new sewers for the Corporation of Limerick, struck work. They were being paid 2s. a day, and were refused an increase of wages.

A strike has taken place in the Sheffield saw trade. The workmen employed by Messrs. Slack, Sellers and Co., have struck against the proposal to increase the working hours from fifty to fifty-four per week.

In accordance with the arrangements at the conference between employers and operatives, the wages of the spike-nail makers in Old Hill, Blackheath, Rowley, and Hales Owen district will be increased 25 per cent.

The master cotton-spinners in the Ashton district, which includes Stalybridge, Dukinfield, and Mossley, have conceded to the workpeople 5 per cent. advance in view of the arrangement to regulate the scale of wages according to the rates in the Oldham district.

The services of fifty shipwrights are to be dispensed with at Sheerness Dockyard; but if the men are willing to be transferred to Chatham Dockyard work will be found for them there. Work is brisker at Chatham, as the Admiralty have just ordered a powerful fast cruiser of 9000 tons displacement to be built at that yard.

The London cabdrivers' strike is ended. Some of the principal proprietors have lowered their terms. The men, however, are badly organised, and the selfishness and apathy of a large number has prevented anything like a satisfactory settlement. If the cabdrivers wish to better their condition or even to prevent themselves being still more shamefully exploited, they will have to prepare at once for a much more determined stand before long.

**WOMEN'S TRADE UNIONS.**—A most desirable movement is in progress at Walsall to organise women into trade societies. A beginning will be made with the women engaged in the saddle trade in the town. A public meeting was held last week in furtherance of this object, and a committee has been formed to inaugurate the society. Afterwards an endeavour will be made to unite the women engaged in other trades.

**LONDON UPHOLSTERERS AND THE SWEATING SYSTEM.**—At a crowded meeting of upholsterers, held on Saturday evening at the Upholsterers' Club, Euston Road, a resolution was unanimously passed upholding the evidence given before the Sweating Commission by Mr. Brown, a respected member of the trade, and denying the accuracy of the statements made by Mr. D. Inlay, the foreman of Messrs. Maple & Co., who has been busily endeavouring to prove that the aforesaid firm are model employers.

**KENT AND SUSSEX LABOURERS' UNION.**—The annual demonstration of members of this Union was held at Ashford, Kent, on Saturday, and, notwithstanding the inclemency of the weather, there was a large gathering. At the usual meeting, Mr. Filcher, of Folkestone, presided, and said there never was a time in the history of the Union when there was a greater necessity for the labouring classes to combine together. Mr. Beale, the general secretary, read the annual report, which deplored the continued severe depression in agriculture and trade generally, which had been very acutely felt by the members. As a consequence, the rate of wages had fallen in several districts, and thousands have had a difficulty in obtaining employment, whilst the prolonged winter had prevented many others from being fully employed. Among the members the scarcity of work had produced a difficulty in keeping their contributions paid regularly, and, further, imposed upon them a severe struggle to provide even the bare necessities for maintaining themselves and families. During the year the number of members who had received sick benefit had been 2,792, and the amount paid had been £8,150 8s. 7d. The income from members' contributions had been £11,640 18s. 1d., a decrease of £35 9s. 2d. compared with 1886. This reduction was mainly owing to the number of members in arrears with contributions. During the sixteen years of the society's existence there had been expended in protection to locked-out members £13,600, and in assisting members to emigrate £2,077.—The report was unanimously adopted, and a resolution was carried urging the necessity of a reform in the land laws, to give compulsory powers to local authorities to acquire land for the establishment of small holdings, in order that labourers may have a direct interest in the cultivation of the soil, and so prevent a great deal of the poverty in large cities and towns through the emigration of labourers from the rural districts.

**METROPOLITAN PAUPERISM.**—The weekly return of metropolitan pauperism shows that the total number of paupers relieved in the fourth week of the past month was 93,943, of whom 55,650 were indoor and 38,263 outdoor paupers. The total number relieved shows an increase of 2,584 over the corresponding week of last year, 3,375 over 1886, and 7,721 over 1885. The total number of vagrants relieved on the last day of the week was 1,136, of whom 900 were men, 206 women, and 1,136 children under sixteen.

The 2,075 non-fatal accidents which occurred to railwaymen during the year 1887 were of the following nature:—Amputations: Legs, 31; Feet or Hands, 15; and Fingers, 11. Fractures, 138; Dislocations, 21. Crushes: Legs or Arms, 87; Feet or Hands, 270; Body, 52. Scalds and Burns, 35; Sprains, Cuts and Bruises, 584; Severe, 140; Shaken, 42; Slight, 72. Unspecified Injury: To Head, 119; Body, 132; Legs or Arms, 174; Feet or Hands, 149; Miscellaneous, 3.

**THRIFT!**—There was a terrible sentence in the *St. James's Gazette* of last night. "In some strata of society," it says, speaking of the sweating system, "thrift and temperance are worse enemies than drunkenness and sloth." There is a frightful truth in this—it is a kind of motto written over the brazen gates of our Social Hell in London. The virtues of the sweated—their determination to live down to the very narrowest margin of subsistence—simply mean so much more profit to the sweaters' till.—*Star*.

**THE PRICE OF HUMAN LIFE.**—The Board of Trade inquiry at Cardiff into the loss of the *Caeraw* with all hands, on the voyage from Bilbao to Newport, has fined the owner £100 for fixing the load-line in an unsafe position. As he probably made about five times that amount profit on the voyage, this won't hurt him very much, but it will serve to show how "sacred" human life is held when property is to be considered! Mr. Chamberlain might keep his compensation hand in by bringing forward a measure to compensate sailors' families for the loss of their bread-winners. At the same time we notice that the Government has given £25,000 to Major Watkin, R.A., of Woodwich, for his "position finder," an invention which has been found useful in increasing the effectiveness of artillery. In connection with the same invention Major Watkin has also been granted a retaining fee of £1000 a year for ten years. This is for destroying human life and may be well read with the other.

## REVOLUTIONARY CALENDAR.

WEEK ENDING JUNE 23, 1888.

17	Sun.	1637. Trial of John Hampden begun. 1775. Battle of Bunker Hill. 1810. Ferdinand Freiligrath born. 1830. Chorley "outrage." 1882. Seizure of arms in Clerkenwell.
18	Mon.	1643. Battle of Chalgrove Field; John Hampden mortally wounded. 1835. William Cobbett died. 1864. William Smith O'Brien died. 1881. Most sentenced to sixteen months' imprisonment. 1884. Explosion at Madrid.
19	Tues.	1843. "Rebecca" Riots in South Wales. 1867. Maximilian of Mexico shot.
20	Wed.	1789. Tennis Court Oath at Versailles. 1791. Flight of Louis XVI. from Paris. 1792. Parisians enter Tuileries. 1836. Abbé Sieyès died. 1848. A. R. Parsons born. 1883. Tennis Court at Versailles opened as a National Museum and Monument.
21	Thur.	1628. Dr. Manwaring "makes submission" at the bar of the House of Commons. 1886. "Trial" of the Chicago Martyrs begun.
22	Fri.	1736. Capt. Porteous tried. 1772. The "Negro Case;" James Somerset discharged. 1780. Rev. Henry Bate tried for libel on the Duke of Richmond. 1805. Mazzini born. 1866. Military Rising at Madrid. 1882. Monument to Mazzini unveiled at Genoa.
23	Sat.	1848. Revolution of three days at Paris. 1883. Louise Michel sentenced to six years' imprisonment.

*Battle of Bunker Hill.*—There seems to be an unending conflict over the name of this memorable struggle. English writers persist in calling it "Bunker's Hill," while, as a matter of fact, even the American name was all a mistake. There is no such place as "Bunker's Hill," and the battle was fought on a little eminence until then known as "Breed's Hill." It should have been called the "Battle of Charlestown," but the "Battle of Charleston" happening soon after might well be confusing. However, the New Englanders christened the fight after it was fought and re-christened the scene of action, and the name of "Bunker Hill" has become a significant watchword in the Yankee heart. Thus it is very suggestive, the persistent efforts of the apologists for British tyranny to break the force of the name by altering even its form. "Bunker's Hill," to a New Englander, suggests only some obscure manor, farm, or pasture; while "Bunker Hill" rings through the air with every idea of liberty and human brotherhood. For, in truth, it was a remarkable battle. Pamphleteers have been hotly disputing ever since as to who commanded the little fortress of freedom. The truth is there was no commander. It was one of the most brilliant examples of the deathless fact that men can get along without leaders, so long as they are possessed of ideas to govern them. Before men thus united, a five-fold force of finest mercenary troops of Europe thrice reeled down the green Charlestown slope, leaving more dead and wounded behind them than there were of opponents all told. Nominally, the latter at length retreated, but no sane man was blind to the real issue. The Cross of Saint George, which had floated for nearly a century and a half upon the "Castle" in the harbour below, delighting the eyes of successive generations of loyal Englishmen who looked to the "Sea-Girt Isle" as their real home, the anchor of their hope, and the true cross of their earthly faith, was to be now banished for ever. No king's writ or queen's writ was to further run on the granite hill-sides of New England. A rapacious oligarchy of London profit-mongers and usurers, the spoilers of Egypt and of Erin to-day, had turned the most devoted of England's children into strangers and inveterate foes.—L. W.

*Chorley "Outrage."*—A firm of cotton-spinners had a dispute with their men, and their factory was burned down under circumstances that seemed to connect the accident and the quarrel. However that may be, the new mill was no sooner set going than the disputes began again, and the men struck and were replaced by "rats," against four of whom on the 17th an attempt was made by letting a can of powder down the chimney of the house they lodged in and letting it off. Much damage, great scare, but no lives lost.—S.

*Death of William Cobbett.*—William Cobbett was born in the spring of 1762 at Farnham, Surrey. The son of a farmer, and beginning life so early that he said, "I do not remember the time when I did not earn my living," yet imbued enough of desire for mental fare that on running away from home when about eleven years of age he forfeited his supper to buy "The Tale of a Tub" with his last 3d. Worked for a time in Kew Gardens, to see which was his reason for leaving home. In 1782 a sight of the sea and fleet at Portsmouth influenced him with a desire to become a sailor, but being refused by the captain to whom he volunteered he returned home once more. May 6, 1783, started for a day at a fair with some others, but crossing the path of the London coach suddenly decided to see London, and entered upon a period of which he wrote "No part of my life has been totally unattended with pleasure, except the eight or nine months I passed in Gray's Inn. If I am doomed to be wretched, bury me beneath Iceland snows and let me feed on blubber; stretch me under the burning line . . . suffocate me with the infested and pestilential air of a democratic club-room; but save me from the desk of an attorney." Spring of 1784 enlists in the 54th Foot, and after a year at Chatham goes to Nova Scotia and North America. Returns to England 1791, and gets honourably discharged; marries 1792, after a somewhat romantic courtship. Through trying to expose some of the internal villainies of army administration, has to quit England; goes to France, and passes some six months at St. Omer perfecting his French. Something like O'Connell, seems to have been scared out of France by the revolution; leaves for America, inspired thereto by reading Abbé Raynal; arrived in Philadelphia, October, 1792; gets a living as teacher of French, and wrote a grammar for Frenchmen which seems to hold its own to-day. In spite of his treatment by the English authorities over the regimental scandal, Cobbett was very loyal and anti-Republican. His earliest work as a political writer was an attack upon Priestley, and the Americans who welcomed him when he was driven from England. Paine also received some attention from Cobbett's pungent pen. After eight somewhat stormy years, very much occupied in defending everything English and reviling things American, he left June 1, 1800, for his native land once more. Arrived in England he soon changed his ideas. He was told by John Reeves, one of the leading political writers of the day, then in receipt of government pay, that there were only two ways, "either to kiss or kick." Cobbett resolved to "kick," and he did with vim. October, 1800, appeared No. 1 of the *Porcupine*, a loyalist print which lived for about a year, and then merged into the *True Briton*, soon after which he was done with it. He was carrying on business as a bookseller meanwhile, and was clobbered off as a Pittite. January, 1802, appeared No. 1 of the *Weekly Political Register*. As chief of the *Register*, probably most people think of Cobbett as a writer, and certainly thirty-three years of such literary kicking can not be matched by any other writer. That he kicked effectively is proved by the way he was hated and imprisoned by government. He is, however, well worth attention as a prose poet in praise of nature, and as a grammarian his "Six Letters for the Benefit of Statesmen" is one of the most biting answers to the claim for monopoly in all good things on the



ground of superior education and culture, which is at times put forward by the Oxford and Cambridge cad. George Washington Moore's pulverisation of Dean Alford's "Queen's English" is a similar piece of work. In June, 1809, appeared an article in the *Register* dealing with some brutal army floggings. For this he was tried before Lord Ellenborough—one of the worst judges who ever lived—and sentenced to two years' in Newgate, a £1,000 fine, and £5,000 security for seven years' good conduct. This was the third appearance of Cobbett before Ellenborough. In 1804 two suits had been laid against Cobbett for libel in dealing with Irish matters, damages in one being for £10,000, but the jury awarded only £500, and there was no imprisonment, the main thing required by government. On his release from Newgate in 1812 he had a splendid public reception. Sir F. Burdett presided at the public dinner. Although he had been able to carry on his literary work and also his farming operations all the time he was in prison, still his prospects were much injured, and after a struggle he had once more to quit for foreign pastures, and May, 1817, saw him once more bound for America, where he passed about two years and a-half. Paine's writings on "Finance and the Funding System" had changed Cobbett's ideas to such an extent that when he returned to England, November, 1819, he brought with him Paine's bones and endeavoured to raise a large sum of money to erect a memorial to the once reviled stay-maker. In 1820 he wooed Coventry, but only polled 352 votes; in 1826 he made another attempt, this time at Preston, and again was beaten. In 1831 the government had another wrestle with Cobbett, and the accursed Whigs had a bad fall, and the fall shook the Ministry. In 1832 he was returned as member for Oldham, and there is but little doubt that long hours passed in a foul building cut off some years from one whose greatest happiness was to be in the open air, with the birds and flowers, his crops and fields. The debate on the malt tax, and a sore throat too long neglected, finally caused his death, which took place at his farm near Farnham about one o'clock in the morning of Thursday, June 18, 1835. From the extremist point of view possibly some fault may be found in Cobbett; where is the faultless one? But plenty of good Socialist shot was cast, which is none the less effective because from the foundry of one of the most "cap. I" individualists of the century. Of the undue growth of cities he said, "They seem to me to confound augmentation with improvement." Of the everlasting word-spinning, which passed for philosophy and economic science, he wrote, "I may be a very illiterate fellow, but I am certainly more than a match for all those pretenders to learning and philosophy. There is a damned cant in vogue, which when attacked by plain sense and reason discovers its weakness." His scorn for the citizens, who in 1808 were insolently treated by the king, is splendid in expression and fits well to-day, "Snails should be trod upon. . . . We deserve to be treated like dogs, and like dogs we are treated." (*Vide* Trafalgar Square.) As to the National Debt he was a repudiator, and some of his fiercest invective was poured upon the funding system with its train of "Jews, jobbers, loan mongers, East India adventurers, and all sorts of vermin, to domineer over the people, and starve and degrade the labouring classes of England." The amount of work he got through was immense, and naturally some inconsistencies can be found, but he is one of the very few who never trimmed or rode on a rail for pay or place. What he says may be wrong, but he never leaves you in doubt as to what he means, for he never uses language which can have a dozen translations and then no meaning; a liar with him is a liar, a jobber a jobber, a thief a thief, and such a man would be a distinct gain to-day when jobbery and lying is rampant, but is handled with dainty touch of kid-glove.—T. S.

"*Rebecca*" Outbreak.—The "Rebecca" rebellion, for it became no less, began in 1839 on the borders of Pembroke and Carmarthen by the breaking down of turnpike gates, the tolls levied at which they held to be excessive. It was not, however, until 1843 that the war attained its height. Turnpike laws were like all monopolies, not intended for the benefit of the mass, and small farmers and peasants groaned under excessive tolls. Taking their name from a perverse application of a scriptural phrase (Gen. xxiv., 69. And they blessed Rebekah, and said unto her, Let thy seed possess the gate of those which hate them), they formed a wide-spread and well-organised secret society, which soon spread throughout South Wales. Under the influence of a few Chartists among them, they gradually learned that there were other imposts upon them to be lessened with advantage, and so extended their scope that from magistrate's fees and county rates to the rent of land there was nothing that escaped their vigilance. This the Government could not stand, and so by the strong hand and treachery it broke the back of the organisation, promising benefits right and left to the people, appointing a Commission of Enquiry, occupying the country with soldiers, etc. The Commission reported poverty and oppression as the causes of revolt, and nothing more was done. By their "lawlessness" the folk had cleared the most part of the gates, and scared the trustees so much that they were never rebuilt, and they had reduced other burdens, but by their submission they gave themselves once more as sheep into the hands of the shearer.—S.

*Maximilian of Mexico*.—The Republic of Mexico under its Indian President, Juarez, having incurred the wrath of the rotten gang who surrounded Badinguet, an excuse for invasion was soon made up, and a French army sent to place a bankrupt Austrian-Grand Duke as Emperor on the Mexican throne. It was a disgraceful stock-jobbing scheme from beginning to end, and few grumbled but those like him when Juarez and his army "moved by a great idea" smashed up the empire, and shot the usurper "for his crimes against the independence of the people." Much of the best fighting on the side of freedom was done by American volunteers fresh from the recently-ended Secession war.—S.

*Dr. Manwaring*.—Was a hot-headed Welshman who took up the cudgels for divine right, and by preaching intemperate sermons in favour of kingly power brought himself under the censure of the House of Commons. After trial and being found guilty, he made abject apology and retracted everything, but was fined and barred from advancement in the Church. Charles came to his aid and gave him livings and bishoprics with a dispensation to hold them, but after the fall of the throne he fell in great poverty and so died in 1653.—S.

*Capt. Porteous*.—Was in command of the military guard at an execution where a rescue was attempted, and for firing on the people without orders was tried and found guilty. Sentenced to death, he was reprieved by the Government, when the people became afraid he was to escape, took him out and lynched him.—S.

*The "Negro Case"*.—James Somerset was a negro whom his owner had brought with him from Jamaica, and who having a taste of freedom refused to go back. He was abducted and taken aboard a vessel lying in the river, but on a writ of habeas corpus was produced in court and his case argued. It was then decided that English law recognised no slavery in England; that though a man were legally a slave in Jamaica, an English court could take no cognisance of the fact, and that therefore his "owner" could use no force upon him more than on other men, nor could he recover possession of him at law. Wherefore Somerset was discharged a free man. This was ten years before the Abolition movement began, and the judge's decision rested wholly on a negative construction of the law.—S.

The following note was unavoidably held over from last week's Calendar:

*Prynne at the Star Chamber*.—The 14th of June, 1637, will ever be memorable in the great struggle for liberty of free speech among Englishmen; it being the day when that fiery Puritan, William Prynne, with his fellow martyrs, Henry Burton and John Bastwick, appeared before the notorious court of the Star Chamber of Westminster, and were ordered to have their ears cut off for their various writings against the prelates of the Established Church. Prynne was

the especial unforgiving enemy of the stage-players, and when it is remembered how the London actors have ever been the sycophants of royalty and tyranny, and the foul libellers of the best and purest Englishmen, we can easily forgive Prynne's prejudiced zeal. Even Shakespeare himself never lost an opportunity of spitting venom upon a Puritan, and of slobbering sickening sycophancy upon a monarch or a lord. But whatever the cause they preached, it was the outrageous usage of Prynne and his fellows which brought the dawn of England's freedom of utterance, and inspired Milton's immortal periods. It is only fitting to remember that it was through spreading Prynne's words abroad that glorious John Lilburne first became at once the martyr, the apostle, and the chosen mouthpiece of liberty.—L. W.

### THE SOCIALIST LEAGUE AND THE METROPOLITAN BOARD OF WORKS.

For the past three years during the summer season meetings have been regularly held in Victoria Park and collections made at them on Sunday afternoon. Collections have also been made for years previous to the League meetings by other organisations. But for some reason or other the Board, who have control of the park, have secured the consent of the Home Secretary to a bye-law forbidding collections to be made. This was looked upon by our comrades as a most serious attack upon our propaganda, and they decided to resist it. For the first Sunday or two it was not noticed by the park keepers, who have always been most friendly to our members, but on the third Sunday one of the Christian spouters in the park (an employer of labour paying starvation wages) called their attention to the collection being made, consequently the keepers had to take action, and took the names of S. Mainwaring and F. Charles, the secretary of the League. The next week W. B. Parker met with the same fate. It was therefore determined to hold a big meeting of protest last Sunday afternoon, and by 3.30 some 2,000 persons had gathered round our platform. The chair was taken by W. B. Parker. The speakers were Mrs. Besant, who was in splendid form, her remarks being received with rounds of applause, S. Mainwaring, H. Davis, Mrs. Schack, Tom Walker, A. Brooks, and J. Carr (of the National League). The meeting, which lasted over three hours, was enthusiastic throughout. Mrs. Besant, after her address, made a collection, whereupon her name was taken. Other collections were made by our comrades whose names have already been secured. The total amount was £2, 5s. 6<sup>3</sup>/<sub>4</sub>d., which was given to the East-end Propaganda Fund. It is intended to fight this out to the end. Next Sunday W. Morris and Annie Taylor are the speakers. We hope that all Socialists living in this district will assist our comrades in this struggle. Over 200 copies of *Commonweal* were sold. W. B. P.

### THE SOCIALIST LEAGUE.

OFFICES: 13 FARRINGTON ROAD, E.C.

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

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

**East-end Propaganda Fund**.—Collected:—Berner Street Club, 1s. 8d.; Donation from Mile-end Branch, 2s.; Smith, Princes Square Club, 6d.; Hyde Park, 4s. 0<sup>3</sup>/<sub>4</sub>d.; Victoria Park, £2 5s. 7<sup>3</sup>/<sub>4</sub>d.; C. W. D., 5s.—JOSEPH LANE, Treasurer.

### REPORTS.

**FULHAM**.—Tuesday, Catterson Smith, Bullock, and Groser spoke opposite Liberal Club. Sunday morning Tarleton spoke. *Commonweal* sold well. Some courteous opposition from a member of the S.D.F., which was well answered by our speaker. In evening, Tochatti and Groser spoke outside. *Commonweal* sold out, and during the day 5s. 4d. collected for branch.—S. B. G.

**NORTH LONDON**.—Good meeting at Ossington Street last Friday evening, addressed by Brooks, Cantwell, and Parker. On Sunday morning an excellent meeting was held at Regent's Park. Cantwell, Blundell, and Samuels were the speakers; 7s. 9d. collected.

**LEICESTER**.—Robson lectured on 6th inst. on "Commercial Competition" before Democratic Guild, Gallowtree Gate Chapel. This Guild has been founded as the outcome of a series of discourses by the Rev. Stead (brother of editor of *Pall Mall Gazette*). Its object is "to ascertain our individual and collective duties in regard to various phases of national life." The audience was astonished at Robson's lecture, believing competition to be everything good. They adjourned to pull themselves together for a reply next week. On Sunday, splendid open-air discussion in Russell Square. Thomas Slater (of Bury) opposed us, and a fine crowd collected. Robson spoke well; people sympathetic. Barclay replies next Sunday.—T. P. B.

**NORWICH**.—Good meetings during week at Thorpe and St. Catharine's Plain by Poynts and Mowbray. Sunday morning, Adams and Darley held a meeting at Wymondham; several *Weals* sold. Rochmann (of London) was with us on Sunday, and in morning spoke at Bishop Bridge; in afternoon, with Mowbray, in the Market Place. In the evening another good meeting in Market Place, when Rochmann gave an account of the work in Russia; audience very enthusiastic. Rochmann's visit has removed from the minds of many of the workmen the former feeling regarding foreigners. After the meeting went to Gordon Hall, where a very enjoyable "social" evening was spent, consisting of revolutionary speeches and songs. Good sale of *Weal* and good collections.

**WALSALL**.—Monday, Deakin lectured on "Has Machinery benefited the Workers?" Several visitors took part in discussion. Tuesday evening, Sanders addressed open-air meeting in Queen's Square, Wolverhampton, and on Saturday held meeting here, evoking a large number of enquiries, one opponent promising to discuss with Sanders, time to be arranged.—J. T. D.

### EAST-END PROPAGANDA.

Almost all of our meetings last week were well attended, especially those addressed by Mainwaring at London Fields on Wednesday, at Philpot Street on Thursday, and at Mile-end Waste on Saturday, which was continued until about 11.30 p.m. Our meetings on Sunday were very successful at Leman Street, where Lyons and Mainwaring spoke; Gibraltar Walk, addressed by Lane and Charles; Hackney Road, by Parker, Lane, and Charles; Haggerstone, by Charles and Davis, which meeting was finished at 11 p.m.; and at Stamford Hill, by Mainwaring, Blundell, Nicoll, and Brooks. Our meeting in the Park is reported elsewhere. A large amount of literature has now been distributed throughout the district, and our bill-posting brigade is getting into working order, but

more personal help is urgently needed, and if any of our comrades have a few hours on their hands during the week we would earnestly ask them to come and assist us in distributing literature from house to house, or speaking at some of our meetings before the summer gets over.

**JUNIOR SOCIALIST EDUCATIONAL SOCIETY.**—Fisher read his paper on "Authority" last Saturday. The discussion which followed was the final one upon this subject.—A. F.

**ABERDEEN.**—Leatham spoke at Castle Street on 26th ult., on "Socialism, what it is and what it is not," Duncan presiding. Police interfered on the ground of "obstruction," but on our moving to another part of square allowed us to proceed. Crowd (considerably larger than former week) kept well together for an hour and a-half: questions at close. Sunday night, 27th ult., at indoor meeting Gronlund's chapter on "Woman in the Co-operative Commonwealth" was read. Good discussion followed. At indoor meeting on June 3rd, Morris's lecture, "The Labour Question from the Socialist Standpoint," was read and discussed.—J. L.

**DUBLIN.**—At Industrial League, 75, Aungier Street, June 5, O'Gorman delivered an address on "Education," advocating free, compulsory, technical, and secular education for all classes. A prominent Churchman who was present was of opinion that State education should be divorced from theology. An interesting discussion ensued, in which Murphy, Stephens, Cunningham, and others took part.

**SOCIALIST UNION.**—Wednesday evening, May 30th, a paper on "Socialism" was read by comrade Mead of the Cardiff Socialist Union, before the Guildford Street Improvement Class. Good attendance of working-men. Discussion followed the paper, which had to be postponed to following Thursday, June 7th, when all objections raised were fully answered. The subject has, however, created such interest that it will be taken up again on Thursday next, June 14th, for general discussion.

**WOOLWICH.**—Last Sunday, Cunningham Graham, M.P., Donald, Mahon, and Banner addressed one of the largest meetings ever held in Woolwich. We had at least 3,000 people present, and considering that we had only 24 hours notice to organise the meeting it was a great success. Graham showed the need of a Labour Party with great force, and made a wonderful impression. We formed a branch of the Labour League and collected 34s.—R. B.

## LECTURE DIARY.

### LONDON.

- Acton.**—17 High Street, Acton, W. (adjoining Purnell's Dining Rooms). Sundays at 8 p.m.
- Clerkenwell.**—Hall of the Socialist League, 13 Farringdon Rd., E.C. Business meeting every Sunday at 7.
- Fulham.**—8 Effie Road, Walham Green. H. B. Tarleton, "Politics and Socialism."
- Hackney.**—28 Percy Terrace, Victoria Road, Hackney Wick.
- Hammersmith.**—Kelmescott House, Upper Mall, W. Sunday June 17, at 8.30, Sydney Ollivier (Fabian Society), "Republicanism and Social Democracy."
- Hoxton.**—Labour Emancipation League Club and Institute, 1 Hoxton Square (near Shoreditch Ch.). Sunday June 24, Excursion to Walton-on-Thames, in brakes. Tickets 3s. each
- Merton.**—Club-house, 3 Clare Villas, Merton Road.
- Mitcham.**—Corner of Merton Lane and Fountain Place. Club Room open Saturday, Sunday, and Monday evenings from 7.30 till 11. W. E. Eden, 12 Palmerston Road, Wimbledon, Secretary.
- Mile-end and Bethnal Green.**—95 Boston St., Hackney Road. Business meeting every Thursday evening at 9 p.m. Debating Class for members after meeting.
- North London.**—The business meetings will be held on Friday evenings at the Autonomie Club, Windmill Street, Tottenham Court Road, after the open-air meeting at Ossulton Street. A Free Concert will be given every Friday evening; members of other branches invited. All members are asked to attend at Ossulton Street at 8 o'clock. Secretary, Nelly Parker, 109 Cavendish Buildings, opposite Holborn Town Hall.

### PROVINCES.

- Aberdeen** (Scottish Section).—Secretary, J. Leatham, 15 St Nicholas Street. Meetings Sunday night at 6.30. Choir practice, Thursday night, at 8, 46 Marischal Street.
- Bradford.**—Read's Coffee Tavern, Ivegate. Meets Tuesdays at 8.
- Carnoustie** (Scottish Section: Forfarshire).—Meeting every Tuesday, at 8 p.m., in the Carnoustie Restaurant. H. M'Cluskey, Millar Street, Secy.
- Cowdenbeath** (Scot. Sec).—J. Duncan, 30 Arthur Pl., sec
- Dundee** (Scot. Sect.).—Meetings every Sunday in the Trades Hall, opposite Tay Bridge Station.
- Edinburgh** (Scottish Section).—35 George IV. Bridge. Discussion every Thursday at 8. June 14, "Socialism and Teetotalism." 21st, "Duty of Socialists with Regard to Interest-taking." 28th, "Socialism and Malthusianism."
- Galashiels** (Scot Sect).—J. Walker, 6 Victoria St., sec.

**Gallatown and Dysart** (Scottish Section: Fife).—Meet every Tuesday at 7 p.m. in Gallatown Public School. Secretary, A. Paterson, 152 Rosslyn St.

**Glasgow.**—84 John St. Reading-room open 10 a.m. till 10 p.m. daily. On Sunday June 17, at 7 p.m., we intend to commence a series of lectures on social, economic, and other subjects in our rooms; all friends invited.

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

**Leicester.**—Hosiery Union, Horsefair St. Fridays at 8.

**Lochelly** (Scottish Section: Fife).—Secs. (pro tem.), John Greig and Hugh Conway, The Square.

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

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

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

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

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

## OPEN-AIR PROPAGANDA.

### SUNDAY 17.

- 11 ...Turnham Green—Front Common ...Acton Bch.  
11.30...Hammersmith—Beadon Road .....The Branch  
11.30...Hoxton Ch., Pitfield St. ....Pope & Barker  
11.30...Mitcham Fair Green .....Eden  
11.30...Regent's Park .....Cantwell, etc.  
1.30...Walham Green .....Fulham Branch  
3.30...Hyde Park.....Mainwaring & Charles  
7 ...Clerkenwell Green .....The Branch

### Tuesday.

- 8.30...Fulham—opposite Liberal Club ...The Branch

### Friday.

- 8 ...Euston Rd.—Ossulton Street.....Parker

### EAST END.

### SUNDAY 17.

- |                                     |       |                            |
|-------------------------------------|-------|----------------------------|
| Mile-end Waste ...                  | 11    | ...Mainwaring.             |
| "Salmon and Ball" ...               | 11    | ...Davis.                  |
| Leman Street, Shadwell ...          | 11    | ...Kitz.                   |
| Gibraltar Walk, Bethnal Green Road. | 7     | ...Lane & Charles.         |
| Well Street, Hackney...             | 11.45 | ...Parker.                 |
| Kingsland Green ...                 | 11.30 | ...Brooks.                 |
| Wheler Street, Shoreditch           | 12    | ...                        |
| Victoria Park ...                   | 3.15  | ...Morris and Mrs. Taylor. |
| Stone Bridge Common, Haggerston.    | 8     | ...Davis.                  |
| Triangle, Hackney Road              | 7     | ...Parker.                 |
| Lea Bridge Road ...                 | 6.30  | ...Lane & Charles.         |
| "Salmon and Ball" ...               | 7     | ...                        |
| Stamford Hill ...                   | 7.30  | ...The Branch.             |
| Broadway, Plaistow ...              | 7.30  | ...Mainwaring.             |

### MONDAY.

- Near Bow Church ... 8.30... \_\_\_\_\_

### TUESDAY.

- Southgate Grove, Southgate Road. 8.30... \_\_\_\_\_
- Mile-end Waste ... 8.30... Fuller & Davis.
- Shacklewell Lane, Kingsland 8.30... Lane & Charles.

### WEDNESDAY.

- Broadway, London Fields 8.30... Fuller & Cores.
- Broadway, South Hackney 8.30... Mainwaring & Chs.
- Charlotte St., Gt. Eastern St. 8.30... Lane & Ackland.

### THURSDAY.

- Packington St., Essex Road 8.30... Cores & Davis.
- Philpot St., Commercial Rd. 8.30... Mainwaring.
- Clapton Pond, Clapton Road 8.30... \_\_\_\_\_

### FRIDAY.

- Tottenham Rd, Kingsland Rd 8.30... Mainwaring
- Union St., Commercial Road 8.30... Lane & Charles.

### SATURDAY.

- Mile-end Waste ... 8 ... Parker & Davis.
- Ashgrove, Mare St, Hackney 8 ... Mainwaring & Chs.
- "Weavers' Arms," Stoke Newington. 8 ... Stamford Branch

### PROVINCES.

- Aberdeen.**—Castle Street, Saturday 16th, at 8, Glasier and Leatham. Duthie Park, Waterside Gate—Glasier, at 3.
- Leeds.**—Sunday: Hunslet Moor, at 11 a.m.; Vicar's Croft, at 7 p.m.
- Leicester.**—Sunday: Russel Square, at 11 a.m.
- Norwich.**—Monday: Thorpe Village, at 8. Thursday: Yarmouth, opposite Town Hall, at 8 p.m. Friday: St Catharine's Plain, at 8 p.m. Sunday: Bishop Bridge at 11.30; Crostwick, at 3.30; Market Place, at 3 and 7.30. Wymondham, every alternate Sunday, at 11.
- West Bromwich.**—Near the Fountain, every Sunday morning at 11.15.
- Smethwick.**—Near Spon Lane, every Sunday morning at 12.

**WOOLWICH.**—Arsenal Gates (open air), Sunday June 17, at 6.30 p.m., John Burns. 24th, Jas. Macdonald. July 1, Fred Verinder. 8th, Rev. S. D. Headlam.

**WEST MARYLEBONE WORKING MEN'S CLUB,** 123a Church Street, Edgware Road, W.—On Monday June 18, at 8.30, Rev. S. D. Headlam, will lecture on "Christian Socialism."

**EXCURSION OF LONDON SOCIALISTS.**—A Committee has been formed for the purpose of arranging an excursion to take place in August. All Socialist bodies have been united to take part therein, and a meeting of delegates will be held on Saturday evening in Hall of Socialist League at 8 p.m.—W. P. PARKER, Sec.

**NEW BRANCH PREMISES FUND (CLERKENWELL).**—There are still outstanding Tickets, will those Secretaries who hold these kindly make their returns on or before June 20th? Already acknowledged, 10s. 9d. Received since, Communist Club, 3s.—J. TURNER, R. TURNER, J. FLOCKTON, W. BLUNDELL, Entertainment Committee, 13 Farringdon Rd., E.C.

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

## No Compensation!

MEETING AT LONDON FIELDS ON SATURDAY JUNE 16, AT 6 P.M.

The Socialist League will have a platform at this meeting, from which speeches will be delivered by Morris, Parker, Mainwaring, Lane, and several others, and the help of all comrades in the district is specially requested to aid in the distribution of leaflets, sale of *Weal*, and generally in making this meeting a success.

### A

## DRAMATIC ENTERTAINMENT & BALL

in aid of the

East-end Propaganda Fund

will be given at

THE INTERNATIONAL CLUB,

23 PRINCES SQUARE, CABLE STREET, E.,

ON SUNDAY FIRST, JUNE 17th, at 8 p.m.

Admission by Programme, 6d.

### —o—

"NUPKINS AWAKENED" will be played, and several songs will be given by various comrades. Programmes from secretary Socialist League, 13 Farringdon Road, and Berner Street and Princes Square Clubs.

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# THE COMMONWEAL

## The Official Journal of the SOCIALIST LEAGUE.

Vol. 4.—No. 128.

SATURDAY, JUNE 23, 1888.

WEEKLY: ONE PENNY.

### NOTES ON NEWS.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

### JOHN HAMDEN.

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



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

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

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

a more bracing air for honest men to dwell in. Hard indeed is it for us to understand the despair which must have seized on the Englishmen of 1643 to drive them to such a frightful change of scene as the contrast between the old and the new houses of the great Puritan exodus. We only hesitate about making a revolution to-day because we debate as to what kind of one to make. We have got quite careless of sudden changes in themselves, they have been so frequent. But in 1643 the idea of striking against the very existence of high-handed oppressive government was something to appal the bravest. The bulk of the people would fall away from such an advocate as from some hideous leper. To their minds there was no precedent, they shrank as men always shrink from the unknown. It was only the enthusiastic students like Hampden who were cheered by the bright examples of other ages and other lands, and even they despaired of inoculating the bulk of the people with their faith and courage. It was necessary to wait for opportunity and to use rusty weapons. To talk the jargon of English lawyers and to pretend submission to English institutions was one of the cruel conditions imposed on the brave champions of English emancipation.

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

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

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

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

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

PENTONVILLE PRISON.

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

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

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

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

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

FOR THE PEOPLE.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

JAMES JEFFREY SPENCE.

(Reprinted from 'The Household Library of Irish Poets,' New York, 1867.)

RENT REDUCTIONS IN KERRY.

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

METROPOLITAN PAUPERISM.

	Indoor.	Outdoor.	Total.
1st week of June, 1888 ...	55,374	37,612	92,986
" " 1887 ...	54,541	36,630	91,171
" " 1886 ...	52,620	36,459	89,079
" " 1835 ...	51,696	34,061	85,757

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

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

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



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

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

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

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

**Subscriptions.—For Europe and United States, including postage, per year, 6s. six months, 3s.; three months, 1s. 6d.**

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

**CONTRIBUTIONS received—Unsuitable: J. D. (Crieff); R. T. (A Worker's Dream). Will be used: T. P. (Leeds).**

**O. B. M.—Chas. Nordhoff, author of 'The Communistic Societies of the United States,' is, we believe, still alive, and the special Washington correspondent of the New York Herald. J. H. Noyes died in 1886.**

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

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

## COUNTING NOSES.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

WILLIAM MORRIS.

## PIECE-WORK.

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

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



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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

RAYMOND UNWIN.

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

## THE LABOUR STRUGGLE

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

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

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

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

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

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

**NUT AND BOLT MAKERS.**—Through the selfish, sneaking behaviour of large numbers of the men in this trade, who as the secretary said at Darlaston last Thursday, "have been anything but true to the cause, and anything but loyal to the association," a reduction amounting to 10 per cent. has had to be submitted to. Some of the employers have been paying the 1881 list less 5 per cent., during the past month, but through the want of unity on the part of the men this was not made general, and so not only have notices been posted to return to the reduced rates, but a further 5 per cent. reduction is the consequence.

**TYNESIDE SHIPBUILDERS.**—A deputation of boilermakers attended a meeting on Monday of Tyne shipbuilders to state their claims for an advance of 10 per cent. all round. The number of men affected is 7,000. After discussing the matter, a compromise was arranged, the men's representatives agreeing to accept an advance of 5 per cent. on piecework and 1s. 6d. a-week time wages. A strike has thus been averted. No settlement has yet been arrived at with the engineers, who are still on strike. The joiners in the Tyne shipyards have accepted an advance of 1s. a-week in their wages, to commence immediately, with 6d. more per week to commence the first pay-day in August. Their original demand was 2s. per week advance.

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

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

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

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

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

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

—*Labour Tribune*.

## INTERNATIONAL NOTES.

### ITALY.

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

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

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

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

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

### BELGIUM.

The clerical government has at last released from prison, after twenty-two months of jail, twelve of our comrades sentenced on account of the miners' riots to long years of solitary confinement. Comrade Falleur has nevertheless been obliged to accept leaving Belgium altogether, although banishment has been abolished by the constituents of 1830 and has never since been replaced on the statute books. Comrade Wagner, of Liege, has been compelled to accept his location in another town, his stay at Liege having been prohibited. This scandalous way of "amnestying" people by inflicting on them a new kind of punishment is likely to come into general practice if our comrades do not at once raise an energetic protest. Why do our friends not insist upon having all the other convicts liberated, instead of running candidates for Parliament at a great outlay of cost and energy? One more man out of jail would be better to Socialism than a dozen or two sent to that rambler's Parliament where Bismark governs and reigns supreme. V. D.

### GERMANY.

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

REVOLUTIONARY CALENDAR.

WEEK ENDING JUNE 30, 1888.

24	Sun.	1535. Münster re-taken by the Prince-Bishop. 1797. Thomas Williams tried for publishing Paine's <i>Age of Reason</i> . 1799: Wm. Byrne tried for rebellion and murder. 1848. Cavaignac dictator of Paris.
25	Mon.	1836. Louis Alibaud fired at Louis Philippe. 1848. Archbishop of Paris killed. 1864. Hugo's <i>Les Misérables</i> added to the <i>Index Expurgatorius</i> . 1884. Trial ends of 36 Socialists at Grätz.
26	Tues.	1800. James Hadfield tried for high treason. 1848. Workmen's Revolt suppressed in Paris. 1870. Armand Barbès died. 1881. Edmond Beales died.
27	Wed.	1881. Most sentenced in Court of Crown Cases Reserved to 16 months' hard labour. 1876. Harriet Martineau died.
28	Thur.	1712. Rousseau born.
29	Fri.	1688. Seven bishops acquitted. 1798. Leopardi born. 1849. Baden rising suppressed.
30	Sat.	1637. Prynne, Bastwick, and Burton pilloried, cropped, and branded. 1794. Rev. W. Jackson tried for high treason. 1797. Parker (Nore mutineer) hanged. 1837. Pillories abolished. 1855. J. Silk Buckingham died.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

1818 commenced the *Calcutta Journal*. His censure of some scandalous government abuses, led to the suppression of the paper and his expulsion from Calcutta. For this arbitrary and illegal conduct, he after many years of litigation compelled compensation from the East India Company. In 1824 he founded the *Oriental Review*; in 1827 he started a weekly journal of politics and literature, which lived about two years. In 1823 he started the *Athenaeum*, but parted with his interest very soon to Carlyle's friend, John Stirling. He then issued the prospectus of the *Argus*, but the prospectus was the only issue. In 1832 he was elected to the reformed Parliament as M.P. for Sheffield, and sat till 1837. While there he advocated advanced reforms. Strongly against flogging in army and navy; urged necessity of more attention to life-saving apparatus at sea; paid great attention to the temperance question. Brought in "a bill to facilitate the formation of public institutions for education, entertainment, public libraries, and museums," really discounting the quite new idea of palaces of delight now on the "boom." Strongly urged improved dwellings and model towns. Wonder how many readers of this have read his book on this topic?—copy in the League library. On dissolution of Parliament, 1837, started for a tour in America, which lasted some four years. 1847-8, travelled Europe. In 1851, was granted pension of £200 for his literary works and travels. Somewhat wordy as a writer, earnest, and well meaning; able and fluent speaker. Died at Avenue Road, St. John's Wood, June 30, 1855.—T. S.

THE SOCIALIST LEAGUE AND THE BOARD OF WORKS.

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

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

CORRESPONDENCE.

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

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

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

W. MITCHELL

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

THE SOCIALIST LEAGUE.

OFFICES: 13 FARRINGTON ROAD, E.C.

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

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

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

REPORTS.

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



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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

#### EAST-END PROPAGANDA.

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

#### LABOUR UNION.

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

#### LECTURE DIARY.

##### LONDON.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

##### PROVINCES.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

#### OPEN-AIR PROPAGANDA.

##### SUNDAY 24.

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

##### Tuesday.

8.30... Fulham—opposite Liberal Club ... The Branch

##### Friday.

8 ... Euston Rd.—Ossulton Street ..... Parker  
8.30... Hoxton Ch, Pitfield St... Ackland, Pope, Barker

##### EAST END.

##### SUNDAY 24.

Mile-end Waste ... 11 ... Cores.  
"Salmon and Ball" ... 11 ... Debate between Davis  
and local clergyman,  
Socialism & Temperance  
Leman Street, Shadwell 11 ... Parker.  
Gibraltar Walk, Bethnal 7 ... Cores & Davis.  
Green Road.

Well Street, Hackney... 11.45... Mainwaring.  
Kingsland Green ... 11.30... Lane & Charles.  
Victoria Park ... 3.15... Demonstration.  
Stone Bridge Common, 9 ... Cores & Davis.  
Haggerston.  
Triangle, Hackney Road 8 ... Cores & Davis.  
Lea Bridge Road ... 11 ... Cooper.  
Stamford Hill ... 7.30... Nicoll & Mnwaring  
Broadway, Plaistow ... 7.30... Parker.

##### TUESDAY.

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

##### WEDNESDAY.

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

##### THURSDAY.

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

##### FRIDAY.

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

##### SATURDAY.

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

##### PROVINCES.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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# THE COMMONWEAL

## The Official Journal of the SOCIALIST LEAGUE.

VOL. 4.—No. 129.

SATURDAY, JUNE 30, 1888.

WEEKLY; ONE PENNY.

### NOTES ON NEWS.

THE defeat of the Government over the police-managing clauses was not a great matter in itself, as it might have been if the whole bill was anything else but a sham; neither is it by itself of much moment in the game of Ins and Outs: but taken with other matters it becomes a sign that the pendulum is swinging again towards the Gladstonian section of the Whigs.

Those gentlemen have a special opportunity now afforded them by the confirmation of the ferocious sentence on Mr. Dillon. They have been raising a great outcry on the illegality of this sentence. That would be a matter of importance if law were what it professes to be, a protection to peaceable citizens against violence and wrong-doing; but since it is in fact nothing but a machine for the support of the privilege of successful persons, the legality or illegality of an act of the executive is by itself not worth considering, since an executive which cannot find law enough to put down any act of rebellion is not worth its salt. If the force at its command is overwhelming, its acts will in any case be legal; if there is a general feeling that its acts are illegal, that means that its power is wavering. Mr. Dillon is in prison because he is an enemy of the Government, and, whether he is conscious of it or not, of the "rights of property." Harrison is in prison for exactly the same reason. It has always been the custom for persons in authority to suppress their enemies when they dared: but when their enemies are the friends of society, it is in the long run bad for the suppressors.

However, if the Gladstonian Whigs feel this affair so sorely, what are they going to do? They have done what the *Daily News* calls "a very wise and very bold thing"; to wit, moved a vote of censure on the Government, which they knew beforehand they could not carry. This may be wise; though its wisdom is obscure to a simple person. As to its boldness, the said simple person wonders where that is hidden; its consequences do not seem of a nature to make even a newborn hare tremble.

A bolder course than that is conceivable and can be stated, though even this does not threaten the life, the limb, or even the next day's dinner of the champions engaging in it. If ever there was a case for abstention, here is one. Let the whole Gladstonian and Irish party walk out of the House after the due overwhelming majority has been recorded for the Government, and not come back again till at least the Coercion Act was repealed; leaving the Government and its friends to do the best they could without an opposition to help them in playing the game. If the Gladstonians are not bold enough for this, at least the Irish members might strike such a stroke; if they dared or could do so it probably would be enough, and Irish coercion would be laid aside, till a Liberal government found it useful, if indeed it were ever possible after such an act.

But it goes without saying that nothing of the sort will be tried. The Irish party are bound hand and foot to the great Liberal ditto, like the living to the dead in the old story. And as for the Liberals, they are only too conscious of their reason for existence as a party. Their business is to keep the game going steadily, and not to do anything to interrupt, far less put an end to it. Abstention would look like favouring revolution; it would have to be explained to the constituencies, and it could not be explained away; and explaining away is the great "art and craft" of success in the game of Ins and Outs, of official success. Such a success as attaining to the end you profess (to your constituents) by the shortest road, being a thing by no means desired by the Liberal side of the game at any rate.

Meantime Mr. Dillon is in prison, and his strictly political friends don't seem in a hurry to get him out of it. It is a comfort to think that he himself must have known this all along and understanding his allies, has gone into the trap with his eyes open, knowing well that his imprisonment would further the cause he is striving for. All honour to him for that.

The proclamations of the Kaiser William II. to the Army and Navy and to the Prussian People may be considered by some as mere pieces of conventional official fustian; but they mean more than this both in what they say and what they refrain from saying; thoughtful persons scarcely need to read between their lines. Reaction of the coarsest kind is what they announce. It is possible that this will be less injurious to the cause of the people than the steady respectable bourgeois dead weight of inaction which would have been what the late Kaiser would have tried for, probably unsuccessfully as against the more open reactionists.

The proposal of the Rifle-shooting Association—or whatever it calls itself—to destroy Richmond Park for the benefit of its annual picnic, fair, and prize shooting match, would be a piece of impudence almost incredible if one did not remember the lazy and thoughtless stupidity of the public. There is any amount of space on the sandy wastes south of London—e.g., about Woking—of no use for any other purpose, since nothing will grow on these places and they are too hideous to be "spoilt" by anything short of iron-puddling. They would seem to be providentially ordained for the requirements of modern sham-soldiering; and yet there are persons seriously taking into consideration the proposed ruin of one of the few solacements of our beastly muck-heap of a London! Really, the horrors of war are on us already.

Note that our friend the *Star* has the fatuity to favour this cruel injury to the democracy. I fear the reason why is clear—to wit, that it is a chance of attack against the Duke of Cambridge, and royalty through him, too good to be thrown away. "Is it worth the wear and tear?" There are so many occasions for the display of this kind of revolutionary fervour, that surely we need not cut the nose off our face to spite the face and make an occasion. See how foolish party spirit makes us! Surely we can despise the preposterous old martinet without destroying what in a fashion is our own, without handing it over to a private company to make money of.

Mr. Balfour gave an explanation the other day (probably untrue) of the circumstances of the imprisonment of Shane O'Donnell, imprisoned for refusing to give evidence against his fellow resisters to tyranny, and who was said to have fainted on the way between jail and court. In the course of this explanation, Mr. Balfour said that he could scarcely be called an old man as he was only 64. Pray, is Shane O'Donnell a working man? I ask this, since I have seen field-labourers in England who were old men at 50 and very old men at 64—if they managed to live so long as that.

The Sweating Commission has been receiving evidence of a different character to some that it had received before. Mr. Lionel B. Alexander has tendered it what the press calls "rebutting evidence." But his evidence was in the main a defence of the Jewish workmen against the attacks of Mr. Arnold White, and a calling attention to the fact that the last link in the chain of sweating, the poor sweater, is not the criminal in the case, but the employer of the said sweater, who is himself sweated to the bone. As to his defence of sweating, it amounted to little more than his perception of the necessity for it in some form or other as long as competition under privilege exists. Cheapness at any cost he sees is necessary to our system of manufacture, and he does not see his way to limit it—nor will the Commission.

The position has often been stated, but one may be allowed to state it again. Wage-slaves like other slaves can only consume slave wares; but our wage-slaves are so numerous that the production and sale of slave-wares is an important branch of commerce, and any check to it would lead to a great number of the poorest labourers being unemployed; for none but those who are driven down by competition to the lowest point can be used for producing wares cheap enough for this shameful market, and these must take any wages that will keep them alive.

Moreover since this mass of cheap labour necessary for the produc-

tion of slave-ware is offered in the market, and there is still an excess of it, which is used for the production of articles of comfort and luxury consumed by the richer classes, who thus add to the income derived from their profit on slave-ware by getting the wares they need at a price below the average.

It is an old, old story; the poor always punished for poverty. Those that have shall receive more abundantly, and those that have not it shall be taken from them even that which they have. Can a royal commission alter this? If so, how? Yet it will be altered, and probably Mr. Arnold White will not like either the alteration or the method of it.

Mr. Blundell Maple's "evidence" was a curious business. If the report of it may be trusted, he bullied the commissioners and threatened all his enemies in a way that only a very rich man dares to do. He also (like a good business man) did not miss the opportunity of puffing his firm gloriously; and painted his own portrait, so to say, as the true friend of the working-classes—even to the extent of working his sewing-machines by a gas-engine for their exclusive benefit; and increasing his turn-over by thousands of pounds for the same disinterested purpose.

But even if Mr. Maple were an angel of light, and had absolutely no other aim in doing business than the welfare of his employes, he could by no possibility succeed in that aim. His gas-engine would benefit him and not the luckless sempstresses thrown out of work by it. He must use his enormous army of employes for producing wares at a cheaper rate than his competitors, or else his huge business, of which he gave such glowing account before my lords, would land him in bankruptcy and put an end to his career of usefulness. As long as he is engaged in making profits out of other men's labour, he is simply a helpless unit of a class, whose enemy is the class which it employs, and which employed class is engaged on its part in working for and fighting against the employing class.

The announcement of Court mourning consequent on the death of Kaiser No. 2 drew from the morning papers a regret for the state of business among the shopkeepers of London, and a further regret that it was absolutely necessary to make this worse by a period of Court mourning, which it was thought would certainly be the case. And indeed it seems that business is bad enough and that it is not the most advisable time for a person to die who must be mourned for publicly. I was told, for instance, by a person who knew the fact, that at a large optician's shop in London, conducted with all the usual pomp of manager, partners, and the rest of it, the whole take for one day a week ago was eighteen pence!

But here is a curious piece of folly, or rather two pieces, or indeed masses of folly: in the first place that the "employment," i.e., the livelihood of a huge number of deft, ingenious and industrious men, depends on the whim of certain idlers, and their empty inclination (scarcely to be called a desire) for such and such frivolities and luxuries; and in the second that when it is loudly declared by the rich that their luxuries and frivolities are a blessing to the poor, they nevertheless are quite prepared to interrupt the flow of such blessing by any little piece of official superstition connected with the Court; the very existence for which humbug and centre of corruption is often defended on the grounds that it is good for trade. Those that think so should try to get royal personages who are immortal—or as some would prefer, carve them out of lime-tree wood and paint and gild them duly. Such articles have been known to last for centuries. W. M.

## STRIKING SUPERSEDED.

The late strike of the Leeds Jewish tailors, which to outsiders seemed a defeat, is destined to be a complete success. What could not be gained by means of a strike has been accomplished through the medium of a co-operative workshop, and the action of a dozen men, in finding out how to work without the middleman, has done more to terrify the employers than all that the whole body of workmen had previously accomplished.

The middlemen, through the loss of the Whitsuntide trade, must have lost, as a body, several thousand pounds. They were prepared to lose this, however, rather than forego their opposition to the demands of the men, and as a consequence the hands were driven by necessity back into the workshops on the old terms. Smarting under the defeat, the idea of a co-operative workshop (which had previously been discussed) was revived, and a shop taken, tables, machines, etc., purchased, and every preparation made for at once commencing operations. At this stage it was suddenly discovered that the employing middlemen were violently in love with the workpeople. With the help of a party of four, who, unauthorised by the men, took upon themselves the responsibility of going as a deputation to the masters, a meeting was arranged for to take place at the Gower Street Board School, where the masters were willing to concede the points at issue, on one condition—that the co-operative undertaking should be abandoned. What was more, they (the employers) were desirous of joining the men's trade society, "working hand and hand with them," and helping it both by money and personal help. Somehow this glorious, and, by the way,

startling idea, was not snapped up by the men as readily as was expected, and precautions were taken to go to the masters' meeting in a body. It was expected that Kemmelhor would not be admitted, and it was arranged that if this were so, the society's banner should be turned round as a signal for the men to proceed no further. This was what happened. Kemmelhor was stopped by the police, and the men followed the banner to a piece of waste land called by the euphonious name of the "midden," where a platform was arranged, and speeches delivered by Maguire, Kemmelhor, Paylor, Hill, and Cohen. The middlemen sweaters, deprived of the presence of the "hands" they wanted to love so well, held a meeting composed of a sprinkling of slipper-makers, drawn thither by curiosity, and the previously mentioned four. The composition of this party of four is a rather peculiar one. Two of them—Korn and Balsam—proved themselves scabs during the strike, another of them—Lewis Rosenberg—is a nondescript, and the fourth—Sweeny—is a shoemaker, who previous to this was always credited with more sense. No resolutions were passed—as there wasn't audience to pass a good-sized resolution—and then some of the middlemen who had walked down to the meeting to benefit—be it borne in mind—the men, actually went home in cabs, fearful lest any workmen—who couldn't see these things as masters see them—should punch their benefactors' heads. Such is the perversion of a "sweater's" intellect! The "four" have had a bad time of it since, one or two having to be escorted to and from work by the police, to the music of a hissing crowd.

The right nail has been struck on the head, I believe, in this co-operative idea, and if, as there is every reason to believe, we can make a success of this, there will be no resting until every sweater is driven back to his original avocation of tinkering, glazing, organ-grinding, etc. The shop is one of the brightest and cleanest in the town, and there is no fear of a visit from the factory inspector. Work is being obtained plentifully, and we hope this week to see it thoroughly busy. In only one direction has there been a drawback. Singer and Co. would not let us have machines without some very stringent restrictions, and the idea is freely entertained that the employers brought pressure to bear upon them. We hope our London comrades will notice this, especially the tailoring portion of them. Machines were eventually got elsewhere, and Singers dispensed with.

I hope ere long to be able to chronicle the opening of another workshop. T. W. P.

## INTERNATIONAL NOTES.

### ITALY.

MODENA.—The Court of Appeal at Modena has confirmed the condemnation of several men who took part in a strike at Finale Emilia two years ago, and they are now, after all this time, sentenced to several months' imprisonment! This is a specimen of the "law's delay," with a vengeance!

LIVORNO.—The *Messaggero* has it seems, relative to the elections of Livorno, called upon the Socialists not to vote for Amilcare Cipriani, as their votes are necessary to ensure the election of the Democratic candidate as against the two Moderates. We seem to have heard of these sorts of appeals to Socialists in England, and not very long since. If Socialists are to meddle with politics at all, they have surely a right to vote for their own chosen candidate without exciting the wrath of Liberal or Radical prints for not supporting any one the latter choose to put up. These querulous complaints are ludicrously unreasonable.

RIMINI.—In a recent sitting of the Municipal Council here, eight of the councillors voted against the proposed sum to be expended by the town on the expected visit of the King and Queen to Romagna. The Democratic and Socialist part of the town express their lively indignation at such waste of money in times of distress like the present.

Odescalchi, honourable member of the Italian Chamber of Deputies, declared himself to be a Socialist the other day during a sitting, but was not, said he, one of those who wish to "transform Society by means of dynamite, but of those who wished the State to put forth a helping hand to all co-operative societies." This is a touching confession of faith from the honourable member's lips, condensing in a few sentences a wonderful ignorance of the doings and aspirations of true Socialists, and an equally wonderful belief in the power for good innate both in "The State" and in Co-operative Societies.

A considerable number of working-men's and mechanic's societies and associations have issued an abstentionist manifesto, addressed to the "electors of Rome," in which they express their determination to abstain from voting at the present elections, and their views on the uselessness of the administrative vote as at present constituted. M. M.

Carlo Cafiero will in a short time leave the asylum of Imola, cured, with the exception of a slight melancholy. He was one of the foremost Italian Communist-Anarchists, and the endless prosecutions and imprisonments ruined him for a while. He took part in the revolt of Benevent, when in 1877 he and a small band went to several villages and initiated the revolt of the peasants against their exploiters, tax-collectors, etc. The rough climate and other unfavourable conditions forced them to surrender, and after more than a year they were acquitted by the jury. When in 1882 the franchise was given to larger numbers of workers and they commenced the farce of returning Socialists to parliament in that country too, thus spoiling the hitherto revolutionary movement, Cafiero misled by others, and certainly already mentally disturbed, pronounced himself in favour of this policy. If he now is able to again enter the ranks, he will see what became of his former friends Costa, Brousse, etc., very types of renegades.

On July 1st, "*Spartacus*, organ of the white slaves," Anarchist, will make its first appearance at Genoa.

### FRANCE.

On June 20 the first number of a new daily Socialist paper *L'Homme Libre* (the free man) was published at Paris, edited by Edouard Vaillant, of the Blanquist school of Socialists. Three daily papers are now competing, viz., the old *Cri du Peuple*, which has deserted the workers' cause and gone over



to the Boulangists. One of the most rabid Boulangist organs is published at the same place and, it is said, written by nearly the same writers, so the *Cri* will have to disappear, and its successor may be either the *Parti Ouvrier*, the Possibilist organ, or *L'Homme Libre*, the Blanquist paper.

*L'Idee Ouvrière* of Havre has stopped its publication from want of funds—a valiant Anarchist paper the less.

*L'Attaque, Organe Socialiste Révolutionnaire de la Tennesse*, will be published from June 20th weekly (at Paris).

Louise Michel has published a volume of poems ('A travers la Vie,' Paris, 1888).

The wife of our comrade Duval, transported last year to French Guiana wanted to join him, but is not allowed by the Government to proceed thither. They sent her a letter of refusal telling besides that Duval has already undergone "a certain number of disciplinary punishments for very serious offences." Thus it is evident that the government who dare not execute a revolutionist in France, have resorted to killing them abroad, as they have already done in the cases of Cyvoet of Lyons, and Gallo of Paris.

#### HOLLAND.

A translation of Bakounine's 'God and the State,' has been published as No. 1 of the *Radikale Bibliothek* (Amsterdam, Fortnign); it is high time that a cheap English edition of this book be published, which ought to be more read and spread than it is.

#### SPAIN AND PORTUGAL.

Since the discontinuation of *La Bandera Social*, Madrid has been without a revolutionary paper, the *Socialista*, merely being an organ of Social Democrats. Now the apparition of *La Bandera Roja* (weekly, edited by Ernesto Alvarez) is announced to take place this month.

Pinto who shot the bourgeois journalist Chagas (see *Commonweal*, March) has been sentenced to 18 months prison and 3000 francs fine. The advocates who had to defend him, *pro forma ex officio*, unanimously refused to do so.

*A Revolução Social*, published at Porto, will reappear at Lisbon.

#### RUSSIA.

Most readers will remember the execution of the Russian inspector of police, Sudjeikin, at St. Petersburg (1883) by his own spy Degazeff, and several others. Last year, in May, 21 Socialists (one of whom turned out a traitor) went through the farce of a trial, and it is not until now that a trustworthy report of it reached their exiled comrades, who have just published it in a small pamphlet (Geneva, 1888, price 1 fr.). From copious extracts of it which have been translated we take the following:—"The scoundrel Sudjeikin was possessed of exorbitant ambition, he wanted to become the person of chief influence with the Czar; and the imprisonment, nay, the murder of hundreds and thousands of Socialists was to have paved his way to the very heart of that man who, as he well knew, likes nothing better than hecatombs of the best men and women of his country. We are sorry to state that he was able to enter by intermediary spies into relations with revolutionists; he is said, in the translations to which we referred (*Social Demokrat* and *Gleichheit*), to have supplied large sums of money for revolutionary propaganda, and it seems that only his immense vanity and conceit saved still greater losses to the party, for he wanted to let the minister Tolstoi, Count Pleve, and the grand-duke Wladimir be killed successively by Socialists, and when these rivals were removed and the Czar, always a coward, frightened to madness, he would step in as the man of the situation, arrest and execute all, and get his filthy reward for it. Happily enough, Sudjeikin, from whom by the way Puttkammer has still much to learn, overstrained the bow; he wanted to kidnap refugees from western countries, and Degazeff, until then his spy, appears to have had some conscience left, an almost unique case; in short, having confessed his relations to the police and being given the alternative to kill Sudjeikin and then to disappear for ever or to be killed, he and others killed that man, with whom much of information which he had kept to himself was fortunately buried. Starodvorsky and others were tried in May, 1887, for the charge of being connected with this murder, after being kept for three years in preliminary solitary imprisonment in the damp dungeon cellars. One moved on crutches, unable to walk from scurvy and necrosis; another was nearly blind; several had become consumptive, and all were ruined for life." From the words of the Crown prosecutor let us quote: "The mere fact of belonging to the revolutionary party is punished by death by the Russian law. I need not speak against Lopatin by his past alone, he has already deserved death; Miss Salova deserved death as the secretary of Lopatin. Suchovnin must go to the gallows, since in all these three years he betrayed none of his accomplices. As to Jakubovich, he too must be sentenced to death, for though he was against Terrorism I believe that if not arrested he would have developed into a Terrorist." Hermann Lopatin is one of the best known Russian Socialists, escaped several times even from Siberia, but was arrested in 1884, when he unfortunately had with him several important addresses which led to further arrests. He was seized and pulled down from behind, and did not succeed in swallowing the important papers, but was half strangled and cruelly ill-treated; he was then sick for eight months, and is always most bitterly reproaching himself for his incautiousness. He made an impressive speech at the trial, asking at death's door the pardon of his comrades for his involuntary fault, and sank down overwhelmed by tears, and nearly all his friends wept too. As to the particulars of the "crimes" with which they were charged, it is not worth while to enumerate them, for even in coerced Ireland nearly none of them has ever been thought of as a "crime"; 13 were sentenced to death, amongst whom were Lopatin, Starodvorsky, Konashevich, Ivanov, Antonow, Miss Salova, and Dobruskina; but the Czar preferred the dry guillotine of the dungeon-holes of Schluessburg, and "pardoned" them to lifelong imprisonment! And there they are now, whilst the Czar revels at St. Petersburg!

The second number of the "*Samopravlenie* (Self-Government), organ of the revolutionary Socialists in Russia," has been published in May (48 pp., in 4to); it is a secret paper, and said to be printed in Russia itself. So we see that in spite of many hundreds being taken year after year out of the ranks of the Russian Socialists by the ruthless persecutions, they are struggling on as devotedly as ever. We wish them success.

#### AMERICA.

Those who still believe in politicians if they only, in front of working-men's audiences, say that the social question is a "very important one" and that they are "Socialists too," ought to look on the recent history of Henry

George as a warning for them in this country. This man's merits consisted in putting together some arguments, none of which was new, against the present land system; the positive part of his programme, the proposed scheme of reform of taxes, is of no value, and has been scores of times refuted by Socialists. Notwithstanding this at the New York Mayoral election of 1886 the Socialist party worked hard for him, and he polled nearly 80,000 votes. At that moment the workers had gained him a world-wide reputation, and this being done he did not want them any more, his aim being a prominent place in the bourgeois parties. So he last year severed every connection with the Socialistic Labour Party, denounced Socialism over and over again, and to make himself quite respectable he, like Powderly, the other large scale humbug in the American movement, pronounced himself openly in favour of the murder of the Chicago Anarchists. A short time ago he travelled to Washington, evidently to sell himself there to the Democrats, and on returning wanted the amalgamation of his party, the "United Labour Party," with the Democratic party. This was too much even for his own party. A committee of investigation was appointed, and on May 28th the following resolution was carried unanimously:—"Resolved that the conduct of Henry George as a member of the United Labour Party is unmanly, and in contradiction with the actions of honest men, and that his acts are those of a traitor. Since we do not want him to be regarded any longer as a member of our party, we hereby declare him expelled therefrom." Thus the last link between Henry George and the workers is separated; he is a typical example of the way working-men's alleged friends go once they enter into the rotten atmosphere of political struggle. \* \*

## THE REIGN OF LABOUR.

(Words for Schubert's air, "Was ist Sylvia?")

### I.

Who is Labour, what is she,  
That all our hearts acclaim her?  
She shall reign and make us free,  
Though fools and rogues would shame her;  
Who so well our queen could be?

### II.

Is not Labour Beauty's foe,  
Earth's fairness rudely soiling?  
Nay, what loveliness should flow  
From forced and gainless toiling?  
Give her hope, and ye shall know.

### III.

Then of Labour let us sing,  
That she alone shall rule us;  
Priestly knave and brutal king,  
They did but rob and fool us;  
Lo! their yokes from us we fling!

C. W. BECKETT.

## IN AND OUT OF OFFICE.

LORD SALISBURY: NEWPORT,  
October, 7, 1885.

MR. BALFOUR'S AGENTS: CORK,  
June 19, 1888.

Not very long ago a man who was boycotted walked into a Roman Catholic church, when every one of the rest of the congregation got up and left the church. What is the use of Acts of Parliament against a system of that kind? You cannot indict people because they do not go to church, or because they leave church.

The police escorted Norah Fitzmaurice to Lixnaw chapel. As soon as they had taken their seats, Dowling left the building, signalling to the congregation to follow him. Sullivan followed Dowling, and beckoned to the people to leave the chapel. The defendants were sent to hard labour for six months.

Socialism approves of the tendency of the times to swallow up smaller concerns into larger, and to develop these latter into limited companies, as teaching the people, the workers, their foremen and superintendents, the principles and practice of co-operation, so that when the proper time comes, and limitless competition in making goods to sell has brought down the profits of every concern to zero, the system of interest-mongering will fall by its own inability to continue. Then the new era will begin, we know not how soon, of producing goods not for the purpose of selling at a profit, but for the purpose of using them. Then rent and interest will be abolished, universal co-operation in producing things useful to the community will become obligatory upon all, rich and poor; town and country will be divided up into small municipalities or communes of a manageable compass, each containing its complete circle of farms and artisans, sufficient to supply its separate community with food, clothes, and houses. Each commune will have its representatives in its own town or county municipality, and each municipality will again be represented in the great assembly of the nation. Two hours' work per day, when every one works to produce something useful, will be sufficient to supply a moderate competence, while in factories, mines, and roads, or other distasteful and laborious work, there will be two shifts daily, so arranged that all shall have three or four Sundays per week, instead of one or none as at present. So small an amount of useful labour is required from each when all able-bodied persons, or at least all able-bodied men, co-operate to that end, that each will have ample time to associate with others for the purpose of making such luxuries as may be to his taste, and I should judge that in this way the trade of pianoforte-making and art furniture will go on very much as at present, though as in those days there will be no servants, and each will take his or her turn of cooking at the communal restaurants, houses and rooms will necessarily be of as small and *bijou* dimensions as possible.—D. GOSLING in *Times of India*.



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

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

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

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C. D.—There have been several celebrated men of John Ball's name, among them two namesakes. One, a Puritan divine (1585-1640), of whom Richard Baxter says he deserved "as high esteem and honour as the best bishop in England"; and the other a Presbyterian minister (1665?-1745).

B. T.—'Plays for the People' (Bell and Sons, 1883), are by C. E. Maurice, author of 'English Popular Leaders in the Middle Ages,' but are very far from the level of the latter work.

*Periodicals received during the week ending Wednesday June 27.*

<b>ENGLAND</b> Bristol Evening News Justice Leaflet Newspaper Labour Tribune London—Freie Presse Norwich—Daylight Railway Review Telegraph Service Gazette Worker's Friend Woolwich Echo	<b>FRANCE</b> Paris—Cri du Peuple (daily) Le Parti Ouvrier Le Ca Ira La Revolte Lille—Le Travailleur	<b>GERMANY</b> Chicago—Labor Enquirer Chicago—Knights of Labor Buffalo—Arbeiter-Zeitung Detroit—Der Arme Teufel Fort Worth (Tex)—South West Coast Seamen's Journal	<b>ITALY</b> Liege—L'Avenir Rome—L'Emancipazione Marsala—La Nuova Eta Cremona—Il Democratico Florence—La Question Sociale
<b>INDIA</b> Bankipore—Behar Herald Madras—People's Friend	<b>HOLLAND</b> Hague—Recht voor Allen	<b>PORTUGAL</b> Lisbon—O Protesto Operario	<b>SWITZERLAND</b> Zurich—Sozial Demokrat Arbeiterstimme
<b>UNITED STATES</b> New York—Der Sozialist Volkszeitung	<b>SPAIN</b> El Productor Madrid—El Socialista	<b>AUSTRIA</b> Arbeiterstimme Wien—Gleichheit	

## THOUGHTS ON EDUCATION UNDER CAPITALISM.

THE other day I heard Mr. Charles Leland (better known as Hans Breitman) speak on the teaching of the "minor arts" (we wont trouble for the present as to what they are) and he told us he was engaged in carrying out a plan (in America) by which all children should be taught these arts and so gain an interest in handicrafts which he thought, and I heartily agree with him, would be a great gain to the art and consequently to the happiness of people generally. Mr. Leland said that he had been engaged in this work of educating children's hands for many years, and he expected success to follow his efforts, a success which would mean, if it were worth speaking of, that the interest in sound workmanship combined with beauty would become general, and that a demand for such work would follow and compel the manufacturers to get such work turned out.

But such success is impossible even supposing that hundreds of persons were following Mr. Charles Leland's laudable example. It would indeed be possible enough, nay it would be certain, if the capitalists the "manufacturers" were the servants of society as they sometimes profess to be; but who shall force such a prodigious change upon them as success even in such a minor matter as this would indicate, so long as they are the masters of society, which is their real position? For Mr. Leland's scheme means, if it were logically carried out, i.e., if it were successful, the substitution of handicraft for "manufacturing" in all the wares of which art or beauty forms a part and which admit of being done by handicraft, in short to take us back to the Middle Ages as far as these wares are concerned. But it is clear that the wares so produced will, if the labour on them is decently paid, cost so much more than the manufactured wares which they are intended to supplant, that only rich people with a whim for art will be able to buy them; they will not be produced in any great quantity, and if there should be a passing fashion for them, the "manufacturers" would immediately imitate them by machinery and "organised labour," and cheapen them out of existence; or indeed if the whim of rich people for the genuine article still went on, another process of cheapening would be resorted

to; wholesale dealers in such articles would exploit the unfortunate handicraftsmen (or women, whose cheap work would certainly be largely used for such wares). They would take advantage of the competition for the most miserable livelihood between people in dire necessity to produce "cheap art" for the swelling of their own purses; and if the thing grew it would be a favourite form of exploitation, as it would require little capital and little managerial capacity, and would have a dash of philanthropy and "practical remedy" about it, which would help to make such sweating an honourable as well as pleasant occupation. Cheap art indeed—and nasty! But in all probability the fashion for such articles would be limited and transitory, and all that would happen to the persons educated into a capacity for and a pleasure in refined handicraft would be that they would have to be used up in the mere mechanical drudgery of commercial production.

But it is not the matter of art that I wish to illustrate by the mention of this feeble attempt of Mr. Leland and others (for the kind of futility is common enough). It is rather the relation of our capitalistic system to general education. For just as the capitalists would at once capture this education in craftsmanship, suck out what little advantage there is in it and then throw it away, so they do with all other education. A superstition still remains from the times when "education" was a rarity that it is a means for earning a superior livelihood; but as soon as it has ceased to be a rarity, competition takes care that education shall not raise wages; that general education shall be worth nothing, and that special education shall be worth just no more than a tolerable return on the money and time spent in acquiring it; and, mind you, such special education must be very carefully directed towards the one aim of commercial success in the speciality, or it will miss, and be thrown into the mass of general education which earns nothing.

As to the pleasure to be derived from education at present by hard-working men, a bookish man is apt to think that even the almighty capitalist can hardly take that away from his slave if he has really learned to enjoy reading and to understand books, and that whatever happens he must have an hour in a day (or if it were only half an hour) to indulge himself in this pleasure. But then does the average hard-working man (of any grade) really acquire this capacity by means of the short period of education which he is painfully dragged through? I doubt it. Though even our mechanical school system cannot crush out a natural bent towards literature (with all the pleasures of thought and imagination which that word means) yet certainly its dull round will hardly implant such a taste in any one's mind; and as for the *caput mortuum*, the dead mass of mere information which the worker comes away with when his "education" is over, he will and must soon forget this when he finds out that it is of little use to him and gives him no pleasure.

I must say in passing that on the few occasions that I have been inside a Board-school, I have been much depressed by the mechanical drill that was too obviously being applied there to all the varying capacities and moods. My heart sank before Mr. McChoakumchild and his method, and I thought how much luckier I was to have been born well enough off to be sent to a school where I was taught—nothing; but learned archæology and romance on the Wiltshire downs.

And then supposing the worker to be really educated, to have acquired both the information and the taste for reading which Mr. McChoakum-child's dole will allow to him under the most favourable circumstances, how will this treasure of knowledge and sympathy accord with his daily life? Will it not make his dull task seem duller? Will it not increase the suffering of the workshop or the factory to him? And if so, must he not rather strive to forget than strive to remember? Will not nature force him to that? I cannot help thinking that as a rule it must be so, unless he has joined the ranks of the discontented; in which case he will gain something of pleasure from mere bitterness and railing if he is not a Socialist, and how much more than that some of our readers know well, if he is one.

Now if I am told that this is *à priori* reasoning, I am prepared to fortify it by my own observation. I have often been told by working-men (Socialist and others) that they cannot read books; are too tired with the day's work to do so, and the like. Also amongst my middle-class acquaintances, who believe that they work hard, I meet with men who clearly do not read books, and therefore, I suppose, cannot; and I move in each case in a circle that has decided literary tendencies. So that other person's experiences will, I am sure, lead them to conclusions on this point not more favourable than mine.

Then there is the enormous mass of printed paper which is not books or literature, but which the public pays for every day, since I suppose a faculty once acquired produces a habit and must be exercised, even when it is the mechanical one of reading print. The quality of this joint product of paper-maker, compositor, and sub-editor, confirms my *à priori* reasoning remarkably, for no adventure in this kind of wares has any chance of success if it has more than the merest suspicion of a flavour of literature or thoughtfulness, as we have often been told when the prospects of the *Commonweal* have been under discussion. I will not say that the worse a periodical is the better chance it has of success, but that if it intends to succeed it must

appeal to habits that are as much akin to the reasonable aims of education as is the twiddling of a bit of string by a fidgetty person.

I believe, indeed, it is thought by some that this habit of the consumption of newspapers is the first step in education. Good! the second step, I take it, will be the cessation of that habit.

All this betokens that the end towards which our sham Society directs the means, "education" is the one end to which all its "social" dealings are directed to, the sustaining and easy working of its usurpation of true Society. People are "educated" to become workmen or the employers of workmen, or the hangers-on of the employers, they are not educated to become men. With this aim in view the conditions under which true education can go on are impossible. For the first and most necessary of them are leisure and deliberation; and leisure is a thing which the modern slave-holder will by no means grant to his slave as long as he grants him rations; when the leisure begins the rations end. Constant toil is the only terms on which they are to be had. Capitalism will not allow us the leisure, either for education or the use of it. Slave labour and true education are irreconcilable foes, for the latter means the continuous and duly balanced development of our faculties, whether in the school, the workshop, or the field, and how can that co-exist with the continuous, hopeless, mechanical drudgery of the man who whatever he produces will have all taken from him that exceeds a bare subsistence.

In short, our present education outside its uses to our enemies, the masters of Society, is good for one thing, the creation of discontent. I doubt it will serve us in no other way.

WILLIAM MORRIS.

## REVOLUTIONARY CALENDAR.

WEEK ENDING JULY 7, 1888.

1	Sun.	1867. T. F. Meagher drowned.
2	Mon.	1644. Battle of Marston Moor. 1846. Anti-Corn Law League dissolved.
3	Tues.	1450. Jack Cade enters London. 1849. Oudinot enters Rome.
4	Wed.	1776. Declaration of Independence. 1777. Trial of John Horne for libel. 1798. Trial of J. and H. Sheares for high treason. 1807. Garibaldi born.
5	Thur.	1798. Trial of John McCann, W. M. Byrne, and Oliver Bond for high treason. 1882. Inauguration Meeting of L.P.D.L. 1885. First General Conference of the Socialist League.
6	Fri.	1373. Huss born. 1415. Huss burnt. 1813. Granville Sharp died.
7	Sat.	1797. Trial of David Maclane for high treason. 1831. W. Cobbett tried for sedition.

*Thomas Francis Meagher.*—Born at Waterford, August 3, 1823; drowned near Fort Benton, Montana, July 1, 1867. Educated at Clongowes Jesuit College and Stonyhurst. Left college in 1843, and soon after made his appearance as a public speaker at the great national meeting at Kilkenny, presided over by O'Connell. From that on he was working with the Young Ireland party, soon becoming one of their leading men. In a debate in the Irish Confederation between the "Conciliation" and revolutionary sections, he made the celebrated speech which gave him for ever the title "Meagher of the Sword." In 1848 was sent to Paris with an address from the Confederation to the Provisional Government, and on his return brought an Irish tricolour which he presented to the citizens of Dublin in the name of France in a fiery patriotic speech. Arrested March 21 on the charge of sedition, and bailed to appear at the Court of Queen's Bench; while on bail the Treason Felony Act was passed, and he was immediately re-arrested under it; tried and sentenced to death in October, 1848. Sentence afterwards commuted to transportation for life, and he was sent to Tasmania, whence he escaped in 1852 and went to the States. Here he studied for the bar and was admitted, but at the outbreak of the civil war flung off the gown and took to the sword. After fighting awhile in the renowned 69th, he organised the Irish brigade, being elected colonel of the first regiment. Feb. 3, 1862, he was made general of the brigade, and with it fought bravely at Richmond, Bull Run, Fredericksburg, Antietam, and Chancellorsville. After the latter his brigade was so decimated that he resigned, and was out of the war until early in '64, when he was recommissioned and assigned a command. At the close of the war he became Secretary of Montana Territory, and in September, '66, was made Governor *pro tem*. While engaged in taking measures for the protection of settlers from the Indians, he fell off the deck of a steamer at night and was not missed at the time. His body was never recovered. By dying then he was spared the knowledge of the treachery of the United States Government, which had got the hearty support of the American-Irish through a rather more than implied promise of a *quid pro quo* when the latter were fighting England.—S.

*Battle of Marston Moor.*—This famous struggle of the Civil War, fought within a few miles of the city of York, at Long Marston, turned the tide against the "gentlemen of England." Here Cromwell first came to the fore as the master spirit, and first showed his relentless spirit. The Scotch army under Leslie and two English armies under Fox and the Earl of Manchester, were besieging that royal stronghold, the capital of Yorkshire. The ever restless Rupert raised the siege by one of his sudden dashes, and, together with the Marquis of Newcastle, gave battle at the moor near by. The Parliament's army were almost routed, the Scotchmen being almost entirely put to flight, when Cromwell made his renowned charge with his troop of "Ironsides." The result is almost like an Arabian fable. For miles away the ground was strewn with the bodies of thousands of slaughtered Royalists, of whom, with grim satisfaction, the Republican witnesses related were many whose fair skins and rich doublets betokened the hitherto insolent dandies of Whitehall. But under the sod they went, along with the nameless multitude. The killed on the other side was almost insignificant, less than a dozen according to some reports. Rupert had to betake himself to the fells and fastnesses of the North to recruit his shattered ranks, while a whole bevy of the northern Royalist swashbucklers, the brothers Cavendish, the brothers Witherington, Faulconbridge and Carnaby, Mackworth and Marmaduke Langdale, fled to the Low Countries, to gather courage for Naseby Field in the following year. It is interesting to recall, as regards Marston Moor, the heroic though hopeless efforts of the two Cavendishes. The Marquis of Newcastle, though jealous like others of Rupert, nevertheless fought to the bitter end, while Sir Charles Cavendish, the chosen leader of the "Devil's Own," the Templars from London, a little man with a mighty heart, performed prodigies of valour, though unable to meet the glorious fate of his cousin and namesake who died in the war surrounded by

enemies who gave no quarter but received many a death blow before they pulled down their prey. Britain is divided to-day between two autocrats, the scions of the houses of Cavendish and Cecil. The first we can at least admire if not love. It is a common mistake to speak of the Cavendishes as sprung simply from a pettifogging lawyer's land jobbing. As a fact, they have fought for their position with almost unexampled valour, and never professed any hypocritical regard for the democracy. They boast that their progenitor, not Lord Mayor Walworth, was the treacherous assassin of Wat Tyler, while they have since shed their blood like water to enforce the chains of tyranny on the English people. This is certainly more noble than the ways of the cruel, crafty, cringing, cowardly Cecil, who bow to every storm and shrink from every danger, but have crushed out by treachery the noblest Englishmen again and again during the three centuries of their accursed ascendancy.—L. W.

*Final Meeting of the Anti-Corn Law League.*—On July 2, 1846, at the Manchester Town Hall, at meeting which was held with George Wilson in the chair, "for the purpose of considering what course the League should take, now that the Bill for the Repeal of the Corn Laws had received the Royal assent." Among those present were Cobden, John Bright, Douglas Jerrold, Edward Barnes, W. R. Greg, and a long list of well-known names, which raise strange thoughts and mixed chronological ideas, from the mere fact of some of the men being to-day only the faintest of memories, while others are still alive and fighting. The League was formed January 10, 1839; for some years a war of agitation was carried on, which has no equal in the way of agitation and propaganda of idea. It is urged that the Cobdenites, as they are called, were men of only one idea, and that a poor one; that may be quite true, but it may also be urged that they attacked a giant monopoly, strong in years of precedent and vested interests of immense value. The fight was bitter, for the monopolists fought to the death, or at least secured good terms at the finish; for, although the Bill for repeal passed in 1846, the final extinction of the duties did not take place until Jan. 31, 1849. Byron in "The Age of Bronze," xiv., gives a really vivid summing-up of the position attacked by the Cobdenites, and for a seven years' fight a very fair show was made in the way of damaged armour, or disgusted forestallers.—T. S.

*The "Declaration of Independence."*—The 4th of July, 1776, witnessed the appeal to the world of the United British Colonies of North America, announcing that they would thenceforth style themselves the "United States of America," this new name being but "a poor thing, and not their own." The name "United States" was cribbed from the gallant Dutchmen, and "of America" is a palpable fraud. America, or rather the Americas, constitutes half the globe, while the territory embraced in the rebellious provinces was only a small fraction of that hemisphere. Ignorant people have since coined a new meaning for "America" and the "Americans," and live under the delusion that there is such a nation, and such a race. Nothing is more mistaken. The present extended territory of the United States embraces many races and many nations, with diverse laws, customs, and characteristics. The federation to which they give a jealous and restricted allegiance is powerless to enforce a mandate upon any particular member without that member's free assent. The most overwhelming effort ever made by one community to coerce another was that of the North against the South in the late civil war, but all in vain. The spirit of Jefferson's immortal utterance is too strong for human effort to destroy or supplant. To-day we see the South installed in greater power at Washington than ever before, while it has only accepted the incidental abolition of chattel slavery because it has found it profitable, and only the easily gulled esteem the negroes as less enthralled to-day than before their so-called "emancipation." In fact, they are bound to continue in virtual subjection until they are developed into something like mental and physical equality with their masters. The beauty of the system of the United States is that it is founded upon "rebellion, flat rebellion." In England all customs and privileges date their origin from a conquest, from the rule of the oppressor. Across the water the air is laden with a different essence. One only has to look back to first principles to be inspired to any needed reform. If the advocates of present injustice and abuse appeal to the common usage for an excuse, one can only answer, "What of it! I will issue a new Declaration of Independence! Wrong shall never be recognised by me because it is established!" The truth is that the brave men who signed Jefferson's statement set us a glorious precedent. They dared everything, because all experience told them their lives would be the penalty of failure. It seemed a most hopeless struggle then, but their very audacity carried them through. It is a gauge for all of us in the future, when the time comes to declare our social independence, and to some great struggle of the present or the future century to pledge "our lives, our fortunes, and our sacred honour."—L. W.

*Trial of John Horne, afterwards Horne Tooke.*—At a special meeting of the Constitutional Society, held at the King's Arms Tavern, Cornhill, June 7, 1775, during an adjournment, it was resolved "that a subscription should be immediately entered into by such of the members present who might approve of the purpose, for raising a sum of £100, to be applied for the relief of the widows, orphans, and aged parents of our beloved American fellow-subjects, who, faithful to the character of Englishmen, preferring death to slavery, were, for that reason only, inhumanly murdered by the king's troops at or near Lexington and Concord, in the Province of Massachusetts, on the 19th of last April." The sum was at once collected and handed over to Mr. Horne, to be paid in to Dr. Franklin's bankers to be applied as above said. For publishing a report of this occurrence in the *Public Advertiser*, and also a notice that the money had been handed over, Horne was prosecuted by Government for a "false, wicked, malicious, scandalous, and seditious libel of and concerning his majesty's government and the employment of his troops," and sentenced to pay a fine of £200, to be imprisoned for twelve months, and give sureties for three years after. The prosecution was one of revenge for the part he had taken in stimulating American resistance; it had been allowed to slumber for two years—and was then tried curiously enough on the very day that across the ocean men were signing the immortal declaration, that but for Lexington would never have been written.—S.

*Trial of John and Henry Sheares.*—An account of this will be given, with a sketch of their lives, under their death-date, July 14th.—S.

*Trial of McCann and others.*—McCann, Byrne, and Bond were United Irish men, the last-named being secretary to the Dublin section. They were concerned with Lord Edward Fitzgerald in his projects, were "tried," and of course convicted. McCann and Byrne were hanged; Bond received a conditional pardon, but died of apoplexy before he could say if he complied with the conditions.—S.

*Granville Sharp.*—Born 1734, son of a clergyman, and educated for the bar but never practised. It was owing to him that the Somerset case was brought to trial, and slavery declared illegal in England. Afterwards he founded an Anti-Slavery Society, in connection with which he is best remembered. He was also ardent as a political reformer.—S.

*Trial of David Maclane.*—"Republican institutions," however contemptible they may appear to us to-day, who have higher ideals before us, were the summit of advanced aspiration at the end of last century. France and the States were good examples in the eyes of the Canadians, and there was some danger of the sacred Crown of Great Britain losing one of its brightest jewels. Among the measures taken for its security was the arrest and trial of a poor trading Yankee, whose trade failure had sent him over the line under an assumed name, and who had brought his Republican opinions along, and had here and there expressed them. He was tried at Quebec, convicted, and sentenced to death. On July 21st he was hung, behaving with great calmness, and saying a few manly words to the bystanders.—S.



# THE LABOUR STRUGGLE.

BRITAIN.

The wages dispute in the Tyne shipyards was settled on the 18th, as far as the platers and boiler-makers are concerned. The masters met the representatives of the men, and conceded an advance of 5 per cent. for piecework and 1s. 6d. for timework. This is just half of what was asked.

The Edinburgh Trades' Council have brought charges against the Corporation of that town for allowing sweating in city contracts. Not only, it was stated, were some of the contracts given into the hands of sweaters, but some of the clothes for city officials were made by penal labour in the prison.

The London Trades' Council have passed a resolution in favour of the Weekly Wages Bill and Preferential Payment of Wages Bill now before Parliament, "as not only equitable and just, but also necessary for the alleviation of much misery which the present system of payment of wages inflicts upon a large proportion of the industrial population."

**THE SWEATING SYSTEM.**—Mr. Conybeare, M.P., addressed a meeting of dock labourers and others at the East India Dock Gates Sunday morning, and urged combination in order to abolish the sweating or sub-contract system, which, it was stated, is carried on to a large extent in dock works. A resolution was also passed condemning the imprisonment of Mr. John Dillon, M.P.

All the men and boys employed in the Thorncliffe and Lidgett seams at Hoyland Silkstone Colliery, one of the largest in South Yorkshire, brought out their tools and stopped work on the 20th inst. About 750 are employed, and as 300 employed in the Silkstone seam struck a fortnight ago, nearly 1100 are now idle. The colliery is entirely stopped, clerks and all kinds of workmen having been discharged. Nearly 50 houses in the district are empty, workmen leaving the locality daily. The colliery had been worked under an order of the Court of Chancery prior to the strike.

**CORRECTION FOR IRISH TRADE UNIONISTS.**—A trade union demonstration was held on Sunday (writes the Dublin correspondent of the *Times*), called together by the National League and the Gaelic Association, for the purpose of protesting against the proprietors of the *Constitution* introducing piecework into their printing office. Mr. Slattery, a member of the National League executive, stated that he would undertake that any one who thenceforward sold or bought the *Constitution* should be boycotted. The Mayor seconded a resolution protesting against the authorities having sent a Government shorthand writer and a force of police to protect him to the meeting.

The *Railway Review* has an appeal on behalf of the fireman as of all railway employes the one who works hardest for his living. He would not stick at his laborious work but for the prospect of some day becoming a driver. The greater portion of firemen are only paid from 3s. to 3s. 10d. a day. "In any future re-arrangement of scales of wages," says the *Review*, "the low wages of the firemen should receive a fair share of consideration, and efforts made to improve their condition. Their wages ought to be more commensurate with the labour extracted from them." Very few of the firemen, it seems, are members of the Amalgamated Societv.

**THE NUT AND BOLT TRADE.**—On Saturday the operatives employed by the Staffordshire Bolt, Nut, and Fencing Company, whose notice expired for a reduction of 15 per cent., came out on strike. The men employed at the works of Mr. J. Wiley are still out on strike. Messrs. J. and R. Rose, London Works, have given every nut and bolt maker in their employ seven days' notice to leave, which notice expires to-day. In reference to Messrs. F. W. Cotterell's (Limited) where, it is said, part of the men have been paid an additional 5 per cent. reduction, Mr. Juggins addressed a letter to the manager on Saturday morning calling his attention to the fact that the reduction had been made without notice, and on these grounds demanded the wages due to the workmen. The manager complied with this request, and gave seven days notice that such a reduction would be made. A general strike is expected.

**MEETING OF WELSH MINERS.**—A large mass meeting of house-coal miners of Monmouthshire and South Wales was held on the summit of Trebanog Mountain, above Rhondda Valley, on Monday afternoon, and was addressed by Mr. Isaac Evans and Mr. Morgan Weeks, house-coal workmen's representatives on the South Wales Sliding-scale Committee. Complaints were made that the wages earned were insufficient and the hours of labour too long. The workmen were therefore urged to join the Miners' Federation being formed in South Wales and Monmouthshire. Mr. Evans considered the sliding-scale was far from perfect; but it was better than none at all. It was decided to support the sliding-scale for two years, and a hope expressed that by that time the House-Coal Miners' Organisation would place the workmen in a better position financially. Resolutions were unanimously adopted pledging the meeting in favour of the formation of district associations in connection with the Miners' Federation.

**THREATENED STRIKE OF MINERS IN SOUTH WALES.**—A movement is rapidly spreading among the Welsh collieries, to make a decisive stand in favour of reducing working hours from twelve to eight per day. Mr. W. Abraham, M.P., recently addressing a meeting of delegates representing 20,000 colliers in the Rhondda Valley, said that the miners were suffering from actual want of rations to keep body and soul together, and it was high time a strong stand was made for better wages. This could be done only by restricting the output of coal and reducing the hours of labour. He seldom advised such strong courses as this, but having considered the matter, he felt justified in now doing so. The delegates unanimously resolved, "That the time has now arrived when we should make a decisive stand for reducing the hours of labour and curtailing the production of coal, with a view to securing better wages, essentially needed to enable us to procure necessary sustenance; and that we invite all the miners of South Wales and Monmouthshire to co-operate." Similar resolutions have been passed by other delegate meetings, and a general strike seems imminent.

**SWEATING IN THE PROVINCES.**—Since the Lords commenced their inquiry into sweating, the subject has been taken up in almost every large provincial town. The Sanitary Committee of the Leeds Corporation has caused an inquiry to be made into the condition of sweaters' dens in that town. The rooms were generally found to be badly ventilated, cramped, and deficient in water arrangements. In conclusion, the report says:—"Much has been done by your committee and the Jewish Board of Guardians in the endeavour to improve the habits and surroundings of these people. Notices in English and Hebrew have been served upon them personally, and also

posted in the quarters occupied by them, and men have been specially appointed to daily cleanse the streets, but it appears that something more remains to be done; more efficient supervision is requisite for both the dwellings and workshops occupied by these people, and I would respectfully suggest that one additional inspector should be appointed by your committee to daily inspect the Jews' dwellings, and that some more satisfactory arrangement be made with the authorities having the control of the factories and workshops."

**STRIKE OF THE CABLE-CHAIN MAKERS.**—On Monday morning the cable-chain makers in the Cradley Heath, Old Hill, and surrounding districts, turned out on strike for an increase of wages. A large meeting of the operatives was held at the Red Lion Inn, Cradley Heath, under the presidency of Mr. A. Smith. Representatives from Netherton, Old Hill, Cradley Heath, Tipton, Stourbridge, Chester, and the North of England were present. The chairman said that the trade had got into a bad condition. At one time they had the 1s. 7d. list, which they were now anxious to obtain. If the men were determined to have the list it would soon be conceded. They were now working at 1s. 3d. per cwt. Offers had been made on the part of the employers to give them an advance of 2d., which the men declined to accept. They were now demanding the 1s. 7d. list.—Mr. Tromans, of the North of England, explained that Staffordshire ruled the trade, and other places had to rise and fall according to the prices in Staffordshire.—Mr. Homer said he was sorry to see there was another struggle in the chain trade. It was said the chainmakers were always striking. If they gained the price they did not keep it long. When they obtained the list they ought to maintain it. There was a great necessity for being banded together. There were men who did not pay their levies, and those were the men whom the employers got to work under prices. The Staffordshire and Worcester-shire districts had ruined the trade. At the present time there was very little chain being made at Bristol.—Mr. R. Juggins also spoke. It was decided to continue the strike until the 1s. 7d. list was conceded.

**THE DISPUTE AT AVONMOUTH DOCK.**—On Friday the dispute of corn-porters at Avonmouth Dock in regard to the use of the grain elevator for the discharge of cargoes assumed a critical stage, when the men, as they had threatened, decided not to resume work when the appliance was placed on the steamer *Dominion*. The men continued discharging the grain from the *Dominion* and the steamer *Royal Prince*, which is also lying in Avonmouth Dock, until twelve o'clock, at which time the elevator was towed up to the former vessel. It was then placed in position, and the corn-porters immediately ceased working on board the *Royal Prince* as well as on the *Dominion*. The men, numbering between 130 and 140, left the dock in a body, and held a brief open-air meeting, at which it was decided not to resume work while the elevator was used. Much indignation is expressed by the men about the introduction of the elevator. Its use on the present occasion is, it is alleged, contrary to a promise which, some time ago, had been given by the Docks Committee, to the effect that the appliance should be used only when it was absolutely necessary owing to the number of steamers in dock waiting to be unloaded. There are now, they say, only two vessels with corn, and they contend that they would easily be able to unload the *Dominion* within the time stipulated by the agents. Another statement forwarded on behalf of the men is that during the winter, when the shipping trade is not particularly brisk, they have to remain at Avonmouth waiting for the arrival of grain vessels, and in these circumstances, they argue, it is unfair to introduce the machinery when they have an opportunity of earning wages.

If vegetarianism means cheaper living and an excuse thereby for lower wages, we hope that the Englishman will retain his partiality for a good old-fashioned beef-steak, and will have back-bone enough to fight for the means of obtaining it.—*Labour Tribune*.

**SIX WEEKS FOR THAT!**—At Ennis, on the 21st, in the case of a man convicted of inciting to unlawful assembly by wearing a National League card in his hat, Judge Kelly confirmed the sentence of six weeks' imprisonment, but said the man should have been summoned for unlawful assembly, and blamed the Government for leaving these cases to the ordinary police.

**METROPOLITAN PAUPERISM.**—The weekly return of metropolitan pauperism shows that the total number of paupers relieved in the second week of the current month was 92,502, of whom 55,187 were indoor and 37,315 outdoor paupers. The total number relieved shows an increase of 2,176 over the corresponding week of last year, 4,668 over 1886, and 7,476 over 1885. The total number of vagrants relieved on the last day of the week was 1,061, of whom 832 were men, 195 women, and 34 children under sixteen.

Can it be that the Jubilee gift of a park to the town of Crewe has after all been at the expense of the London and North-Western workmen rather than of the company, as has been represented? Since September last, through the short time worked by the company's men at Crewe, there has, up till this last week or so, been a reduction of £1,000 per week in the wages of the men there, and as a consequence much poverty; and, according to the *Crewe Chronicle*, the idea has extensively prevailed that the gift of the park has had something to do with the long continuance of short time, which has made a profound impression. If there be any grounds for this suspicion it will deprive the company of whatever credit they have sought to obtain for the granting of the park in question, which, it would seem, has been obtained by starving the men who form the bulk of the population of the town to which it has been "presented."—*Railway Review*.

**LAISSEZ-FAIRE.**—The master of horses, when the summer labour is done, has to feed his horses through the winter. If he said to his horses: "Quadrupeds, I have no longer work for you; but work exists abundantly over the world: are you ignorant (or must I read you Political Economy Lectures) that the Steamengine always in the long-run creates additional work? Railways are forming in one quarter of this earth, canals in another, much cartage is wanted; somewhere in Europe, Asia, Africa, or America, doubt it not, ye will find cartage: go seek cartage, and good go with you!" They, with protrusive upper lip, snort dubious; signifying that Europe, Asia, Africa, and America lie somewhat out of their beat; that what cartage is wanted there is not too well known to them. They can find no cartage. They gallop distracted along highways, all fenced in to the right and to the left; finally, under pains of hunger, they take to leaping fences; eating foreign property, and—we know the rest. Ah, it is not a joyful mirth, it is sadder than tears, the laugh Humanity is forced to, at *Laissez-faire* applied to poor peasants, in a world like our Europe of the year 1839.—*Carlyle: 'Chartism.'*

## WHEN THE REVOLUTION COMES!

TUNE—"Come, landlord, fill the flowing bowl."

Come every honest lad and lass!  
Too long we've been kept under  
By rusty chains of fraud and fear—  
We'll snap them all asunder!

When the Revolution comes,  
When the Revolution comes,—  
It's coming fast—our turn, at last!—  
The social Revolution!

A thunderstorm of Freedom shall  
Go forth among the people;  
Our flag shall flourish o'er the land  
On every stalk and steeple!  
When, etc.

The knave who lives in idleness  
By plundering his neighbour,  
Shall learn to use the pick and spade,  
And live by honest labour!  
When, etc.

That robbers' paction styled the Law  
To frighten honest folk, sirs,  
We'll set ablaze and fumigate  
The country with the smoke, sirs,  
When, etc.

For such as contrite editors,  
And penitent policemen,—  
We'll find nice sinecures, and say:  
Go live and die in peace, men!  
When, etc.

The landlord and capitalist,—  
If you should wish to see 'em,  
You'll have to take a holiday  
And search in the museum!  
When, etc.

And superstition perish shall  
Like flame of waxen taper;  
And rank and pride and privilege  
Dissolve in noxious vapour!  
When, etc.

Then let us hail the coming day!  
The glorious hope before us!  
And with brave deeds anticipate  
The good time of our chorus!  
When the Revolution comes!  
When the Revolution comes!  
Then three cheers give, of, "Long, long live  
The Social Revolution!"

J. BRUCE GLASIER.

### THE SOCIALIST LEAGUE AND THE BOARD OF WORKS.

Last Sunday's meeting in Victoria Park was a great falling off from the previous week. This was owing to a large number of comrades being at Epping Forest with the great excursion of London Socialists which annually takes place in June, and also at a big demonstration held on Peckham Rye against the Coercion Act, while the inaction of the Board of Works, who have "thrown up the sponge," caused many to stay away who would assist us in a struggle whenever it takes place. Nevertheless, a very good meeting was held. Among the speakers were H. Davis, J. Power, Hicks, and W. B. Parker. The collection amounted to 4s. 6½d., and the *Commonweal* sold well.—W. B. P.

RIGHT OF WAY CASE AT CAMBUSLANG.—Practical politicians are seldom to the front when any real practical work has to be done. An excellent illustration of this truth was afforded by an incident that occurred at Cambuslang, near Glasgow, on Saturday last. There is a glen in the village through which from time immemorial, there has been an undisputed "right of way." Recently an attempt has been made by interested parties to close the passage through the glen against the public. A road has been made right across the glen and a strong wooden fence erected. Dr. Henry Muirhead, F.R.S., a venerable old man, has come forward to champion the people's rights. He organised a small band of working men, and announced that on Saturday the fence would be broken and the glen entered. Only some three score of people, including a number of women and children, turned up, and not more than half of that number had the pluck to enter the glen after the fence was broken, because some half dozen of police were standing by. Seven members of the Glasgow Branch of the Socialist League were among the first to enter. A meeting was held beside an old well, and a resolution—which one of our comrades spoke to—was passed, pledging those present to maintain the right of way. Of course the leading local champions of political progress were conspicuously absent as they invariably are when the initiative has to be taken in any honest resistance to oppression. They recognise, wisely perhaps, that "practical" politics consists in big-drum electioneering parades and sham-fight party encounters in parliament.—J. B. G.

## THE SOCIALIST LEAGUE.

OFFICES: 13 FARRINGTON ROAD, E.C.

The Offices of the Socialist League will be open for the sale of *Commonweal* and all other Socialist publications from 8.30 a.m. to 9 p.m. every day except Sunday. The Secretary will be in attendance from 10 a.m. to 9 p.m. daily.

A meeting of London members will be held at 13 Farringdon Road on Monday next, July 2, at 9 o'clock sharp. It is hoped all London members will endeavour to be present.

### "COMMONWEAL" PRINTING FUND.

Medical Student, 10s. K. L., £1. Two weeks' subscriptions—Oxford Branch, 4s.; C. J. F., 5s.; P. W., 1s.; Langley, 4s.; K. F., 2s.

Strike Committee.—Collected in Regent's Park, Sunday June 24th. 6s.  
J. LANE, Treasurer.

East-end Propaganda Fund.—Collected at Berner Street Club, 2s. ½d.; Bernstein (for leaflets), 2s.; Salmon and Ball, 1s. 5d.; Victoria Park, 4s. 7d.  
J. LANE, Treasurer.

## REPORTS.

CLERKENWELL.—On Wednesday, June 20, William Morris on "The Revolt of Ghent." Touzeau Parris in the chair. The lecturer dealt chiefly with the different historical stages of revolt, until the revolt proper and victory followed amidst burning enthusiasm on the part of the men of Ghent. A capital lecture, one friend remarking that it was "an historical treat," and he is quite correct. Several questions asked and answered. Good audience and fair sale of *Weal*.—B.

FULHAM.—Tuesday evening, opposite the Liberal Club, Grosier, assisted by McCormack and Barton of the S.D.F., addressed a good audience. Sunday morning Fry, Grosier and Morris spoke to a capital meeting. Fair sale of *Weal*. In the evening Mahony and Sparling spoke outside our rooms. During the day 4s. 10d. collected.—S. B. G.

MITCHAM.—Good meeting on Mitcham Fair Green Sunday, addressed by Eden and Kitz. Fair sale of *Commonweal*, and 1s. 4½d. collected for hire of Mitcham Vestry Hall for comrade Morris to lecture in shortly, the cost of same £1 1s.—W. G. E.

NORTH LONDON.—Last Friday evening at Ossulston Street, Parker, Kitz, and Cantwell were the speakers. At Regent's Park on Sunday morning, Sparling, Cantwell, Brooks, Mainwaring, and Mrs. Schack spoke; 6s. collected. *Commonweal* sold well.

GLASGOW.—On Sunday forenoon, Glasier, McCulloch, and Segzel held a good meeting at Jail Square. At five o'clock Pollock and Glasier addressed a large audience at Paisley Road, assisted by McCulloch and Adams. At seven o'clock in our rooms, Arch. McLaren, M.A., gave an exceedingly interesting lecture on "Marital Relations and Population under Socialism." A discussion followed. There was a good attendance of members, including a number of our German comrades, who are taking an actual interest in the work of the branch.

NORWICH.—Meetings at Thorpe and St. Catharine's Plain. On Thursday, Mowbray and Poynts went to Yarmouth, and were requested to come every week, which we intend doing. Sunday morning, Mowbray, Sutton, Adams, and Syder held good meeting at Wymondham. It is hoped that we shall soon be able to form a branch there. Meetings in Market Place afternoon and evening. It was announced that Mrs. Besant would visit this branch during next month. Good sale of *Commonweal* and fair collections.

WALSALL.—At indoor meeting Monday, Sketchley (Birmingham) lectured on "The Currency Question." Sanders spoke to large audience on The Bridge on Saturday evening, and on Sunday on West Bromwich Road. Much interest evinced by audience.—J. T. D.

### EAST-END PROPAGANDA.

A very good meeting was held last Sunday at High Street, Plaistow, addressed by Brooks, Cores, and Parker, at which all the literature was sold out and several names handed in to form a branch. As usual a good meeting was also held at Leman Street, addressed by Parker, at which arrangements were made for forming a St. Georges-in-the-East branch. New branches are also in course of formation at Hoxton, Millwall, and the North-east district. At the Salmon and Ball on Sunday, Davis debated with Rev. Henley Henson, of Oxford House, on "Socialism and Temperance," when each spoke for 20, 15, and 10 minutes. They had a good audience, containing many temperance friends. Davis opened by stating the Socialist position as fully as the time would allow. Henson in his replies persistently ignored the main points at issue, though he felt compelled to admit that temperance would not remedy all the evils of class society. At the close 1s. 5d. was collected for East-end propaganda. J. Lane lectured on "Poverty, its Cause, Effects, and Cure" at the North-east Bethnal Green Radical Club, on Sunday morning. A very attentive audience, and a useful and intelligent discussion at the close. At our various other stations during the week we have only to report the same attentive hearing and good reception for our speakers. Our ideas and hopes are evidently deeply permeating the great mass of wealth producers who live in our district. The harvest is truly ripe but the workers are far too few, and we would earnestly appeal for help from all sympathisers who can help in some department or other of our work.

JUNIOR SOCIALIST EDUCATIONAL SOCIETY.—On Saturday, Henderson lectured on "The Possibility of a Higher Life," which was followed by an interesting discussion.—E. F.

### LABOUR UNION.

WOOLWICH.—At the Arsenal Gates last Sunday, James Macdonald addressed large gathering on "The Claims of Labour." One of the finest lectures we have had here, and made a good impression; a few questions asked and ably answered. We sold out all our paper and pamphlets, over 100, and collected 4s. 6½d., and considering our regular contributors were at the Peckham Rye demonstration, was very good.—K. B.

### SOCIALISTS IN EPPING FOREST.

Last Sunday, an enjoyable outing was spent in Epping Forest by members of the various Socialist bodies in London. Besides singing revolutionary songs in different languages, dancing, and other games, a meeting was addressed by Mainwaring, Rochman, Blundell, and others. A lot of *Weals* and other literature sold. During day we had a good illustration of the work our "admirable police" are paid to do. There was a large number of police, both mounted and on foot, at different points *en route*, besides several detectives in plain clothes. One of them wore a red tie, and represented himself as a member of some German singing club; watched for about two hours by some comrades, he tried by all means in his power to get a ticket from some member for drink, displaying to the full the well-known abilities of "moral miracles" in lie-telling. He at last persuaded a woman comrade to sell him a ticket, obtained her name, and promised to summon them for contravening the Licensing Acts, and so departed no doubt well pleased with the idea the police would be able to lighten the profits of the day, and so shorten the share of them which is to be devoted to the East-End propaganda.—F. C.

LECTURE DIARY.

LONDON.

Acton.—Any information from Secretary Harnett, 7 Redmore Road, Hammersmith.
Clerkenwell.—Hall of the Socialist League, 13 Farringdon Rd., E.C. Business meeting every Sunday at 7.
Fulham.—8 Effie Road, Walham Green. Sunday July 1, at 8 p.m., William Morris, "Misery and the Way Out."

PROVINCES.

Aberdeen (Scottish Section).—Secretary, J. Leatham, 15 St Nicholas Street. Sunday night meetings, Baker Street Hall, 6.30. Sunday first, J. Bruce Glasier, "Elements of Socialism in Existing Society." Choir practice at 46 Marischal Street on Thursday evenings at 8.
Bradford.—Read's Coffee Tavern, Ivegate. Meets Tuesdays at 8.
Carnoustie (Scottish Section: Forfarshire).—Meeting every Tuesday, at 8 p.m., in the Carnoustie Restaurant. H. M'Cluskey, Millar Street, Secy.

OPEN-AIR PROPAGANDA.

SUNDAY 1.

11 ...Turnham Green—Front Common ...Acton Beh.
11.30...Hammersmith—opposite Latimer...The Branch Rd. Station.
11.30...Mitcham Fair Green ...The Branch

11.30...Regent's Park ...Turner & Cantwell
11.30...Walham Green ...Fulham Branch
3.30...Hyde Park...Cantwell, etc.
7 ...Clerkenwell Green ...Blundell
7 ...Hoxton Ch., Pitfield St. ....Brooks & Parker

Tuesday.

8.30.. Fulham—opposite Liberal Club...H'mrsmith Bh
Friday.
8 ...Euston Rd.—Ossulton Street .....Springfield

EAST END.

SUNDAY 1.

Mile-end Waste ... 11 ...Lane & Davis
"Salmon and Ball" ... 11 ...Mnwaring, Charles
Leman Street, Shadwell 11 ...Parker.
Gibraltar Walk, Bethnal Green Road. 7 ...Graham & Cantwell
Well Street, Hackney... 11.45...Graham, Lefevre, and Cantwell.

TUESDAY.

Mile-end Waste ... 8.30...Lane, Mainwaring, and Charles.

WEDNESDAY.

Broadway, London Fields 8.30...Cores, Fuller, and Mainwaring.
Charlotte St., Gt. Eastern St. 8.30...Charles & Lane.

THURSDAY.

Packington St., Essex Road 8.30...Parker & Charles.

FRIDAY.

Philpot St., Commercial Rd. 8.30...Parker, Charles, and Lane.

SATURDAY.

Mile-end Waste ... 8 ...Lane & Davis.
S. Docks, Millwall ... 6 ...Parker, Charles, Mnwaring & Cores.

PROVINCES.

Aberdeen.—Saturday: Castle Street, at 8 p.m., Glasier and Leatham. Sunday: Duthie Park, Waterside Gate, 3 p.m.
Glasgow.—Sunday: Jail's Square, at 12; Paisley Road, at 5 o'clock.
Leeds.—Sunday: Hunslet Moor, at 11 a.m.; Vicar's Croft, at 7 p.m.
Leicester.—Sunday: Russel Square, at 11 a.m.
Norwich.—Sunday: Market Place, at 3 and 7.30. Bishop Bridge, Sunday at 11 a.m. Thorpe Village, Monday at 8 p.m. Yarmouth, opposite Town Hall, Thursday at 8. St Catharine's Plain, Friday at 8.15 p.m. Crostwick, on the Common, Sunday at 8 p.m.

HOXTON.—Persons wishing to join this branch, which is in process of formation, should communicate with H. D. Morgan, 22 Nicholas Street, Hoxton.

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

EAST-END PROPAGANDA.—A meeting of all interested in the Socialist propaganda in the East-end of London will be held at the International Club, 23 Princes Sq., Cable Street, E., on Saturday evening at 10 o'clock. All who can assist us by speaking at our various stations; and especially those who can aid us either on Sunday or any time during the week by distributing literature from house to house are earnestly invited to attend, to enable us to extend our field of work.

EXCURSION OF LONDON SOCIALISTS.—A Committee has been formed for the purpose of arranging an excursion to take place in August. Through misunderstanding, several delegates left Berner Street last Saturday disappointed. Care will be taken not to have a repetition of this. All Socialist bodies have been invited to take part, and a meeting of delegates will be held on Saturday evening in the Hall of the Socialist League, at 8 p.m.—W. B. PARKER, Sec.

On Sunday evening next there will be a Dramatic Representation at Berner Street International Club of a piece in four acts, entitled "Die Nihilisten," by our murdered comrade of Chicago, August Spies. The proceeds will be used in printing the speech he delivered before the court into Hebrew. We feel sure the writer's name and the object for which it is to be performed will induce at least all our comrades who understand German to attend. Tickets may be had from the Secretary, 13 Farringdon Road, 6d. each.

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# THE COMMONWEAL

## The Official Journal of the SOCIALIST LEAGUE.

VOL. 4.—No. 130.

SATURDAY, JULY 7, 1888.

WEEKLY; ONE PENNY.

### NOTES ON NEWS.

THE Opposition having struck the "very wise and very bold" stroke we heard so much of last week, seems to have exhausted the arrows in its quiver, and no doubt hopes that the country will be satisfied with its last invention in the do-nothing business, and will wait henceforward for the bolt out of the blue which is to pulverise the Tories and raise the hopes of all those who may happen to be watching for the first time the going out of one party and the coming in of another. The hopes of those who have seen this process before will remain pretty much where they were.

Then there was what may almost be called a non-party debate and division on the Channel tunnel. The "person from another planet" would have supposed that the scheme would have been discussed on its own merits; that the subject-matter of debate would have been as to whether the tunnel was wanted; whether it could be safely made; how much it would cost, whether the expense of making it would be worth the advantage to be gained by it; and so on. The other-planeteer would have been disappointed; pretty much all that was talked of was whether or no the French would be able and willing to invade us by means of it. Here we are again under the horrors of war!

Anyhow it seems clear enough that a French or other hostile army who should be rash enough to trust itself to such a means of transit, would soon know as much of the horrors of war "as the man who invented them." The truth is that the whole pretence of fear of invasion through the tunnel is nothing but a pretence; it means opening up an opportunity to be used at some future time for pressing forward an increase of the army.

Lord Randolph Churchill was so candid as practically to admit this, and said that he voted against the scheme because if gone on with, it would give an occasion to a claim for more money for the army, which wouldn't suit him as he has taken a brief for economy just now. Which means in short that we must not consider whether the tunnel is possible or desirable, because if we do the jobbers will directly get their fork into us! O, British nation, wonder of the whole earth for your practicality and business-like habits, what a bragging, twaddling fool you be!

Government, determined to help its friends the publicans a little, has insisted on withdrawing its Sunday-closing clauses from the Local Government Bill. In spite of our friends the teetotallers, we must say that all this is a dismal and empty business. Really is it of so much importance whether a man determined to get drunk, performs that function on a Saturday or a Monday instead of a Sunday? After all, this is a clear case of a palliative that is useless and takes as long to get itself accepted as a condition of things which would not drive people to drunkenness as their only excitement, or as a mere drowning of their wretchedness for a little.

Mr. E. D. Lewis has had his answer at last from those two pillars of Law 'n'-Order, Mr. Justice Wills and Mr. Justice Nupkins—I ask pardon, Grantham—in the matter of Trafalgar Square, and the answer is just what might have been expected. Trafalgar Square was created by statute, and any right of meeting there must be similarly created. That is the gist of their answer. Of course if it had not been created by statute, common law would have forbidden meetings on it. Their lordships say that the right of public meeting is beyond discussion. On these terms it certainly is *at a public meeting*. You may meet in public whenever you please; *only* you mustn't meet here, nor there, nor at the other place. Where is the grievance? if you are starving and want to tell your rulers so, you had better buy a few acres of land: rents are going down in London now we believe.

The lamb going to law with the wolf is a curious spectacle to behold. The lamb must put up with it as long as he is a lamb. Perhaps evolution will change his wool into chain-mail and his feeble little shoulders

of mutton into arms and fists with a chopping-stick in them one of these days. But evolution is a long job, thinks Mr. Justice Nupkins.

At the annual meeting of "The National Association for the Promotion of State Colonisation," or, as we should call it, the Society for the Punishment of Poverty by Transportation (at which it appears that the working classes were represented by Mr. Maudsley, of the Salford Trades' Council), there was much rejoicing at the progress of the "work" (which, by the way, if it means anything, means that people are desperately hard up just now). A Parliamentary committee of 160 M.P.'s to help them (my word!); £10,000 granted by Government for getting rid from their own land of those inconvenient persons the Highland crofters, and all the rest of it. In short, these noble and gentle patriots, who love their native country so well that they want it all to themselves, were very happy, and their trades' union ally no less so.

A person not quite so happy, and whose share in her native country was but small, appeared before a magistrate next day with the following tale:—"To-day, at Dalston, a poor woman asked the assistance of Mr. R. W. Bros to get her son back from Canada. He and another lad, both about seventeen, had been sent out by the East-end Emigration Society on a pretence that they would have plenty of work. The magistrate: You had better go to Captain Hamilton, the secretary; but I should think there are many other lads who would be glad of the opportunity to get to Canada. Applicant: Yes, sir; if there was plenty of work, as they said; but my boy and his friend can neither get work nor food. The magistrate: I cannot give you anything. Go to Captain Hamilton." The worthy magistrate did *not* add "or hell," perhaps because he thought that the poor woman was there already, as certainly her unlucky son was. It is almost a pity that this woman did not apply to the chairman of the meeting held the day before.

It probably would have done little to check the flow of their spirits, though, which were exuberant, as may be gathered from the speech of Mr. Maudsley, the trades' unionist, who said: "The opposition proceeded chiefly from the Socialists, who knew that, if successful, the movement would cut the ground from under their feet." Now, as the Association disclaims the intention of sending out paupers or ne'er-do-wells, the movement must mean the transportation of thrifty and industrious workers. Anyone but a very stupid person, one would think, ought to be able to see that if *this* is an advantage to the country, the country must be in a bad way indeed, and sorely in need either of Socialists or of persons who have some better scheme than getting rid of its producers of wealth. In fact, what these people really want to do (and they would say so if they durst) is to get rid of all elements of discontent, that is to say, those whom they and their idleness have made poor and helpless. A Helot-hunt, again, they durst not recommend, but it is what would suit them best. If they could kill one-third of the working population, it would for a time "cut the ground from under the Socialists' feet—but not for long.

The only way, Mr. Maudsley, to get rid of discontent is to remove the cause of it. Transportation of units of discontent is like the flea's funeral—a hundred more come to it. The abolition of the monopoly in the means of production, the freeing of labour, which the Trades' Council are doing their best to prevent, is the only thing that will cut the ground away from the feet of the Socialists, because it will make true society possible, and so make an end of our name of combat.

That friend of the working-man, Mr. Blundell Maple, has been disporting himself before the Sweating Commission again, and after some further glorification of his firm, was "recalled" on his departure, and coming back said "that he had finished his evidence as to matters of fact, but there were other matters which he wished to go into." So he went into "these other matters," that were not matters of fact, at great length. Some of these are old friends of ours, which we must admit are to be classed as Mr. Maple classed them, if the report of his evidence, once more, is correct; such as, for example, that the working-men earn as much as ever they did, although the prices of

furniture have gone down; that their hours of labour are decreasing; that their skill as handicraftsmen is on the increase, owing probably to the fact that it is not needed as much as it was; and so on and so on. It is, however, a matter of fact that the number of the unemployed is increasing, and Mr. Maple's admission of it, if it could by any possibility be denied, may be considered the one grain of usefulness in the clammy jam of twaddle which this feeble committee allowed the workman's friend to shove down their throats. W. M.

## THE REVOLT OF GHENT.

THE events of which an account is here given took place towards the close of the fourteenth century amongst a people of kindred blood to ourselves, dwelling not many hours' journey (as we travel now) from the place where we dwell; and yet to us are wonderful enough, if we think of them.

Few epochs of history, indeed, are more interesting than this defeated struggle to be free of the craftsmen of Flanders: whether we look upon the story as a mere story, a true tale, of the Middle Ages at their fullest development, rife with all the peculiarities of the period, exemplifying their manners and customs, the forms that their industry, their religion, their heroism took at the time; or whether we look upon it, as we Socialists cannot help doing, as a link in the great chain of the evolution of society, an incident, full of instruction, in the class-struggle which we have now recognised as the one living fact in the history of the world, since civilisation began, and which will only end when civilisation has been transformed into something else. Whether we look upon the Revolt of Ghent as a story of the past or as a part of our own lives and the battle which is not wasting, but using them, it is one of the great tales of the world.

One piece of good fortune also it has, that, as Horace says, it has not lacked a sacred poet. As the tale is here told, its incidents, often the very words of them, are taken from the writings of one of those men who make past times live before our eyes for ever. John Froissart, canon of Chimay in Hainault, was indeed but a hanger-on of the aristocracy; he was in such a position as would in our days have prevented him on principle from admitting any good qualities whatever in those people whom he was helping to oppress; but class-lying was not the fine art which it has since become; and the simpler habits of thought of Froissart's days gave people intense delight in the stories of deeds done, and developed in them what has been called epic impartiality: added to which, one domain for the cultivation of historical lies was not available in the Middle Ages, since, owing to the form feudal society had then taken, what we now call patriotism—i.e., national envy and rancour—did not exist. Englishman, Scotchman, Fleming, Spaniard, Frenchman, Gascon, Breton, are treated by John Froissart as men capable of valiancy, their deeds to be told of and listened to with little comment of blame or discrimination: and I think you will say before you have done with him that he could even see the good side of the revolutionary characters of his time, so long as they were not slack in noble deeds. The result of a low standard of morals, you will say. Maybe; and indeed I have noticed that a would-be high standard of morality is sometimes pretty fertile of lying, because it is so anxious that every event should square itself to an *a priori* theory. However that may be, there is the general epic impartiality of the mediæval chronicler amidst all his mistakes and misconceptions.

Now a word or two as to the political and social condition of Flanders in the fourteenth century, and then without more to do I will get to my story and introduce you to John Froissart, who has given me at least as much pleasure as he did to any one of the lords, ladies, knights, squires and sergeants who first heard him read.

First very briefly as to the political position of the country. Lying as it did between the growing monarchy or rather suzerainty of France and the disjointed members of the "Holy Roman" empire, it was with the former power that it had to deal. The rise of the great cities of Flanders and Hainault, and the power they could not fail to acquire, made the feudal lord of the country but a weak potentate, and he always had a tendency to lean on France for support. The French king on his part was ambitious of making the Earl of Flanders his vassal, and the help he gave him against his rebellious subjects had to be paid for by homage to the French Suzerainty, or at least by promises of homage. France therefore was distinctly the enemy of the Flemish people, though it was, when occasion served, the friend of the Flemish feudal lord. France also could strike a blow at the prosperity of the country without even putting an army in the field, by forbidding the export of wool, the great necessity to the woollen-weaving which was the main industry of Flanders, and this was done on several occasions.

Therefore it was natural for the leaders of the Flemish people to turn towards England as a support, both because there was a standing quarrel between the feudal lords of England and France, and because England was the wool-producing country of Europe. On the other hand, to an English king with a quarrel on hand with a French one, the advantage of the Flemish alliance was obvious enough; and accordingly at the beginning of the great feudal war between England and France we find our King Edward III. in firm alliance with James van Artevelde, the leader of the Flemish people, or rather bourgeoisie, treaties made between them as to the free passage of wool, and Queen Philippa godmother to the enfant child of the great Bourgeois, while the Earl of Flanders was hanging about the French Court a disinherited lord.

Now as to the social condition of the Flemings. Manufacturing by handicraft pure and simple, without division of labour, was carried by them about as far as it could go, and the gild system was fully developed there, accompanied by a complete municipal system, democratic and social as far as matters within the association were concerned, though exclusive as regarded outsiders. The great towns of northern Europe, it must be remembered, were not originally "cities," sovereign bodies with a definite polity like those of the ancient classical world. The origin of them was the agricultural district, the land that gave subsistence to the clan, all the free men of which took part in the affairs of the community; the first towns were not as in Greece and Rome, the sacred spots of the tribal ancestor, but pallisaded places where convenience had made the population thicker than in other parts of the district. These as they grew kept their territory, and developed at last within themselves an aristocratic and oligarchic government.

But as these towns changed from being mere centres of an agricultural population, into being places of resort for handicraftsmen and merchants, and as the associations for the organisation of industry, that is the guilds, grew up amongst the former, a new democratic feeling rose up which opposed itself to the remains of the old tribal band of freemen, now become a mere exclusive oligarchy, who considered the practice of handicraft a disgrace.

The new democracy triumphed at last, and by the end of the thirteenth century the guilds, the actual workmen, were the masters of the great towns; under the feudal lords, however, to whom they owed homage and fealty.

Within the guilds themselves there could be no capitalists or great men, because the rules of the guilds were framed to prevent the accumulation of wealth in the hands of a few, the masters were master workers, and were kept so by the rules aforesaid.

I suspect, however, that there were remains of the old municipal aristocracy (the lineages, as they were called in Flanders) still in existence in the towns, otherwise it would not be easy to account for the masterful position of James van Artevelde, and others whom we shall meet with later on in our story, who were certainly both wealthy and of importance, apart from any office they might happen to hold.

In Ghent also and elsewhere, notably at Bruges its rival, an aristocracy of the crafts was forming, as is apparent in the fact of the jealousy between the greater and the lesser crafts,<sup>1</sup> so that if the development of commerce joined with the rise of bureaucratic monarchy had not supervened and swept away the power and freedom of the towns altogether, the struggle between the municipal aristocracy and the craftsmen would have been repeated in the fifteenth century in another form.

Meantime, one thing is to be noted, which is specially interesting to us, and that is the visible existence of strong Communistic feeling along with the development of the gild democracy.

In the popular literature of the epoch one comes across passages whose mediæval quaintness gives a pleasant sense of surprise and freshness to aspirations and denunciations which are familiar enough to us Socialists to-day, and, so to say, at once make us free of the brotherhood of the old gildsmen. The two following centuries obliterated this feeling, or rather drew a dark veil of misery and degradation over all the feelings of the working-classes; but we now in our hope of better days soon to come can look back cheerfully to the times when the craftsman citizen of the great towns had his hope also, which he hands over to us across the lapse of the drearier days.

WILLIAM MORRIS.

(To be continued.)

NEWS OF JOHN DILLON.—John Dillon's health is reported to be improving. The prison doctor has extended the period of exercise from three to four hours a day, and full advantage is taken of the concession. A garden seat has also been provided. Dr. McDonnell takes great interest in his distinguished patient, and has friendly chats with him every day. Two local justices who visited Mr. Dillon state that he is in a cheerful mood, and appears entirely recovered from the excitement of the trial.

THE TITHE WAR IN WALES.—The proceedings in Anglesea are being characterised by scenes almost identical with those which followed the advent of Mr. Peterson for the Clergy Defence Association. The attacking party now acting in the interests of the Ecclesiastical Commissioners is, however, much stronger than on those occasions when Mr. Peterson was twice driven out of the island. On the 27th the forces engaged were ten emergency men, a sort of special bodyguard for Mr. Stevens, the acting agent for the Commissioners; thirty police constables under command of Colonel Thomas, chief constable of Anglesea; and a half company of the Cheshire Regiment from Chester Castle, under charge of Captain St. George and Lieut. Howard. The combined forces number 110 rank and file, the emergency men and police being armed with the regulation batons, and the infantry with rifles and an ample supply of ball cartridge. During the day there was an extraordinary series of scenes. Large crowds collected, carrying every imaginable instrument with which to create a noise. Free fights were indulged in, and during the afternoon the aspect of affairs became so serious that Mr. C. F. Priestley, J.P., read the Riot Act in English and in Welsh. Many farms were visited, and twenty miles of ground were covered, but the only result was the collection of a five-pound note. At one point the gorse lining the road was set ablaze, and some inconvenience was caused while marching through the stifling smoke. Cheers were given for Mr. Gladstone, and Messrs. Gee and Parry, the anti-tithe leaders; and exultation was expressed everywhere at the failure of the authorities to secure the tithes.

<sup>1</sup> The lesser crafts were the weavers and fullers, that is to say, the workmen of the staple industry of the country.

REVOLUTIONARY CALENDAR.

WEEK ENDING JULY 14, 1888.

8	Sun.	1790. Adam Smith died. 1796. D. I. Eaton found "guilty of libels on Kingly Government."
9	Mon.	1386. Battle of Sempach. 1809. W. Cobbett convicted of libelling the German Legion.
10	Tues.	1793. Trial of D. I. Eaton for publishing a seditious libel. 1795. Henry Yorke tried for high treason. 1848. Ernest Jones imprisoned.
11	Wed.	1789. Mirabeau died. 1836. Alibaud hung for attempt on Louis Philippe. 1848. Speech of Kossuth to Hungarian Diet. 1871. General Council of International Working-men's Association denounce Mr. Washburne for his conduct to the Commune.
12	Thur.	1450. Jack Cade killed. 1536. Erasmus died. 1841. W. J. McNevin died. 1849. Battle of Dolly's Brae. 1881. Riots at Rome when Pio Nono's body was being removed from St. Peter's to San Lorenzo.
13	Fri.	1683. Earl of Essex murdered in the Tower. 1683. William, Lord Russell, tried for high treason. 1794. Marat murdered. 1799. Brothers Sheares hung. 1820. Andrew Hardie tried for high treason.
14	Sat.	1781. F. H. de la Motte tried for high treason. 1789. Bastille destroyed. 1791. Riots at Birmingham on Bastille Anniversary. 1877. Great Strike on the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad.

*Death of Adam Smith.*—Adam Smith, born at Kirkcaldy, in Fifeshire, on June 5, 1723, was a shrewd, sceptical, middle-class Scotchman; who did for the Class State in England what Voltaire did for the Class Church in France. His life's work was to break down the superstition that "the Government" is all-wise, all-virtuous, and all-powerful; and he succeeded so effectually that students of economics are taught to this day that the worst evils of unrestricted private enterprise and individualist competition are to be preferred to the corruption and inertia of State interference and management. His success was due to his convincing the commercial class that the State regulation of industry in the only way then known, by bounties, protective tariffs, laws of settlement and apprenticeship, and other survivals from the days of feudal dues, trade guilds, and restricted national and local trade, were only hindering that prompt adjustment of the supply of labour to the demand for it, upon which depended the development of the great international commerce which made so many greedy and pushing English tradesmen into "merchant princes." Smith, however, was quite guiltless of any conscious class bias in favour of the manufacturers. He despised them heartily for their ignorant and shortsighted opposition to perfect freedom of trade; insisted that workmen had as good a right to combine in Trade Unions (then illegal) against masters as masters had to combine against workmen; and based his opposition to the oppressive settlement law as much on its cruelty to the poor and its hindrance to wage-earning, as upon its ultimate effect in limiting profits. His system is inadequate because he failed to perceive that whilst the entire sources of production remain in the hands of a part only of the nation; the rest, degraded into a mere proletariat, are thrown into irreconcilable antagonism with that favoured part. Thus, though he foresaw that the realisation of his programme of tariff abolition and "free contract," which began about twenty-five years after his death, and was crowned by the establishment of Free Trade in 1846, would cause an immense increase of wealth, he had no suspicion that it would be accompanied in England by such an atrocious degradation in the condition of the people as to necessitate a series of protective enactments (Factory Acts), which were direct violations of his great principle of "natural liberty" from State interference. His hostility to State interference was, however, justified at the time by the incompetence and venality of the oligarchies which then discharged the functions of the State. His "Wealth of Nations," though very long and discursive, is still the most readable of the large English treatises on political economy; and a modern university professor of economics can hold his own when he has added to what it teaches him a knowledge of the elaborations made by Ricardo in the theory of rent, Jevons in that of value, and Walker and others on business profits. Adam Smith was educated at Glasgow University (1737-40) and Balliol College, Oxford, where he spent seven years. Four years after his return from Oxford to Scotland he became professor of logic and moral philosophy at his university in Glasgow, and became locally famous by his lectures, some of which he worked up into his "Theory of Moral Sentiments," published in 1759. In 1763 he gave up his professorship, and went to the Continent as tutor to the Duke of Buccleuch for a few years, during which he met Quesnay, the founder of individualist economics, and Turgot. He then retired to Kirkcaldy for ten years, in spite of the remonstrances of David Hume, who was indignant at so able a man hiding away in the country. Smith, however, was writing "Wealth of Nations," published in 1776, after which he spent two years in London. The Duke of Buccleuch then procured for him an appointment as Commissioner of Customs, which took him to Edinburgh, where he passed the rest of his life. He never married. His mother kept house for him until her death in 1784. His cousin, Jane Douglas, looked after him until 1788, when she, too, died, only a year before his own death. Socialists must not found their opinion of Adam Smith personally upon the criticisms of Marx. In his literary style he is as social as he is intelligent and honest. He was one of the most amiable of men; never lost his friends; and had, as far as can be discovered, no enemies. Although the notion that society would shake down into a happy "natural" adjustment if only Governments would cease meddling and coercing, was part of the intellectual revolt of eighteenth-century France against feudalism, and was therefore by no means an invention of Adam Smith's, yet it appealed the more to him because of his predisposition towards a healthy simplicity of life and manners, and an easy and spontaneous conciliation of individual interests. Before the reader has gone very far in "Wealth of Nations," he discovers that Adam Smith had a kinder feeling towards a porter than towards a philosopher, and that he was as credulous of any report favourable to the morals and even the good looks of the labouring class, as he was sceptical of the pretensions of statesmen, jurists, and big-wigs of all kinds. Even now he does not seem illiberal or old-fashioned on any subjects except those to which he gave no thought. And it is to be remembered, to his personal credit, that though he lived sufficiently within his means to make his friends eager to hear his will read, it was found that he had hoarded nothing, and had indeed very nearly achieved the final duty of leaving no more than enough to bury him.—G. B. S.

*Jack Cade*—Rebel; said to have been an Irishman, and young at the time of his death. Nothing is known of him until a year before the Rebellion, when he was living in a nobleman's family in Sussex, which he had to leave and fly the kingdom for a murder. Returning, he took a false name, gave himself out for a physician, and settled in Kent, where he gained so much credit as to marry a rich yeoman's daughter. Next thing we hear is that he is at the head of the Commons of Kent in arms against the King's extortions. It was neither an aristocratic nor democratic rising; no noble openly took part in it, nor was it wholly made up of the "scum and dregs" as some historians have described it. The greater part of the gentry, the mayors and burgesses of the towns, the constables

of the different hundreds, rose with the people. The feudal system was falling to pieces; was indeed to perish utterly save as a legal theory during the civil war that broke out five years later. The bonds of society were loosening on all sides, and open wrong was the order of the day; the Duke of Suffolk had been put to death by the people at Dover for his treachery and oppression, and Kent was threatened with heavy fines and other penalties therefor. The men of Kent were in no humour to stand this; they drew together a great army, well organized, and put forth a "formal complaint," in which their grievances are said to be excessive taxation; abuse of purveyance; appointment of unworthy persons of high office; undue interference of great men with the law; and exactions under colour of law; of these things and others they demanded redress. Cade was chosen captain, and led them on London. The rebellion broke out at Whitsun-tide; June 1 saw the army encamped on Blackheath, where Tyler had lain 70 years before. Here they "made a field, diked and staked well about, as it had been in a land of war," and lay there till the 6th; when the king came to London and sent them a deputation. Refusing their demands, he issued a proclamation against them and prepared for battle; they drew back to Sevenoaks. The Royal army occupied Blackheath, and part followed the rebels, who defeated them with much slaughter. Terrified by this his Council persuaded the King to send Lord Say, the head and front of the offending, to the Tower, and to return to London. A few days later he made a strategic movement to Kenilworth, and Cade came again to Blackheath; on July 1 he occupied Southwark. Next day it was voted by the Common Council that he should be received into the city, which was done, he forbidding his followers to plunder or in any way injure the citizens. Friday, July 3, he caused Lord Say to be brought from the Tower to the Guildhall for trial by the Lord Mayors and other justices. Refusing to be tried but by his peers, Cade had him taken out into Cheap and there beheaded. He also ordered the death of other extortionate oppressors of the people. So far the mass of the citizens of London had been with him, but now he began to give way either to his own desires or to the demands of his followers, and to indulge in a little plunder. Alarmed at this the citizens resolved to keep him out, and when he retired on Saturday night, as he had done every night, to Southwark to sleep, they occupied London Bridge to prevent his re-entry. Sunday he lay still, but at night attacked them, and the struggle was kept up with fury all night. At midnight the draw-bridge was set on fire, and many citizens slain or drowned, but they held on, and about nine in the morning the rebels were beaten back. Both parties were severely mauled, and the Council seized the moment to come forward with promises of general reform and a proclamation of amnesty. By treachery or mistake Cade's pardon was wrongly made out, and therefore invalid, and after waiting some days he sent off a barge-load of booty to Rochester and followed it by land with a remnant of his host; after lying at Rochester two days he tried to take Queenborough Castle, apparently to hold as a security. Repulsed with heavy loss, and 1,000 marks set upon his head, he made off in disguise; but being found by Squire Iden in his garden, was taken prisoner after a desperate resistance, in which he received a mortal wound. Taken to London in a cart, he died on the road; the poor revenge of beheading and quartering was wreaked on his dead body.—S.

*Henry and John Sheares.*—Sons of a Cork banker; born in Cork, Henry in 1753, John in 1766; educated at Trinity College. Henry entered the army, but left it for the law and was called to the bar in 1789; John had been called the year before; both had ample incomes outside their profession. They were strongly in sympathy with the French Revolution; and in 1792 went over to Paris, attended many political meetings, became acquainted with leading men, and were present at the execution of Louis XVI. They returned to England by the same vessel as Daniel O'Connell and his brother—they glorying in all they had seen, the O'Connell's tearing off the tricolour as soon as they were safely away, and cursing vehemently the *sans-culottes*. The brothers became United Irishmen, John afterwards taking the chair at public meetings; both attended the funeral of the Rev. W. Jackson. After this they were so strongly suspected by Government, that warrants were made out for their arrest and held ready. On the seizure of most of the members of the Leinster directory at Bond's, in March, 1798, and the enforced hiding of Lord Edward Fitzgerald, John took the place of the latter as chief organiser of the proposed rising. How far Henry was in it is not easy to say. In May, a Captain Armstrong wormed himself into their confidence, and soon had enough "evidence" to hang a regiment, especially with the aid of Reynolds and Major Sirr. (What would not Balfour give for helpers of this kind!) Monday, May 21, they were arrested, and tried on July 12; being defended by Curran, Plunket, and McNelly. In spite of a splendid fight on their behalf, they were found guilty after a "trial" which lasted all day and night. The verdict was given at 8 o'clock on the morning of the 13th; sentence was deferred till 3 in the afternoon—death, of course. They were hung next day, the 14th, in front of Newgate (Dublin).—S.

*The Baltimore and Ohio Strike.*—The workers are apt to have short memories; and thus they have most likely forgotten the great labour rebellion in the summer of 1877 in the United States. In fact, European workmen were never allowed to understand the "true inwardness" of that affair, and there is a "conspiracy of silence" in the newspaper press to bury the thing in oblivion. To-day such an outbreak might occur without warning, and people abroad wonder what occasioned it all. The cheap political tittle-tattle which is sent across the ocean and is dished up in London as "American news," is swallowed by newspaper readers as gospel. The truth is that presidents and governors and legislators in the United States are mere froth on the great social current. Earnest men take little heed of such insignificant rubbish. The great railway system of the North American Continent represents the veins and blood of all social connection. The men who tyrannise over those railways are the real rulers of the country, and it is to overthrow their iron reign that all social reformers unite their efforts. The Grant's and Garfield's, the Blaine's and Cleveland's, are only playthings. The greatest man on the American Continent to-day is a man whose name is rarely mentioned in the daily press, Mr. Huntington, the arbiter of a greater territory than Hannibal ever conquered or Napoleon put in tribute. Next to him come such men as young Mr. Garratt, the master of the Baltimore and Ohio Railway, the first of all American "trunk-lines," and one of seven great rivals for autocratic power over the Continent. Every one has heard of Mr. Vanderbilt, the late master of another of the seven, the New York Central Railway, but simply because he chose to make a display of profuse wealth in New York city. There was a Satanic appropriateness in his sudden death. These "great governing families" of America have their deadly rivalries and hatreds. The morning after one of Vanderbilt's master strokes against the Baltimore and Ohio system, young Garratt called at the famous palace on Fifth Avenue. Claudius or Nero were never more luxuriously surrounded than was the son of Cornelius Vanderbilt, the penniless longshoreman, when the son of his father's rival faced him for the first time. Vanderbilt was old and apoplectic; Garratt was young and choleric. The two kings were in secret conclave for only a few minutes, for this their first and last interview. Garratt walked out of the gorgeous residence on to the immaculate thirty-foot flags in front, leaving Vanderbilt dying on the floor, killed by his own passion. The rule of Garratt's has been more high-handed than any of the other railway kings, Jay Gould alone excepted, and Gould has never had undisputed sway, being properly a gambler not a simple exploiter and master. It was on the 14th of July, 1877, that the American labour "struggle to be free" began on the Baltimore and Ohio system. With what treachery and tyranny the revolt was suppressed, after the war had spread to the Pennsylvania system, will be alluded to later on. It is sufficient at present, in this the year of the presidential election; that there is something else happens in the United States besides the hollow scheming of political tricksters.—L. W.





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TWO ARMIES.

A VOICE FROM AMERICA.

No one but a Socialist, or one who believes as radically in a complete change of present systems, seems to recognise the constant existence of two great armies—the army of unemployed and the army of criminals—more often victims. Every half-way reformer, every one with a hobby, a panacea, or ameliorative measure, brings something that concerns the poor labouring man, some scheme of getting more comfort out of his meagre wages, some receipt for inflating a regular income however small, but nothing for the man with no income at all. They are conscious that here and there are men who have unfortunately "lost their jobs," but hope they will soon find something else—they do not realise that this army of unwilling idlers is an inevitable element in the present disorganisation of society. That men are out of work sometimes is generally considered an inconvenient accident; and it is not remembered that this certain number of men out of work, is a necessary part of the conditions civilisation in its present stage of development imposes. There is constantly a throng of about three million working-men out of employment in this country with that number steadily increasing and never really lessening. It may not always be the same three millions—the units change places. Here a shop shuts down; there a new enterprise is opened; now a new machine closes an old avenue of labour—again the manufacture of the machine gives employment to a few who were idle before. But at every new move a few more will be left out in the cold than were there previously. Each year, with new and complicated divisions of labour, which call for less effort than before on the part of human kind to accomplish the same result, each year sees the army larger. And there is no possible hope of anything better, until inventions are placed where they will do the worker the most good—and this means the complete overturning of the present society. But the army is ignored for all that. Some of the capitalistic papers have advocated very heroic methods of cure—such as strychnine, lead, bullets, etc., but that is all.

The economist gives many a wholesome word of advice to the worker about hoarding his earnings; denying himself good food, entertainment, small comforts and luxuries, beer and tobacco, though he derives more cheer from them than from anything else in his narrow life. He is told to "save" and let his wages go into a "home," forgetting there is one chance in fifty of his ever paying the whole amount and interest, try as he may. To the man who has literally nothing, of course the "economic" adviser has nothing to say, except "Why didn't you save your wages when you had work?"

It is irony to accuse a man of being extravagant on a dollar a day, but brutal to tell the person with nothing a day. The mild "friend of the labourer" can advise the toiler who has regular meals, meagre and poor though they be, to save out of one to make the next more bountiful, but such advice is lost on the tramp who has no meals at all. So the advocate of economy has no comfort to offer the "man out of work."

Then there is the philanthropic business man who would settle all the wrongs of the working-man by "profit sharing." He honestly has the good of his employes at heart, and if only the fierce competition between him and other business men would allow of such a course, he would pay his working-men well and give them more leisure hours and more holidays. If the profit-sharing system could become common, then the philanthropic man could ease his conscience and save his business at the same time. But this would not help the "man out of work." Profit-sharing and philanthropy would not put more men at work than would "pay" after all. And the bottom principle, the underlying wrong, that forces three millions of men to be unwillingly idle in a prosperous country, is as yet untouched. Men still must beg a chance to labour, too often in vain, and the masses are as insecure in their position as ever.

The co-operationists—those who gather up the financially-able, and take them to some far-off corner where the evils of civilisation do not buzz about their ears so loudly—these have no use for the very poor, the homeless, workless, friendless tramps, nor their wives and children. They may build up a paradise sometime in the future for those who have money and strength enough to live till the paradise comes. But utter poverty is not wanted. The white-faced sewing-woman, the stunted factory child, the man hopelessly hunting work—these have as little hope of participating in the blessings of isolated co-operative schemes as they have of securing stock in the West Side Railway Company. The co-operative associationists help people who can help themselves; the people who have nothing, who want to work and are not allowed, these remain in their misery.

Even the person who believes intoxicating liquors is the cause of nearly all the poverty and misery in existence can say but little to a man thrown out of work on account of a machine—run by his own child, perhaps—who hasn't even five cents to buy a glass of beer. The temperance lecturer may deeply regret that a kindly bestowed nickel finds its direct way into the beer saloon, but after all, more comfort is derived from it there than anywhere else. Wherever it goes, there is no probability of a steady flow of nickels, and what difference can the expenditure of a few stray pennies make to a man who rarely sees them?

The new discoveries in science, labour-saving machinery, and inventions; the steady monopolisation of all opportunities, the private ownership of natural resources, and the consequent crushing out of the middle classes, are creating more and more idle men every day—thronging of people with absolutely no resources. The ameliorative measures do not touch them. The toilers who have places drudge-harder, and those who have none must plead more submissively, as the system grinds on. The time will come when this army of unemployed—the recruiting ranks of the criminal army—must be recognised. It is a factor in the great unsolved problem before us, and cannot be cancelled. These men have not just happened there—they are not ciphers to fill up space, but units left over from wrong divisions, and they belong somewhere. They cannot very long be ignored. Is it the part of wisdom to recognise them now as part of the problem, or shall we wait until desperation shocks an apathetic society?

LIZZIE M. SWANK, in Chicago *Labour Enquirer*.

AUSTRALIAN NOTES.

The unemployed of Melbourne (rich section) to hold a *levee* at Government House on Thursday, the 24th inst., the other section will doubtless fill in the time by starving under the trees in public parks.

Bulli miners have sent a donation of £10 to the South Waratah men who are on strike. The Miners' Secretary is advertising the strike in various papers with a view to keep other miners from coming to take the places of the strikers. Why not ask the workers to boycott the South Waratah coal?

Judge Wilkinson says that so far as his "experience goes no two persons can agree as to whether a salary is good or bad. The person who pays it says it is good, and the person who receives it is always complaining about its smallness." The only way out of the difficulty is to make every man his own employer.

The coal miners of New South Wales say the Government ought to ventilate the mines of the colony, or see that they are properly ventilated; and at the same time they make a cobbler Minister for Mines and send in the mine-owners to instruct him in the art of ventilating the mines.

"Why does the Government allow such filth amongst the Chinese in Lower George Street, Sydney?" asked a correspondent of a Sydney paper the other day; apparently oblivious of the fact that the owners of the filthy premises are the Powers that Be.

*Australian Radical*, May 12th, '88.

## TRAFALGAR SQUARE AGAIN.

NOTWITHSTANDING the "decision" given by In-Justices Wills and Grantham on Friday, or it may be (*should* be) on account of it, a determined attempt was made to hold a meeting in Trafalgar Square on Saturday afternoon, and when Mr. Conybeare, M.P., Mr. Saunders, and other leaders of the movement took up a position on one of the parapets on the south side of the square, about four o'clock, some 3,000 persons were present. Handbills, containing resolutions against police tyranny, and calling on the Government to uphold the rights of the public, were freely distributed amongst the crowd, which was kept continuously on the move by the small body of police in attendance. At a quarter past four Mr. Saunders, speaking from the parapet, moved the first resolution: "That the government of London by proclamation, without the sanction of the law, is an outrage upon liberty and a gross breach of trust on the part of the Government." The police now came forward and endeavoured to cut off the speakers from the crowd, but carefully avoiding meanwhile both Mr. Saunders and Mr. Conybeare. A second resolution, according to the printed programme, was timed to be put at half-past four, but some few minutes before that time the police made an attack on Messrs. Saunders and Conybeare. The united force, however, of an inspector, two sergeants, and eight policemen failed to shift them. They clung to the stone coping with both arms, and stolidly maintained their ground. At this time a crowd of male and female Socialists had taken possession of the line of parapet; everybody that could—men and women, clung to the coping. The police were strongly reinforced, and a running fight began—if a fight it can be called—where all the blows were on one side.

Mr. Saunders, a few minutes after time, put the second resolution, one about the Channel tunnel, which was seconded, and while the crowd cheered and waved hats it was declared to be carried. During the efforts to remove the people from the coping, a woman was severely ill-treated, and a member of the Patriotic Club rushed forward, and, clinging to the coping, shouted a vehement protest. He obstinately resisted all the efforts of the police to remove him, and as he was being brutally illused, a number of men ran to his rescue and tried to beat the police away. They succeeded, and stood round him whilst he once more addressed the meeting, streaming with blood. The police had not only been kicking and beating him, but also biting his hands to make him let go his hold. This they did to several others also—thereby justifying the title they have already won, of "Warren's Wolves." In the fight which took place, an elderly-looking gentleman was arrested and taken off to King Street station, charged with assaulting the police. He gave the name of Mr. J. Norman, of Brixton. The attack by the police became so general along the parapet that, at the appointed time, the third resolution was formally moved without any speech, and then Mr. Conybeare and others, accompanied by their solicitor, went with the man Borgia to Scotland Yard, to lodge a complaint with the Commissioner of the brutal conduct of the police. After that they went to King Street police-station, and brought Mr. Norman out on bail. In the meantime the fighting in the Square had continued. At six o'clock the police began to clear it, and two boys and one man were arrested. While they were being conveyed to King Street police-station the crowd followed, hooting and jeering; near the Horse Guards an attempt was made to rescue the prisoners, but after a severe struggle they were got to the station.

The futility of the policy hitherto pursued has been made perfectly clear, and a small beginning has been made once more in earnest to assert popular rights in the London forum. How that beginning will be followed up it is hard to say, though popular apathy and cowardice make it most probable that it will not be followed at all. The *Star* on Monday yelled as usual about Irish coercion, but dismissed the Square in a few lines of report, making no comment. The *Pall Mall* was so occupied in piercing the millstone of European politics with its eagle eye that it could not spare time to look through the ladder at its door. The *Daily News*, with its smug Whig smile, saw nothing of the unrespectable affair, its attention fixed on the nobler matters of place-hunting and parliament. The *Daily Chronicle*, wonderful to say, was the one paper to give a decent report.

In the police-courts on Monday Mr. Norman was remanded, and a poor man was fined a pound for, as far as could be seen, the sole offence of having his head broken. On Tuesday a summons was granted against the police in Borgia's case. The efficient officers 544 A and 75 M, who particularly distinguished themselves by heroically heading the charge against Borgia, will now have a chance of qualifying for canonisation along with Endacott, Bloy, and the glorious army of other Moral Miracles. X.

EAST-END MATCH MAKERS.—In the *Link* of June 23rd there was an article by Annie Besant, entitled "White Slavery in London," containing statements as to the amount of wages which Bryant and May, the match makers, pay to their workgirls. The statements were given by some of the girls, and three, on whom suspicion has fallen, have been discharged. Annie Besant and Herbert Burrows pledged their word to the girls that if any of them were discharged in consequence of the statements made by them, their wages should be paid till they could find other work. The amount required is about eighteen shillings per week for the three, and we appeal to those of our readers who can afford to help to pay this sum to send any subscription, however small, to Annie Besant, 34, Bouverie Street, Fleet Street, E.C. She has till now received £1 from Mr. Conybeare, M.P., 10s. from another M.P., 10s. from a member of the Merchant Tailors' Company, and 5s. from Miss Mussell. A meeting of protest against Messrs. Bryant and May's action with regard to these poor girls will shortly be called in the East-end.

## CORRESPONDENCE.

## PROPAGANDA BY SONG.

In the issue of the *Commonweal* for June 23, W. Mitchell of Dalston makes some enquiries concerning a Socialist choir, very rightly pointing out the important aid that music is or should be to Socialist propaganda. He may be interested to know that in the Hammersmith Branch a choir has been formed for some time past, meeting regularly for practice every week, and that some attempt is now being made to utilise several of the lately published "Chants of Labour." I am convinced, however, that anything beyond local choirs in such a vast place as London is impracticable, the distances being so great and our time so precious—so much to be done, and so few hands to do it. At the same time I may point out that if the different Branches would form choirs to meet at least once a-week to study carefully the most suitable of these and other revolutionary songs, it might be possible for such choirs to meet *en masse* occasionally for practice for some special demonstration or meeting. I hope our London friends will do something in this way.

Perhaps it is hardly fair to make any sort of criticism on E. Carpenter's book in a passing letter like this, but it should be noted that it is entirely a mistake to take a well-known patriotic air to which stupid and boasting doggerel is inevitably wedded in men's minds, and sing words of a revolutionary nature thereto. There are many fine tunes—Welsh, English, and so forth—which are scarcely known at all, and it is these that should be brought forward and fitted to suitable words to be sung at our weekly meetings in the parks and streets. MAY MORRIS.

## PIECE-WORK.

SIR,—I have read with great interest the article on "Piece-work" in the last number of the *Commonweal*, and I wish to make a few observations on the subject of a special character. I am a compositor, and a member of the London society of that trade. In theory it may be admitted that some trades-unionists are opposed to piece-work, but in practice—I am speaking now of the society above mentioned—this opposition takes only the form of a private opinion. I assert without fear of contradiction that the London Society of Compositors would cease to exist if the system of working "by the piece" were insisted on as contrary to the fundamental principles of that body, and I assert further that the very iniquities perpetrated under that system flourish under the protecting wings of the leaders of said body. The piece system alone makes it possible that so many of the large book-printing establishments still adhere to the rules of the society; without that system they could not compete with those houses who are a law unto themselves. I have tried both sides, union and non-union houses, and I have found out that the difference is so small between them that one might work as well in the one as in the other, the iniquities of the piece system being essentially the same in both cases. The writer of the article referred to, assumed, and the assumption is theoretically a correct one, that the piece system was more advantageous to the worker than the time system. In my trade just the contrary is true. Keeping in mind that I speak for the book-compositor (the news-compositor is better situated), my experience shows that work given out as piece-work is of such a nature that more time is consumed in its accomplishment than could give to the compositor his fair wage. Sometimes the difficulties and hindrances are such that the best and most industrious workman cannot earn more than say from 15 to 25 shillings a-week. It is at such starvation wages that all the composition of the technical and scientific literature of this the greatest centre of printing in the whole world is done. There are thousands of compositors in London suffering under this besotted, cast-iron, hide-bound piece system. They grumble, they curse it, but they have to endure it. The society does not help them, perhaps does not wish to help them. Those outside the society are of course no better off, only they have no society dues to pay, and in this their position is the more rational of the two.

To some specially luminous minds it would appear that the piece system might be altered so that all the extra-time-consuming factors in any kind of work might be taken in account—in short, that a scale might be devised which would ensure to the worker a wage say of about 30s. per week. Such scales have been devised in France, in Germany, in Switzerland. If the British mind cannot at once rise to the whole grandeur of such a conception, some foreign comrades would no doubt be willing to give lessons, or the officers of some foreign society might be consulted. I know this is the country of sweet simplicity, of plain rules, of plain systems. But even here it would not be required of a tailor to accept the same wage for the making of a fine gentleman's suit as for the making of a corduroy suit.

I know these are revolutionary views. They cannot fail to upset the English trades-unionist's mind. But when a man like myself has worked for native and foreign Jew sweaters, when after unceasing, worrying, brain-killing toil on some work like Volapük, or some grammar with six different types in the same line, after wandering through Greek, Latin, three or four kinds of Saxon, German, French, down to modern English, grasped at through a kind of compositor's inspiration, and received, "under the piece system," 18s. as a week's earnings, such a man, even when satisfied with the comforts of a philosopher, cannot fail to think sometimes that there must be something wrong in the piece system. Grant that there is something holy about the system, something venerable, yet the conditions of the work are always changing, and a scale which might have been adequate at the time when Shakespeare wrote his plays is not of necessity a just scale in this improving age.

I know that this is not a Socialist but a trades-unionist question. At the same time a good many Socialists are suffering under it, and so long as we all have to live under this cursed system we ought to mend it a little. Of course the proper thing to do would be to end the piece system in all classes of book work, but this is at present only a vision of an unwilling ascetic. J. B. LUCHSINGER.

NEWARK, N. J.—The General Working-men's Union met at Charles Weiss' Phoenix Park Hall, Newark, Sunday afternoon. Mr. Frey occupied the chair. H. Charles, late of London S. L., now of New York, lectured on the labour movement. He said that organisation on a revolutionary basis was a necessity. Strikes and boycotts were comparatively useless nowadays, because the development of trusts, machinery, and the army of the unemployed rendered the working-men powerless. He advised Socialists and Anarchists to unite in the interest of the common cause.

# THE LABOUR STRUGGLE.

## BRITAIN.

From Friday (20th ult.), 25,000 cotton operatives engaged in the Bolton spinning mills have received an advance of 5 per cent. in their wages, and the strippers and grinders 10 per cent., while the ironworkers at various establishments in the town receive back 7 per cent. and  $\frac{1}{2}$  per cent. taken from them in 1886-7.

**STRIKE AT WOKINGTON.**—About 500 men are at present out of employment at Wokington, owing to the strike of rail mill and steel furnace-men at the West Cumberland Iron and Steel Works against a proposed reduction in wages. In consequence the Bessemer department, rail mill, and rail finishing works are stopped.

**AN ADVANCE CONCEDED.**—The dispute in the Halifax iron trade has been settled by the masters consenting to pay the wages which were given in 1886, from the first pay-day in August. This will, in many cases, amount to an increase of 10 per cent. On their side the men have rescinded their resolution against overtime. Had the dispute continued, nearly 2,000 men and boys would have come out on strike on the 2nd of July.

**STRIKE AT HEBBURN COPPER WORKS.**—On Monday 25th a large number of the men out on strike at the Tharsis Sulphur and Copper Works, Hebburn, and at Willington Quay, held a meeting at the Argyle Hotel, Hebburn New Town. The men resolved to continue the strike, and were more hopeful than ever that it would have a satisfactory result. They continue to hold meetings and are heartily supported by the local public.

**ANOTHER TYNE WAGES DISPUTE.**—The dispute which inadvertently arose on Monday morning 25th with Swan and Hunter, shipbuilders, Wallsend, and the joiners in the employment of the firm previous to the late strike, has been amicably settled. About 50 of the men resumed work on Thursday, and the other hands who formerly worked in the yard, most of whom live in Newcastle and Shields, and were, consequently, unaware that a settlement had been effected, started Friday morning.

**WROUGHT NAIL TRADE.**—The operatives engaged in the nail trade in the Rowlep, Old Hill, and surrounding districts continue in a most disorganised state, and, as a consequence, the wages of the nailers are being constantly reduced in various ways. As an illustration of the deplorable state of things existing in the trade, it may be mentioned that one aged but skilled workman received, after deductions for carriage and other things had been made, the sum of 4s. 4d. for a whole week's work.

**THE SWEATING INQUIRY.**—A trade unionist complains in the *Star* of the manner in which this inquiry is conducted. He says it has been confined to the furniture trade, and that evidence as to other notorious sweaters has been refused by Arnold White or his agent on the ground that evidence about Messrs. Maple was all that was required. He adds that some of the members of Mr. Parnell's society are so dissatisfied that they have elected two of their number to represent them, independent of White.

**STRIKE IN CABLE CHAIN TRADE.**—Another large meeting of cable chain-makers on strike was held on Wednesday 27th at Red Lion Inn, Cradley Road, Cradley Heath, Rowley Regis. Mr. Luke Johnson stated that the demand of the workmen—viz., 1s. 7d. per cwt.—was admitted to be reasonable, and the employers were not justified in reducing wages as they had several times done during the last twelve months. Mr. T. Homer, of Cradley Heath, said he was fully convinced that the strike would not be of long duration. It was resolved to continue the strike until the employers pay 1s. 7d. per cwt.

**NUT AND BOLT TRADE.**—With reference to the strike announced in this column last week, a further meeting of nut and bolt makers was held on Thursday at the Cross Guns Inn, New Street, Darlaston, to consider the action of the employers in enforcing a reduction in wages. The following resolution was carried unanimously: "This meeting agrees to give notice on July 7 for a return to the 1881 list of prices, less 5 per cent., on condition that the nut and bolt makers in the Smethwick, Birmingham, and Hockley districts will pledge themselves to render support during the strike, should one take place."

**FEMALE CIGARMAKERS' STRIKE AT NOTTINGHAM.**—The workers of this country should be grateful to the female cigarmakers of Nottingham for the brave stand they are making against their masters. They have just issued a boycott circular—so far as I am aware, the first in this country—against the firm. It takes the form of a small handbill, asking cigarmakers and the public in general "to remember the man who would reduce the wages of the girls." I also understand that some larger bills have been posted up about the town of a similar character. This is indeed cheering news, and we wish them every success.—H. D.

**A FEATHER IN THE CAP OF THE MIDLAND COUNTIES TRADE FEDERATION.**—The last issue of the *Midland Counties Express* contains the following compliment to the above-named federation:—"The advantage of combination amongst working-men has been strikingly exemplified by the speedy settlement of the dispute at the Rowley Hall Colliery. Twice recently these men have had to cease work on account of actual and threatened infringements upon their rights and privileges, and as often have they been able to maintain them through their connection with the Midland Counties Trades Federation. This is one of many instances in which this valuable organisation has successfully operated in defence of the rights of labour."

**IRONWORKERS' DISPUTE.**—Monday morning, July 2, an adjourned meeting of ironworkers was held at Swan Inn, Great Bridge, for the purpose of trying to induce men to join the association, and further, to consider what steps it would be advisable to take in reference to a dispute that has arisen at the Great Bridge Iron and Steel Company's works, namely, a proposal made by the masters to take off 6d. per ton for making "fours." A workman presided. Addresses were delivered by the chairman and several of the workmen, and a resolution was unanimously passed that those present would decline to make "fours" unless they were paid at the same rate as formerly—viz., without the proposed deduction of sixpence per ton. A deputation was also selected to wait upon the masters and to convey the resolution.

**ENGINEERS' STRIKE ON THE TYNE.**—A largely-attended meeting of engineers on strike in the mid-river district of the Tyne was held in the Co-operative Hall, Wallsend, on Tuesday, 26th ult., when the proposals made by the masters at their meeting in Newcastle on Monday were discussed. The result was not officially announced, but it is stated that they decided against accepting the compromise offered—namely, 1s. a week advance all round, and an additional 6d. on time wages over 30s. a-week, the latter to take effect in August. The feeling of the meeting seemed to be that the

advance should be the same all round. July 2.—The dispute was settled on Saturday, after a strike of nearly three weeks. The masters have conceded an immediate advance of 1s. 6d. all round, and an additional 6d. to men earning over 30s. a-week, the latter not to take effect till a month hence.

**NOTTINGHAMSHIRE MINERS.**—These, of whom there are 17,000, are being organised. They work from nine to ten hours a day, with an average wage of from 17s. to 18s. per week. The royalties are very heavy in some parts of this district, as, for instance, the Annesley Colliery, which has from 600 to 800 men, pays £50 per week royalty all the time the work is going on. Another evil is the limited liability companies which abound close to the town of Nottingham. The constant endeavours of these bodies to reduce wages naturally creates considerable feeling among the men. A strike against a reduction is now going on at the Wellaton Colliery, 650 men being out. On Wednesday a meeting was held. The masters have refused arbitration. Nottingham comrades are talking to the men. The miners of this district are looking with interest to the action of their brethren in other parts of the kingdom, and will fall into line for a general advance of wages.

The drivers of the mail carts are not servants of the Crown, but are employed and paid by the contractors. We believe this is correct. Well, we open our columns to the drivers or to the contractors as well, to give a little information to the general public. Is it a fact that, previous to the present contractors taking over the affair, that the drivers were allowed certain articles of clothing, and when a new batch was delivered to them they were allowed to keep the old ones? This was looked upon as a privilege, and this privilege is now stopped, as the men have to return their old clothes. Was the original wages of these drivers from £1 to 35s. per week, according to the rides? and the maximum has now been reduced to 28s. Further, that those who get the higher scale are continually being found fault with for the most trivial things, and after being thrice cautioned they are discharged, and those who take their seats are only paid 20s. for the same rides? We hear these items on good authority, but can hardly credit them, and should like to hear further on the subject from those concerned. If this wholesale reduction of wages is a fact, can it be traced to the reason that the Department have beat the contractors down to such a figure that they are compelled to make their employees suffer, or is it a case of more, wanting more, or shall we put it down to the "wheel tax" rumour, and that back pay will yet be given?—*Postal Service Gazette*.

## UNITED STATES—JUNE 16.

The Pennsylvania Tube Works, employing 800 men, has announced a 10 per cent. cut in wages.

The stonemasons of Baltimore have asked for an advance from 3 dollars 50 c. to 4 dols. per day for the coming season.

Great preparations are being made throughout the States for the celebration of Labour Day, Monday, September 3rd.

Ship carpenters of Bath, Me., have struck against a reduction from 2 dols. 50 c. to 2 dols. The Carpenters' Brotherhood organised eighty new local assemblies in January, February, and March.

The Bakers' National Union has ordered a strike of all bakers in Pittsburg, exclusive of the South Side, which order went into effect Sunday night. They are striking for the recognition of their men and to secure eleven hours as a day's work, except on Saturday, when eighteen hours is allowable.

According to an estimate in Bradstreet's, the whole number of strikes last year in the United States was 858; involving 340,854 wage-workers. Returns from 389 labour organisations in New Jersey give a membership of 57,692—40,172 being Knights of Labour and 17,790 trade unionists.

140 men employed in the blast furnace-depot of Joliet, Ill., Steel Works, struck, bringing work to a standstill. They claim the management is not living up to agreements, but is endeavouring during a boom to run the establishment on a dull-time basis, with a short force and a ten per cent. reduction in wages.

McLanahan, Smith, and Co., of Halliday's Burch, Pa., invited their striking puddlers to go to work at 3 dols. 75 c. a-ton, but they refused, demanding 3 dols. 85 c. The firm thereupon discharged them, and will start up the mills with non-union men. All the iron mills have been idle here for seven weeks, and 700 men are out of employment.

The silk workers of the United States have formed a national trades-district of the K. of L., with a membership of 18,000. It will interest silk workers to know that the strike of weavers in the Rhenania silk mill at College Point, N. Y., is settled by compromise. They are to get 18 dollars a-week and the non-strikers must join the union.

Fifty-one unions are now said to be connected with the German Federated Trades of Newark (N. J.). The Jersey City Socialists are reported to have established night schools for their children and the working-men of their party. The Annual Labour Congress of the New Jersey Federation of Trades and Labour Unions will be held on the third Monday in August in the State House, Trenton, N. J.

NEW YORK, June 30.—All the iron mills in the Western States except those worked by non-union men closed to-day, the workers refusing to accept the manufacturers' scale of wages, which involved a 10 per cent. reduction. The strike is expected to last about two months, as both parties are well prepared. About 80 mills and 100,000 workmen are involved. Trouble is expected; in spite of the silly rumour that the bosses were glad of a chance to work off stock and the men to rest (!) during hot weather (!). The men can't live on the weather; and if they can, they won't.

The Minneapolis, Minn., sewing girls who struck were receiving 3 $\frac{1}{2}$ , 5, and 8 cents for shirts; 9 and 8 cents for jean trousers; 15 cents for three-stitch jean trousers; cashmere trousers, 14 cents; engineers' jackets, 6 cents; California overalls, 7 cents; bib overalls, 5 cents; and for double-seam overalls, 90 cents a dozen. In Massachusetts 12,000 children under 14 years are working in the mills and shops. The age at which children may be employed in Ohio workshops and factories has been raised to 12 years. During the past year a law was enacted compelling employers to furnish seats for women employes.

Some time ago the Cigarmakers' International Union of America got out an injunction against Emanuel Bamberger, of Cincinnati, O., to prevent his using a fac-simile of the union label on boxes of cigars not made by union men and thus injuring the members of the union. Judge Maxwell heard the case and made the temporary injunction perpetual. The case went to the Circuit Court on error. That court has affirmed the decision. New Haven cigarmakers have also obtained an injunction against a firm for using a bogus label. And they have followed this by a suit for 5,000 dollars damages. New York Cigar Makers' International Union No. 144, at its quarterly general meeting, reported 1,587 good standing members, and the union's property is valued at 18,095 dollars. Receipts for the last quarter averaged 7,473, and expenditure 7,071 dollars.



## INTERNATIONAL NOTES.

## ITALY.

**MANTUA.**—The murmurings of a crowd is heard in the town, which draws all citizens to the windows and doors to see whatever sight may be. It is a caravan of emigrants passing through the town on its way to Genoa and the sea, and consists of some 150 country-folk, men, women, and children, whole families leaving their villages on the hill-side or along the wide channel of the river shrunken up to a thread in the summer months, to try their luck in America. The women and children are seated in carts among their household stuffs, and the men walk behind urging on the mules and horses. The hopelessness of the home-life of country-folk like these drives them to seek the only "change of air" possible to them, and doubtless the change and new sights and distractions refreshes them a little bit, but this is all the "good" they will get out of the emigration craze.

**CALATAFIMI.**—Last April about 16 people who took part in a "hunger demonstration" were arrested and put aside for trial when it should suit the pleasure of the law to trouble about them at all. In spite of the defence of an able lawyer, among the number only seven have been let off, the remaining nine being sentenced to three months' imprisonment. The sentence has made a bad impression on the townsfolk, who expected, says *La Nuova Età*, more indulgence for the poor souls who were merely victims of police arrogance and provocation.

**SAN CATALDO.**—The number of the workers in the mines here has been reduced, and thence the competition among the men for field-work, the masters immediately reducing the tariff. Fourteen hours' laborious work for 85, 60, and 25 centesimi (English, 8 $\frac{1}{2}$ d., 6d., and 2 $\frac{1}{2}$ d.)!

**ALTAVILIA (AVELLINO)** have mutinied because they have received no wages for five months (1.50 lire a-day the maximum).

F. S. Merlino has written a Manual of Economic Science for Workingmen (*Manuale di Scienza Economica*, Pietro Vasai, Florence), which puts the past and present position of Economics in clear and simple words for the use of those who have little time for the study of larger works, nor much opportunity for collecting and comparing facts for themselves. The writer has avoided as much as possible in such a work those technicalities which are unto many Socialists who propound the Faith the most grievous pitfalls; yet it must not be thought that he goes to the other extreme with the ornate words and vague generalities which are thought by some to be all that the "lower orders" can take in on this complex subject. In short, Merlino expounds his views in a simple straightforward manner which should render the Manual very useful to Italian Socialists. The last chapter or heading, on the future social economy, is to our thinking almost too much condensed. The difficulties of writing on this subject we fully appreciate, but venture to think that more might be written thereon even at the risk of "troubling the waters" considerably: a little distraction from the dreary facts of to-day which we have to face and think out, whether we like it or not, might be refreshing and not unwelcome. The manual is workmanlike and thoughtful, as indeed are all Merlino's writings that we have read. M. M.

## GERMANY.

A great number of Social Democrats have been sentenced at Leipzig to more than twenty-one years' imprisonment in all for distributing a very harmless leaflet on the 18th of March. One of the imprisoned, a compositor, the son of the old Lassallean Toelcke, became mad in prison, as also did one secretly incarcerated at Elberfeld. It is the common practice in this country to shut up Socialists under any pretext for months, and then to collect "materials" against them, meanwhile to torture them by incessant judicial examinations. If nothing can be found against them, it may really happen that they are again set free after so many months. At Berlin even, a number of bricklayers charged with forming a trades union were discharged; but to square matters at present again a number of potters are on trial for a similar "offence." Three papers have also been prohibited—at Bremen (*Volkszeitung*), Koeln (*Gerichtszeitung*), and Hamburg (*Neue Bauhandwerker*). So we see that all these mean things can be done as well without Puttkammer as with him.

## DENMARK AND NORWAY.

The annual congress of the Danish Social Democrats will be held at Copenhagen on July 13, 14, 15. In the same town, on August 16-18th, a congress of Danish trades unions will be held, to which Sweden and Norway will send delegates.

At Bergen a biography of the Socialist, S. Pihl (died April 17), has been edited (price 15 ore).

## AUSTRIA-HUNGARY.

It is reported from Kronstadt (Transylvania) that in the adjoining village of Foeldoar the legal commission appointed to carry out the amalgamation of small agricultural holdings has been attacked by the people, more than 1,000 persons, whose revolt was at the end quelled, as usual, by the gendarmes, who fired amongst them. The affair has no importance in itself, but shows how deep discontent and revolutionary spirit are rooted in the Slavonian, Roumanian, and Hungarian peasants. They have a much firmer conviction than those in more civilised countries that the land belongs to them, that their landlords and masters are their enemies; and they are only kept down by military despotism, chiefly by the gendarmes, who, without much responsibility, frequently use their repeating rifles and revolvers on them. But here and there, often from apparently illogical reasons, they combine together, upset the authorities in one commune, and then the revolt spreads. Remember the large riots in Russia and Hungary, a few years ago, against the Jews, as is commonly said, but in fact against capitalists and landlords; in the first moment misled by holding the village usurer for the only cause of their misery, they soon attacked rich Christians also, and their anger turned against the masters. Since 1886, again, peasant revolts in Galicia (Poland) are frequent, the immediate motive of them being of late some law on the maintenance of public highways, forcing back the peasants on this point nearly to the level of serfs. The great peasant revolts between 1840 and 1850 in this country are known; the Austrian Government, perfidious as ever, first tolerated it, wishing the Polish szlachta (landholding aristocracy) to be broken, but, like every revolt, it turned against the State and its organs alike, and so it was bloodily repressed. In Croatia, four or five years ago, such a trifling matter as the painting the Hungarian arms on public notice-boards initiated a revolt, the reason and nature of which will be clear when we know that facts like the following are quite common there. The tax-collectors suck out the country; thousands of small holdings are sold by auction every year, and bought by the State or by money-grabbers; e.g., a farm worth £20 was put up for sale

for 10s. arrears of taxes; other peasants were not allowed to bid, under the quite legal pretext that they could not deposit this sum on the table in money, which the representative of the fiscal, of course, did, and so the farm was knocked down to him (viz., the State itself) at the first bidding for 2s. The Servian movement is quite on a level with the others. In this country, even more than in those already mentioned, Socialist agitation has done its share in stirring up the people. Finally the Roumanian revolts, larger than any thought of before, occurred quite recently, and the Government is still busy in crushing and prosecuting who they think are the leaders. If coercion alone helps no more, they use their old weapon, which will always do its share, namely, to raise and foster national hatred, and so they now sent to Moldavia soldiers just from these parts, in which old animosities against the Moldavians exist. These peasants have no interest in and deeply distrust political matters; they know what they see: the landlords, usurers, and tax collectors, as representatives of the beneficent State exploiting them, the military service wasting the best years of their sons, and the gendarmes, etc., helping the rich. So they, more than people with so-called political education, realise the fact that the social and not the political conditions must be altered, and, once the central power of the State is broken, they will go in for that in their own way. \* \*

## THE GOSPEL OF THE GUN.

In order to protect the collecting agents and emergency men, the War Office a while ago sent a military force who will carry with them an adequate supply of ball cartridges to help collect the tithes in Wales, and we hear of their doings from time to time. This is the full development of latter day Christianity as expounded by bludgeons and "ball cartridges." Stanley the evangeliser of the African savage uses the same means to illustrate the glorious gospel of peace and good-will on earth to all men; and at home the unfortunate Welsh are made to pay for what they neither desire nor receive—i.e., the ministrations of an alien clergy—by the use of murderous weapons.

The land thief having stolen the means of subsistence here below, appoints his nincompoop younger sons as clerical prigs to point a way hereafter; and they forage themselves by robbing hard-working people of their goods and chattels. Pretty disciples of him who knew not where to lay his head!

When carrying on a Socialist campaign in Wales, I frequently was met with the common objection that under a Socialist system the lazy man would share in the proceeds of the industrious man's toil. A totally groundless fear; but, by the way, the lazy man is just now showing the Welsh people, and for that matter the world, what he can do when backed by Government forces to preach the doctrine of love thy neighbour as thyself, and to pay for the preach by seizing your neighbour's goods. And such is the gospel as rendered by an adequate supply of ball cartridges! F. K.

## THE SOCIALIST LEAGUE.

OFFICES: 13 FARRINGTON ROAD, E.C.

The Offices of the Socialist League will be open for the sale of *Commonweal* and all other Socialist publications from 8.30 a.m. to 9 p.m. every day except Sunday. The Secretary will be in attendance from 10 a.m. to 9 p.m. daily.

## "COMMONWEAL" PRINTING FUND.

C. J. F., 2s. 6d.; P. W., 6d.; Langley, 2s.; K. F., 1s.

East-end Propaganda Fund.—V. D., 2s. 6d. Collected at Princes Square Club, 2s. 3 $\frac{1}{2}$ d. J. LANE, Treasurer.

## REPORTS.

**FULHAM.**—Sunday morning, Catterson Smith and Groser spoke to good audience. Fair sale of *Weal*. In evening, Morris addressed capital meeting outside rooms. Some opposition easily disposed of. 3s. 1d. collected during the day.

**MERTON.**—Good meeting on Mitcham Fair Green Sunday, addressed by Eden and Kitz. Good sale of *Commonweal*, and 1s. 5 $\frac{1}{2}$ d. collected for use of Vestry Hall.—W. G. E.

**HAMMERSMITH.**—Meeting held at Acton Green (opposite Duke of Sussex) by Harnett, Mordhurst, and Tochatti, Chamberlain supporting Tochatti, who was the speaker; 9 *Commonweals* sold.—M. H.

**BRADFORD.**—A student from Glasgow University, at present officiating at Ingleby Road Congregational Chapel, about three weeks ago lectured on "Socialistic Methods," and has given occasion for good work to be done. Wednesday, 20th, good discussion in Branch; 27th, read paper on "Competition," useful debate. We are to have another lecture on the 11th inst. Sunday 1st, Maguire, Paylor, and Minty accompanied our branch on a 25 miles walk round Rombald's Moor, and there lectured at Laycock's Temperance Hotel. *Weals* and pamphlets sold. Paylor lectures here on 15th.—P. B.

**NORWICH.**—During week, meetings held at Thorpe, Yarmouth, and St. Catharine's Plain. On Sunday, Mainwaring (London) was with us. Good meetings held Sunday morning at St. Faith's, St. Paul's Plain, and St. Mary's Plain, by Mowbray, Morley, Poynts, and Mainwaring. In afternoon, large meeting in Market Place by Mowbray and Mainwaring. Meeting also held on Crostwick Common by Poynts, Barker, and Browne. In evening, another meeting in the Market Place by Mowbray and Mainwaring; slight opposition easily disposed of by Mainwaring. Very good collections and fair sale of *Weal*.—A. T. S.

**WALSALL.**—On Monday, Tarn (Birmingham) lectured on "Human Nature." Burns (Birmingham, S.D.F.) and Tarn also addressed open-air meeting Saturday. Sanders lectured to Liberal Club, Bilston, Friday evening, and heartily received. Also held good open-air meeting at West Bromwich. Good audience addressed by Carless, Guillemard, and Russell, Sunday morning on West Bromwich Road; considerable discussion.—J. T. D.

## EAST-END PROPAGANDA.

As usual good meetings were held at our various stations last week, though, owing to the illness of two of our speakers, we were unable to carry out all the advertised meetings. We have also found it is necessary to have more speakers than one at our meetings, so have been compelled to drop some of our stations to enable us to send more speakers to the others. We hope all friends and sympathisers living near our places of meeting, will attend and help us either in selling *Commonweal* or otherwise. Comrades who have not yet joined a party of bill-posters or leaflet distributors, are earnestly requested to do so at their earliest convenience.

**BRISTOL SOCIALISTS.**—Open-air meetings resumed this season at old spot, Goodhind Street; no opposition; Socialism readily received by most who listen. We are much helped this year by the 'Chants of Labour'; meetings opened by singing a song, this with display of red banner brings together some people to start with. Cause making fair progress here; work of all kinds slack.—R. W.

(Several items are unavoidably crowded out.)

LECTURE DIARY.

LONDON.

**Acton.**—Any information from Secretary Harnett, 7 Redmore Road, Hammersmith.

**Clerkenwell.**—Hall of the Socialist League, 13 Farringdon Rd., E.C. Sunday July 8, Special Business Meeting of Members at 6.30 p.m. Sunday July 16, at 6 p.m., will be held, in our new hall, a Members and Friends' Social Evening; Tea on table at 6 p.m.; Songs, etc., after tea.

**Fulham.**—8 Effie Road, Walham Green. Sunday July 8th, at 8 p.m., F. Verinder (Guild of St. Matthew), "The Bible and the Land Question."

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

**Hammersmith.**—Kelmscott House, Upper Mall, W. Sunday July 8, at 8 p.m., H. Halliday Sparling, "John Ball."

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

**Mile-end and Bethnal Green.**—95 Boston St., Hackney Road.

**North London.**—The business meetings will be held on Friday evenings at the Autonomie Club, Windmill Street, Tottenham Court Road, after the open-air meetings at Ossulton Street. All members are asked to attend at Ossulton Street at 8 o'clock. Secy., Nelly Parker, 109 Cavendish Buildings, opposite Holborn Town Hall.

**Plaistow.**—A branch has been formed here and is commencing a vigorous propaganda in this district. All communications to be addressed to A. Barker, 4 Osborne Terrace, Leyton, E.

**St. Georges in the East.**—A meeting of the members of this branch will be held at 23 Princes Square, on Sunday morning after the meeting at Leman Street. Rochmann, secretary.

PROVINCES.

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

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

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

**Cowdenbeath** (Scot. Sec).—J. Duncan, 30 Arthur Pl., sec

**Dumdee** (Scot. Sect.).—Meetings every Sunday in the Trades Hall, opposite Tay Bridge Station.

**Edinburgh** (Scottish Land and Labour League).—In Oddfellows' Hall, at 8 p.m., meetings for Discussion. July 12, "A Socialist Commune." Letters and communications to 35 George IV. Bridge.

**Galashiels** (Scot Sect).—J. Walker, 6 Victoria St., sec.

**Gallatoun and Dysart** (Scottish Section: Fife).—Meet every Tuesday at 7 p.m. in Gallatoun Public School. Secretary, A. Paterson, 152 Rosslyn St.

**Glasgow.**—84 John St. Reading-room open 10 a.m. till 10 p.m. daily. Discussion every Thursday evening at 8 o'clock. On Sunday evening, at 7 o'clock, comrade Saupen will give an account of the Revolutionary Movement on the Continent.

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

**Leicester.**—Hosiery Union, Horsefair St. Fridays at 8.

**Lochgelly** (Scottish Section: Fife).—Secs. (*pro tem.*), John Greig and Hugh Conway, The Square.

**Norwich.**—On Monday July 9, all members and friends interested in our co-operative movement are requested to attend a meeting at the Gordon Hall at 8.30 p.m. Tuesday, at 8.30, Members' Meeting. Wednesday, at 8.30, Dramatic Class. Saturday, 8 until 10.30, Co-operative Clothing Association. On August 12th and 13th a great Socialist Demonstration will be held; Annie Besant and others will take part.

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

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

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

OPEN-AIR PROPAGANDA.

SUNDAY 8.

11 ... Acton Green ..... Bullock & Fry  
 11.30... Latimer Road Station ..... Tohatti & Maughan  
 11.30... Mitcham Fair Green ..... Eden & Kitz  
 11.30... Regent's Park ..... Mainwaring  
 11.30... Walham Green ..... Fulham Branch  
 3.30... Hyde Park ..... Mainwaring  
 7 ... Clerkenwell Green ..... The Branch  
 7 ... Weltje Road, opposite Ravenscourt Park  
 7 ... Hammersmith Branch

*Tuesday.*  
 8.30... Fulham—opposite Liberal Club... H'mrsmith Bh

*Friday.*  
 7.30... Euston Rd.—Ossulton Street..... Parker

EAST END.

SUNDAY 8.

Mile-end Waste ... 11 ...Graham & Cores.  
 "Salmon and Ball" ... 11 ...Samuels.  
 Leman Street, Shadwell ... 11 ...Davis.  
 Gibraltar Walk, Bethnal Green Road ... 7 ...Lane & Charles.  
 Kingsland Green ... 11.30...Turner & Brooks.  
 Victoria Park ... 3.15...Lane & Davis  
 Triangle, Hackney Road ... 8 ...Lane & Charles.  
 Lea Bridge Road ... 11.30...Charles & Lane.  
 Stamford Hill ... 7.30...Davis & Brooks.  
 Broadway, Plaistow ... 7.45...Mnwarding & Cores.

TUESDAY.

Mile-end Waste ... 8.30...Charles, Davis, and Cores.

WEDNESDAY.

Broadway, London Fields ... 8.30...Parker.  
 Charlotte St., Gt. Eastern St. ... 8.30...Mainwaring, Lane.

THURSDAY.

Packington St., Essex Road ... 8.30...Brooks, Mnwarding

FRIDAY.

Philpot St., Commercial Rd. ... 8.30...Mainwaring, Lane and Charles.

SATURDAY.

Mile-end Waste ... 8 ...Fuller, Cores, and Lane.  
 S. Docks, Millwall ... 6 ...Parker, Lane, and Mainwaring.

PROVINCES.

**Aberdeen.**—Saturday: Castle Street, at 8 p.m. Sunday: Duthie Park, Waterside Gate, 3 p.m.

**Glasgow.**—Saturday: Jail's Square, at 6 p.m. Sunday: Jail's Square, at 12; Paisley Road Toll, at 5 o'clock.

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

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

**Norwich.**—Sunday: Bishop Bridge, at 10 a.m.; Market Place, at 3 and 7.30—W. E. Parker. Wymondham, Sunday at 11 a.m. Thorpe Village, Monday at 8 p.m. Yarmouth, opposite Town Hall, Thursday at 8. St Catharine's Plain, Friday at 8.15 p.m.

LABOUR UNION—WOOLWICH.—Arsenal Gates (open air), Sunday July 8, at 6.30 p.m., Rev. S. D. Headlam.

HOXTON.—Persons wishing to join this branch, which is in process of formation, should communicate with H. D. Morgan, 22 Nicholas Street, Hoxton.

JUNIOR SOCIALIST EDUCATIONAL SOCIETY.—On 7th July, Rev. Stewart Headlam will lecture on "Christian Socialism" at 31 Upper Bedford Place, Russell Square, at 8 o'clock.

At the Farringdon Hall, 13 Farringdon Road, on Friday July 13th, a Free Discussion will be opened by P. Kropotkin—subject, "The Moral Justice and Injustice of the Wage-System"; at 8.30.

EXCURSION OF LONDON SOCIALISTS.—A Committee has been formed for the purpose of arranging an excursion to take place in August. All Socialist bodies have been invited to take part, and a meeting of delegates will be held on Friday evening in the Hall of the Socialist League, at 8 p.m.—W. B. PARKER, Sec.

EAST-END PROPAGANDA.—A meeting of all interested in the Socialist propaganda in the East-end of London will be held at the International Club, 23 Princes Sq., Cable Street, E., on Saturday evening at 10 o'clock. All who can assist us by speaking at our various stations, and especially those who can aid us either on Sunday or any time during the week by distributing literature from house to house are earnestly invited to attend, to enable us to extend our field of work.

SHEFFIELD SOCIALISTS.—The Sheffield Socialists, in conjunction with the Chesterfield and Nottingham friends, have arranged to have a Picnic at Ambergate on Sunday the 15th. The Sheffield contingent will leave the Midland Station by the 9.5 a.m. train.—The Sheffield Socialists have secured the St. James's Assembly Rooms for their meetings, and meet for lectures and discussions every Monday night.

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# THE COMMONWEAL

## The Official Journal of the SOCIALIST LEAGUE.

VOL. 4.—No. 131.

SATURDAY, JULY 14, 1888.

WEEKLY; ONE PENNY.

### NOTES ON NEWS.

The great case between O'Donnell and the *Times* has come to an end, with all its "startling revelations," "sensational disclosures," and the like on the posters of the daily press. Of course it was a political affair, and is to be judged accordingly; and it must be judged by all honest people who are not rabid partisans as a disgrace even to the party politics of the present day. The part of the daily press which happens to be on the Irish side has stigmatised emphatically enough the tactics of the counsel for the Government, and perhaps to us the most interesting side of the event is the example it gives us of the enormous power of a private corporation in governing us so long as it is on the reactionary side. The *Times* is rich enough and long-established enough to do what it likes, and no dog may bark if Sir Oracle says "Nay."

What it has liked to do is to rake up the whole of its charges against the Irish Parliamentary party in aid of the apparently waning popularity of the coercionists. The English Home Rule press professes to think that the attack has been unsuccessful; and of course it could not be wholly successful in the nature of things. No person who thinks about the matter could suppose that the astute, close, and formal Mr. Parnell had written the letters in question; neither could any such person doubt that the Irish Parliamentary party was more or less in sympathy with the acts of war which preceded their alliance with the Gladstonites. But that doesn't much matter; the war-path which Parnellism and crime is on, is the vote-catching road, and vote-catchers are not dealing with thoughtful intelligence, but with impressionability to cries.

The coercionists have got their opportunity for a cry, and they will use it. All they have got to do is to treat every accusation they have made against the Irish party as a fact that cannot be disputed, to ignore the defence of the accused, and to keep on pointing out that Mr. Parnell refuses to clear himself in a court of justice—that is, to attack the *Times*, the representative of the great power of modern society, to which all that is reactionary will immediately rally, and which is inexpugnable as long as our class society hangs together. All this forms quite as good a cry as is needed, or can be got to carry on the coercionist battle, and doubtless will serve its purpose.

If you do doubt it, listen to the talk of business people, both principals and clerks coming home by the underground railway; and you must admit that the coercionists have pulled themselves together to meet the consequences of their recent defeats, and that this time they have struck a stroke.

But whatever damage has thus been done to the Irish party, it must not be forgotten that they have drawn it on their own heads by their eagerness to repudiate everything but constitutional means towards their revolution. That is the line they have gone on; they have claimed the support of the English people on the grounds of that repudiation, practically disclaiming sympathy with the enthusiasm of rebels, without which they would not have been able to obtain a hearing at all, and which could not be repressed because it was forbidden "constitutional" means of expressing itself, and which will have to express itself again when the present constitutional gentlemen have made their Parliamentary revolution; unless, which is by no means likely, they cast aside all reaction and give opportunity for every Irishman to be truly free by destroying all monopoly of land and capital. And if they do that they will at once find themselves enemies of the constitution and rebels once more.

We have got another Zulu war on hand, which seems most likely to lead to another Boer war; this is only one of the indications of the way in which our commercial needs are pushing us on to grab what we can in Africa; other nations having their special ways. The sensational paragraphs lately published about the treatment of the Mahdi's prisoners, are doubtless an indication of that preparation of the public mind which we are so used to. Again, in the House of Lords, Lord Harrowby was very anxious about the growth of the slave-trade in Zanzibar, as interfering with "British Commerce and British Mis-

sonary Enterprise" (sweet and holy couple). We know that two of a trade are apt not to agree; that is especially true of wage-slavery v. chattel-slavery; it is worth while putting down the latter in Africa if the result will be the strengthening the former in England.

Coleman, who has been in prison for assaulting a policeman on Bloody Sunday, and White, a dock labourer, "and miserably poor," says Mr. Bradlaugh, who brought the case forward, were to be further punished for the crime of poverty by being imprisoned for not paying £10 10s., the costs of the trial which they were so rash as to undertake against the police for assaulting them; and a similar punishment was to be meted out to Feargus O'Connor for a similar crime. Mr. Bradlaugh pointed out that these costs were exceptionally high, whereas in his own experience the Treasury costs were low. Probably this apparently wanton injustice is meant in kindness to the class of the poor if not to the individuals, in order to teach them once for all that they had better not indulge in the useless luxury of law, especially when a charge of offending against Law-'n'-Order has been trumped up against them.

And after all Mr. Matthews has turned tail; the three men in question appeared in the police-court in answer to the summons, there was no one to support it and therefore the case had to be dismissed; which it must be said would certainly not have been the case if Mr. Bradlaugh had not tackled Mr. Matthews.

Meanwhile, it does seem at first sight another instance of the way in which the Great Shabbiness of the rich robbing the poor dominates every incident of our society; it struck our friend Cunninghame Graham that way. "He repeated that it gave him personally the greatest possible satisfaction that this case had come up, because it was calculated to emphasise that growing hatred between the rich and the poor, without which no true reform was possible." "It would, he hoped, serve to show that our British justice, like our Christianity and our morality, was a gigantic fraud."

His audience, since they were educated men and "gentlemen," naturally laughed at his expression of both these truths; feeling probably that the consequences of that terrible growing hatred between rich and poor, which they could scarcely deny would be long in coming, and their useless lives would have come to an end before the crisis came; and not caring for any consequences not personal to themselves of the antagonism of classes which is the foundation of the society amongst which they—stink.

Yet did they ever hear of the Welsh triad of the Three Laughters of the Fool? It is worth quoting: "The fool laughs at that which is bad, at that which is good, and that which he cannot understand." All this the gentlemen of the House of Commons have often done; there remains to them the other laughter—on the wrong side of the mouth. May we all live to see that! W. M.

### THE REVOLT OF GHENT.

(Continued from p. 210.)

HAVING thus very briefly told you as to the political and social condition of the great Flemish towns, I must now get to my story, as given us by Froissart.

I have mentioned the English alliance with James van Artevelde, which took place at the very beginning of the war with France; this went on till at the siege of Tournay by Edward III., James van Artevelde sent sixty thousand men to help that king; and in the year 1346, Edward III., lying at Sluys, we find van Artevelde using his influence to get the Prince of Wales acknowledged as "Lord and Herytour" of Flanders; but the Councils of the towns hanging back on the ground that "there should no such untruth be found in them as willingly to disherite their natural lord and his issue to enheryte a stranger." But we can easily imagine that though glad enough of Edward's help against France, they may have been shy of handing themselves over to such a powerful King as the lord of England then was.

Anyhow, the negotiation came to a tragical end with the death of James van Artevelde himself. He was slain in a tumult at Ghent as a



tyrant and robber of the public treasure, after having been practically King of Flanders for nine years; and it may be supposed that there was some genuine indignation against him for pressing on the people the doing fealty to the English king, though on the whole the affair reads as if it had been the work of the French or loyalist party.

The Flemings after his death sent in terror to Edward to excuse themselves, and suggested, says Froissart, the marriage of the King's daughter to Louis the young Earl. Edward agreed to this readily enough; but Louis had another offer of marriage alliance from the Duke of Brabant, his next neighbour, which naturally he much preferred, since it would not cost him the friendship of the French king, on which, as aforesaid, it was the natural policy of the Earls of Flanders to lean. The Councils of the towns as naturally stuck to the English marriage, and urged it on the Earl who had trusted himself to Ghent. "But ever, he said, that he wolde not wed her whose father had slain his, though he might have half the whole realm of England." (His father was slain at Crecy.) The Flemings thereon put on the screw by holding him in "courteous prison." He pretended to yield, and met Edward, who was mighty civil to him; but watching his opportunity he managed to escape from his guards at a hawking party and fled to the French king, by whom he was well received. This may be considered the first act of the struggle between the Earl and his subjects.

The curtain rises again on Edward, an old and worn out man, and the English Alliance dimmed by bickerings between the seafarers of both nations, ending at last in a good stiff sea fight between them off the coast of Brittany, in which the Flemings were defeated. Edward threatened regular war; but the Flemings craved for peace, and the treaty was renewed.

After this interlude Froissart settles down with great enjoyment and not a little pomp to tell us the story of the great revolt in all detail.

Says the old chronicler: "When the tribulations first began in Flanders, the country was so wealthy and so rich that it was marvel to hear; and the men of the good towns kept such estate that it was wonder to hear tell of. But these warres first began by pride and envy that the good towns in Flanders had one against another, as they of Ghent against them of Bruges and they of Bruges against them of Ghent, and other towns one against the other. But there was such resort that no war could arise among them without the Earl of Flanders their lord did consent thereto; for he was so feared and beloved that none durst displease him. . . . For always he had lived in great prosperity and peace, and had as much his pleasure as any other Christian prince had; but this war began for so light a cause and incident, that justly to consider and speak, if good will and sage advice had been in the lord, he needed not to have had any manner of war."

In short, the English Alliance had grown cold; the Earl, backed by the power of the French King, had crept into power, and was using the jealousy of the great towns, and especially of Ghent and Bruges, as an instrument of his own advancement, and by this time now felt himself very strong. The fire was only smouldering, and "the light cause and incident" was soon ready to hand to make it blaze up heavens high.

Froissart sees the cause of quarrel in the feud between two "lynages," those of John Lyon and Gilbert Matthew, both of whom belonged to the gild of the Mariners, and represented families long at feud together.

Once again, as in the case of James van Artevelde, we are coming across rich and powerful men, not belonging to the feudal aristocracy; and I feel pretty sure that whatever gild of craft they might have belonged to, they must have been families surviving from the old municipal aristocracy.

John Lyon was a favourite of the Earl, and head apparently (for Froissart is somewhat vague here) of the Mariners' Gild. Gilbert Matthew lays an elaborate plot to overthrow him; he advises the Earl to lay a new tax on the mariners. The Earl takes the bait readily; tells John Lyon, who demurs somewhat, what is toward, and calls a "Parlyment" to see to the matter. At the said Parlyment, Gilbert Matthew puts up his brothers to speak against the new tax; John Lyon backs them eagerly, for says Froissart, "he would to his true power mayntain them in their old franchises and liberties." The Earl in a rage turns out John Lyon, and puts Gilbert Matthew in his place, who get him his tax levied, but henceforth John Lyon becomes a popular leader.

The next cause of quarrel was between the towns themselves, egged on doubtless by the Earl. "The devil who never sleepeth awakened them of Bruges to dig about the river of Lys to have the easement of the course of the water, and the Earl was well accorded to them, and sent great number of pioneers and men-at-arms to assist them. Before that in time past they would have done the same, but they of Ghent by puyssance brake their purpose." Clearly the Earl setting on the Brugeois to pick up an old quarrel with Ghent.

"The tidings of these diggers increased. So it was, there was a woman that came from her pilgrimage from our lady of Bolayne (who was weary), and sat down in the market-place whereas there were divers men, and some of them demanded of her from whence she came. She answered, 'From Bolayne, and I have seen by the way the greatest mischief that ever came to the town of Ghent, for there be more than 500 pioneers that night and day worketh before the river of Lys, and if they be not let they will shortly turn the course of the water.'"

The townsmen hunt up John Lyon, who has been keeping very quiet since his quarrel with the Earl, and after the due amount of pressing he gives them the following advice: "Sirs, if ye will adventure to

remedy this matter, it behoveth that in this town of Ghent ye renew an old ancient custom that sometime was used in this town, and that is that ye bring up again the White Hats, and that they may have a chief ruler to whom they may draw, and by him be ruled.' These words were gladly heard, and they said all with one voice, 'We will have it so, we will raise up these White Hats.' Then were there made White Hats which were given and delivered to such as loved better to have war than peace, for they had nothing to lose."

You see this points out to an earlier time in the history of the city, and the raising of a sort of emergency corps; perhaps originally a kind of bodyguard of the municipal aristocracy.

John Lyon is made Captain of the White Hoods, as we should translate to-day *Chaperons Blancs*, and their first job is to make an end of the digging of the new canal by the Brugeois and their pioneers, who "left their work and went back again to Bruges, and were never so hardy to dig there again"; but the White Hoods and their captain hold together as a regular insurrectionary force.

The next scene is the arrest by the Earl's Bailiff of a mariner at Ecloo, a town half way between Ghent and Bruges, and within the jurisdiction of Ghent. The townsmen claim their burgess back from the Bailiff, who is as high-handed as if he were Sir Charles Warren in person, and answers, "What needeth all these words for a maryner? . . . I have puyssance to arrest, but I have no power to deliver."

The Ghentmen now send an embassy to the Earl (who is lying at his manor of Male near Bruges) to claim their burgess. The Earl promises to have him released, and also to maintain their liberties,—but always on condition of the disbanding of the White Hoods. However, the prisoner is released, and the dykes of the new canal filled up; the Earl apparently trusting to the Matthews for getting the White Hoods disbanded. But when John Lyon hears of this condition, "he spake and said: 'All ye good people that be here present, ye know and have seen but late how the White Hats hath better kept your franchises than either red or black hats have done, or of any other colour. Be ye sure and say that I said it, as soon as the White Hats be laid down by the ordinance that the Earl would have, I will not give for all your franchises after, not three pence.'"

In short, the answer John Lyon makes is to set to work to organise his White Hats, and bid them be alert.

Then the Earl retorts by sending his said Bailiff, Roger Dauterne, with his banner and 200 men to Ghent to arrest John Lyon and five or six others. John Lyon acts with most praiseworthy promptitude, gathers 400 White Hoods, throws down and tears the Earl's banner, and slays the bailiff in a very orderly and peaceable manner: "they touched no man there but the Bailey; and when the Earl's men saw the Bailey dead, and the banner all to torn, they were greatly abashed, and so took their horses and voided out of the town." The Matthews flee and their houses are sacked. The White Hoods are masters of Ghent.

Then "the rich and notable merchants," very much scared, send off to the Earl twelve men to crave for peace. But meantime John Lyon, who was at the Council where this embassy was arranged, musters the White Hoods and those of the crafts who were on his side, outside Ghent in a plain called Andreghem, close beside which was a castle of the Earl's, newly built, and doubtless meant as a garrison to overawe the town. At this review this said castle is first sacked and then burned by 'an accident done on purpose': John Lyon remarking, in the true manner of a mediæval joke, "How cometh yonder fire in my Lord's house?"

The news reaches the Earl while the embassy of rich men are craving peace of him; and as he was particularly fond of this house, one almost wonders that he respected the safe conduct he had given. One can imagine the to-do there was; the embassy of course was driven out ignominiously (which of course was John Lyon's intention in allowing the fire to come into my lord's house), and the Earl declares war.

John Lyon, clearly a very able and resourceful man, immediately marches on Bruges with nine or ten thousand men, and gets in without any actual fighting, the "rich man" being cowed by the aspect of the lesser crafts; and the Brugeois enter into alliance with Ghent. Courtray has already come in, and Ypres is thought to be friendly; so that Flanders seems won from the Earl.

But just at this crisis John Lyon dies at Damme, the port of Bruges; poisoned, hints Froissart, which, considering the hatred of the rich men of Bruges, is likely enough. The Ghentmen, however, are nothing daunted, but go on organising themselves for war. They chose for captains John Pruniaux, John Bull, Rafe of Harselles, and Peter du Bois,<sup>1</sup>—the last a very clever and wily captain and leader, who outlived all the leaders of Ghent and died in England.

The Ghentmen march on Thorout and Ypres, where, through the help of the mean crafts (weavers and fullers), they win the towns, in spite of the opposition of the Earl's garrisons; and now being masters of the greater part of Flanders, the rebels besiege Oudenarde. To give you the measure of the strength of these communities of craftsmen, I must tell you that at this siege they mustered a hundred thousand strong.

The Earl finds after all that he is not strong enough to resist this union, and before the town is taken he makes peace with the towns through the means of the Duke of Burgundy. This peace may be said to end the second act of the story.

WILLIAM MORRIS.

(To be continued.)

<sup>1</sup> I take the names from Lord Berners' translation (Henry 8th) of Froissart. The two between them make a sad mess of the names of languages they do not understand.

## REVOLUTIONARY CALENDAR.

WEEK ENDING JULY 21, 1888.

15	Sun.	1381. John Ball murdered. 1809. P. J. Proudhon born. 1839. Chartist outbreak at Birmingham.
16	Mon.	1850. Margaret Fuller drowned. 1857. Beranger died. 1877. Seizure of Martinsburg (W. Va.) by railroad strikers. 1879. Trial of Bilshanski, Gorski, and others in Kieff. Sentences: death, 3; prison, 6; Siberia, 2.
17	Tues.	1793. Trial of Alexander Whyte for seditious libel. 1793. Trial of Paine and Waldron for publishing 'Rights of Man.' 1831. Cobbett tried for seditious libel.
18	Wed.	1770. Trial of John Miller for reprinting <i>Junius's</i> "Letter to the King." 1867. Attempt by Berezovski on Alexander II. while driving with Napoleon III. in Paris. 1870. Michael Davitt tried for treason felony. 1872. Benito Juarez died. 1872. Attempt on King and Queen of Spain.
19	Thur.	1348. James van Artevelde slain. 1693. Sarsfield killed at Landen. 1798. John McCann hung. 1862. N. G. Tchernichevski arrested. 1877. Strike begins on Pennsylvania R. R.
20	Fri.	1820. Trials for high treason at York and Glasgow. 1877. Fatal affray at Baltimore (Md.) between militia and populace.
21	Sat.	1683. William, Lord Russell beheaded. 1796. Robert Burns died. 1819. Great Reform meeting in Smithfield. 1877. Pennsylvania militia defeated at Pittsburgh by railroad strikers. 1884. Suffrage demonstration on Embankment and in Hyde Park.

*Chartist Rising at Birmingham.*—Towards the end of 1838 Law-'n'-Order became scared enough to adopt the usual methods of arresting agitation—not in attempting to cure the evils agitated against, but—by putting the leaders into prison. Matters calmed down somewhat. "The Home Secretary remained on the watch during the first half of the year, till assured by the Attorney-General that Chartism was extinct" (Martineau's 'Hist. of Thirty Years' Peace'). Just to prove this clever statesman "a haas," as Bumble says, in July the great Convention sat, and in Birmingham a series of mass meetings were held in their Trafalgar Square, the Bull Ring. Policemen made rows, then ran some in, and on the 15th the trouble came to a head in one of the biggest riots in Chartist history—heads broken, shops wrecked; and the clever people had to admit that Chartism was not quite extinct. Something very like has lately happened to a party by the name of Balfour.—T. S.

*Benito Pablo Juarez.*—Born in the Mexican State of Oajaca, March 24, 1806, Juarez was of the pure blood of that noble race (doubly misnamed "Indians") which endured the brutal oppressions of Cortez and Pizarro, and have been the long-suffering objects of Spanish bigotry and cupidity ever since. But, as in the case of Ireland, the kind-hearted and virtuous nations have conquered the haughty and high-handed invaders, so in the person of Juarez was the long oppression of the Aztecs historically avenged. Not a degenerate Spaniard, but a despised "Indian" was the Moses of Mexico, to lead it out of the worse than Egyptian bondage of European despotism, and by the terrible example of Maximilian to foil for ever the idea of imposing foreign puppets on Mexican soil for the benefit of Old World rapacity. It is pleasing to every social reformer to-day to recall that it is to one of this same race of liberty-loving Mexicans we owe that brave heroine of Chicago, the woman who "held up the banner the men cast down."—L. W.

*The Great Railway Strikes of 1877.*—The great labour revolt of 1877, which began on Saturday the 14th of July by a handful of men on the Baltimore and Ohio line, was followed on Monday the 16th by an attempt to stop all freight trains at Martinsburg in West Virginia. Like the brave defiers of tyranny in every age, from Thermopylae downwards, these bold challengers of the railway kings chose a mountain pass to hold as their vantage ground. Martinsburg is on classic ground. It is only a few miles westward of Harper's Ferry, where John Brown made his immortal attempt. These places lie between the two giant arms of the great Allegheny chain of mountains, where Dame Nature has, by the mighty agency of the Potomac River, cloven an awful passage, for puny mankind to crawl like a trembling insect from east to west along the sheltering precipices on either hand. This natural highway, free to all, has been laid violent hands on by the great monopoly kings, who demand exorbitant toll on all which passes. In 1877, their servants, driven to desperation by hard usage, proclaimed to the world that they themselves were unwilling agents in this robbery of the world, and called a halt until the power of the powerful tyrants should be questioned and either repudiated or acknowledged by the world at large. These poor railway slaves failed so far as their own selfish needs were concerned, but they will live in lasting memory for their daring and noble attempt to free the toilers of the world.—L. W.

*Beheading of Russell and Murder of Essex.*—All Londoners know the Rye House up the Lea, and that it was made famous by a "plot" at some time or other. More than this few care to enquire. As a fact, it is very doubtful if such a plot ever existed, save in the fertile brain of government assassins and spies. Certain it is, that the most noble victims to this concocted scheme and its sequel had no part nor lot in the Rye House or its alleged rendezvous. Most likely they had never heard of its existence previous to the proclamation of the discovery of a proposed attempt on the lives of those immortal saints the brothers Charles and James Stuart, sons of the "martyr" of 1649, on their return from Newmarket, a place then and now where the salt of the earth congregate to exhibit their superior virtue and do honour at the shrine of their chosen deities. The ever immortal hero of this infamous government conspiracy to defame and kill the best and bravest Englishmen of their age was Algernon Sidney. Two of his chief fellow martyrs were Lord Russell, son and heir of the Earl of Bedford, and Arthur Capel, Earl of Essex. William, Lord Russell was a man in his fortieth year, not a youth as often supposed, and so entitled to the credit of calm mature opinions. It may seem strange to many that the champions of liberty should look for a shining light to such an over-gorged family as the house of Bedford, bloated with the produce of robberies from the people. But it was the fortune of the Russells to really ennoble their brigand blood with infusions from some of the purest streams in England, houses which relied for eminence on activity of brain, nobility of character, and endurance of mental and bodily exertion. Thus the Bedfords are swayed between two contrary emotions, just as "Finality" John of our own days in his own person was at one time the fiercest of democrats and at another the most insolent of aristocrats. Whatever his birth, however, it is an undeniable fact that William Russell made Lincoln's Inn Fields a "pilgrim's shrine" for all lovers of liberty by there laying down his innocent life for their sacred cause on the 21st of July in the year 1683. It is futile to examine details of circumstances and conditions. There are but two contending parties in social ethics. The one seeks to rule one's fellows by force; the other seeks to give each man as much freedom of action as compatible with the rights of others. Russell's fellow victim of 1683, Arthur Capel, first Earl of Essex of the existing family, was a strange salad of contradictory characteristics,

only found in such turnabout times as those of the Commonwealth and the latter Stuarts. His father, although own cousin to the famous republican general, Edward Montague, Earl of Manchester, and an abettor at first of Pym, finally lost his head on Tower Hill for turning royalist and stubbornly defending Colchester against Cromwell's relentless cannon. The son was first a courtier and then a democrat. In England a bigotted No Popery fanatic, yet a Lord Lieutenant of Ireland avowedly risking his head by furthering the cause of religious and political equality. In fact, Arthur Capel anticipated the Gladstonians of to-day by over two centuries, holding out the offer of peace and good-will to the Irish populace. After this he became a participant in schemes of unbridled tyranny. Capel seems naturally to have been a narrow-minded aristocrat and foe of the people's cause, but he could not abide the shameless greed of the king's harlots, and turned to Algernon Sidney for guidance. Capel was thus a participant in those historic speculative discussions which led to the martyrdom of Sidney and Lord Russell, on the alleged discovery of the "Rye House Plot." On the very day the brave young Russell was brought to trial, London was horrified to be told that the Earl of Essex had killed himself in his prison. This event has been much discussed ever since, but John Evelyn, the diarist, puts the point beyond all question, showing how the King and Duke of York were in the Tower at the time, while the head of Essex was nearly severed, in a way impossible for a man to himself accomplish. As it well known that Capel was the object of virulent hatred from all the rapacious Whitehall strumpets (progenitors of those present pillars of the British Constitution, the dukes of Richmond, Grafton, Saint Albans, and Buccleuch, besides numerous lesser lights in the place-hunting peerages), there can be little wonder at the fate of the earl, and the sealing in death of lips which could have uttered astounding truths. It is curious to observe in the instance of Arthur Capel, undoubtedly a martyr to the cause of freedom, how accident places men in strange positions, and how we are all the creatures of circumstances. Less promising stock for the sons of liberty to draw heroes from than the Capel family could hardly be imagined. The family fortunes were founded by an infamous Lord Mayor of London, who left his name to appropriate lasting infamy by inventing during his mayoralty a scheme for having cages in each ward of the city to chain up the poor disinherited wanderers who had been turned adrift by Henry Tudor's gang of land plunderers at the close of the Wars of the Roses. This villain, Lord Mayor Capel, of near four centuries ago, who so well understood the necessary means for London exploiters to enforce their schemes of plunder, had a mansion and built his own tomb on the spot to-day dedicated to his memory by loving worshippers and imitators of his morality and methods—the famous Capel Court, secret and jealously guarded haunt of those universal robbers, murderers, and oppressors, the stockbrokers of the world.—L. W.

The following note was unavoidably held over from last week's Calendar:—

*Death of John Elliott Cairnes.*—Cairnes, John Elliott, died 8th July, 1875; Emeritus Professor of Political Economy at University College, London; author of 'The Slave Power' (1862); 'Political Essays' (1873); 'Essays in Political Economy' (1873); 'Some Leading Principles of Political Economy' (1874); and 'The Character and Logical Method of Political Economy' (1875). This distinguished economist, the last capable defender in England of the "wage fund" theory, deserves more attention from Socialists than is usually granted to him. His exposition of international values, of the laws determining relative wages in different occupations, of the economic advantages of untaxed foreign trade, and of the Ricardian Law of Rent, are all unsurpassed by any other economist; and his analysis of the economic position of a slave-owning agricultural community is a valuable instance of the application of pure economic theory to an actual and complicated case. Although still trammelled by the remnants of an individualistic and capitalist economics, he was under no delusion as to the nature and effect of the tribute of rent and interest which private ownership of the means of production necessarily creates, and he expressed his concurrence in John Stuart Mill's view of its inevitable abolition. But, being still under the thralldom of the individualist politics common at the beginning of the century, he deprecated the extension of public administrative activity, and anticipated a wide expansion of voluntary industrial co-operation. His economic position as regards wages was, however, vitiated by his retention, in a modified form, of the "wages fund" theory, and as regards exchange-values, by his utter inability to appreciate the law of the limitation of demand brought forward by Jevons.—S. W.

## LITERARY NOTES.

'The Place of Individualism in the Socialist System,' by J. E. Hall, is No. 9 of the New York Labour Library. (Published monthly at 5 cents., by the New York Labour News Company, 25, East 4th Street). It is a well-considered and thoughtful pamphlet, and deserves attention; putting the State-Socialist position with a commendable spirit of toleration for opponents not always displayed.

'Socialism of the Street in England,' by W. C. Crofts, is a spiteful and feebly dishonest account of the Socialist organisations, reprinted from a French periodical and issued by the L.P.D.L.

The *Christian Socialist* (Reeves, 1d.) keeps up to the high level its present editors gave it as soon as it came under their hands, and seems to be doing really good work.

Articles of interest to Socialists in July magazines:—*Nineteenth Century*: 'The New Labour Party,' H. H. Champion; 'Liberating the Slaves in Brazil,' W. J. Hammond. *Fortnightly*: 'The Boulangist Movement,' Henri Rochefort; 'Custom,' Edward Carpenter; 'The Ethics of Kant,' Herbert Spencer. *National*: 'Colonisation and Friendly Societies,' W. Greswell. *Archaeological*: 'Junior Right in Genesis,' J. Jacobs; 'Baker's Guild of York,' Miss Toulmin Smith. *Law Quarterly*: 'Public Meetings and Public Order' (the United States), E. H. Bennett; 'Early English Land Tenures,' C. J. Elton. *Atlantic Monthly*: 'Studies of Factory Life,' Lillie B. C. Wyman.

It is stated that the Pinkerton detective agency can centre in forty-eight hours at any spot east of the Mississippi river a larger number of its banditti than there are soldiers in the regular army of the United States.

OVERCROWDING IN A VILLAGE.—In a cottage of two rooms at Kilham, near Driffild, no less than 14 persons are living—father, mother, a 26 year old son, a daughter aged 23, and two illegitimate children, another daughter, aged 13, and one illegitimate child. The Local Government Board have, it is said, at last roused the Local Board from their lethargy, and matters are to be mended.

A COFFIN RING.—A financial ring is endeavouring to boom a project for amalgamating the whole of the coffin furniture manufacturers of the United Kingdom into one vast joint-stock concern, with a capital of £400,000 and a debenture issue of £100,000. The ordinary shareholder is promised 24 per cent. If the profits are so vast as this it is time that the workmen agitated for an advance in wages.—*Star*.



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

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

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

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

K. T.—Mr. Booth's paper on the "Condition and Occupation of the People of the Tower Hamlets," read before the Statistical Society May 17, 1887, will give most of what you want. It was published in June number of the society's Journal, and has been republished as a pamphlet by Stanford, Charing Cross.

#### Periodicals received during the week ending Wednesday July 11.

ENGLAND	FRANCE	ITALY
Anarchist	Buffalo—Arbeiter-Zeitung	Geneva—Przedawit
Freedom	Fort Worth (Tex)—South West	Milan—Il Fascio Operato
Leicester—Countryman	Milwaukee—National Reformer	Rome—L'Emancipazione
Labour Tribune	N Haven—Workmen's Advocate	Marsala—La Nuova Eta
London—Freie Presse	Providence Independent Citizen	Cremona—Il Democratico
Our Corner	St. Louis (Mo.)—Die Parole	
Personal Rights Journal		SPAIN
Postal Service Gazette		El Productor
Railway Review		Madrid—El Socialista
Telegraph Service Gazette		
Worker's Friend		PORTUGAL
		Lisbon—O Protesto Operario
INDIA		AUSTRIA
Bankipore—Behar Herald		Arbeiterstimme
UNITED STATES		Wien—Gleichheit
New York—Der Sozialist		
Truthseeker		ROMANIA
Volkzeitung		Jassy—Municipal
Jewish Volkszeitung		Bucharest—Gutenberg
Alarm		DENMARK
Boston—Woman's Journal		Social-Demokraten
Liberty		SWEDEN
Chicago—Knights of Labor		Stockholm, Social-Demokraten
		Malmö—Arbetet

## HOW THE MONEY GOES.

ENGLISHMEN are said to live on the glorious traditions of the past. These are said to rest on the wisdom and the deeds of heroic daring of their noble ancestors, and that to these are largely due that vain and vague feeling of superiority so largely characteristic of the average Englishman of to-day. England is held to be the most exalted and the most disinterested of nations. She is the grand pioneer of a grand civilisation through all the regions of the earth; her flag floats triumphantly over every sea, and all the nations of the world recognise her claim to superiority, and bow in humble submission to her ever-wise and ever-gentle dictation. None dream of her being the great Hypocrite of Nations; all admire in her those grand attributes of humanity, dignity, and consistency.

Englishmen are said to be the most economical people in the world, even in this age of utility, and that in nothing is this more clear than in the cost of our government as compared with that of other countries; that among the most extravagant are those of France and America; and that these, as compared with England, are a condemnation of Republicanism; that in those countries all the senators and deputies are paid extravagantly, which swells the cost of government in those countries to an amount Englishmen would never submit to. As this is a matter so frequently brought forward, let us see how the matter stands, as it is not well that the wisdom of Englishmen should be kept in the dark. It should be seen by the whole world and duly appreciated.

If we take the cost of royalty, it is over one million a year. But let us confine ourselves to the following six items:—Civil List, £385,000; from Duchy of Lancaster, 1884, £45,000; Compensatory Annuity, £27,000; Annuities to Royal Family, £158,000; from Duchy of Cornwall, 1884, £64,641; Compensatory Annuity, £16,216. Six items only, £695,857. High Officers of State, or the Cabinet:—One at £20,000, one at £10,000, one at £8,000, seven at £5,000, one at £4,500, one at £4,425, one at £2,500, and eight at £2,000. These make a total of £100,425, to which add the £695,857. Total, £796,282.

Now take the government of France:—Salary of the President, £24,000; Nine Ministers at £1,600 each, £14,400. Total, £38,400. But then, we are told, there are her Senators and Deputies all receiving enormous salaries. Let us see how much:—300 Senators, 9,000 francs, or £360, a year each, £108,000; 530 Deputies, 9,000 francs, or £360, a year each, £190,800; President and Ministers, £38,400. Total, £337,200.

Great Britain and Ireland, £796,082; France, £347,200. Difference against Great Britain and Ireland, £459,082.

Take the American:—President, £20,000; Seven Ministers at £1,200, £8,400. Total, £28,400. Add 242 Senators and Representatives, each £750, £151,500. Total, £179,900.

Great Britain and Ireland, £796,282; America, £179,900. Difference against Great Britain and Ireland, £616,382.

But neither France nor America is a genuine Republic. On the other hand, if we take Switzerland, which is the nearest approach to what a republican government ought to be, we have something approaching an economical government:—Chairman of the Executive, £400; Vice-Chairman, £340; seven Ministers, each £340—£2,380. Total, £3,120. 128 Deputies, 12 francs a day each for six months, or £69 3s. each, £8,856 4s., making a grand total of £11,976 4s. But Switzerland is a small country; yes, with three millions of people. Multiply three by twelve, and you have thirty-six millions, and multiply the expenses of the executive in like manner, and it would give £143,732 8s.

It is not necessary to affirm the absence of corruption in those countries, especially in France or America. But in neither of those countries, in connection with the President's household, will you find items such as you would find in connection with the Royal household of Great Britain and Ireland.

But let us have a look at the Departments for 1882:—

	Charge of Establishment.	Super Annuities.	Total.
Privy Council Office.....	£30,077	£1,821	£31,898
Treasury Department .....	57,732	11,334	31,898
Home Office .....	91,278	10,269	101,547
Foreign „ .....	72,068	9,229	81,297
Colonial „ .....	13,476	13,476	52,268
India „ .....	30,650	—	30,650
War „ .....	222,244	—	222,244
Admiralty Office .....	180,583	337,981	518,564
Board of Works, Gt. Britain	45,765	7,519	53,184
„ Ireland ...	41,595	3,852	45,447
Board of Trade.....	171,933	16,848	188,781
Exchequer and Audit Dept.	59,733	17,687	77,340
Local Government Board:—			
England and Wales.....	415,173	11,717	426,890
Scotland.....	18,582	1,433	20,015
Ireland .....	134,629	4,479	138,508
Customs Department .....	843,418	134,319	977,737
Inland Revenue Department	1,659,886	213,585	1,873,471

Look at those enormous charges so characteristic of English economy. Look, too, at the items for superannuations, so characteristic of English generosity, where the wealth-producers are not concerned.

It is not pretended that there is no corruption or extravagance in connection with these departments, but then those are little defects arising from little oversights in the past, while the most commendable efforts are periodically made to purify these departments and bring them into harmony with the administrative wisdom of Great Britain and Ireland. It is true in looking over the pension list you will find hundreds of names of men who have been pensioned off by the well-known process of re-organisation. But then there is nothing so thorough as English economy, in proof of which take the following:—Accountant-General's office abolished 1854, salary saved £1,500; office re-established 1861, salary £2,000; added an inspector of accounts, salary £850; and in 1868, assistant Accountant-General, salary £1,000. Since then, by re-organisations, salaries saved £14,500, but added to the pension list £8,400; and new offices, deputy-controller, salary £1,000; chief clerk, salary £850; assistant-inspector of accounts, £500; total, £10,750.

But there is nothing like the thoroughness of English economy, and as a further proof of it, and of the capacity for purification by the process of re-organisation, take the following specimen of Admiralty re-organisation, 1878-80:—Total amount saved in salaries, £15,500; paid in bonuses, £52,000. Added to the pension list, £20,000; new offices, accountant-general to Admiralty, £1,500; deputy-general to Admiralty, £1,200; two chief clerks at £900 and £700—£1,600; total, £24,300. In 1877 the permanent secretaryship abolished, saved £1,500 a-year. The poor fellow retired to the pension list on £678 a-year. In 1882 the office was re-established with a salary of £2,000 a-year; by re-organisation in 1878-80, saved in salaries, £4,300; added to pension list, £7,338; with bonuses, £11,000.

Take the medical staff of the army:—In 1887, staff reduced from 699 to 675; saved thereby, £5,980. Added to the pension list, £22,000. In 1888, 32 retired, which has added another £9,000 a-year. In the army estimates the charge for the medical staff is £674,314, of which the item for pensions is £182,574.

All these are evidences of the superior wisdom of the English nation, and of the thoroughness of English economy. Only the un-official mind of the uneducated masses does not understand them.

There are also some people who ever and anon complain of our want of wisdom from a national point of view. They assume that the country is in danger, that even our fortifications are worthless. But who would believe them, when in a few years we have spent on our fortifications over £5,300,000, and Englishman never do anything in vain. Then, again, they tell us that our navy is altogether insufficient, and that many of the ships we have have no guns. But here again they must be wrong, because in the last eight years we have spent on ships and their armament no less than £30,681,000. In 1883-4 we spent on ships £4,445,000, and in 1887-8 £6,611,000. On the army and navy we spend £30,000,000 a-year, and yet we are in danger from invasion.



But to be serious. Look at this mass of extravagance, this worse than waste, and then wonder if you can why the workers are poor.

Fathom, if you can, the depths of corruption everywhere prevailing, and then think, if you can without a blush, of the boasted wisdom of Englishmen. Think of the slavery, the degradation, the want and misery of the toiling millions, and then ask: Is this the England of old? Where, oh where are the glorious traditions of this England of ours, its boasted freedom, its lofty wisdom, its daring in the cause of right—where? Fled to other and more genial shores, leaving none to tread her soil but tyrants and slaves! Yet this England must not perish; must not be numbered with the nations that have been; must not yet be left to the New Zealander. But what shall save her, what can regenerate her, what can give her new life, new energy, holier aspirations, more lofty aims, a purer morality? What can lead her ever onward, raise her ever upward, and fill the bosoms of her sons and daughters with Faith, Energy, and Devotion—the sacred flame of Liberty and Love!

J. SKETCHLEY.

### LETTER FROM AMERICA.

In my last letter I described to you the gradual breaking up of all trades-union organisations on their present basis. I specially emphasise on their present basis, as in my opinion they will be immediately reconstructed on a revolutionary basis, because trades unionism is the most natural mode of organisation. The society which all revolutionists are aiming at is a society composed of trades unions federated on an international plan.

The "Knights of Labour" organisation is practically ruined; all the different district assemblies have been reduced to about one-fifth of their previous strength. In Chicago, District Assembly No. 24, which had three years ago a membership of about 25,000 Knights, now only counts about 500 members of good standing. District Assembly 49, once one of the strongest assemblies in the Order, is torn up by fractional strife, not for the sake of principles, but on account of personal rivalries. T. V. Powderly, next to Henry George the most unscrupulous scoundrel in the American movement (by the way, Henry George, who but a few years ago did not possess enough money to support himself and family, is now considered worth about 500,000 dollars—verily a fine career for a prophet!), intends to resign his position as General Master Workman of the Knights of Labour, to be able to run for Congress as a democrat. More likely the exchequer of the order is empty, and T. V. is on the look-out for new boodles.

The Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers has not as yet recovered from its last defeat on the Chicago, Burlington, and Quincy Railroad. Mr. Arthur, the Grand Chief of the Brotherhood, another specimen of the "honest American labour leader," funks criticism, and in order to quiet the strikers he declares the strike in prime condition, maintains that the company cannot hold out for more than two months, and calls upon all the members of the Brotherhood to support the "out of work" men of the "Q" road. A meeting of delegates from the brotherhoods of locomotive engineers, of locomotive firemen, and of smiths, was held in New York last Sunday, and the delegates resolved to support the men by voluntary contributions of five dollars from each member of the three organisations. It is hoped that 200,000 dollars (£40,000) can be raised that way each month.

During the strike of the Chicago, Burlington, and Quincy road, the officers of the different railway workers' organisations were absolute masters of the United States. It must be stated here that Mr. Arthur, the Grand Chief of the Locomotive Engineers, or Mr. Sargent, the Grand Chief of the Locomotive Firemen, have more authority over the members of their respective organisations than the Tsar of all the Russias has over his people. If the two men had called out each locomotive engineer and each locomotive fireman on the roads between the Pacific and the Atlantic oceans, the capitalists themselves would have been the first to cry out for the nationalisation of the railroads. The Eastern States, the so-called New England States, are entirely dependent for their food supply on the West—so much so that the non-arrival of produce trains from the west for only three days would have reduced the eastern cities, Baltimore, Philadelphia, New York, Boston, and the rest, to starvation. You will see from this what an enormous power labour leaders like Powderly, Arthur, Sargent, and such like, possess, and you will also see how well worth it is for capital to buy these men at almost any price.

A labour organisation which can collect almost £40,000 a-month by voluntary contributions ought to be able under able and honest leadership to settle the social question, but the money, the boodle, is the curse of the labour movement in America.

In No. 127 of the *Weal* Thomas Shore, jun., moans over the poverty of the Socialist League. The only salvation of the Socialist League is in its extreme poverty. The members of the League are put on their own resources, and nobody can go a-fishing for a job. Of all the labour movements the most pure, the most healthy, is the English Socialist movement, because there is no money in it.

Look to Chicago! Once, but a short time ago, Chicago used to be called, and rightly so, the Paris of America. And now! The labour movement in Chicago can to-day rival, as regards corruption, even the labour movement in New York. The trial, the long imprisonment of our strangled martyrs, has brought to Chicago from all parts of the globe large quantities of money; and men before the 4th of May, honest, active, and energetic in the revolutionary cause are corrupt and unworthy to-day. Everybody is trying to make money, and all propaganda for principles is almost forgotten. If a revolutionist dares to speak his mind, dares to preach the principles for which five men have been strangled, he is more persecuted by men who once called themselves revolutionists, and who are to-day in possession of all the means of propaganda, than by the police or any other authority. The *Alarm*, the sacred inheritance of our dear comrade Parsons, had to suspend publication on account of the open and secret hostility it met with from the managers of the *Arbeiter Zeitung*. The *Alarm* was too revolutionary, and a too revolutionary paper might bring the *Arbeiter Zeitung* into trouble, and then good-bye to the fine opportunity for a gang of leeches who now grow fat through exploiting enterprises developed by the heart-blood of five of our best men. At the time when the *Arbeiter Zeitung* was constantly on the point of bankruptcy, but when it was conducted by honest, well-meaning revolutionists, the management of the paper could afford to assist the *Alarm* with some 3,000 dollars; but to-day the management could only afford to help the *Alarm* with 25 dollars and this only after much pressure; and yet the *Arbeiter*

*Zeitung* is so rich to-day that, for a labour paper, it has almost unlimited resources. The movement in Chicago is too rich, and that's the cause of it.

The Federation of Trades' Unions, now the largest labour organisation, numbering about 700,000 members, has met its first large defeat—the defeat of the brewers. It is true that organised capital would, under the present state of affairs, have defeated the brewers in any case; but organised labour might have made a better show, anyhow.

However, the contributions from other labour organisations came in very slowly, and the boycott against June beer met with a miserable failure. Organised capital now knows that it is very easy, under present conditions, to attack and ruin the labour organisations, and as soon as the Presidential campaign is ended we may expect a general onslaught on organised labour.

This is a Presidential year, and that means that corruption will be extended *ad infinitum*. The Republican and the Democratic wire-pullers have met and also chosen their champions. Fat Grover Cleveland, the husband of his wife, the man who declared that no honest man could run a second time for President, has accepted the nomination of the democratic party to run for President; and, of course, the personal attractions of Mrs. Cleveland will be largely utilised to pull through the fat king in a swallow-tail coat. As vice-President the democrats got the so-called "old Roman" Thrumman. Thrumman may be less corrupt than the average American politician, but his record shows that he always could be used to defend the interests of large corporations of capital. The republican candidates are, of course, of the same calibre. The spectacle of the Republican Convention in Chicago must have pleased his majesty, King Bacchus, immensely. Drinking, fighting, rowdying, howling like mad Indians, are terms which describe but mildly the proceedings of the Grand Party. The old fox, James G. Blaine, was absent in England, engaged in a coaching tour with his friend Andrew Carnegie, that most hypocritical exploiter of labour, but his spirit reigned supreme in Chicago. The dead-lock lasted for eight days. At last Ben Harrison was chosen to run in the republican interest. This is what a working-man says of Mr. Harrison:—

"No, sir, it is not," emphatically replied Mr. Gould. "Aside from his bad record in the Senate he is the attorney for numerous railways and telegraph companies. As an indication of his loyalty to railroad companies in times of emergency, it is only necessary to refer to his course pending the railroad strike of 1877, on which occasion he implored the Governor to order out the troops and shoot down the strikers. Governor Williams stoutly resisted his influence, claiming that the men were peaceable and that there was no necessity for such action. At this he mustered up a company of his own and drilled the men, so as to have them in readiness in case of an emergency. Upon the same occasion he made a speech, from which the following is verbatim and substantiated by affidavits:—

"Were I the Governor I'd force those men back to work or shoot them down on the spot."

"And upon another occasion during the same trouble he declared in a speech that 'A dollar a day and two meals are enough for any working-man.'"

Levi T. Morton, formerly a partner in one of the largest banking firms of New York and London, obtained the nomination as vice-President, as Harrison is not a man of enormous means, Morton, the arch millionaire, was chosen to defray the principal expense of the campaign. Such are the gods of the two political parties.

HENRY F. CHARLES.  
Newark, N.J., June 29, 1888.

Labour doesn't want the earth. All labour wants, is to sit on the fence and witness the efforts of capital to get along without labour.—*Buffalo Truth*.

HOW THE POOR—DIE!—At Manchester, on the 6th, an inquest was held on the body of John Roach, labourer, aged fifty-four. It was shown in evidence that the house in which lived the deceased, his wife, their daughter-in-law, and four children, consisted of only two small rooms, and that the atmosphere was vitiated by poisonous gas. Deceased died of typhoid fever, and close to where the corpse was lying a child was found eating crumbs from the table.

METROPOLITAN PAUPERISM.—The weekly return of metropolitan pauperism shows that the total number of paupers relieved in the fourth week of the past month was 91,724, of whom 54,686 were indoor and 37,038 outdoor paupers. The total number relieved shows an increase of 3,104 over the corresponding week of last year, 4,553 over 1886, and 7,154 over 1885. The total number of vagrants relieved on the last day of the week was 975, of whom 774 were men, 175 women, and 26 children under sixteen.

AMERICAN ENTERPRISE.—The Warren *Ledger* reminds its readers that Russian leather is made in Connecticut; Bordeaux wine is manufactured in California; Italian marble is quarried in Kentucky; French lace is woven in N.Y.; Marseilles linen is produced in Massachusetts; English cassimere is made in New Hampshire; Persian art work comes from a shop in Boston; Spanish mackerel are caught on the New Jersey coast, and Havana cigars are rolled by the million in Chicago.—Providence (R. I.) *Independent Citizen*.

AN ACCIDENTAL CONSPIRATOR.—There died last week in Newcastle, at the age of fifty-seven years, Henry Alexander Watt, chief engineer of the steamer *Cagliari*, which in the year 1857 sailed from Genoa to the aid of the political prisoners of King Bomba of Naples, having on board Pisacane and Nicotera, two daring friends of Mazzini, Miss Jessie Meriton White (now Madame White Mario), and others. The vessel, whose destination was the island of Ponsa, where the prisoners were, left Genoa on July 5, 1857, and successfully accomplished the mission upon which the adventurers had set out. But on returning it was captured by a Neapolitan war vessel, and its occupants, including Watt and the second engineer, Charles Park, were taken to Naples and imprisoned. They suffered severely, and Watt temporarily lost his reason. The news of the imprisonment of the two Englishmen, who were ignorant of the conspiracy, presently reached the London newspapers, and the British Government was compelled to take steps in the matter, with the result that after having been imprisoned for seven months the two men were released. Their detention being deemed illegal, the British Government demanded compensation for them from the Minister of the King of Naples, and this having received an unsatisfactory answer, a second despatch was forwarded threatening to place an embargo on Neapolitan vessels if the demand were not acceded to. This had the desired effect, and the two engineers received substantial compensation. Seven of the leaders and crew forming the enterprise were sentenced to death, but this sentence was afterwards commuted. Watt suffered greatly, both in mind and body, from his long imprisonment, and was never able to work again.

## THE LABOUR STRUGGLE.

BRITAIN.

**IMPORTANT COLLIERY PROSECUTION BY THE HOME SECRETARY.—PAYING THE MINERS BY MEASURE INSTEAD OF BY WEIGHT.**—On Thursday (5th), at Burnley, Robert Handsley was summoned, as agent to the executors of Colonel Hargreaves, extensive colliery owners, for paying the miners by measure instead of weight as provided in the Act. The prosecution has been instituted by the Home Secretary, who was recently questioned in the House of Commons on the subject by Mr. Bradlaugh. The case, which is exciting widespread interest, as it will affect all the collieries in the Burnley district, was adjourned.

**WEST-END SWEATING.**—The tailors of the West-end are just now wondering if they will be allowed to have their say before the Lords' Committee on Sweating. It has been stated that the committee will not accept West-end evidence, since they have not been empowered to do so, but nevertheless the tailors are hopeful that this is not accurate. The men assert that with one solitary exception the West-end tailoring houses are supplied by the sweating system, and that the foremen are subsidised to keep the matter quiet and aid the masters in hoodwinking customers into the belief that every article is made on the premises.

**REPORT OF THE MIDLAND COUNTIES TRADES' FEDERATION.**—The report of the work of this society for the year ending May 12th has now been issued. The balance sheet shows a total income of £283 7s. 2½d. and an expenditure of £153 11s. 11d., leaving a balance in hand, as stated last week, of £129 15s. 3½d. The items of expenditure include £30, voted to the secretary for his services for the year, £57 11s. expended in strike pay, £14 12s. 6d. to defray the costs of mass meetings, £11 18s. in deputations to employers and meeting other societies, etc. The society can boast of having effected some very useful work during the year, for instance, it is stated that the stud and peg makers have secured an advance of 20 per cent. on their previous miserably low wage; the rivet makers in the same district are reported to have secured an advance of 15 per cent. by means of the Federation. A gain of 15 per cent. has also been obtained for the miners at Rowley Hall Colliery by the same means. Other similar successes have been secured, and the officials speak hopefully of the work of the Federation in the future.

**SOUTH COAST SQUALOR.**—There are no districts in England where the position of the industrial classes is more ill-defined, where the living is more precarious, or where there is more complete absence of trade unions than on the south coast. The largest town on the coast is Brighton. The condition of the industrial population may be cited as a sample of all the other watering-places. That condition is simply deplorable. The legitimate trades best represented there are painters and house-decorators. Half the year these men are out of work. When the spring contracts for painting are issued, the masters are swamped with applications for work. The labouring classes are in even worse plight. Every winter now relief works have to be undertaken by the guardians. The ill-fed, ill-clothed denizens of the back streets of this town are living in squalid misery, while what is known as "the season" is in full swing with the hotels and lodging-houses. When vitality sinks to zero among them a little stone-breaking, for which they trudge two or three miles through the snow and slush is afforded. A short time ago an endeavour was made to start a co-operative society among a few of the more frugal of the labourers and artisans.—*Star*.

**RAILWAY WAGES.**—We have heard a good deal recently, says the *Star*, about the long hours of railway servants. Their pay, however, is not at all commensurate with their hours. At a meeting of the North-Eastern railway men this week a list of wages was drawn up, and, considering the long hours and dangerous nature of the work, and heavy dividends which holders of railway stock draw, the demands are very reasonable. The following are the rates agreed on:—Engine-drivers, first year, 5s. 6d.; third year, 6s.; fourth year, 6s. 6d.; fifth year, 7s.; and tenth-year, 7s. 6d. Firemen: First year, 3s.; second year, 3s. 6d.; fourth year, 4s.; and after ten years, 5s. Guards to commence at 23s. per week, and rise 1s. per year up to 30s., and after ten years' service, 32s. per week. Under-guards and ordinary shunters to commence at 22s. per week, and rise 1s. per year up to 25s., and, when acting as guards, not less than 26s. per week. Signalmen to commence at 21s. per week, and rise on a service basis 1s. per week per year up to 30s. Relief signalmen to be paid 32s. Assistant signalmen to work the same hours as the signalmen they assist, to commence at 10s. per week, and advance 1s. per week per year up to 16s. No assistant to take charge of a cabin. The platelayers should commence at 19s., and rise 1s. per year up to 26s., all tools to be found by the company. Porters to commence at 19s., and rise 1s. per week per year up to 22s.

### STRIKE OF MATCHMAKERS.

We published in another column last week an appeal from Mrs. Besant and H. Burrows on behalf of three girls who had been thrown out by Bryant and May for revealing the secrets of their sweating-den. As we went to press, a letter appeared from the secretary of the firm denying everything; but in the denial was unmistakable confirmation of the charge. On the Thursday (5th) Mrs. Besant again repeated her accusation, strengthened it, and dared the whining Whig sweaters to "take legal action." The same day some 1,400 of the girls came out on strike against the system of fines and other extortions they had been working under, and against being compelled to sign a paper saying they were well paid and contented. They held meetings and demonstrations, and were, of course, interviewed by the indefatigable reporter, who found that all that had been said came short of the truth. They earned, they told him, from 5s. to 8s. or 9s. a week, and never got all they earned, being fined for various causes, not being always told what for, and were even made to pay for the brushes with which the factory floors were swept. Girls who earned 10s. were glad to take 8s. 6d., and so on in proportion. "They call it a per cent.," said a girl, "but we want our money." The firm again came forward and denied everything; prated about their benevolent love of the girls and care for their welfare; talked of there being only "lazy" girls discontented; and, in short, ran through the whole scale of the usual capitalist lies, winding up with an instructive comment on their own philanthropic professions by loudly threatening to import girls from Glasgow, or remove the works to Sweden. The S. D. F. and S. L. have already taken steps to look after Glasgow, and our Swedish comrades will prepare the ground over there. On Friday, Saturday, and Sunday meetings were

held by Mrs. Besant, Mrs. Hicks, Stewart Headlam, J. L. Mahon, Herbert Burrows, and others on behalf of the girls, at which meetings the "Labour" M.P.'s were denounced for not taking up the affair in Parliament, the girls were advised to organise, and all were urged to help on the boycott on Bryant and May's matches. On Monday afternoon a deputation of 100 girls waited on Mrs. Besant, at her offices in Bouverie Street, for the purpose of laying before her their grievances and soliciting her counsel, but only two or three were admitted, the rest, in consequence of the block caused to the traffic, being relegated to the Thames Embankment during the interview. Mrs. Besant did not oppose the return of the "wax hands" to their work, as it was by no means so open to objection as that by which the wooden match makers gained their living. The most unfortunate feature of the strike is that the girls have absolutely no organisation and no funds with which to carry on their effort, and to relieve themselves from what some of them allege to be a system of tyranny. A fund has, however, now been started to help those who remain out to pay their rent, etc., during the time no money is coming to them, and collections to this end have been started in most of the trades' union shops. It is probable that no particular steps will be taken before Saturday, when the fund will be distributed among those interested, to draw public attention to the subject. Of course the "reptile press" has been protesting against the slurs thrown on the character of the sweaters, and also against the "degradation of the girls by begging on their behalf." It is wonderful how deaf and dumb and blind the "able editor" can be until the pockets of his patrons are touched, and then how much he can see and how much he can shout! Meanwhile, however the strike goes, great good may be done by boycotting Bryant and May's matches. There is a firm (Wilson and Palmer) which treats its girls decently; ask your grocer to get you their matches instead. Subscriptions on behalf of the girls should be sent to Mrs. Besant, 34, Bouverie Street.

With reference to subscriptions, we have received the following letter:—  
"Up to noon to-day (Tuesday) we have received £60 for the match girls. A regular strike fund has been formed, which we hope will be supported by the London trade unionists. It is imperative that a hundred and fifty pounds be collected this week, as we must pay the girls' rent if we do nothing else. A register of the girls on strike has been opened at the East-end, and the first strike payment to them will be made on Saturday July 14.  
—Fraternally yours, ANNIE BESANT, HERBERT BURROWS."

### AMERICA.

**NEW YORK, July 4.**—Thirteen employers have now signed the wages scale demanded by the ironworkers on strike. The fact of these few employers having given in does not affect the general situation, as there are 71 firms of the Western Association who are determined to resist the demands of the strikers. The number of men employed by the firms who have signed the wages scale is 12,000.

Farm hands at Chalk, N. C., receive from 7 dols. to 9 dols. per month; women 25 cents per day. Tenants get one-third of the crops they raise.

A carload of Italians were imported the other day to work on the Steubenville, O., street railroad. The *Gazette* says there are plenty of men in town out of work.

According to the Newark *Arbeiter-Zeitung* the "slaves of the cordage works" in Elizabeth are compelled to work overtime at present. The paper says that seven young girls and children had to work 13½ hours on several days of the week. It is alleged that 29 girls were discharged simply because they refused to work longer hours than the working day fixed by law.

**TORONTO, June 23.**—The cigar-makers here have struck for an advance of a dollar a thousand on mould work and two dollars on hand work. There are 122 of them.

**EIGHTEEN MILLIONS LOST IN STRIKES IN AMERICA.—WHO LOST IT?**—M. Max Hoffman has laid before the Statistical Society of Paris an elaborate and carefully-prepared statement concerning strikes and lock-outs in the United States. His conclusion is that the American Republic has, in the space of six years, lost by strikes of one kind or another 400 million francs, that is, £18,800,000. This means, of course, that the capitalists came out so much short on their estimated profits. They form the only "American Republic" Mr. Hoffman thinks of.

**KILLED BY COERCION.**—John Mandeville, one of the best-known Nationalists in the south of Ireland, who was William O'Brien's fellow-prisoner in Tullamore Gaol, died at Mitchelstown on Sunday evening. He was thirty-eight years of age. He was ill only three days, suffering from a throat affection, which was engendered in Tullamore Gaol. He was one of the first imprisoned under the Crimes Act.

**WHICH IS THE PAUPER?**—The average earnings of all the manufacturing and mining operatives in this country is 1 dol. 2 cents. per day. The average family of the working-man is five; allow two of the family to earn the average wages, which would give to the family 2 dols. 4 cents. per day, or a fraction over 40 cents per day for the support of each individual of the family. The statistics of the Board of Charity of the State of Illinois show the cost of supporting each pauper in that State to be sixty-six and three-tenths cents per day, twenty-six cents per day more than the labourer gets. G. H. GALE in *Labour's Stage*.

**WANTED, A PLAN OF CAMPAIGN FOR LONDON.**—Mr. Knox, a tenant on Lord Portman's estate, living at 17 Gloucester Place, gave evidence at the Town Holdings Committee on Tuesday 3rd, with regard to the terms which were offered to his mother and himself by Mr. Hunt, Lord Portman's agent, in response to their request for a renewal of the lease. There was a rental of £180 a-year. It was 7, 14, or 21 years' lease renewable at those periods at the option of the lessee, the last term expiring at Christmas 1887. In 1879 they purchased the lease. He opened negotiations with Mr. Hunt for the renewal of the lease. The latter offered terms equivalent to a payment of £2,000 minus the discount to the end of the lease, on the condition that they should build an extra story on the house. If they did this he would grant a new lease for 40 years at a rent of £70 a-year, and a fine of £1,500 and to carry out certain works upon the premises. These terms also were declined as exorbitant. In the spring of 1877 they made a final attempt to obtain renewal. A term of 25 years was offered, with a fine of £1,650, and the other conditions about the same as before. In the course of the negotiations Mr. Hunt told him that if the terms were not accepted they would be liable for dilapidations, which would probably be heavy. He considered that in consequence of this threat as to dilapidations and of the cost of removal they were not free agents. The terms were ultimately accepted with a reduction of the fine to £1,600.

## YE POOR OF WEALTHY ENGLAND.

AIR—"Ye Mariners of England."

YE poor of wealthy England,  
Who starve and sweat and freeze,  
By labour sore to fill the store  
Of those who live at ease;  
'Tis time to know your real friends,  
To face your real foe,  
And fight for your right  
Till ye lay your masters low;  
Small hope for you of better days  
Till ye lay your masters low.

A tangled web in sooth it is,  
Yet here we have the clue:  
The tools whereby the many live  
Are mastered by a few;  
You workers to those gentlemen  
With cap in hand must go,  
And your toil they will spoil,  
Till ye lay your masters low;  
But to rob them of the power to rob  
Will lay your masters low.

Ye fools, who from your hunger  
For them such riches pile,  
Who rear their lordly palaces,  
Yet herd in hovels vile,—  
Come, shake the leeches from your veins,  
Come, bid the vampires go,  
And Nay who shall say  
When ye lay your masters low?  
And earn ye then the name of men,  
And lay your masters low.

Ye poor of wealthy England,  
Cut off these cunning bands,  
If ye would eat in quietness  
The labour of your hands;  
Behold, how righteous is the Cause,  
How feeble is the foe!  
Then, Hey for the day  
When we lay our masters low;  
We bid good-bye to waste and want  
When we lay our masters low.

C. W. BECKETT.

## MONOPOLY.

MONOPOLY'S now the grand rub,  
And from it less harm would ensue,  
If those who monopolise grub  
Would monopolise appetites too!

May Britons each other befriend,  
For Unity's England's best hope,  
And may every monopolist's end  
Be joined to the end of a rope!

(From "The Monopolizers," written by C. Dibden, jun., and "sung before the King at Weymouth by Mr. Quick.")

## INTERNATIONAL NOTES.

### ITALY.

**TORTURE IN ITALIAN PRISONS.**—In the house of detention in Catania there has been lately a somewhat serious mutiny among the prisoners, in consequence, says a local paper, of the brutal conduct of some of the gaolers towards one of their number. The poor wretch was shut up in a cell with four gaolers, who inflicted serious injuries upon him and even endangered his life. This is not the first time that the prisoners have been brutally assaulted, we understand, and indeed several years ago a man actually died of injuries received in this way.

**Bologna.**—The bakers here threaten a general strike in consequence of heavy work and low wages. The masters and local authorities have named a committee to try to arrange some sort of conciliation.

**Venice.**—The Socialist paper *Ottantanove* will shortly appear in the court of justice, and the editor of the same will have to defend himself and answer seven heads of accusations—i.e., "Offence against inviolability of the right of property; Provocation of class-hatred; Defence of crimes and offences in the penal code; menaces against the monarchical government"; etc., etc.

**MILAN.**—A strike is declared among the weavers of the establishment known as "L'Elvetica" at Milan, the reason being that with no rise of wages the working day has been increased from 12 to 14 hours.

**MILAN.**—A strike of basket-workers has taken place here, and holds out, although the union or society of this industry is in want of funds, and the individual striker consequently finds it hard to hold out. Some of them talk of leaving the city and seeking work elsewhere rather than give way to the masters who take every advantage of their straitened circumstances. The cause of the strike is the same wearisome story; their weekly wage is 11 to 12 lire, and they demand at least 15 or 16 lire. Before striking they sent round a circular to the masters, who answered it unfavourably. M. M.

## CIGARMAKING IN AMERICA.

THE following appeared in the columns of the *Sunday Call*, Newark, N. J., June 10, 1888:—

"The cigar-making industry is being seriously injured by the general stagnation of trade. Thousands of cigarmakers, and others, in all branches of the craft, are idle, while many are on the verge of destitution. The prospects for future employment are not bright either. A manufacturer recently told a committee of employes who waited upon him, it was his opinion that within three months the bunch-making and rolling machines would almost eliminate manual labour from the trade. Inventive genius in the way of labour-saving machinery is rapidly displacing even skilled cigarmakers. The bunch-making machine was developed under the pressure of continental strikes, and is more than any other device reducing mechanics to penury. Before bunch-making machines were introduced, a bunch-maker was paid 2 dollars and 2 dollars 80 c. for a thousand scrap bunches. The machine, which supersedes them, works longer and faster and costs less to work. It is called the 'Iron Scab' among cigar-makers. One girl is all that is necessary to operate it, and it produces from 24,000 to 25,000 bunches a-week. The operator gets 29 cents for every thousand, and can earn on an average 7 dollars a-week. The manufacturer pays the inventor a royalty of 4 dollars, and makes a big profit. Some 400 such machines are reported in use. Last week a machine was introduced in New York called a roller, which rolls cheroots. A human roller formerly received 4 dollars per thousand, and was able to earn 15 dollars a-week. The man who works the rolling machine gets from 1 dollar 50 c. to 2 dollars 50 c. for a thousand cheroots. A human roller now earns 5 dollars and 6 dollars in a week of ten hours a-day. The machine has been tried for making cigars, and is reported a success. The owner says it will do work which formerly only a skilled journeyman could perform."

Some doubt has been expressed, both in this country and America, as to the truth of the report that a machine has been introduced that will answer the needs of the employers; those who still have any doubt would do well to look up the *Workman's Advocate* for June 16, in which this question is ably dealt with from a Socialist point of view. The writer also quotes the terms of the advertisement, taken from a New York paper, respecting the new machine, which I reproduce here:—

"I beg to announce that my latest invention, the single and duplex cigar rolling machine, will be ready for the market after the 15th inst. I have lately added such improvements to the machine that it will supersede anything ever invented in this line. The machine rolls up absolutely perfect and finishes the head better and more uniform than can be done by the most skilful cigar-maker. Capacity from 1,000 to 1,200 a-day. Can be learned by girl labour in a few hours. Absolute perfection attained in three days. Any shape, any style, any length. Wrappers cut by a simple, perfect machine. No steam power required."

Similar machines are advertised in the *Tobacco Trade Review* in this country.

Cigar manufacturers have for years been trying to introduce machinery in this trade, but they have not hitherto succeeded to any great extent. Of late, however, several machines have been introduced, which bid fair to achieve their long deferred hopes. When they succeed, cigarmakers will be compelled to take a lesson in the "Effects of machinery under capitalism."

H. DAVIS.

## THE SOCIALIST LEAGUE.

OFFICES: 13 FARRINGDON ROAD, E.C.

The Offices of the Socialist League will be open for the sale of *Commonweal* and all other Socialist publications from 8.30 a.m. to 9 p.m. every day except Sunday. The Secretary will be in attendance from 10 a.m. to 9 p.m. daily.

"COMMONWEAL" PRINTING FUND.

Hammersmith Branch, 5s. 8d.; C. J. F., 2s. 6d.; P. W., 6d.; Langley, 2s.; K. F., 1s.

## REPORTS.

**FULHAM.**—Tuesday evening, opposite the Liberal Club, Catterson Smith and Groser spoke. Sunday morning, Tarleton and Morris spoke. Fair sale of *Weal*. In evening, Fry spoke outside our rooms, and F. Verinder (Guild of St. Matthew) afterwards lectured on "The Bible and the Land Question" to excellent audience. *Weal* sold out; 4s. 3d. collected during the day.—S. B. G.

**GLASGOW.**—Sunday mid-day, Gilray (of Edinburgh) and Glasier addressed meeting at Jail Square. At 5 o'clock, Glasier and Pollock had large audience at Paisley Road. In evening in rooms, Soussen described his adventures with the police in Germany. Several revolutionary songs were also sung.—G.

**NORWICH.**—Meetings held during week at Yarmouth by Mowbray and Morley, and St. Catharine's Plain by Poynts and Mowbray. On Sunday good meeting at St. Faith's, commenced with "England Arise" by Parker (London), Adams, and others; at Wymondham by Darley and Morley; and St. Martin's Plain by Mowbray. In afternoon in Market Place by Parker and Mowbray, meeting very enthusiastic, begun and finished with revolutionary songs. In evening large meetings at Agricultural Hall Plain and Market Place, by Morley, Mowbray, and Parker; 16s. collected for propaganda, and 8s. 6d. worth of *Weal* sold besides other literature. After meetings, a "social" was held in Gordon Hall, Mowbray, Parker, Moore, Stone, and others taking part. Parker gave short address. On Monday, July 16th, all comrades and friends interested in our Co-operative movement are requested to attend a meeting at the Gordon Hall at 8.30 p.m.

**WALSALL.**—Monday, Sanders debated with Mr. Davies (Birmingham) on "Is Socialism Practicable?" Unfortunately, opponent was only very partially acquainted with subject, so result was not what it might have been. Good attendance, meeting-room completely filled. Saturday, Sanders spoke on The Bridge, and Sunday on West Bromwich Road. Good sale of literature.—J. T. D.

**LABOUR UNION.**—Meetings on Sunday at Regent's Park, Hyde Park, Hoxton, and Woolwich, Donald, Mahon, Chambers, Banner, and Cunningham Graham spoke. Hyde Park Sunday afternoon at pub's demonstration, meeting held and resolution passed in favour of inserting clauses in Local Government Bill empowering local authorities to take over liquor traffic. At Woolwich much literature sold, and £1 4s. 0d. collected.—J. L. M.



LECTURE DIARY.

LONDON.

**Acton.**—Any information from Secretary Harnett, 7 Redmore Road, Hammersmith.

**Clerkenwell.**—Hall of the Socialist League, 13 Farringdon Rd., E.C. Sunday July 15, at 6 p.m., a Social Evening by Members and Friends. Tea on table at 6.30 p.m. Songs, Recitations, etc., after tea. Wednesday July 18th, at 8.30 p.m., A Lecture.

**Fulham.**—8 Effie Road, Walham Green. Sunday at 8 p.m.

**Hackney.**—The next meeting of members will be held at 26 Cawley Road, Victoria Park, Sunday July 29, at 4 p.m. Enquiries communications, etc., to E. Lefevre, Secretary, 28 Percy Terrace, Victoria Rd., Hackney Wick.

**Hammersmith.**—Kelmescott House, Upper Mall, W. Sunday July 15, at 8 p.m., George Bernard Shaw (Fabian Society), "The so-called Period of Apathy, 1851-70."

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

**Mile-end and Bethnal Green.**—95 Boston St., Hackney Road.

**North London.**—The business meetings will be held on Friday evenings at the Autonomie Club, Windmill Street, Tottenham Court Road, after the open-air meeting at Ossulton Street. All members are asked to attend at Ossulton Street at 8 o'clock. Secy., Nelly Parker, 109 Cavendish Buildings, opposite Holborn Town Hall.

**Plaistow.**—A branch has been formed here and is commencing a vigorous propaganda in this district. All communications to be addressed to A. Barker, 4 Osborne Terrace, Leyton, E.

**St. Georges in the East.**—A meeting of the members of this branch will be held at 23 Princes Square, on Sunday morning after the meeting at Leman Street. Rochmann, secretary.

PROVINCES.

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

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

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

**Cowdenbeath** (Scot. Sec).—J. Duncan, 30 Arthur Pl., sec

**Dundee** (Scot. Sect.).—Meetings every Sunday in the Trades Hall, opposite Tay Bridge Station.

**Edinburgh** (Scottish Land and Labour League).—In Oddfellows' Hall, Thursdays at 8 p.m., meetings for Discussion. Letters and communications to 35 George IV. Bridge.

**Galashiels** (Scot Sect).—J. Walker, 6 Victoria St., sec.

**Gallatoun and Dysart** (Scottish Section: Fife).—Meet every Tuesday at 7 p.m. in Gallatoun Public School. Secretary, A. Paterson, 152 Rosslyn St.

**Glasgow.**—84 John St. Reading-room open 10 a.m. till 10 p.m. daily. Discussion every Thursday evening at 8 o'clock. On Sunday evening, at 7 o'clock.

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

**Leicester.**—Hosiery Union, Horsefair St. Fridays at 8.

**Lochgelly** (Scottish Section: Fife).—Secs. (pro tem.), John Greig and Hugh Conway, The Square.

**Norwich.**—Tuesday, at 8.30, Members' Meeting. Wed. at 8.30, Dramatic Class. Saturday, 8 until 10.30, Co-operative Clothing Association. On August 12th and 13th a great Socialist Demonstration will be held; Annie Besant, Mrs. Schack, Herbert Burrows, S. Mainwaring, and others, will take part.

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

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

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

OPEN-AIR PROPAGANDA.

SUNDAY 15.

11 ... Acton Green ..... The Branch  
 11.30... Latimer Road Station ..... The Branch  
 11.30... Mitcham Fair Green ..... The Branch  
 11.30... Regent's Park... Mrs. Schack, Blundell, Samuels  
 11.30... Walham Green ..... Fulham Branch  
 3.30... Hyde Park ..... Hammersmith Branch  
 7 ... Clerkenwell Green ..... The Branch  
 7 ... Weltje Road, opposite Ravenscourt Park  
 ..... Hammersmith Branch

Tuesday.  
 8.30... Fulham—opposite Liberal Club..... Fulham Bh

Friday.  
 7.30... Euston Rd.—Ossulton St. .... N. London Bch.

EAST END.

SUNDAY 15.

Mile-end Waste ... 11 ... Brooks & Cores.  
 "Salmon and Ball" ... 11 ... Mainwaring.  
 Leman Street, Shadwell 11 ... Hicks & Rochmann  
 Gibraltar Walk, Bethnal 7 ... Brooks, Mnwaring  
 Green Road.  
 Well Street, Hackney... 11.45... Parker.  
 Kingsland Green ... 11.30... Davis.  
 Victoria Park ... 3.15... Lane, Charles,  
 Mainwaring, etc.  
 Triangle, Hackney Road 8 ... Brooks, Mnwaring  
 Lea Bridge Road ... 11.30... Lane & Charles.  
 Stamford Hill ... 7.30... Lane & Charles.  
 High Street, Plaistow... 7.45... Parker.

TUESDAY.

Mile-end Waste ... 8.30... Mainwaring, Lane.

WEDNESDAY.

Broadway, London Fields 8.30... Lane, Charles,  
 and Cores.

THURSDAY.

Packington St., Essex Road 8.30... Cores, Davis, and  
 Marsh.

FRIDAY.

Philpot St., Commercial Rd. 8.30... Parker, Lane, and  
 Mainwaring.

SATURDAY.

Mile-end Waste ... 8 ... Davis & Cores.

PROVINCES.

**Aberdeen.**—Saturday: Castle Street, at 8 p.m. Sun-  
 day: Duthie Park, Waterside Gate, 3 p.m.

**Glasgow.**—Sunday: Jail's Square, at 12.30; Paisley  
 Road Toll, at 5 o'clock.

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

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

**Norwich.**—Sunday: St. Martin's Plain, at 10 a.m.;  
 Market Place, at 3 and 7.30; Crostwick Common,  
 at 3; St. Faiths, at 11.30.  
 Wymondham, every alternate Sunday.  
 Thorpe Village, Monday at 8 p.m.  
 Opposite Town Hall, Thursday at 7.30.  
 St Catharine's Plain, Friday at 8.15 p.m.

**HOXTON.**—Persons wishing to join this branch, which  
 is in process of formation, should communicate with  
 H. D. Morgan, 22 Nicholas Street, Hoxton.

At the Farringdon Hall, 13 Farringdon Road, on  
 Friday July 13th, a Free Discussion will be opened by  
 P. Kropotkin—subject, "The Moral Justice and In-  
 justice of the Wage-System"; at 8.30.

**LABOUR UNION.**—Notices for Sunday.—Hoxton  
 Church, Pitfield Street, at 11.30, J. L. Mahon; at  
 6.30, J. H. Pope. Regent's Park, at 11.30, H. A.  
 Barker. Hyde Park (Reformers' Tree), at 3.30, J. L.  
 Mahon. Woolwich, Arsenal Gates, at 6.30, W. C.  
 Wade and R. Banner.

**SHEFFIELD SOCIALISTS.**—The Sheffield Socialists, in  
 conjunction with the Chesterfield and Nottingham  
 friends, have arranged to have a Picnic at Ambergate  
 on Sunday the 15th. The Sheffield contingent will  
 leave the Midland Station by the 9.5 a.m. train.—  
 The Sheffield Socialists have secured the St. James's  
 Assembly Rooms for their meetings, and meet for  
 lectures and discussions every Monday night.

**EAST-END PROPAGANDA.**—A meeting of all interested  
 in the Socialist propaganda in the East-end of London  
 will be held at the Berner Street International Club,  
 Commercial Rd., E., on Saturday evening at 10 o'clock.  
 All who can assist us by speaking at our various sta-  
 tions, and especially those who can aid us either on  
 Sunday or any time during the week by distributing  
 literature from house to house are earnestly invited to  
 attend, to enable us to extend our field of work.

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 Unions in Relation to Socialism.** By  
 Thomas Binning (London Society of Composi-  
 tors). . . . . 1d.  
**The Commune of Paris.** By E. Belfort Bax,  
 Victor Dave, and William Morris. . . . . 2d.  
**The Aims of Art.** By Wm. Morris.  
 Bijou edition, 3d.; Large paper, 6d.  
**The Rights of Labour according to John  
 Ruskin.** By Thomas Barclay. . . . . 1d  
**The Tables Turned; or, Nupkins Awak-  
 ened.** A Socialist Interlude. By William  
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**The Manifesto of the Socialist League.**  
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 Morris. An exposition of the principles on  
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**Useful Work v. Useless Toil.** By William  
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A

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# THE COMMONWEAL

## The Official Journal of the SOCIALIST LEAGUE.

VOL. 4.—No. 132.

SATURDAY, JULY 21, 1888.

WEEKLY; ONE PENNY.

### ANTI-SWEATING DEMONSTRATION

IN

HYDE PARK, SUNDAY, JULY 22, 1888.

The Socialist League has appointed the following, who will speak on its behalf from Platform No. 6:—

WM. MORRIS. W. B. PARKER. H. H. SPARLING. J. TOCHATTI.  
J. LANE. F. KITZ.

The following is the resolution which will be moved at the meeting:

*"That this meeting, while protesting against the extortion practised under what is known as the Sweating System, points out that this is a necessary result of production for profit, and must continue until that is put an end to; and it therefore calls upon all workers to combine in order to bring about the Social Revolution, which will place the means of production and exchange in the hands of the producers."*

The following are the times and places of meeting:—

S.E.		N.W.	
Deptford ... ..	1.45	Cobden Statue ... ..	3.15
Brick Lane Station ... ..	2.50	Fitzroy Square ... ..	3.30
(And wait for those from Bermondsey, Walworth, and Peckham.)		(Down Tottenham Court Road.)	
Obelisk, Blackfriars Road ... ..	3.15	Paddington Green ... ..	3.45
St. Thomas's Hospital ... ..	3.35		
Victoria ... ..	4.0	S.W.	
		Wandsworth Plain ... ..	2.15
EAST END.		Prince's Head, Battersea ... ..	2.55
Canning Town ... ..	1.0	York Road Station ... ..	3.25
Poplar ... ..	1.15	Chelsea Bridge ... ..	3.40
Via Burdett Road, Mile End		Sloane Square ... ..	3.45
Waste ... ..	2.15	Knightsbridge ... ..	4.5
Whitechapel Road, Commercial Street ... ..	2.45	W.	
(Wait for those from the Triangle, Hackney)... ..	2.30	Prebend Street, Islington ... ..	2.30
Mansion House ... ..	3.0	Clerkenwell Green ... ..	3.0
to		to	
Holborn Circus ... ..	3.20	Holborn Circus ... ..	3.20
		Due at	
		Tottenham Court Road ... ..	3.45

### SWEATERS AND SWEATERS.

No. 1.—MATCHES BY THE FACTORY DRILL.

THE London Trades' Council having taken up the strike of the match girls, it did at any rate go on long enough to force the attention of even the stupidest of the capitalist class, and the girls have at least gained something out of the struggle; and surely nobody but the cruellest as well as the stupidest of bourgeois will grudge them that small gain. For the rest, like other strikes, it is a necessary incident in the war of capital and labour; whatever may be the fate of any particular strike, the whole mass of strikes forms one side of this great war: if there were no strikes but those which were likely to succeed in times like the present, the manufacturing capitalists would have an easy time of it, and would reduce the workers under their control to the very lowest point of misery; but as it is, even people in such a wretched condition as these poor match girls can make themselves felt temporarily, and can help to swell the mass of opposition to the manufacturers' ideal, to wit, human machinery which will give not more, but less, trouble than the machinery of mere dead matter, and will be as contented as that; so that Mrs. Besant and the others whose exertions have made this strike possible have done and are doing good service.

It is curious, though, to see how the capitalist press have straightway set their backs up, and set to work to whitewash the extremely "respectable" firm—company, I should say—who live on this miserable industry. What has become of the "Bitter Cry" and all the fashionable slumming which followed it? Why, this industry, which

is of such commercial importance to the world—of shareholders—is just the very thing that all that deedless sympathy was poured out on; and yet now we find the press, which was so "interested" in the affairs of the East End workers four years ago, is quite content to leave the match girls to the tender mercies of Messrs. Bryant and May and other such benefactors of the human race; and if any attempt is set on foot to make these poor folk conscious of the fact that they are part of a great class which *must* struggle for existence and *should* struggle for a decent life, immediately we find the papers, to say the least of it, tender of the rich and harshly critical of the poor, scattering broadcast inuendoes against the disinterested people who really feel the "Bitter Cry," telling mere lies about the events of the strike, chuckling over the slavery of the poor wretches who hug their chains and are angry with the strikers for making them risk the loss of the starvation wages which they are doomed to exist on. Such shabby people as these, and the public for which they write, who simply want to be mildly amused by other people's troubles, are not likely to note one lesson which would seem to be pretty clearly taught by the exposure of this manufacture to the light of day, and that is the utter helplessness of any philanthropic remedies for these miseries, or, indeed, any remedies but the one remedy of destruction of the whole system under which they are possible; still less are they likely to see that this flourishing and respectable company, the names of whose managers are a kind of household words, is a *reductio ad absurdum* of the competition for profits which is the "bond of society" at present. The superstition of the "cultivated classes" of to-day concerning the necessity of profit-grinding is as gross as ever superstition was. I take as an illustration a sentence from an article in the *Daily News* by a well-intentioned sort of person apparently, and read:—"These poor people are really the victims, 'not of any exceptional greed or hard usage of Messrs. Bryant and May' (close shavers, though, my friend!) but of that steady onward rush of the great industrial machine whose course is directed not by the needs and welfare of those immediately beneath its wheels, but of the community at large for generations to come."

Well! that is tall talk. Let us pick this match-making business from "the steady onward rush," and see what it means. It is a very simple story, and a very shabby one. A lot of helpless girls and women are driven by fear of mere destitution to hire themselves out at starvation wages to do mechanical and unhealthy work; they are cleverly drilled by a perfected system which aims at wasting nothing (except human life) and the result of their labour is sold at the lowest price possible in order that the money passing through the hands of the company may be turned as often as possible; and in order to do that even the wretched wages are clipped by fines, which have the double advantage of helping in the drilling as well as saving the wage outlay. That is the process; what is the gain that comes of it, beyond the keeping alive in misery a number of girls? Certain persons are able to live a luxurious and useless life without working, and matches are made so cheap that the public buy twice as many as they want of them and waste half. Here is a gain indeed for "the generations to come"! Are we so helpless that this shabby story is to be told over and over again, and the sad fact always a-doing? Once more, a farthing box of matches is no great plunder to take from a "victim" of the great industrial machine, and, on the whole, I think it would be better to try to direct it "by the needs and welfare of those immediately beneath its wheels"—only you cannot, as long as the machine is composed of capital and wage-slavery. You can only help whatever tends towards upsetting the said machine. And all wise men will do so, and spread discontent till we make a better bargain than selling ourselves to the Devil—for nothing.

No. 2.—PASSING ON THE PINCH.

It is noteworthy that we are to-day having the extreme form of the systems of the robbery of the worker dragged up before the public gaze. On the one hand there is this system of the complete merciless drill of the factory, obvious authoritative compulsion, and on the other the compulsion which passes through the links of the sweating system, in the last link of which mere obvious necessity of bread-earning compels the poor sweater to compel. When the two systems are brought face to face it will be seen that there is little enough to chose

between them, because after all there are plenty of links between the idle appropriator of the results of other people's labour and the workman in the factory system; the various managers, clerks, and foremen are the sweating machinery in this case, and many of these are of the working-class just as the sweating tailor is. It is true that the organised sweating system carries the misery a stage lower down, in spite of the shameless defence of it which is being made before the Lords' Commission, and the last link the poor sweater is a speciality of the system, and a disgrace even to our disgraceful sham society. But it must never be forgotten, and we must repeat it again here, that all capitalistic production which is not purely individual, as the work of the doctor or the artist, is done by means of sweating in some form or other. It is the knowledge, conscious or otherwise, of this fact which gives some of the witnesses before the Lords' Commission courage to stand up and represent their horrible industry as a benefit to humanity; they cannot help feeling that the sympathy of the lords and gentlemen on the Commission will be accorded to those respectable people who are performing the whole duty of modern man by making a profit, even if they are forced by circumstances to be the instruments of inflicting misery upon other people; for as our worthy friend in the *Daily News* on the match-girls sees, that is the necessary process of commercial production: in short, the respectable factory capitalist excuses the sweater, respectable or not. Doubtless the conclusion that will be expressed in the report of the Commission on Sweating will be that the evils of the system have been much exaggerated, that the worst form of it is not widespread, that the system, with whatever exaggerated evils belong to it, is necessary to civilisation, nay, to humanity; all this probably in much these words, and as a practical rider to the conclusion, though *not* openly stated, that we the commission recommend that something be pretended to be done to keep the people quiet.

A friend of mine once expostulated with a hatter for the price he charged for his hats; the hatter had been dining, and wine inspired him to tell the truth. "Mr. ———," said he "how can I live in the style in which I do unless I charge you at least as high?"

This is really the conclusion which the Sweating Commission must come to. The misery of those who are sweated, whether by the drill of the factory or the many links of the sweating chain, is the high price that we pay for the glory of sustaining a class of idle rich men. Is the gain worth the price? Working men, it is for you to answer the question, and act according to your answer.

WILLIAM MORRIS.

## THE REVOLT OF GHENT.

(Continued from p. 218.)

PEACE being made, the Earl is rather shy of Ghent, and takes up his quarters at Bruges, no doubt playing his old game of setting the towns against one another. The citizens of Ghent (one may suppose the respectables chiefly) are anxious for their Feudal Lord to come amongst them, so that they may be sure that the peace is really kept. After much persuasion, the Earl comes ungraciously enough, and the very first thing he says to "the men of the Law," as Froissart calls them—that is, the municipal chiefs, who go out to meet him—is thus given by Froissart: "Sirs, good peace requireth nothing but peace; and I would that these White Hats were laid down and amends made for the death of my Bailey, for I am sore required therein of all his lineage."

Here is the smouldering fire stirred again. "The men of the Law" answer humbly enough, and beg the Earl to come into the great square the next day and "preche to the people"; but the White Hoods make up their minds to be part of his audience. Well, he comes, and looks very angrily at the White Hoods; then from a window with a red cloth before him he makes a speech nearly as long as one of Mr. Gladstone's, winding up with a demand for the disbanding of the White Hoods. "At all these words that he spake before every man held their peace; but when he spake of the White Hats there was such a murmuring and whispering that it might well be perceived that it was for that cause."

In short, he took himself out of the town in a day or two in the worst possible temper.

The Ghentmen did not deceive themselves as to his intentions, and fell to victualling the town for a siege. Here Froissart moralises: "The rich sage and notable persons cannot excuse themselves of these deeds at the beginning. For when John Lyon first began to bring up the White Hats they might have caused them to have been laid down if they had lyst, and have sent other manner of persons against the pioneers of Bruges than they: but they suffered it because they would not meddle, nor be in no business nor press. All this they did and consented to be done, the which after they dearly bought, and specially such as were rich and wise: for after, they were no more lords of themselves, nor they durst not speak, nor do anything but as they of Ghent would. For they (the men of Ghent) said that neither for John Lyon nor for Gilbert Matthew nor for their wars nor broiles they would never depart asunder: for whatsoever war there were between one or other they would ever be all one, and ever ready to defend the franchises of their town. The which was well seen after; for they made war which endured seven years; in the which time there was never strife among them in the town: and that was the thing that sustained and kept them most of anything, both within and without: they were in such unity that there was no distance among them, as ye shall hear after in this history."

An outrage and reprisals follow. The kindred of Roger Dauterne, the slain Bailey, come upon forty ships of the Ghentmen in the Scheld, and put out the eyes of the mariners and maim them, and so send them home to Ghent. In return for this horror John Pruniaux, Captain of the White Hoods, marches suddenly on Oudenarde and beats down the two towers and gates of that town looking toward Ghent and the wall between them. The Earl of course is or feigns to be greatly enraged; though the rulers of Ghent refuse to avow the deed; but after some coming and going a sort of a peace is patched up again; Oudenarde is given up by the Ghentmen, John Pruniaux on the one side and the maimers of the mariners on the other side are banished: and on these terms of peace the curtain falls again.

It rises on a lordly act of dastardliness on the part of the Earl, who gets John Pruniaux delivered to him by the Duke of Burgundy and strikes off his head. Also, "Then the Earl went to Ypres and did here great justice, and beheaded many evil-ruled people such as had been at the death of his five Knights there slain and had opened the gates to them of Ghent."

This lordly fashion of keeping the peace was not well seen to by the Ghentmen, and the war began again more sternly than ever, and also now took more definitely the aspect of a class struggle. "Then Peter du Bois<sup>1</sup> said: Sirs, if ye will believe me there shall not a house stand upright of never a gentleman in the country about Ghent. . . . That is truth, said all the other. Let us go forth and beat them all down."

Which was not a mere flourish of speech, as the White Hoods, who are now identified with the town of Ghent, set to work at once; so that "when the gentlemen knights and squires being at Lysle with the Earl and thereabout heard tidings how their houses were burnt and beaten down, they were right sore displeased, and not without good cause." In short, the Earl let loose his chivalry on Ghent, his bastard son the Hase of Flanders at their head, and there was plenty of hard skirmishing after the fashion of the time.

The Ghentmen for their part summoned their vassals "the knights and squires of Heynault" to come and do them service for their holdings under pain of forfeiture; as also their Constable or Burgrave, Hervé Dantoing. It was a matter of course that the gentlemen did not come, and that the Constable sent an insolent and threatening answer. The Ghentmen retorted by destroying the houses of their disobedient vassals, who had legally forfeited their rights. This incident is a curious illustration of the mediæval *status*: the burgesses of Ghent, who were not noble, yet in their collective capacity could claim the services of noblemen, who held lands under feudal service to the town, and legally punish them for disobedience.

Well, on the part of Ghent the war went on briskly enough; but though they were still in nominal alliance with the other cities, yet in the latter, and especially in Bruges, the mean crafts had not the same power as in Ghent, and any defeat was certain to detach Bruges, and likely to detach Ypres and Courtray from the popular cause. Bruges fell off first; there was a struggle between the respectables and the mean crafts in the town, in which the former were victorious, and they at once sent to invite the Earl among them. To Bruges he came nothing loth. "At the Earl's coming were taken all the principals of them that had their hearts Ghentoise, and such as were suspect, and so were put in prison more than 500, and little by little their heads were stricken off." After this stroke of resolute government Bruges became the headquarters of the Earl, and the war began to go heavily against the Ghentmen.

The Earl marched with a considerable army to attack Thorout and Ypres, and the Ghentmen sent two bodies of men for the relief of those towns under the command of Peter du Bois, John Bull, and Arnold Clarke. But the affair was ill-managed; the two corps missed supporting each other, and that commanded by John Bull fell into an ambushade, and one of those curious mediæval routs took place, which some of us may the better understand after the sights of Bloody Sunday.

Peter du Bois, cool and wary as usual, held his men together and retreated to Ghent; but the fugitives from John Bull's corps, who with him had got into Courtray, in their rage and terror slew their captain, and both Ypres and Courtray fell. The Earl massacred 700 of the mean crafts in Ypres "to encourage the others," and sent off 300 hostages to prison in Bruges, and afterwards 200 from Courtray. 3,000 of the Ghentois fell in the combat before Ypres.

The Earl then besieged Ghent, but loosely enough, as the Ghentmen were able to get supplies from Brussels, Brabant, and Liege, and generally from the whole country behind them, where the people were in complete sympathy with the rebels, especially in Liege.

A sharp combat took place before Nivelles, where the Ghentmen were again defeated, with the loss of two of their captains, Rafe of Harselles, a man of noble blood, and John Launoy. Of this matter Froissart, telling how the Ghentmen retreated into the church at Nivelles, says: "John de Launoy all abashed and discomforted entered into the minster to save himself, and went into the steeple, and such of his company as could get in with him, and Rafe de Harselles abode behind him and recoiled his company, and did great feats of arms at the door, but finally he was stricken with a long pike through the body and so slain. Thus ended Rafe of Harselles, who had been a great captain in Ghent against the Earl; and the Ghentois loved him greatly because of his wisdom and prowess, but for his valiantness this was his end and reward."

The Earl bade his men set fire to the church, and I give you the

<sup>1</sup> Peter Bush would be his due English name.



end of this tragedy in Froissart's own words as a dreadful little picture of mediæval war: "Fire, faggots, and straw were set together round about the church; the fire anon mounted up to the covering of the minster. There died the Ghentois in great pain, for they were burnt quick, and such as issued out were slain and cast again into the fire. John Launoy who was in the steeple, seeing himself at the point to be burnt, cried to them without 'Ransom! Ransom!' and offered his coat which was full of florins to save his life. But they without did but laugh and scorn at him, and said to him, 'John, come out at some window and speak with us, and we shall receive you; make a leap in like wise as ye have made some of us to leap within this year; it behoveth you to make this leap.' When John Launoy saw himself in that point, and that he was without remedy and that the fire took him so near, that he saw well he should be burnt, he thought it were better for him to be slain than to be burnt, and so he leapt out at a window among his enemies; and there he was received on spears and swords and cut all to pieces. Thus ended John Launoy."

Peter du Bois was posted so badly at this battle that he was kept by a marshall from helping. He once more drew off, and got into Ghent in good order, and it was a near thing that he did not share the fate of John Bull at the hands of the enraged people. But after all the Earl raised the siege and went back to Bruges. Skirmishing, however, still went on, and the Ghentoise, after some successes, had another body of men cut up, 1,100 out of 1,200, says Froissart, and Arnold Clarke slain.

WILLIAM MORRIS.

(To be continued.)

## INTERNATIONAL NOTES.

### ITALY.

There is a slight stir in Italy just now over the scandalous lengths which various forms of usury have reached in that country. As *Il Democratico* of Cremona observes in an article on the question, of all the ingenious forms of usury, from the State establishments, Institutes of Credit, and the like, downward, the worst is that on a small scale which deals entirely with the working-folk and wrests from them in bad times one-fourth, one-third, and not seldom one-half of next season's earnings, crops and produce of their labour. "In certain parts of Italy, especially in the south where the money-circulation and commercial exchange are scanty on account of the poor means of distribution and communication, etc., usury sometimes reaches 50 per cent. No one protests against such an enormity, and the peasant of Calabria, who half through the winter borrows a half *tomolo* (56 lb.) of grain has to return for it a whole *tomolo* at the following harvest, thanks his usurer for the loan, and, without thinking, looks upon him as his benefactor." And yet the working-people prefer to pay such enormous prices to help them at a pinch, to going to the *Monte di Pietà* (government pawn shops), where the interest is of course lower, or apparently so. The reason is that at these establishments all sorts of difficulties are made, and, in short, Red Tape reigns supreme, to the humiliation and exceeding torment of the needy, who shrink from official badgering (of which in truth they already have more than enough in that happy land), and prefer to it the ready hand of the private usurer, putting behind them all thought of the future, too heavy in mind and heart with the cares of to-day to think of what may come upon next year or next month. Social reformers will talk of putting down usury by popular Institutes of Credit and the like philanthropic schemes, whereas growing Socialist ideas will soon show people that nothing less than national prosperity can do away with the foundation of what is courteously called the *commercial system*.

ANDARNO.—In consequence of the many and heavy fines on the weavers in a large cotton-factory here, they the employes turned "nasty" and proceeded to thrash an overseer, one Hoffmann. Several arrests were made, and a strike of the *apparecchiatori* (strippers), to the number of 800 have left the works. The strikers are quiet and make no demonstrations of anger at present.

MILAN.—The strike of basket-makers still continues, the strikers receiving some help from various other trade associations, their own Association being very poor.

M. M.

### FRANCE.

Boulanger went last week to the Chamber, read a speech prepared for him, and behaved himself in as coarse and brutal a manner as if he was already Dictator. He was afterwards challenged to a duel by Prime Minister Floquet and seriously wounded next morning, his recovery being not at all certain. All this is a matter of great indifference to us. Scoundrels of this type are the product of the present rotten system. The exploiters of all countries have the presentiment of the coming proletarian revolution, and are ready to lick the boots of the first adventurer who seems to present them stronger guarantees of law, order, and sacred property than the Government under which they actually live. So the French bourgeois submitted to Napoleon I. and III.; the German bourgeois care now no more for the most elementary liberties if only Bismarck protects them, as they imagine, against the growing Socialist movement, etc. It may fairly be said that unscrupulous cynicism is about the only virtue required in a bourgeois hero of to-day, be his name Gambetta, Bismarck, or Boulanger. Of course, they must also devise certain means to deceive the less intelligent part of the people, and the question of patriotism, national defence, is one of their most-used tricks, another being promises in the line of some kind of State Socialism, like the magnificent so-called "social reform" of Germany, by which a disabled worker is now to get a yearly pension of £4 or £6, provided he pays for it most of his life. As to Boulanger personally, one of the wanton slaughterers of the Commune, he seems not even to have got much brains in his head, or he would not act in the way he lately did. May be the bourgeois see that, and let him drop, and he will disappear; or he may still go on in his old way. At any rate, another person of the same kidney is sure to take his place sooner or later. By the way, some supposed Socialists are sure to go over on all such occasions to the gang of the new Dictator, thus clearing the party of their presence.

A new Socialist daily paper will shortly appear at Marseilles, edited by Félix Pyat, with Eng. Chatelain, T. B. Clement, Alphonse Gormain, Emile Couret, etc., as contributors.

Eugène Chatelain's *Coup de Feu* will be issued weekly from September 1 next. It was hitherto fortnightly.

At St. Etienne a new paper, *La Loire Socialiste*, with the rather vague and impractical programme of uniting the Socialist parties, has made its first appearance, another paper of the same kind having failed not long ago.

The management of the Fourierist Familistère of Guise has passed from the widow of the founder, Godin, into the hands of M. Dequenne, Madame Godin being about to use her time in publishing her husband's works. This establishment, like other similar experiments, is rather based on partnership or profit-sharing than on any socialistic system, and revelations were made shortly before M. Godin died showing how little the personal liberty of the workers employed therein is cared for.

### GERMANY AND AUSTRIA.

To replace some recently-suppressed papers, two new organs have been started, viz., the *Bremer Tageblatt* (since July 1, at Bremen) and the *Grundstein*, an organ of the building trade (at Hamburg). It would be too monotonous to chronicle all arrests that took place recently at Hamburg, etc.

The present London match-girl strike will give some interest to the following details on the earnings of Silesian match-box makers, recently published in the *Schlesische Volkszeitung*. The price of 1,000 is 7½d.; if they are labelled, 8½d. The barley-flour for paste (one pound for 2,000 boxes, 2½d., must be paid for by the worker himself. A woman with three children, who, up from their fifth year, work from four in the morning until eight or nine at night all the time they are out of school, may make 3,000 to 4,000 boxes in a week, and thus earn from 1s. 10d. to 2s. 10d. per week, from which 7d. to 9d., the cost of the paste, must be deducted. So, when Bryant and May say they would transfer their factory to Norway or somewhere else, they are sure to find still cheaper labour than in the East-end of London. Present society offers no remedy against this to the workers, except that a few tricks of the employers may sometimes be repelled by international solidarity of the working classes, as was the case recently at Hamburg, where, in the great strike of the cabinet-makers and joiners, the masters sent for some hundred men from Holland. They went there, learned that they were engaged under false pretences and that they were going to be used as scabs; and they refused to take up work under these circumstances.

### DENMARK AND SWEDEN.

The Danish Socialist Democratic party has just edited a translation of "Capital" (473 pp., price 2 kroner), at the same time Domela Nieuwenhuis's "Capital and Labour" is published in the *Social-Democraten*, of Copenhagen.

Axel Danielson, editor of the Malmö *Arbetet*, already under sentence of one year's imprisonment, has again been sentenced for blasphemy (!) to ten months. The loss of the editor will be hard to bear for the paper which had so soon developed from a weekly into a thrice-a-week organ.

### SPAIN AND PORTUGAL.

On August 12th-14th a congress of the Spanish *Sociétés de Resistance* will be held at Barcelona, with the object of forming a new federation of the said societies.

A *Revolução Social* has been published at Oporto.

### OTHER COUNTRIES.

Looking over the countries in which no regular Socialist movement exists, we find discontent and revolt taking this or the other form spread everywhere. Besides new small peasant riots in Roumania, Russia, Galicia, we hear, for instance, of a large meeting being held at Sant Iago, Chili, to protest against capitalism, and in particular some tramcar company. Twenty-five cars were afterwards heaped together, ignited by petroleum, and burned. This would show a struggle against monopolism even there, whilst we were only aware of a Socialist agitation at Buenos Ayres, Montevideo, and Rio de Janeiro. On the other side of the Pacific strikes of Chinese workmen are reported. The freight-carriers at Shanghai and the dock labourers at Hongkong struck work; the taxes at Shanghai having been augmented, and a vexatious demand—each worker to deliver his photograph to the employer—at Hongkong, were the immediate reasons. The Chinese coolies are not at all without feelings of solidarity, as is generally believed. We do not know what became of the Knights of Labour assembly formed last year at New York by Chinese workers, but we know that in China itself they often organise themselves similar to the Russian *artels*. The articles of E. Reclus, 'The Internationale and the Chinese,' (*Le Travailleur*, March, 1878), L. Méchniboff who has just died at Clarens, on 'The Chinese Associations' (*ib.*, May, 1878), and some notes reprinted in *Le Devoir* of February 27, 1887, contain useful information on this subject. In consequence of the inundations, general revolts, in which the military partly sided with the people, occurred in large districts of China, and took the right direction of a war against the rich, not those of any political movement. In the province Bantam of Java another rising of the people took place. In this part of that island 2 gulden (nearly 4s.), in Cheribon 1½, in Krawang 1½, in Tapara 2½, etc., are the yearly wages of a servant paid by the exploiting Netherlanders. In Algeria a famine ravages the country; whilst the French Government thinks of relieving the proprietors of land by compensating them for their loss by locusts, etc., they heap together troops in the southern parts to be ready to crush the starving natives. The Arabians of the south are said to be on the verge of a rebellion; they remember of the famine of 1867, when 100,000 of them died of typhus and starvation, and it is possible that they will go on in large tribes against the French, with the vigour and fanaticism their fellow tribes displayed in the Soudan. So we see everywhere struggle against exploitation, and we might learn from these uncivilised peoples, at any rate, to strike boldly at the exploiters who represent the system, instead of begging for political and even very small social reforms, as is generally done.

\* \*

An intelligent lad of 14 or 15 asked a friend of ours if he would be so good as to give him a little information on the subject of politics; because, said he, the only information I can get about them is from the newspapers. Out of the mouth of babes and sucklings hast thou perfected praise!—W. M.

METROPOLITAN PAUPERISM.—The weekly return of metropolitan pauperism shows that the total number of paupers relieved in the first week of the current month was 90,621, of whom 54,350 were indoor and 36,271 outdoor paupers. The total number relieved shows an increase of 2,884 over the corresponding week of last year, 4,333 over 1886, and 6,772 over 1885. The total number of vagrants relieved on the last day of the week was 893, of whom 698 were men, 178 women, and 17 children under sixteen.



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

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

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

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

**F. O.**—The first English revolutionary almanack of which we know was a 12mo published by Ridgway for 1794, at 2s. 6d., and contained the usual English almanack, the decree of the French National Convention altering the style, the report of D'Eglantine on the same subject, the French Calendar with translation, the Declaration of the Rights of Man, words and music of the *Marseillaise*, *Ca Ira*, *Chant Civique*, and *Carmagnole*, several poems, etc., on revolutionary subjects, and a chronological table of the principal events of the French Revolution. A copy is in the British Museum library.

**D. B.**—The Editor's red pencil is a very necessary instrument in the crowded state of our columns. Reports should be as brief as possible.

**T. S., D. N., and others.**—Unfortunately crowded out. SEVERAL reports came to hand too late.

#### Periodicals received during the week ending Wednesday July 18.

<b>ENGLAND</b>	Milwaukee—National Reformer	Marsala—La Nuova Eta
Justice	Coast Seamen's Journal	Cremona—Il Democratico
Labour Tribune		Menaggio-Lecco, Il Nuovo Lario
Labour News	<b>FRANCE</b>	
London—Freie Presse	Paris—Cri du Peuple (daily)	<b>SPAIN</b>
Norwich—Daylight	Le Parti Ouvrier (daily)	Madrid—El Socialista
Railway Review	La Revolte	Barcelona—Acracia
Telegraph Service Gazette	Lille—Le Cri du Travailleur	Barcelona—Tierra y Libertad
	Nimes—L'Emancipation	<b>PORTUGAL</b>
<b>NEW SOUTH WALES</b>		Lisbon—O Protesto Operario
Hamilton—Radical	<b>HOLLAND</b>	
	Hague—Recht voor Allen	<b>GERMANY</b>
<b>INDIA</b>		Berlin—Volks Tribune
Bankipore—Behar Herald	<b>BELGIUM</b>	
Madras—People's Friend	Seraing (Ougree)—Le Reveil	<b>AUSTRIA</b>
	Ghent—Vooruit	Arbeiterstimme
<b>UNITED STATES</b>	Liege—L'Avenir	Wien—Gleichheit
New York—Der Sozialist		Brunn—Volksfreund
Truthseeker	<b>SWITZERLAND</b>	
Workmen's Advocate	Zurich—Sozial Demokrat	<b>DENMARK</b>
Boston—Woman's Journal	Arbeiterstimme	Social-Demokraten
Libertas	Geneva—Przedswit	<b>SWEDEN</b>
Buffalo—Arbeiter-Zeitung		Stockholm, Social-Demokraten
Chicago—Labor Enquirer	<b>ITALY</b>	<b>NORWAY</b>
Fort Worth (Tex)—South West	Milan—Il Fascio Operaio	Kristiania—Social-Democraten
	Rome—L'Emancipazione	

### NOTES ON NEWS.

THE Government has offered Mr. Parnell a Commission of judges and others to go into the accusations made against him by the *Times*, and under the circumstances such a Commission would be as likely to be impartial as any Parliamentary Court of Inquiry would be. Of course if it were a case of trying a mere revolutionist the judges would almost to a man decide against him, whatever the evidence might be; but the chances are that since Mr. Parnell now belongs to a respectable Parliamentary party they will not look upon him as seriously as that, and that consequently their professional pride will act as a set-off to their political bias, unless, of course, the worst members of the bench are chosen. Mr. Parnell may be pretty well satisfied.

Meantime, the appointment of such a Commission, emphasises the fact alluded to in our last week's issue, that the *Times* as a great Corporation is practically above the law, as indeed all very rich people are. We are at the mercy of these money-bags, by whatever name they may be called. In the case of the *Times* the Government has now admitted this, as the whole country really does. Everybody knows that it would be sheer madness of an ordinary private person to attempt to bring such a huge power within reach of law. Rich people make the laws, but not for themselves—that's a very old story.

W. M.

A *Star* man the other day interviewed Mr. Chan Toon, a Burmese law student who has taken many prizes in our centres of legal education lately. Here is a gem: "Now, what do you particularly admire in England?" "Your institutions and government. Any one can get on here who works. Then you are so free, religion, occupation—nothing is interfered with." This interesting Burmese has evidently not missed his proper vocation.

Every column in the paper recording the interview contains some item which calls Chan Toon either liar or fool. On one side is a column of reports from the *Labour World*, and on the other reports of Law-'n'-Order under Caliph Balfour.

On second thoughts, however, perhaps Chan Toon was only practising a bit. He is "the son of the largest paddy (rice) merchant in his native district, and is preparing to practise law in the native courts." What a lovely mix-up presently when this son of a food monopolist gets on to his hind legs to hold forth on the duty the Burmese slaves owe to their English owners, when this winner of all the English law prizes chops logic and quibbles on the English system in his native tongue for the further bedevilment of his fellow natives, robbed for generations by force of English-built arms, and now to be robbed by English-built fraud under guise of strict legality. T. S.

The *Times*, in the serene consciousness of its enormous power and quite unmoved by the full exposure of its dishonesty and meanness, goes on its vituperative and slanderous road without a pause. The *Star*, however, has attacked it face to face, and defied it to come out into the open; most probably with all the more valour that one may be quite sure the *Times* will not come forward. It has never done anything of the kind in its long career, but has crawled and crept and stabbed in the back.

In 1831, defending himself before Lord Tenterden, against a charge of seditious libel, William Cobbett said: "In the year 1810 a noble lord, now sitting on the bench, showed me a letter, by authority of the writer, which he received from the elder Walter of the *Times*, who was then alive, in which Walter complained bitterly of the injustice of Pitt and his Government who employed him to publish libels against the King's sons, the Prince of Wales and the Duke of York, and for which he said so help him God, he never got but £700 as a compensation! He wrote to the Attorney-General of the day, and said that the niggardly rascals had given him only £700 for what he had done. The tax-gatherer took only £700 out of your pockets to pay for libels on the Prince of Wales and the Duke of York! This fact I could prove if allowed to do so."

What the *Times* was then it is to-day, and that others from the one end to the other are not so bad is only that they lack the ability to be so; the *Times* has exceptional opportunities. Anyone who takes the trouble to follow closely the course of events, and at the same time compare them with the version of them given, say in—any you please, will come out at the end of the trial with his estimate of man considerably lowered. From the simple suppression of truth, right up to the more artistic methods of dexterously distorting it or replacing it by elaborate lying, skilfully and clumsily done, the whole art of misrepresentation is constantly practised.

So obvious does it all become, now and then, that the *Pall Mall*, apparently startled by the shameless forswearing that has been going on over the late German Emperor, explains it in despair as the outcome of a "Reptile Fund" expended on a "Reptile Press," mentioning a rumour that *John Bull* for instance has been bought by creatures of Bismark. "Reptile Press" is a good and descriptive term, but its application should be farther extended than it is by the *Pall Mall*. Our American comrades are nearer the truth when they make it co-extensive with the whole of the bourgeois press.

Of course the attempt to place the police of London under popular control has been easily defeated. It would be dangerous, said Mr. Matthews, for the London Council to have the command of 14,000 men. This, in sound, carries one back to the period when London was by no means chary of rising against the King and Parliament if they did anything to displease it, but what it means is that the Government recognises the value of the military police of London as a repressive engine too fully to care about losing control of it.

During the past week we have seen the "exemplary way" in which Warren deals with the least breach of what he is pleased to consider discipline, and many policemen have suffered for a friendly raffle among a few comrades of a watch belonging to one of their number. Nothing short of dog-like submission and the surrender of all individuality will content him; how else is he to maintain the "efficiency" his moral miracles have shown in Trafalgar Square, or the beautiful sense of responsibility and fitness shown by Endacott, Bloy, and their like?

Meanwhile, the Nottingham police feel deeply hurt that they are not deemed fit to look after their own town, and that 40 of the Warren's Lambs have been drafted into it to look after the Royal Agricultural Society's Annual Show. It is to be hoped their feeling will not result in an imitation of the London model; to be a policeman at all is bad enough—but to be one of Warren's! S.

**ANTI-SWEATING DEMONSTRATION.**—The following societies have signified their willingness to take part in the Anti-Sweating Demonstration convened by the S. D. F., which is to be held in Hyde Park on Sunday July 22:—The Socialist League, the L. E. L., London Patriotic, East London Tailors and Machinists' Society, Metropolitan Branch National Union Boot and Shoe Riveters and Finishers, and West-end Branch Alliance Cabinetmakers. The Eleusis Club, the Bow Liberal Club, and the St. Pancras Reform Club have recommended their members to support the demonstration. Other replies in the same sense are expected.

## LETTER FROM AMERICA.

THE principal event of this week—of course the absurd nonsense of commemorating the Fourth of July excepted—is a gigantic strike or rather lock-out.

The question of wages comes up in the iron mills west of the Alleghany Mountains every year. In previous years there has always been a meeting between the manufacturers and men, at which the prices to be paid during the year beginning July 1 have been determined, and the scale decided upon has prevailed until the new one was put in force.

When the meeting of the committee from the manufacturers and men was held this year, the former presented a scale which called for a reduction of 10 per cent. on all wages, together with some changes in factory rules. The men—that is, the wages committee from the Amalgamated Association of Iron and Steel Workers, to which association most of the men belong—presented a scale which was practically the same as that already in use, and no agreement was reached.

The manufacturers wanted to make out that the present state of the trade demanded the reduction, but of course the men did not believe this wishy-washy tale. After much discussion and many meetings no settlement could be effected up till Saturday the 30th June, and the mills closed down, as no scale was in operation. The men left their work quietly and did not return on Monday the 2nd July. In Pittsburgh alone about 28,500 men are affected. Since then the lie about the wretched state of the trade which did not permit the continuation of the present scale has been given direct to the capitalists, and what's more through their own action. About twenty mills, employing about 15,000 men, have signed the scale of the workers. Even Carnegie, Phipps, and Co., of which firm the hypocrite Andrew Carnegie is a member, have seen fit to bend their proud knees and cave in. The men are confident of winning their strike.

The force of events is stronger than all arguments. This is again shown by the action of members of that aristocratic organisation, the Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers. Since the strike of the Chicago, Burlington and Quincy road was ended, the bad blood caused by the conflict has been manifested in various ways. Burlington scab employes, particularly engineers, have been attacked and in some instances badly beaten. One of them, Thomas Gregory, was shot at late last night at the Sixteenth street bridge, in Chicago, by an unknown man, the wounded man receiving the bullet in the face. He will live, but his sight is gone. His assailant is said to have been one of the former employes of the road and a striker. Two engineers, formerly in the employ of the Chicago, Burlington and Quincy Railroad, named Thomas Broderick and J. A. Bowles, were arrested on a Chicago, Burlington and Quincy train yesterday afternoon at Aurora, Ills., charged with being implicated in a conspiracy to destroy property belonging to the railroad company. They had just come from Chicago, and it is said procured dynamite there, a large quantity of which was found in their possession. Both are members of the Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers. In company with them was a man named Wilson, who was also arrested. They were placed under bonds of 5,000 dollars, and being unable to furnish the amount were sent to the Aurora Jail. A valise which one of the prisoners carried was found to contain four dynamite cartridges, each about ten inches long and an inch and a quarter square. These were fitted with a small fuse to each, and it was estimated that each contained about a pound of dynamite. The examination will be on the 13th inst.

There is more trouble brewing for Chief Arthur and the Brotherhood. A strike is threatened on the East Tennessee system. Engineer Monahan, as chairman of the Brotherhood Grievance Committee on the East Tennessee road, called upon superintendent Garrett to make a statement regarding some trivial matter. A dispute arose, and Garrett alleges Monahan struck him. The latter in consequence was promptly discharged. The officials of the road sustained the superintendent in his action, and the local Brotherhood demand the reinstatement of engineer Monahan. Chief Arthur is investigating the matter. A strike will probably be the result. The strike would affect the principal Southern lines.

## LABOUR NOTES.

It is said that Henry George is slated for a Congressional nomination in New York city.

The average yearly pay of women school-teachers in Iowa is but 212 dollars 45 cents.

There are 124 labour organisations in Brooklyn. A large proportion of them are connected with the Knights of Labour.

The Biglow Carpet Company's mills, at Clinton, Mass., employing 1,300 hands, shut down on the 3rd July on account of the scarcity of work.

At the last meeting of the Hat Finisher's International Association in New York, it was decided to recognise all men coming from Denton, England, as union men.

From Philadelphia comes the report that there is a downward tendency in wages in nearly all branches excepting building trades. The reduction will be about 10 per cent.

The Chicago Trade and Labour Assembly resolved not to drink beer for 30 days, because the brewers did not re-engage their previous employes after the strike was declared off.

The New York wholesale grocers have formed an association. The first regular meeting was held on Monday last, and the first matter to be discussed was a scheme to form a sugar trust to raise and keep raised the price of sugar, which it was contended is now sold by the retailers without profit.

For years efforts have been made to consolidate the Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners in America and the United Order of American Carpenters and Joiners. A Conference was recently held and a plan of consolidation drawn up. The plan was then submitted to the various lodges of the United Order, and nearly all have voted in favour of it. The Brotherhood meets in National Convention on the 6th of August in Detroit, Michigan. Seven delegates have been chosen by the United Order to attend this Conference and to arrange matters. The United Order has thirty lodges with a membership of 5,000. Its headquarters are in New York City. The Brotherhood has a membership of 51,000, and extends all over the United States and Canada. The headquarters are in Philadelphia.

In this week's issue of the *Standard*, Henry George publishes the following comment on McGlynn's fair rent campaign: "Dr. McGlynn seems to have utterly lost his grasp upon principle, and is proposing a crazy demagogic scheme for getting city tenants to band together, refuse to pay for their houses and rooms any more than a fair building rent, and by their numbers make evictions difficult if not impossible. To say nothing of objections which would make the scheme dangerous if it were not ridiculous, what

right have tenants more than landlords to the free use of land made valuable by the whole community? It is a pity to see Dr. McGlynn thus wreck what is left of his influence for good." If a man once gets into the mud, he never will be able to stop sinking, and George used to be the little god of New York!

The test case in Pittsfield, Mass., under the Employers' Liability Act of 1877—that of four labourers against the Hudson Iron Company for injuries received in the Company's mine in October last—resulted in a mis-trial, the jury failing to agree. The trial had been in progress a week, and has been watched with much interest both by labourers and employers.

Three of the best telegraph operators on the Bristol division of the East Tennessee, Virginia, and Georgia Railroad, resigned on the 4th of July from the service of the road. Ten days ago Major Huger, superintendent of the road, sent out a circular to all the operators asking them if they belonged to the Order of Railroad Telegraphers. John Bruce, of Chattanooga; Mr. Billingsly, of Ooltewah, and Miss Clemmie Roberts, of Appison, replied that they were members. They were ordered to either leave the order or resign, and to-day they all tendered their resignations, which were accepted. The matter has caused a sensation in railroad circles.

Newark, N.J., July 6, 1888.

HENRY F. CHARLES.

## COME, BROTHERS, COME.

Air: "Glorious Apollo."

I.

COME, brothers, come; the host of the forsaken  
Wait for your aid as darkness for the sun;  
Not till the forts of privilege be taken  
Will all your work be sped, your warfare done;  
Win far and wide, the slumbering souls awaken,  
Singing *Fraternity, the world made one.*

II.

Long was the night, but lo, the verge is clearing,  
Bright grows the East, the bird of morning sings;  
See, 'tis the Sun of Righteousness appearing,  
Freedom and Joy and Brotherhood he brings.  
Hail, happy morn, that endeth hate and fearing!  
Sing we *Fraternity, the world made one.*

C. W. BECKETT.

## LONDON.

I WANDER through each chartered street  
Near where the chartered Thames does flow,  
And mark in every face I meet,  
Marks of weakness, marks of woe.

In every cry of every man,  
In every infan't's cry of fear,  
In every voice, in every ban,  
The mind-forged manacles I hear.

How the chimney-sweeper's cry  
Every blackening church appals:  
And the hapless soldier's sigh  
Runs in blood down palace walls.

But most through midnight streets I hear  
How the youthful harlot's curse  
Blasts the new-born infant's tear,  
And blights with plague the marriage hearse.

WM. BLAKE.

One of the firm of Bryant and May asked the *Star* interviewer whether Mrs. Besant would not be claiming presently a champagne supper for his match-making girls. A person who has not read 'Hard Times' would be apt to say, Why did not the interviewer retort, "Do you drink champagne?" But one who has read that work and enjoyed the never-to-be-forgotten Boudierby cannot keep that worthy's gold spoon and turtle soup phrase out of his head. Really it was a fatal taunt for the match-making exploiter to cast at Mrs. Besant's head. What can one say, except that he has ticketed himself a Boudierby?—W. M.

OVER-PRODUCTION.—In the year 1850, Horace Greeley made an address to the New York Typographical Society at a celebration of Franklin's birthday, in which the great editor said: "I trust no one here gives heed to the mumbly of self-styled political economists about over-production and the kindred phrases with which counsel is darkened. Over-production—of what? Where? Can there be over-production of food, where so many, even in our midst, are suffering the pangs of famine? Over-production of clothing and fabrics, while our streets swarm with men, women, and children who are not half clad, and who shiver through the night beneath the clothing they have worn by day? Over-production of dwellings, when not half the families of our city have adequate and comfortable habitations, not to speak of that large class whose lodgings are utterly incompatible with decency and morality? No, friends! There is no over-production save of articles pernicious and poisonous, etc. Of whatever conduces to human sustenance, comfort, or true education, there is not and never has been too much produced, although, owing to imperfect and vicious arrangements for distribution, there may often be a glut in the warehouses of trade, while thousands greatly need and would gladly purchase if they could. What the world eminently requires is some wise adjustment, some remodeling of the social machinery, diminishing its friction, whereby every person willing to work shall assuredly have work to do, and the just reward of that work in the articles most essential to his sustenance and comfort."



## THE LABOUR STRUGGLE.

BRITAIN.

**COLLIERS' STRIKES.**—At Bolton 400 men have come out on strike at the D'Arcy Lever Collieries to protest against deduction for dirt, a question which is creating considerable interest among colliers. The Union are supporting the men in their action.

The workmen employed at the House Coal Colliery, Ynyshir, in the Rhondda Valley, have given a month's notice in consequence of a dispute in reference to a strata of rubbish, commonly called "clod," which, it is stated, falls with the coal whilst the latter is being hewn, and causes a great deal of annoyance and extra labour to the men, who, therefore, demand extra pay.

There was great excitement at Ebbw Vale on account of the strike of 1,600 colliers. Three men were dismissed from the Waunlwydd pit because they refused to shift some rubbish. The matter was taken up by the rest of the colliers, who insisted on the reinstatement of the three men. In the absence of the manager the officials of the colliery refused to interfere, and 1,600 men then struck. After a few days the officials gave in and the men resumed work on Saturday. The three men were reinstated and wages are to be reconsidered.

On Wednesday a meeting of miners was held at Princes End to consider the question of allowance coal. A proposal was made by certain employers to discontinue the allowance coal, which had taken the men by surprise. It was said that in 1887 they raised in the whole of the United Kingdom about 32,000,000 tons more than in 1874, at 40 per cent. less wages, and with fewer hands.

**MASON'S STRIKE.**—The masons and labourers employed on buildings in the Heckmondwike district, struck work on the 25th ult. for an advance of wages—the former from 3s. to 3s. per week, and the latter from 2s. to 2s. 6d. A similar advance has already been obtained by the bulk of the masons working in Dewsbury.

**STEELWORKERS' STRIKE AT WORKINGTON.**—About 500 men are reported to be out of employment owing to the strike of rail-mill and steel furnacemen at West Cumberland Iron and Steel Works against the proposed reduction of 25 per cent. in wages. The Bessemer department rail-mill finishing works are stopped in consequence.

**IRONWORKERS' DISPUTE AT GREAT BRIDGE.**—Week before last we reported a meeting of iron-workers on July 2 at Great Bridge, to consider a dispute about "fours." The deputation then appointed subsequently waited upon the employers with respect to the proposal of a reduction of 6d. per ton. After a protracted discussion, in which both sides adduced arguments in favour of their claims, the masters withdrew their proposal. Consequently the men who were on notice will still continue to work and receive the 6d. per ton for making "fours."

**DOCK LABOURERS' STRIKE.**—A number of East India Dock labourers have struck for an increase of wages. These men are paid 5d. per hour, and receive in addition, in accordance with their stations, a share of the surplus over in each contract for unloading a ship. In the lower grade one share only is received, and this means one penny per hour. Latterly shares have not been so plentiful, owing to dullness of trade, and the men on strike have asked to be paid 6d. per hour, agreeing to forego all claim to shares, and this not being granted they turned out.

**ANOTHER STRIKE OF GIRLS.**—The employees of George Griffin and Co.'s tin box manufactory struck on the 13th on account of fines. There are fifty or sixty girls engaged at the above firm, and they have all gone out. On seeing a bill posted in the window—"Press Hands wanted"—they covered the bill with mud, and as fresh hands applied they were also pelted and hustled about. The manager sent for the police, who were hooted a good deal. They soon "dispersed the mob." The girls, however, soon returned and pelted the male employees with red ochre and flour. They need looking up and being helped to organise.

**STRIKE OF PIT LADS AT NORMANTON.**—The Don Pedro pit, Loscoe, near Normanton, had to stop work in consequence of a strike amongst the pony drivers, who demanded an advance. About 400 men were thrown out of work. Several miners compelled their lads to go to work, but two who had done this were waylaid and well kicked by the lads out on strike. On Tuesday (10th) the lads returned to work after being on strike for a week. They have not succeeded in obtaining an advance, but it is stated that shortly they are to be paid by contract, and this is regarded satisfactorily both by the lads and the miners. The 400 miners who were thrown out of employment in consequence of the strike have also resumed work.

**CABLE-CHAIN MAKERS' STRIKE.**—At a meeting of the cable-chain makers who are on strike in the Cradley Heath and surrounding districts, it was stated that some employers had offered an increase of 3d. It was, however, resolved to continue the strike until the list-price demanded was conceded. The men claim an advance of 4d. per cwt., and it is thought probable that the concession upon the part of the employers will lead to a compromise. At a large meeting of cable-chain makers belonging to the South Staffordshire and East Worcestershire district at Cradley Heath on the 9th, it was stated that Hingley and Sons, and Wood, Aston, and Co., had conceded the required advance, viz., 4d. per cwt., and it was resolved that the men should resume work. It was decided to continue the strike at the factories where the employers refuse to concede the advance.

**COLLIERS' WAGES.**—A correspondent of the *Labour Tribune* puts an important point well before his comrades. He says: "At one colliery where the field price per ton has ranged from 2s. 4d. to 2s. 6d., the men have been told that 2s. per ton will be the highest price paid, and that they can either work at it or leave it; while the owner of the said colliery can support a racing stud, a mansion, and other luxurious surroundings. I met a man on Saturday evening last who told me he had worked six days at another colliery, and all the money he had received from the office was £1, 12s. 6d. Out of this sum he paid his drawer 14s., and expended in powder, fuse, and tools 3s. 1d., making a total of 17s. 1d., and leaving for six days' work—and hard work too—15s. 1d., or one penny over 2s. 6d. per day. Promises had been made that a day's wage should be made up, but as these promises are apparently made only to be broken, they would be better not made at all. Fellow working-men, do not these facts show you that the masters anticipate an advance in wages and they want to pull off, bit by bit, more than a ten or fifteen per cent. would bring back? Let us try to be wise in time."

**COLLIERY STRIKE AT PONTYPRIDD.**—An adjourned delegate meeting of the Rhondda District Miners' Association was held on Saturday week, when the dispute, in consequence of which 600 men have been on strike for the last eight weeks, was again considered. At last meeting the question of

whether the Albion Company's offer of open arbitration be accepted was referred to the collieries for re-consideration. When the question was now put to the vote it was found that 4,900 men were in favour of arbitration, dissentients 4,000. The offer was therefore declared accepted, and arbitrator chosen. Six delegates voted against a motion that pending the arbitrator's award the Albion men should be allowed to resume work, while 14 voted in favour. It was therefore agreed that the men resume work soon as agreement is drawn up between W. Abraham, M.P. (Mabon), on behalf of the district, and the Company, under which the latter, if award be against them, refund the difference in price for working the two seams from date of resumption of work. A resolution was passed that the arbitrators should not delay their award longer than two months. W. Abraham, M.P., the district agent, was authorised to proceed against certain colliery officials who are alleged to have dismissed without legal notice some of the Albion men who had been employed by them.

**MAIL CART DRIVERS' WAGES.**—Replying to a letter in the *Postal Service Gazette* (quoted in this column of No. 130), "A Poor Driver" says:—"As regards the wages of the men employed as mail cart drivers, I beg to state that the wages never were £1 to £1 15s. per week, for the highest of all was £1 7s. per week, and now there is only one driver receiving that amount, and the others receive £1 to £1 5s. per week. That is the nominal sum for working 15 to 16 hours per day, and out in all weathers; and if a poor driver feels inclined to do any extra duty, such as Sunday work, he would receive the great sum of 3d. per hour, besides putting up with all kinds of insults from his superiors, as they are connected with the Post Office. Now, as regards the clothing, we receive one suit per year, and they are a disgrace to the Department before half that time is expired. We have to give our old ones up on receiving the new ones, instead of being allowed to retain them for repairing purposes, so that is one privilege we are deprived of. The public look on these situations as being first-class, but they never have seen anything in black and white to tell them different, therefore they have been shut out of it all. Fancy a man with a wife and two or three children, or perhaps more, only getting £1 per week, and having to pay 5s. 6d. per week rent out of it, how much is there left for him to support his family?"

**ANTI-SWEATING CIRCULAR.**—The London Tailors and Machinists Society are sending a circular on sweating to London and provincial master tailors. As the report of the Lords' Sweating Committee will not be published for some time, the society thinks that in the interval something might be done to better the condition of the workmen. Masters are therefore asked—(1st) To open workshops to be under your direct control, and pay your workers by your own cashier. Hours of labour to be eight per day. (2nd) That each worker be allowed a space for work of no less than 250 cubic feet; that ventilating shafts be fixed to each workshop. (3rd) That the workers be allowed to make their own rules respecting fines, with your approval; such fines to be distributed as the workers direct. (4th) That every man and woman employed in your firm to be a member of a trade society. (5th) That any workman known to defraud the public by bad workmanship to be dealt with by a committee of workmen selected by the workers in your firm every six months. The Marylebone branch of the Amalgamated Society resolved on the 11th that the enquiry into sweating ought to be "extended to the West-end, as there is ample justification for such extension." The Chester tailors having held a meeting about sweating, waited on a representative employer, and the reply being unsatisfactory are meditating a strike.

**DARLASTON NUT AND BOLT STRIKE.**—The notice given for restoration of 1881 list, less 5 per cent., expired on Saturday, and 200 operatives turned out on strike. The action of these men has had a good effect on those in receipt of full price, and to-day all the principal works are standing, only those being in full swing where the list is given in its fullness. The feeling amongst the men is one of remarkable unanimity in favour of the assertion of their rights, and not a few have made considerable sacrifices in order to support those upon whom the success of the agitation depends. There are now only four factories working at the full price. As early as half-past five on Monday morning about 100 men assembled near the London Oak and Phoenix Works to ascertain if the workmen would return to their labours at less than the list price. A couple of police officers were present, but the men behaved themselves right nobly, and these functionaries were of no avail. The employees who turned up at six o'clock threw in their lot with those on strike, and their numbers were augmented by those who came after breakfast. Meanwhile other contingents had been stationed at other works, and their efforts were also successful. The result was that a procession was formed to the Cross Guns, New Street, where a mass meeting was held. The large room was crowded, many of the operatives being unable to gain admission.

### SETTLEMENT OF THE MATCHMAKERS' STRIKE.

On Tuesday 17th a deputation from the London Trades' Council, accompanied by the girls' Strike Committee, had an interview with the directors of Bryant and May. After a long discussion, the following terms were agreed upon for submission to a meeting of the strikers, who were awaiting the result in Charrington's Hall:—(1) Abolition of all fines; (2) abolition of all deductions for paint, brushes, stamps, etc.; (3) restitution of "pennies" if the girls do their own racking, or payment by piecework of boys employed to do it—(the result of this latter will be more than equal to the penny); (4) the packers to have their threepence; (5) all grievances to be taken straight to the managing directors without the intervention of the foremen. The firm further said that they would as soon as possible provide a break-fast-room, so that the girls will not be obliged to eat in the room where they work, and also expressed a strong wish that the girls would organise themselves into a union, so that further disputes may be officially laid before the firm. These conditions were submitted to the meeting at Charrington's Hall by the Strike Committee, and the girls unanimously decided to agree to them, the payment of boy helpers by piecework being accepted as a full equivalent for their pennies. The wax-workers returned to their work on Wednesday and the wooden match-workers on Thursday. All the girls and boys to be taken back, no distinction being made as to ringleaders.

The following letter was sent to the newspapers of Wednesday: "The satisfactory settlement of the matchmakers' strike does not relieve us from the necessity of providing support for the girls on Saturday next. They can only receive one day's wages this week, and we desire to make up what will be lacking. The girls have behaved admirably, and deserve public support. They turned out against intolerable grievances, they have not created any disturbances, they are returning to work the moment their grievances are redressed. Any money left over after paying them on Saturday will form the nucleus of their union fund. . . . Subscriptions can be sent to us at the subjoined address.—ANNIE BESANT; HERBERT BURROWS. Office of the *Link*, 34 Bouverie Street, E.C."

**COTTON TRADE.**—Last week end the operative spinners in Bolton received the 5 per cent. advance agreed to by the employers at their Manchester meeting, but one firm at Tyldesley has refused the advance and the men are on strike. The card and blowing room hands have not been as fortunate as the spinners, more than one firm having declined to give the advance to the whole of their hands. At Shipton Mill none of the cardroom hands got the advance agreed upon, and at several other mills only a portion of the workpeople got it. A special general meeting of the Card and Blowing-room Operatives' Association was held at the Spinners' Institute on the 11th, to consider the matter. It was reported that the matter was likely to be amicably settled. At Blackburn on the 9th the weavers of Moss Street Mill struck in consequence of excessive infusion of steam in weaving shed. Over 700 looms are stopped through the strike. At Huddersfield on the 5th about eleven o'clock, the cardroom hands of Waterside and Bridge Mills ceased work on account of the firm not granting the 10 per cent. to the strippers, grinders, and blowing-room, as paid at Oldham, Hyde, and other places. After they had stopped their machinery, a telegram was sent to London to the boss, and a reply came to close the firm until further notice. Work was resumed on the 11th, amicable terms having been made and the advance conceded. At Barrowfield the strike of spinners which took place on the 3rd still continues. It is stated that men have seen the employer, who promised to investigate the matter, but up to the time of writing nothing has been arranged. At Macclesfield the weavers at the Lower Heyes Mill, to the number of 540, tendered their notice on the 11th, to leave work in a fortnight if the advance of 5 per cent. was not given. The directors afterwards affixed a notice that those who wanted to work could do so, and that those who wish to leave their employ may carry out their wish, all contracts being broken.

REVOLUTIONARY CALENDAR.

WEEK ENDING JULY 28, 1888.

22	Sun.	1789. Foulon hanged, with grass in his mouth. 1848. Habeas Corpus Act suspended in Ireland. 1852. Battle of Six Mile Cross. 1877. Burning and sacking of Pennsylvania R. R. at Pittsburgh. 1885. Police attack on a Socialist funeral at Frankfurt.
23	Mon.	1795. Trial of Henry Yorke (or Redhead) for conspiracy. 1803. Rising in Dublin. 1866. Hyde Park railings pulled down. 1870. General Council of International Working Men's Association issue manifesto on the war.
24	Tues.	1821. Trial of Carlile's sister for publishing Paine. 1836. Armand Carrel died. 1851. Window-tax repealed.
25	Wed.	1792. Coblenz manifesto of the Allies against French Revolution. 1793. Wm. Winterbotham tried for seditious words. 1794. André Chenier guillotined. 1826. The Decembrists, K. F. Rileeff, S. T. Mouravieff-Apostol, M. P. Bestuyeff-Runin, and P. A. Kakhovski, hanged. 1844. Brothers Bandiera shot. 1877. General Treppoff flogs a political prisoner, for which he is afterwards shot by Vera Zassulich.
26	Thur.	1792. Quarrel between Jacobins and Girondins. 1794. Robespierre's last oration to the Convention, denouncing the stockjobbers. 1869. Irish Church Disestablishment Bill passed.
27	Fri.	1777. Murder of Jane M'Crea. 1794. Fall of Robespierre (9th Thermidor). 1830. Second Revolution in France begins.
28	Sat.	1794. W. M. Byrne hung. 1835. Fieschi's attempt on Louis Philippe. 1884. 250 arrests at Warsaw.

*Hyde Park Railings.*—Monday July 23, 1866, is one of the most peculiar days in the whole of our Calendar. It can claim to be a day to be kindly remembered by both democrat and aristocrat. As stated a few weeks back, at the period in question there were in the ranks of the active agitators a few with some grit; the grit has all been washed out since, and very little else but mud remains with such as are alive to-day. Having called a meeting, the conveners were not to be bluffed off by Dicky Mayne. About four o'clock the clans began to gather at the usual centres. At five o'clock the park gates were closed and locked, the authorities having first allowed—with fine display of tactics—a large number of people to gather inside. About seven o'clock Beales and others of the committee arrived at the Marble Arch entrance and made formal demand for admission, which was refused; whereupon they returned to their cabs and proceeded to Trafalgar Square, which had been advertised as the alternative meeting place. Having, however, arrived in force outside the park, and many not caring to emulate the brave old Duke of York, who led his men up the hill and then down again, the processionists tried a rush or two, which were beaten back by police staves or by the horses of the mounted men. 1,600 police were of little avail for keeping from the railing people along two sides of the park, and very soon was seen the effect of having allowed a lot of people to assemble inside, for the word went along outside that a meeting was being held; the outsiders of course wanted to see if this were true, crowded up to the railings, climbed on the coping, hanging on man behind man, and naturally these iron railings, like all English iron railings, only a fraud of protection and a sham of strength, first quivered and then fell. In Bayswater Road was the first breach; but having made one, others soon followed, and soon about a mile of railing was prone on the ground, and Ruskin's ideas of iron railing was justified, for in throwing this stuff over revolutionists have the advantage of removing a barrier and providing themselves with weapons—if of fair quality, such as, say, round Kennington Park, long and wrought to good point, not to be despised. The commotion spread from the Park to the Square, and down Parliament Street to the House; and Walpole wept and Downing Street funked, but English native good sense—or slavish respect for Law-'n'-Order—soon asserted its power and the storm passed. Next night there was a somewhat warm debate in Parliament, when John Stuart Mill, Ayrton, and one or two others spoke out for the right of public meeting, which—Toryism being somewhat scared by the shadow of Revolution—has been fairly well respected for twenty years. J. S. Mill in the debate dared the Government to act on the advice of the Tory scribes and prohibit all open-air speaking: "I promise them that they will have to encounter an opposition of a very different kind, and from different persons, to any they have yet encountered"; and one wonders if he would back up Cunninghame Graham or Conybeare in Trafalgar Square to-day, which in that day was the very place suggested as more suitable than the Park. As quite in the natural order of things, the broken heads and arms of the masses were ultimately exploited for the benefit of the classes; for the falling down of the railings along Park Lane was taken advantage of to very considerably widen that thoroughfare, and what had been a lane became a wide handsome road, to my lords' great gain.—T. S.

*Window-Tax repealed.*—In 1688 was repealed the Hearth Tax. Some seven or eight years later a rather large sum had to be made up to make good the miserable state to which the coin of the kingdom had come by clipping and sweating. To defray this re-coinage charge, in 1696 was imposed the Window Tax, certainly one of the meanest and wickedest taxes ever conceived. Every inhabited house except cottages—i.e., houses not paying to church and poor rates, a very small exemption—was charged: Less than 10 windows, 2s.; from 10 to 20, 2s. and 4s. additional—i.e., 6s.; 20 or more, 2s. and 8s. additional—i.e., 10s. After the union of England and Scotland these sums were increased. In 1803 great increase was made. In 1815 about £2,000,000 was raised by this tax on air and light. Well might Shelley write in scorn of the commercialism under which "all things are sold: the very light of heaven is venal." In 1829 the yield was £1,163,760. In 1840 the duty was raised 10 per cent. In 1845, 1848 a strong agitation was raised against the duty, but it was not until July 1851, under Sir Chas. Wood (afterwards Lord Halifax) that the final repeal was made—14 and 15 Vict. ch. 36, July 24, 1851, removing the Window Tax and granting the Inhabited House Duty in lieu thereof. This will be more fully dealt with shortly.—T. S.

*Murder of Jane M'Crea.*—No single event contributed so much to the unrelenting defiance of the American republicans to the power of the British crown as this atrocious tragedy. Every circumstance tended to heap ignominy upon Lord North and his bull-headed agents. Burke had thundered at Westminster with all his crushing eloquence against the employment of the barbarous red-skins in the odious coercion war. This employment had made the otherwise lukewarm farming colonists throw in their powerful support with the commercial rebels of the American ports. To heap ignominy upon the stupid ministry in London, it was a beautiful and inoffensive girl, sweetheart of one of their own friends, a young American Tory officer, who fell a victim to the indiscriminate bloodthirsty brutality of the Indian allies of royalty.—L. W.

SOCIALISM IN THE MIDLANDS.

On Sunday last, July 15th, the Socialists of Nottingham, Sheffield, and Chesterfield met for a picnic at Ambergate, where the little Amber runs into the lovely Derwent, a place beautiful in spite of its railway junction, and surrounded by hills and woods which made one long to wander in them. But on Sunday only the more hardy comrades ventured to explore a little of the district, for St. Swithin sent us his very worst weather—evidently sharing the common objection to Socialists—and we were forced to take our chief pleasure indoors, in the meeting of so many comrades from the three centres. All our parties were smaller than they would have been had the morning been fine, but we mustered about fifty in spite of it, and spent a very enjoyable time together at a country inn. We joined in singing many of the 'Chants of Labour,' which went very well, the tunes being taken up capitably considering so few of the comrades had heard them before. I think it will be found when the songs get sung more at our meetings that the tunes have on the whole been very happily chosen, and the singing of them will, I feel sure, greatly help to create that unity of feeling which is so much wanted among us.

In our pleasure we did not forget the more serious struggle going on in London. Some account was given of the match-girls' strike, and the following resolution was passed and forwarded to Annie Besant, together with £2 1s. 8d. collected amongst the comrades: "That the Socialists of Nottingham, Sheffield, and Chesterfield gathered at Ambergate desire to express their profound sympathy with the match-girls now on strike in London, and will do all in their power to help them to compel the Bryant and May Company to accede to their moderate demands. They also protest against the sweating system generally as now existing, and ask the people to support the Socialist party in their endeavour to introduce a new social system, in which such abominations as are now being revealed shall be impossible."

After tea we all returned home cheered by the meeting of comrades, and hoping for better weather for our gathering next year—for we intend to make it an annual institution. R. U.

THE SOCIALIST LEAGUE.

OFFICES: 13 FARRINGDON ROAD, E.C.

The Offices of the Socialist League will be open for the sale of *Commonweal* and all other Socialist publications from 8.30 a.m. to 9 p.m. every day except Sunday. The Secretary will be in attendance from 10 a.m. to 9 p.m. daily.

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

**Strike Committee.**—Collected in Regent's Park, Sunday July 8th, 4s. 6d. J. LANE, Treasurer.

"COMMONWEAL" PRINTING FUND.

Langley, 2s.; P. W., 6d.; C. J. F., 2s. 6d.; K. F., 1s.

REPORTS.

**CLERKENWELL.**—On Sunday, July 15, the members of this branch and their friends met to open our new meeting-room. A substantial tea, speeches, songs, recitations, and then the Marseillaise, ended a very pleasant gathering.—B.

**HYDE PARK.**—In spite of the inclement weather, a meeting was held on Sunday afternoon in this park to protest against the imprisonment of Dillon and the murder of Mandeville. Some members of our League (with the large banner) joined the procession on Clerkenwell Green and marched to the Park, where, with our comrades of the S.D.F., speeches of protest were made by Culwick, Parker, and Henderson, the pouring rain breaking up the meeting prematurely.

**BRADFORD.**—Sunday 15th, Paylor (of Leeds) lectured at Laycock's Temperance Hotel. Considerable interest is evinced in these lectures, which we intend to continue till the debating society commence its winter course and require the room.—P. B.

**NORWICH.**—Good meeting at Yarmouth by Poynts and Mowbray. On Sunday large meeting in Market Place by Mowbray. In evening another, when Mowbray gave an address on "The Old Nobility." After meeting members adjourned to hall and held a social meeting. Very good sale of *Commonweal* and good collections.

**WALSALL.**—At Bilston Liberal Club on Friday, Sanders delivered a second address, followed by open discussion, when our teetotal friends undertook to supply more than Socialism without even troubling to deal with economics at all. We shall have a branch here shortly, as several good men have already joined. Sanders received his expenses, and has handed same over towards a Socialist club in Walsall. On Saturday, usual outdoor meeting addressed by Sanders, Tarn, and Burns (of S.D.F., Birmingham). Literature sold well, and 7s. 3d. collected for the Bryant and May Strike Fund.—H. S.

## LECTURE DIARY.

## LONDON.

**Acton.**—Any information from Secretary Harnett, 7 Redmore Road, Hammersmith.

**Clerkenwell.**—Hall of the Socialist League, 13 Farringdon Rd., E.C.

**Fulham.**—8 Effie Road, Walham Green. Sunday at 8 p.m.

**Hackney.**—The next meeting of members will be held at 26 Cawley Road, Victoria Park, Sunday July 29, at 4 p.m. Enquiries, communications, etc., to E. Lefevre, Secretary, 28 Percy Terrace, Victoria Rd., Hackney Wick.

**Hammersmith.**—Kelmescott House, Upper Mall, W. Sunday July 22, at 8 p.m., Graham Wallas (Fabian Society), "Some Facts in the History of Wages."

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

**Mile-end and Bethnal Green.**—95 Boston St., Hackney Road.

**North London.**—The business meetings will be held on Friday evenings at the Autonomie Club, Windmill Street, Tottenham Court Road, after the open-air meeting at Ossulton Street. All members are asked to attend at Ossulton Street at 8 o'clock. After Sweating Demonstration at Hyde Park next Sunday, tea will be provided at Autonomie Club at 7 p.m., followed by revolutionary play in German.—Secy., Nelly Parker, 109 Cavendish Buildings, opposite Holborn Town Hall.

**Plaistow.**—A branch has been formed here and is commencing a vigorous propaganda in this district. All communications to be addressed to A. Barker, 4 Osborne Terrace, Leyton, E.

**St. Georges in the East.**—A meeting of the members of this branch will be held at 23 Princes Square, on Sunday morning after the meeting at Leman Street. Rochmann, secretary.

## PROVINCES.

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

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

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

**Cowdenbeath (Scot. Sec.)**—J. Duncan, 30 Arthur Pl., sec

**Dumdee (Scot. Sect.)**—Meetings every Sunday in the Trades Hall, opposite Tay Bridge Station.

**Edinburgh (Scottish Land and Labour League).**—In Oddfellows' Hall, Thursdays at 8 p.m., meetings for Discussion. Letters and communications to 35 George IV. Bridge.

**Galashiels (Scot Sect.)**—J. Walker, 6 Victoria St., sec.

**Gallatown and Dysart (Scottish Section: Fife).**—Meet every Tuesday at 7 p.m. in Gallatown Public School. Secretary, A. Paterson, 152 Rosslyn St.

**Glasgow.**—84 John St. Reading-room open 10 a.m. till 10 p.m. daily. Discussion every Thursday evening at 8 o'clock. On Sunday evening, at 7 o'clock.

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

**Leicester.**—Hosiery Union, Horsefair St. Fridays at 8.

**Lochgelly (Scottish Section: Fife).**—Secs. (*pro tem.*), John Greig and Hugh Conway, The Square.

**Norwich.**—Members' Meeting will be held on Mondays at 8.30, instead of Tuesdays, owing to a debate being held in Gordon Hall on Tuesdays. Tuesday, at 8, a Debate will commence between C. W. Mowbray and Mr. Scarles of this city—subject, "Socialism and Politics," to be opened by Mr. Scarles; all seats free. Wednesday, at 8.30, Dramatic Class. Saturday, 8 until 10.30, Co-operative Clothing Association.

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

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

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

## OPEN-AIR PROPAGANDA.

## SUNDAY 22.

11 ... Acton Green ..... The Branch  
11.30... Latimer Road Station ..... The Branch  
11.30... Mitcham Fair Green ..... The Branch  
11.30... Regent's Park ..... Parker & Mrs. Schack  
11.30... Walham Green ..... Fulham Branch  
11.30... Hyde Park ..... Anti-Sweating Demonstration  
7 ... Clerkenwell Green ..... The Branch  
7 ... Weltje Road, opposite Ravenscourt Park ..... Hammersmith Branch

## Tuesday.

8.30... Fulham—opposite Liberal Club.....Fulham Bh.

## Friday.

7.30... Enston Rd., Newington St. .... N. London Beh.

## EAST END.

## SUNDAY 22.

Mile-end Waste ... 11 ... Hicks & Brooks.  
"Salmon and Ball" ... 11 ... Bethnal Green Bh.  
Leman Street, Shadwell ... 11 ... Samuels, Rochman  
Gibraltar Walk, Bethnal ... 7 ... Cores, Charles,  
Green Road, and Lane.  
Well Street, Hackney... 11.45... M'nwaring, Cores.  
Kingsland Green ... 11.30... Nicoll & Diggins.  
Victoria Park ... 3.15... M'nwaring, Charles  
Triangle, Hackney Road ... 8 ... Cores, Charles,  
Lane.

Lea Bridge Road ... 11.30... Lane & Charles.  
Stamford Hill ... 7.30... M'nwaring, Nicoll.

## WEDNESDAY.

Broadway, London Fields 8.30... Bird, Cores, Davis.

## THURSDAY.

Packington St., Essex Road 8.30... Kitz, Nicoll,  
Marsh, and Cores.

## FRIDAY.

Philpot St., Commercial Rd. 8.30... Lane, Charles,  
Cores, M'nwaring

## SATURDAY.

Mile-end Waste ... 8 ... Lane, Mainwaring,  
Parker & Wess.

## PROVINCES.

**Aberdeen.**—Saturday: Castle Street, at 8 p.m. Sunday: Duthie Park, Waterside Gate, 3 p.m.

**Glasgow.**—Sunday: Jaft's Square, at 12.30; Paisley Road Toll, at 5 o'clock.

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

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

**Norwich.**—Sunday: Market Place, at 3 and 7.30.

Wymondham, Sunday at 11 a.m.

North Walsham, Sunday at 11 a.m.

St. Faiths, Sunday at 11.30.

Croftwick Common, Sunday at 3.

Thorpe, Monday at 8 p.m.

Yarmouth, opposite Town Hall, Thursday at 7.30.

St Catharine's Plain, Friday at 8.15 p.m.

**HOXTON.**—Persons wishing to join this branch, which is in process of formation, should communicate with H. D. Morgan, 22 Nicholas Street, Hoxton.

**JUNIOR SOCIALIST EDUCATIONAL SOCIETY.**—On July 21st, at 7 Penniker Mews, Callow Street, Fulham Road, S.W., a discussion will take place on Joyne's 'Catechism.'

**NORWICH.**—On August 12th and 13th a great Socialist Demonstration will be held. Speakers: William Morris, Annie Besant, C. J. Faulkner, Mrs. Schack, S. Mainwaring, W. Ogden (Oxford Branch), Herbert Burrows, C. W. Mowbray, and others.

**EAST-END PROPAGANDA.**—A meeting of all interested in the Socialist propaganda in the East-end of London will be held at the Berner Street International Club, Commercial Road, E., on Saturday evening at 9.30. It is hoped all our friends living in the district will make a special effort to attend and arrange for the procession and other matters connected with the Anti-Sweating Demonstration on Sunday, in addition to our other business.

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# THE COMMONWEAL

## The Official Journal of the SOCIALIST LEAGUE.

Vol. 4.—No. 133.

SATURDAY, JULY 28, 1888.

WEEKLY; ONE PENNY.

### NOTES ON NEWS.

THE match-girls have gained a victory over the blameless firm of Bryant and May. When one sees how small the gains to the girls are, how small their demands were, one is struck aghast at the miserable cheese-parings by which great fortunes are made. Truly, it well becomes Messrs. Bryant and May to characterise one of the grievances of the girls as "trivial"! It is on these very trivialities, we repeat, that the splendour of the lives of these capitalists is built; and perhaps if such people ever trouble themselves to think, they may reflect on the curious fact that each "trivial" atom of the huge mass of wealth which they monopolise and waste has been a matter by no means trivial to the atom of the industrial machine, the worker, who has had to keep his whole soul on the stretch in order, if possible, to compass a very "trivial" addition to his income.

The daily press, of course, goes on buttering Messrs. Bryant and May for their generosity and the like, although their letter to the *Daily News* of July 19th is sulky and ill-conditioned in tone, and contains the kind of covert threats which employers are apt to use to those whom they employ; the "Well, have it your own way then, and see what will happen," which we so commonly hear; their innuendo against the "agitators," who first took up the case of the girls at their own risk, and worked with such untiring zeal at it till they at last got the London Trades' Council to step in, is just worthy of the whole shabby affair.

In short, it quite sickens one to have to call such a result of hard work for the girls and of courage on the part of the girls themselves, a victory; and yet it is one, for after all Messrs. Bryant and May's letter is the utterance of people taking a beating badly.

A desperate storm in a tea-cup has been going on. Mr. Balfour brought in certain Bann Drainage Bills, in plain terms a job for the advantage of Irish landlords; the Irish members seeing that this was going to be carried, whatever they might do, walked out of the House, as they ought to have done on more important occasions. Mr. Conybeare having been snuffed out by the closure, wrote a letter to the *Star* reflecting on the fairness of the Speaker, and by so doing committed a Parliamentary crime, although the substance of the letter was obviously true. The next day the House enjoyed itself by fixing on this Parliamentary crime, and so gaining the pleasure of a personal attack on Mr. Conybeare, who was suspended for a month, or till the end of the Session, if that comes to an end before the month. We do not hear that Mr. Conybeare has taken to his bed in consequence.

Neither, to say the truth, is the country likely to be much the poorer in any way for this "waste" of a night in personalities. If the House of Commons had not wasted it in this way they would have wasted it in another.

Mr. Vaughan made short work of the summonses against the police for assaulting Mr. Borgia in Trafalgar Square. None, I suppose, expected any other issue of the attempt to bring Warren's lambs to book by means of law: for indeed such acts of arbitrary and irrational violence are the very foundation of law. Besides, let us look at it from the point of view of Law 'n'-Order. The police are told to do a thing; keep Trafalgar Square clear of meetings, let us say. They must do it at once or not at all: if, then, they are the stronger, can they stop to argue about it? They would be beaten if they did. Very well, then, they must break the head of any citizen whose head is handy for breaking, and then take the responsibility afterwards. But if our magistrates and judges were to make them bear the consequences of that responsibility, "a policeman's life would not be a happy one" indeed. And where would Law-'n'-Order get its policemen then? The necessary deduction from all which is, that whatever a policeman does to a citizen with any pretext of legality must be supported by the whole power of the law—or at any rate is so supported. This is a very old story, and there is no help for it but getting rid of the law which makes the policeman, who in his turn makes the law.

The stories of dynamite plots from Chicago, with their contradictions and vaguenesses, and criminals turned informers, and the rest of it, have every appearance of news got up to serve some temporary purpose: we have had plenty of such "discoveries" of late. It used to be thought by honest middle-class people that such infamies were used only by absolutist governments. But it seems countries in possession of middle-class political freedom have to tar themselves with the same stick. Or after all must we not call the government of Illinois absolutist also? At least both it, and for that matter the government of England also, will be practically absolutist whenever their fears or necessities lead them into temptation.

We publish this week a paper by our comrade Bax on Africa, which is worth very serious consideration. Even those of us who are most sincere in their professions of internationalism are too apt to limit our scope of vision to civilised countries, forgetting that barbarous ones are at any rate of the kind of importance that the lamb is to the wolf. Several questions occur to us relative to this question of Africa as a possible source of new life for dying capitalism which we should like to see dealt with. *E.g.*, Whether the nourishment to be afforded to capitalism by the Dark Continent is as great as our comrade seems to think; whether the accelerated pace which the impulse of huge markets would certainly give to competitive commerce would not go far to neutralise the advantages to capitalism of "opening up" Africa—whether at least it would not make the break-up more complete when it came. Or again, if Africa is falling into the grasp of capitalism grown conscious of its necessities for new markets, is there anything which can prevent it from becoming the new nourishment for capitalism?

And that leads us to the practical moral of the question; that it is not our business merely to wait on circumstance; but to do our best to push forward the movement towards Socialism, which is at least as much part of the essence of the epoch as the necessities of capitalism are. Whatever is gained in convincing people that Socialism is right always, and inevitable at last, and that capitalism in spite of all its present power is merely a noxious obstruction between the world and happiness, will not be lost again, though it may be obscured for a time, even if a new period sets in of prosperity by leaps and bounds. We commend our comrade Bax's subject, and its consequences to the consideration of all our readers.

W. M.

Absolutely the latest way of getting a cheap tour round the world. The *Pall Mall* reports an interview with Sir Frederick Young, K.C.M.G., Vice-President of the Royal Colonial Institute, etc., etc. The main item is the cool proposal to send a Royal Commission to take evidence on the spot, of the leading politicians in all the great self-governing Colonies on the question of Imperial Federation. "The evidence thus taken would be afterwards presented to Parliament in the usual way." "Yaas," and naturally treated in the usual way—severely let alone. "It could scarcely fail to gratify the Colonies themselves—that an important and distinguished body, acting under Her Majesty's Commission, should be sent out to them to invite their opinions, and to consult them, as it were, at their own doors." Oh, the dear little ducky Colonists, they shall have a bran new roving Royal Commission to gratify them, to invite their opinions and gammon them to endure another few generations of Governor-Generals.

Perhaps a file of the *Sydney Bulletin*, *Australian Radical*, and *Adelaide Commonwealth* would do some of these humbugging Federationists good; such a course of reading would assuredly undeceive them as to any hope of foisting many more highly paid aristocrats on to the shoulders of Colonial labour. But what a way for swells to get a holiday on the cheap!

The expense of such a Commission roving in Imperial style all over the world would be immense, and yet if only the selection could be made wide enough one could almost be glad to have to find a motto for such a job: "They left their country for their country's good," and as epitaph, "And sank never to rise again."

It having been decided by the wise judges of this land that there is no Act specially authorising the use of Trafalgar Square, and that therefore to use it is unlawful, a person by the name of Stuart, who happens to be an M.P., has hastened to bring in a bill to duly authorise Free Speech and use. As there is no Act which specially authorises such action, Mr. ———, M.P., has brought in a Bill which shall make it lawful "on giving three day's notice" for a man to wipe his own nose. As there is no Act specially made and provided, Mr. ———, M.P., has given notice that he will on April 1st move for permission to specially allow Mrs. Caudle to deliver certain lectures under special provocation, provided the Home Secretary and the Secretary for the War Department, and I Charles Warren, have been duly notified in order to take measures to prevent any breach of the peace. As there is no Act which specially permits a chap to kiss his Sunday best girl, Colonel Hughes Hallett and Lord Hartington have introduced a Bill which shall permit such action under stringent regulations set forth in a long schedule. Quite a number of similar Acts are being prepared to meet the crises. "They have rights who dare maintain them; we are traitors to our sires."

"A Bill for the sale of all the property belonging to the Orleans and Bonaparte families will be introduced into the Chamber by M. Félix Pyat. It proposes that the money derived from the sale shall be spent in the foundation of an asylum for the aged poor." Bravo, Pyat! Come over and do the same for the Guelph-ap-Brown family. Just fancy making a summer picnic home for the million of Windsor Castle; a convalescent home at Osborne. We could use the whole of these now disused palaces to good purpose, and may yet.

"Bolt and bar the palace door;  
While the mass of men are poor  
Naked truth grows more and more  
Uncontrolled."

T. S.

## THE REVOLT OF GHENT.

Continued from p. 227.

UNDER the sore discouragement caused by these defeats, the rich men began to murmur and look towards submission as the only end. Peter du Bois was their only leader left, and I suppose, judging from Froissart's story, that he was not a man of much initiative as we say now-a-days; anyhow, he looked round for support in the present straits, and says Froissart: "He remembered him of a man the which was not greatly taken heed of in the town of Ghent; he was a wise man, but his wisdom was not known, nor was he not taken heed of till the same day." This was Phillip, the son of the great James van Artevelde.

Froissart gives us a little piece of drama, in which one sees and hears the rough sturdy captain coming to the man of ambition and genius, and drawing him into action: ". . . Then Peter du Bois in an evening came to this Philip, who was abiding in his mother's house, and lived honestly on their rents; and Peter du Bois began to reason with him, and began to open the matter, wherefore he was come to him, and said thus: 'Philip, if ye will take good heed to my words, and believe my counsel, I will make you the greatest man in all the country of Flanders.' 'How can that be, sir?' said Philip. 'I shall show you,' said Peter, 'ye shall have the governing and ministration of all them in the town of Ghent, for we be now in great necessity to have a sovereign captain of good name, and of good renown, and so by this means your father, James van Artevelde, shall rise again in this town by the remembrance of you; for every man saith, that syth his days, the country of Flanders hath not been so loved, honoured, nor feared, as it was while he lived, and I shall lightly set you in his stead, if ye list yourself; and when ye be in that authority, then ye shall govern yourself by my counsel, till ye have full understanding of every case, the which ye shall soon learn.' Then this Philip, who was at man's state, and naturally desired to be advanced, honoured, and to have more than he had, answered and said, 'Peter du Bois, ye offer me a great thing, and I believe you; and if I were in the state that ye speak of, I swear to you by my faith that I should do nothing without your counsel.' Then Peter answered and said, 'How say you? Can ye bear yourself high and be cruel among the commons, and specially in such things as we shall have to do; a man is worth nothing without he be feared, doubted, and some time renowned with cruelty. Thus must the Flemings be governed; a man must set no more by the life of men, nor have no more pity thereof, than of the lives of swallows or larks, the which be taken in season to eat.' 'By my faith,' said Philip, 'all this can I do right well.' 'That is well said,' quoth Peter, 'and I shall make you so, that ye shall be sovereign above all other.' And so therewith he took leave of him and departed."

The upshot is that Peter proposes him to the leaders and municipality, and he is made captain. "There he was taken up amongst them and brought into the market-place, and there they make assurance to him, both mayors, aldermen, and masters of every craft in Ghent."

Let us consider this the end of an act again, and draw up the curtain once more on the new leader facing defeat in the field, and discouragement and treachery within the gates.

The Earl laid siege to the town once more, but soon raised it again; nor could he fairly blockade the town, as Froissart explains to us, "so that Brabant, Holland, and Zealand make them no war." So the Earl put the screw on the towns and lords of those countries, and tried to

force them to stop the supplies to Ghent. The Liegeois gave him flat denial, but his kinsman, Duke Aubert of Brabant, did his best to aid him; "though," says Froissart, "they of Holland would not leave to aid them for any comhandment that Duke Aubert might make." However, the supplies were much shortened, and Ghent began to be pinched by famine. Herewith, the malcontent rich men managed to get a parley with the outsiders. "In the same season the sage men and wise counsellors of Haynault of Brabant and of Liege set a day of council to be holden at Harlebeke beside Courtray; and they of Ghent sent thither a twelve of the most notablest men of the town; and there they showed how generally the most part of the town, except such ribaudes and unthrifty people who desired nothing save evil and noise, all the other gladly they said would have rest and peace whatsoever came thereof . . . and the matters were there so well debated, that upon certain articles of peace the Ghentois returned to their town. And all such of Ghent as desired rest and peace drew to the houses of two rich men of Ghent who had been at this treaty; the one called Sir Guisebert Grutte and the other Sir Simon Bette, demanding of them tidings; and they discovered the matter too soon to some of their friends, saying, 'Good neighbours, we shall have so good peace, and it please God that such as loveth peace and rest shall have it, and some of them that be evil disposed in the town of Ghent to be corrected and punished.'

This was a regular plot you see: but says Froissart, "If there be he that doth, there is he who talketh;" and Peter du Bois got hold of news of this plot before it was quite ripe. The next morning the traitors attended at the council of the "mayor and aldermen and rich men of the town" to give their report, which was, in short, that the Earl would make peace on the condition of the surrender of two hundred men named by him. "And he is so free and so noble that it is no doubt but that he will have mercy on them."

What kind of a grin lit up the face of Peter du Bois at these last words we may well imagine. Says Froissart, "With those words Peter du Bois stepped forth and said, 'Guisebert Grutte, how durst you be so bold to make such agreement as to send two hundred of our men of Ghent into the town of our enemy in great rebuke and shame to all the town of Ghent; it were better Ghent were turned upside down than they of Ghent should have such reproach, as to make war and end it so shamefully. We that have heard you may well know that ye shall be none of the two hundred prisoners, nor also Simon Bette. Ye have chosen for yourself, now then we will choose for ourselves. On forth Philip van Artevelde, set hands on these false traitors that would betray and dishonour the town of Ghent!' Therewith Peter du Bois drew out his dagger and came to Guisebert Grutte and struck him in the belly, and so he fell down dead. And Philip van Artevelde drew out his dagger, and he strake Simon Bette and slew him in likewise; and then they cried, 'Treason! Treason!' And they that were slain had of their men above and beneath, for they were men of great lineage and the richest men of the town; but they gat themselves out of the town to save themselves, and there was no more but these two slain."

Thus the plot of the respectables was nipped in the bud; but the famine in Ghent went from bad to worse. The blockade now being fairly established, and the skirmishing turned into mere garrison-holding. The Earl laid waste the countries that still victualled Ghent, and things seemed drawing to an end. "It was great pity to see and to hear the poor people, both men, women, and children; yea, such as were right notable fell into this danger."

Philip van Artevelde "caused the garners of the Abbays to be opened, and of rich men, and set a reasonable price on the corn, whereby the town was greatly comforted."

About Lent time, 12,000 men, apparently little organised, made a foraging expedition as far as the gates of Brussels, which were shut against them, but they were allowed to buy victuals there. They wandered from town to town, not offering to enter the gates, but living on the goodwill of the country and collecting victuals; everywhere meeting with goodwill, especially from the Liegeois, and so came back to Ghent after a piteous journey with some 600 waggon loads of victuals, which was received with extravagant joy, small as the help was.

Now took place some goings and comings between the Ghentois and the Duchess of Brabant, who took it upon her to try to get peace from the Earl. A council was held at Tournay, attended by delegates from the towns of Brabant and Haynault, and twelve men from Ghent with Van Artevelde at their head. The Duke of Brabant also sent his council there, and it seems clear that the intention of the go-betweens was friendly to Ghent, while the Ghentmen, now reduced to the last extremity, were prepared to accept almost any terms; but the Earl refusing to meet the council, simply sent on a message announcing that the only terms he would take were surrender at discretion. Froissart tells us that the friends of Ghent urged Philip van Artevelde to take even these terms, and that he answered that the people would not take them, but that if they would, he would not stand in the way.

And now imagine if you can the return of the envoys to the hopeless city, once sovereign and prosperous, and now encircled by its enemies and at its last gasp; or rather let us for a while let Froissart tell us the story in his own words of the despair, the heroism, and the temporary triumph of Ghent.

WILLIAM MORRIS.

(To be continued.)

Poverty often deprives a man of all spirit and virtue. It is hard for an empty bag to stand upright.—Franklin.

## INTERNATIONAL NOTES.

## FRANCE.

The "independent revolutionary Socialists" of Paris have issued a circular addressed to all existing revolutionary committees, Socialist groups of all creeds, syndicates and co-operative bodies of working men, inviting them to take part in a Congress (the date of which is not yet fixed) where the following questions are to be discussed: 1. Inefficiency of economical reforms as promised by mere politicians; 2. Capitalistic expropriation, socialisation of all means of production, organisation of consumption, delegation of functions in society; 3. Means of propaganda and of revolutionary action; 4. International relations between the workers both in time of peace and in time of war. All Socialist bodies desiring to meet for the above purpose are requested to communicate with comrade E. Odin, corresponding secretary, 21 Faubourg St. Denis, Paris.

A new bi-monthly Anarchist organ has come to light at Paris, entitled *L'esprit de Révolte* (the Spirit of Revolt), with Alain Gouzien, Léon Schiroky, Emile Roland, E. Villaret, and Paul Paillette as chief contributors. The paper is illustrated by Raphaël Coster. It is well worth reading, and we wish it good success.

Six hundred weavers are at strike at Amiens, because their employers have decided to shorten their starvation wages by a reduction of 20 per cent. These poor weavers work twelve hours a-day for 2s., and their "masters" think these miserable earnings too luxurious for them. The secretary of the Strike Committee has issued an appeal to all his colleagues in the trade, and hopes that some support will come forward. His address is: E. Délécourt, 31 rue du Don, Amiens.

## GERMANY.

It is said that Tessenorf is about to be Minister of Justice of the German Empire. "Justice" will have there a nice fellow as minister! That Tessenorf is one of the most reactionary men in Bismark's land, one of those who have brought about the most scandalous cases of high treason in the so-called "High Court" of Leipzig. In every Socialist he sees a personal enemy. That nomination will be Bismark's revenge for the enforced resignation of Puttkamer, the former minister of all those who are "not gentlemen."

A few days ago forty-one persons, among them three women, were arrested at Berlin for having pasted on the walls of the city a leaflet dealing with matters altogether unpleasant to the now reigning crank who calls himself William the Second, King of Prussia and German Emperor. Since his accession to the "throne" of his ancestors, that individual already has caused more Socialists to be imprisoned than had been the case during the previous three months of his father's reign. But he is completely Bismark's tool, and Bismark wants Socialists to know that he is always "there." How long still? All over Germany arrests are made on a wholesale scale, and it would be impossible if not even monotonous, to chronicle them all. On the whole, it doesn't matter very much, because all these arrests and trials and imprisonments will not prevent the Social revolution, there as elsewhere, from ripening and bursting out one fine day, over the very heads of all these scoundrels.

## BELGIUM.

The Socialist papers have commenced a campaign for the freeing of comrade Jahn, the young Anarchist who made such a brilliant speech at his trial some six or seven months ago. He was sentenced to two years and a half imprisonment by the Court of Assizes at Mons (Hainault). After the amnesty that has been granted to Schmidt, Falleur, Wager, Rutters, and the other comrades convicted for the miners' strikes and riots, it would only be fair that young Jahn should be set free, and we hope that our Belgian comrades will take no rest until they have succeeded in their efforts.

Last week Jean Houzeau, one of the greatest astronomers and naturalists of the nineteenth century, died at Brussels, and was buried, according to his own last will, like a proletarian, "in the common grave of the poor." Houzeau not only was an illustrious scientist, whose opinions were taken into consideration by those who stand or have stood in the forefront of scientific investigations in our time—we need only name Darwin, who has been in constant correspondence with him—but he was also an atheist and a Socialist, and in that capacity, not less than in his scientific researches and discoveries, he has done a considerable deal of very useful work for the benefit of mankind at large. Of course, like all those who dare to be independent and true, he had to suffer for his opinions. In the year 1848 he was dismissed from his position at the Observatory of Brussels by the liberal government of Frere-Orban, because he associated himself with those who at that time propagated through Belgium the democratic ideas that spread from France throughout Europe. He was obliged to leave his country and spend the largest part of his life in America, until in 1876, after the death of the illustrious Quetelet, the government finally was obliged to call him back and to offer him the scientific succession of the learned astronomer and sociologist. The Belgian Socialists will ever bear in remembrance the honoured memory of Jean Houzeau, who has given to them and to us all the best of his heart and of his intelligence.

## HOLLAND.

We are glad to hear that the first edition of volume I. of the posthumous works of our much regretted friend H. Gerhard, one of the founders of the International Working-men's Association in Holland, is already completely exhausted, and we hope that a second edition will soon be ready for sale. The second volume is now issued, and will ere long be followed by the third concluding part.

Our Dutch comrades have commenced the publication of an International Working-men's Library. The first number of this collection is entitled, "Some Chapters of Stuart Mill's Works."

## ROUMANIA.

The compositors of Bucharest are on strike, and only two daily papers are in a position to be issued. The strikers ask for a reduction of the work-day to nine hours, an augmentation of 10d. a-day on their wages (they now earn from 2s. 10d. to 3s. 4d.), suppression of piecework, and a reasonable limitation of the number of apprentices. Up to the present moment a great sense of solidarity is shown by the workers generally, and they entertain the best hopes to come to a victorious end. It would only be well and fair for the compositors of other countries to help their brethren of Bucharest, for the compositors and printers of that city, some time ago, have done their utmost to relieve their French colleagues on strike. The London society of that

trade also have here a good opportunity of showing that they are animated with a keen spirit of brotherhood towards their Roumanian colleagues, who are struggling under the most difficult circumstances.

## SWITZERLAND.

At Aarau a Conference of delegates of the Swiss Socialist party has been held, with the view of forming a large body of all the Helvetic Socialists. Zürich, Basle, Berne, Winterthur, and Solothurn were represented, and it was decided to convene, during the month of October, a general Congress of all the workers' organisations throughout Switzerland. This first move is a good answer to the decision of the Federal Council at Berne, which has decided to follow Bismark's advice as to the formation of a political police, the mere existence of which is a shame for "free republican Helvetia."

V. D.

## REVOLUTIONARY CALENDAR.

WEEK ENDING AUGUST 4, 1888.

29	Sun.	1794. Robespierre guillotined. 1833. W. Wilberforce died. 1840. Ovation at Manchester to the Glasgow cotton spinners on their return from transportation. 1848. Ballingarry. 1860. Garibaldi entered Messina. 1877. John Frost died. 1880. Traitor Goldenberg killed himself in St. Petersburg fortress.
30	Mon.	1784. Diderot died. 1879. Gorski, Bilchanski, and Hobst hanged at Kieff.
31	Tues.	1877. Strike of masons at Law Courts, London.
1	Wed.	1834. Abolition of Negro slavery in British colonies. 1842. Strike of Scotch colliers and iron-workers.
2	Thur.	1823. Carnot died. 1839. Trial of Vincent, Edwards, Townshend, and Dickenson for sedition. 1857. Eugène Sue died. 1882. W. Mertens sentenced for libel. 1884. Daly, Egan, and McDonnell sentenced for treason felony.
3	Fri.	1820. Cartwright and others tried for sedition at Warwick. 1859. Builders' meeting in Hyde Park. 1868. C. G. Halpine died.
4	Sat.	1789. National Assembly abolishes feudal privileges. 1792. P. B. Shelley born. 1817. Trial of Roger O'Connor. 1842. "Alarming disturbances" break out in manufacturing districts. 1883. Execution of Carey.

*Death of William Wilberforce.*—William Wilberforce, one of the prime agitators for the abolition of chattel slavery, was the son of a merchant of Hull, and was born in that place August 24, 1759. He was educated at the Free School of Pocklington, and thence he went to St. John's, Cambridge, graduating B.A. 1781 and M.A. 1788. With William Pitt and Isaac Milner on quitting college he made a Continental tour, and at general election 1780 was elected almost unanimously M.P. for Hull; at general election 1784 he was returned also for county of York. At Clarkson's solicitation he took up the question of the abolition of chattel slavery, and his first motion was carried without a division, but by 1791 the forces of vested interest had organised and he was badly treated. In 1792 he fared better, and in 1807 a Bill was passed for total abolition of slave trading by British merchants, but this, like most of our class legislation, took another quarter of a century to make of real effect. For in 1833 the traders in human flesh and blood were able—aided by William Ewart Gladstone—to extort £20,000,000 to abolish chattel slavery. Like all who attack vested interest in any form, Wilberforce was for years assailed with all sorts of slander, libel, and abuse, and certainly some of the most wonderful exhibitions of the crookedness of the human mind can be found in the various speeches, pamphlets, and other defences of the trade in Negro slaves.—T. S.

*Denis Diderot.*—Born at Langres, in the month of October 1713, the son of a cutler. His father first wished to make a priest of him, and send him to the Jesuits to be educated. But he very soon felt dissatisfied with their teachings and was allowed to go to Paris, to the College d'Harcourt, where he made extremely rapid progress. At the end of his studies he tried his fortune in a solicitor's office; remained there two years but then had enough of it. His father at last became angry with him and asked him to finally decide as to what he was going to do. He replied that he would not be an advocate, always bothering himself with other men's business; that he did not feel inclined for surgery, not wishing to kill anybody; and so on. But what was it he would be, he was asked. "Well," said Diderot, "I will be nothing, nothing at all. I like studying, I am satisfied, I am happy, and I ask for nothing else." And Denis Diderot, who wished to be "nothing at all," became the most powerful genius, the most strongly constituted philosopher, thinker, critic, and artist of the eighteenth century. In this short notice we do not intend to relate the various incidents of his life, which by the way is pretty well known to everyone. We only wish to state that Diderot not only had the prescience of the political revolution which was about to come, but that he also foresaw the social revolution; and we think that Babeuf was absolutely right when, in his "Manifesto of the Equals," he spoke of him as the forerunner of Socialism. And in fact one needs only to read the magnificent introduction of the 'Encyclopédie' of Diderot—the most splendid monument of literary France in the eighteenth century—to become at once convinced that the man who has written that eloquent glorification of arts and trades and manual work, must have been a Socialist. The complete works of Diderot were published for the first time in 1798 by his friend Naigeon, and form fifteen volumes large 8vo. The edition that up to the present time has been considered the best was published in 1821 by Briere, in twenty-two volumes 8vo. But I daresay that now we have the definitive edition in that of Jules Assézat, which consists of twenty volumes 8vo, published by Garnier at Paris (1878-84).—V. D.

Labour is the only thing which protectionists wish to buy in the cheapest market; and they are all opposed to the protection which trades' unions propose to give American wage-workers. This is a point which should rattle every political protectionist. It is not a free trade argument, it is simply truth.—*Omaha Truth.*

Last Saturday, Mr. John Morley, addressing the miners of Morpeth, told them in the following words why he is not a Socialist: "I fancy you have had among you men whose motives I do not impugn at all, whose sincerity I do not impeach at all, and who call themselves Socialists. A friend of mine said the other day that we are all Socialists now. Well, gentlemen, I am not. I am one of those who believe that it is not well to call upon the State to do any of those things which men can do for themselves.—Why, Mr. Morley, I am afraid with such statements, if you are not a Socialist, you may certainly call yourself an Anarchist, for you think about it exactly as they do.—R.





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

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

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

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

**COMMUNICATIONS RECEIVED.**—Too late—Bristol and others. Will be used—S. R. (Liverpool); T. S.; H. S. S. Crowded out—Letter from America. Under consideration—J. S. (Birmingham).

*Periodicals received during the week ending Wednesday July 25.*

<b>ENGLAND</b> Bristol Mercury Justice Labour Tribune London—Freie Presse Norwich—Daylight Ploughshare Railway Review Worker's Friend	<b>FRANCE</b> Paris—Cri du Peuple (daily) Le Parti Ouvrier (daily) Le Coup de Feu Lille—Le Cri du Travailleur	<b>ITALY</b> Milwaukee—National Reformer Providence (R.I.)—The People St. Louis (Mo.)—Die Parole Coast Seamen's Journal	<b>SPAIN</b> El Productor Madrid—El Socialista Cadiz—El Socialismo
<b>NEW SOUTH WALES</b> Hamilton—Radical	<b>HOLLAND</b> Hague—Recht voor Allen	<b>GERMANY</b> Berlin—Volks Tribune	<b>PORTUGAL</b> Lisbon—O Protesto Operario Porto—A Revolucao Social
<b>INDIA</b> Bankipore—Behar Herald Madras—People's Friend	<b>BELGIUM</b> Seraing (Ougree)—Le Reveil Ghent—Vooruit Liege—L'Avenir Antwerp—De Werker	<b>AUSTRIA</b> Arbeiterstimme Wien—Gleichheit	<b>GERMANY</b> Stockholm, Social-Demokraten Malmo—Arbetet
<b>UNITED STATES</b> New York—Der Sozialist Freiheit Truthseeker Jewish Volkszeitung Alarm Boston—Woman's Journal Chicago—Knights of Labor Chicago—Labor Enquirer Chicago (Ill)—Verbote	<b>SWITZERLAND</b> Zurich—Sozial Demokrat	<b>ROMANIA</b> Jassy—Municipal	<b>DENMARK</b> Social-Demokraten
	<b>ITALY</b> Milan—Il Fascio Operaio Rome—L'Emancipazione Marsala—La Nuova Eta Cremona—Il Democratico	<b>NORWAY</b> Kristiania—Social-Democraten	<b>SWEDEN</b>

## AFRICA.

WE are witnessing to-day a striking phenomenon in the history of the middle-class world—to wit, the struggle among the European nations over the partition of Africa. It seems strange that the great continent lying immediately south of Europe, so much nearer the home of civilisation than America, not to speak of Australia and other regions of the Antipodes, should, up till our own time, have remained not merely in the undisputed possession of its aboriginal inhabitants, save for one or two trifling exceptions, but should have been to a great extent unexplored. Whatever the causes why civilisation has until recently neglected the greater part of the "dark continent" in favour of the "new world," of remote parts of Asia and the Southern seas, civilisation seems determined to make up for it now by extending its blessings under every variety of national flag over the whole of those benighted regions. England has been for the last ten years steadily working up from the south, absorbing territory after territory; Germany has within a year or two seized the enormous region of the Cameroons (so-called) on the East coast; Portugal, hard by, seeks to establish claims hitherto vague, and for the most part merely nominal. If we carry our eye further North we come to Zanzibar, where several Powers are struggling for supremacy. Further north still, in Abyssinia and on the Red Sea coast, Italy is openly preparing to make annexations; while in the Northern Soudan and Egypt, the future lies visibly between the hands of England and France. That Tripoli will one of these days be united to the French dependency of Algiers there is little doubt, always provided that the Italian Government does not forestall such a move. Morocco, which is also at present independent, is being jealously eyed by half-a-dozen vulture-States, the balance of chances being probably in favour of Spain. The Northern half of the West Coast is for the most part absorbed by settlements of various powers, England largely preponderating, while Portugal occupies most of the coast-line between the equator and the tropic of Capricorn. To the north of the latter the new Congo State opens out into the interior, a "vague potentiality" (as Carlyle might have expressed it), a hideous cancer, at present merely embryonic and sluggish, but liable to become virulent and throw out at any moment ramifications which may eat the heart out of Central Africa.

Should any one unversed in the matter take up the map of Africa after reading the above statements, he may experience a feeling of anti-climax—as though I had been exaggerating the state of affairs—when he surveys the great white mass representing the bulk of an enormous continent comprising millions of square miles, as yet untrodden

by the European. Let him reflect, however, on the rapidity with which capitalism advances—let him think of the convergence from all sides of the coast upon the interior, of expeditions of all kinds and sizes, and he will begin to realise that the "civilising" of Africa is by no means a very remote contingency. Given a Trans-Continental railway from the Congo to Zanzibar, and the end of Barbaric Africa is only a question of a few years. This railway it is true is not talked of yet, but one into the Congo territory is, and if unhappily Mr. Stanley and his expedition should ever come safely to hand, there is little doubt that it will be begun before long, and from this to the Zanzibar Railway spoken of and to the complete reduction of Central Africa under the sway of modern capitalistic exploitation is a very measurable distance indeed.

Few people probably realise what the opening up of Africa means. It means this: untold mineral, vegetable, and animal wealth placed at the disposal of the modern commercial system; a new world of markets; limitless cheap labour; practically boundless territories for emigration; etc., etc. Russia has just completed the conditions of the opening up of Central Asia. But Central Asia is a poor region, sparsely populated, inhospitable and worthless, compared to Central Africa (understanding by this term the whole of the interior of the African continent).

The problem presents itself, What influence will the new territories now beginning to be tapped—first and foremost among which stands that new world in itself, Africa—have on the course of economic development? This is undoubtedly one of the crucial questions in all speculations as to the immediate future of the human race. It is all very well to talk about the modern system of production and distribution breaking down by its own weight. This would be true enough if it could not gather strength from anywhere, but unfortunately it can do so, and its votaries are actively preparing the conditions by which, as far as may be, it shall do so. It is hardly going too far to say that the hope of the present commercial system lies in Africa. There are parts of Asia, extensive territories in some cases, parts of America, and islands in the southern seas, all of which may and probably will be, sucked in; but the mainstay of capitalistic hopes is Africa. I do not wish to be pessimistic or to dash the hopes of enthusiasts, still less to dogmatise in matters economic, when I confess the dread possibility does present itself to me occasionally of the capitalistic world taking a new lease of life out of the exploitation of Africa. How long or how short that lease may be, if it obtains at all, none can say. We know the Social Revolution is written in history in terms which are hidden in no cryptogram. But the time when the change shall come is not within the bounds of human science to foresee. This is that secret which the day shall reveal when it comes, and which no genius can make known beforehand. We must beware of confounding the logical with the real sequence of things. Logically the principle of Individualism has reached its extreme limits in the nineteenth century—is played out, in fact. The next definite stage in human evolution must be the beginning of Socialism. But it is quite conceivable, to say the least, that the present stage should be prolonged in a slightly changed form even for another century by means such as those indicated in the present article.

E. BELFORT BAX.

## NOTES.

"WE believe it to be possible," says the *Spectator*, "that if another Armada approached the English shores, it would find the English people in a very different attitude—some of them, perhaps, disposed to argue that by refusing Home Rule to Ireland we had justified the attack, and sympathizing with the Irish in the prospect of our defeat; others willing but quite unready to resist, and full of subtle objections to every scheme of resistance presented to them; some too religious to submit to military discipline; some too captious to profit by it; and the whole nation unprepared to exhibit that singular unanimity of national feeling, and that readiness to find, and willingness to follow, national leaders, which characterized the English people—in spite of its bitter religious animosities—in the time of Elizabeth."

Patriotically indignant, the *Pall Mall* falls foul of this "extraordinary confession of unfaith" and says that there "could hardly be a more melancholy illustration of the intellectual and moral deterioration that follow abandonment to pessimism than this most scandalous blasphemy against the English of to-day."

My comment upon which takes the form of a question or two the *Pall Mall* might answer—if it could. How much the unemployed, the sweater's victims, or the Irish peasant-exiles in England, could be expected to care for their birthright as British citizens? How far would Londoners be better off under Warren than under Krüger? Or the country at large under Balfour than Bismark? Whether it matters to the broken heads and bitten hands of Trafalgar Square, that those who did the damage wore a policeman's helmet and not a pickel-haube?

From the *Times* report of the inquest on brave John Mandeville I take these extracts of his wife's evidence:—"He told her that some of the Tang (county Wexford) prisoners gave him a rope, which he tightened round his waist, and as he suffered more and more from hunger he tightened the rope. . . . He also said that his head wandered from hunger, and that he prayed to God that he might die rather than go mad. . . . To describe how he suffered from hunger, on one occasion

he told her that a warder, not a friendly warder, who must have been eating his meal outside the door, opened it and threw him in a scrap of meat just as he himself would to Rover, his dog. (Sensation in Court). He said he was never so delighted and never ate food with such pleasure before."

While the inquiry was proceeding everybody was startled by the suicide of the jail doctor, under whose care the murdered man had been. He was over-wrought by the haunting consciousness of all that was to be revealed. Not many days before his death he had been closeted with Balfour; was it, as is more than hinted, the cold-blooded cynicism with which the latter left his tool to bear all the obloquy, that made the more sensitive subordinate fear death less than the witness-box?

Remembering Balfour's notorious words to Wilfred Blunt, and seeing the whole course of his conduct in other cases than Mandeville's, can the conviction be resisted that Mandeville was done to death as part of a system? and that though Balfour be above and beyond the reach of the "law," he is named in all honest men's hearts as a sneaking assassin who skulks behind subordinates and kills within the law?

S.

### JONES' BOY.

"Who is that?"

"A candidate, my son."

"Why does he talk of the 'wrongs of labour' and the 'horny-handed sons of toil'?"

"He is after the working-class vote."

"Will he get it?"

"Very likely."

"Is he a Socialist?"

"He was once."

"Why isn't he now?"

"The people are ignorant."

"Why don't he teach them?"

"They are not intelligent enough."

"And—"

"And he is going to Parliament to make them so."

"How?"

"By talking down to their understanding."

"But I don't see—"

"Nor I!"

S.

### THREE INQUESTS.

JAMES MARSHALL, sixty-three, committed suicide by drowning himself, rather than endure the hospitality of the St. Pancras "Guardians" of the Poor. A terse-speaking person has said somewhere that "the poor in a lump is bad." Their badness is seen in the malignant perversity displayed in this case. Here is a man who has the bad taste to be both poor and old, and then casts a slur upon the Poor Law as administered in St. Pancras by asserting that he was half-starved and ill-treated. Now every one knows that the parish in question has a world-wide fame for its lavish, nay, profuse workhouse dietary. The antipathy of the poor to the "House"—healthy sentiment—and to this one in particular, is due to the fear that they will be killed with kindness. The many deaths that take place within the walls of what some cantankerous individuals call the new Bastille are due in fact to over-feeding and their enfeebling luxurious surroundings. The brutal scepticism which would doubt this, and attribute base motives to a body of humane tradesmen who are anxious to promote longevity among their charges, is the work of outside agitators.

What said the doctor in this case—and who would insinuate that a parish doctor would tell aught but the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth, so help him—but never mind, let us on. He said that the deceased had plenty of food and no cause of complaint, but was rather eccentric. Of course he was, otherwise how would he sooner sleep in a cab and then finish his existence in the cold waters of the canal rather than have plenty of food and "no cause of complaint"—the perverse old pauper! It is lamentable to think that men in charge of the poor should be put to the inconvenience and unpleasantness of such enquiries. The "Crown's Quest" law should be amended, and no person having the effrontery to die poor should, under any circumstances whatever, be allowed to be a source of further trouble to their superiors. It is only in deference to a sickly sentimentality affected by a section of the public that these useless formalities are gone through. For instance, a prisoner dies in gaol and an enquiry is held; with what result? It is shown on the sworn testimony of the prison doctor—and here I ask again, in this case, who dares insinuate that prison doctors do not tell the truth?—well, in short, that the deceased had wine, beef-tea, eggs, etc., etc. This is strengthened by the testimony of prison warders, a class of men like our police, highly respectable and incapable of telling falsehoods. Some of the jury so far forgot their duty to society as to remark that deceased looked emaciated, when they might know as tradesmen having dealings with the poor that their ingrained perversity would cause them to look thin, and even obstinately die in that condition in order to posthumously spite their betters.

In pleasant contrast to this conduct on the part of some juries is the courtesy displayed by a coroner towards the employers of a boy who foolishly lost his only property—viz., his life—while working at a steam drill. The jury, with a lack of consideration for the bereaved employers which is extremely regrettable, suggested that the machinery was improperly guarded, and that the deceased was too young for the work assigned him. A lad of thirteen too young to help build up his benevolent employer's fortunes by saving expense—preposterous! The jury are in my opinion all liable to prosecution for acting "in restraint of trade" by seeking to hamper capital by needless restrictions and precautions. After all, boys of thirteen are plentiful and cheap enough. The coroner publicly thanked the employers for their condescension in coming forward to give evidence in so small a matter, and his courtesy and urbanity under such trying circumstances are evidence that amid the social chaos brought about by wicked agitators there are still gentlemen to be found who, when settling such minor details as the death of a working lad, can yet exchange civilities with their equals.

F. K.

## THE SONG OF THE POOR.

(Also published as "The Cry of the Russian Serf to the Czar.")

ERNEST JONES.

Labour, labour, labour! Toil, toil, toil!

With the wearing of the bone and drowning of the mind.  
Sink, like shrivelled parchment, in the flesh-devouring soil!  
And pass away unheeded like the waving of the wind.

Be the living record of a tyrant's bloody fame;  
Form the trodden pathway for a conqueror's career;  
Give your breath, ye millions, to elevate his name,  
And die—when ye have shouted it till centuries shall hear!

"By right divine we rule ye—God made ye but for us!"  
Thus cry the lords of nations to the slaves whom they subdue.  
Unclasp God's book of nature; its writings read not thus.  
Hear, trampers on the many! Hear, benders to the few!

God gave us hearts of ardour, God gave us noble forms,  
And God has formed around us his paradise of light:  
Has he bade us sow the sunshine, and only reap the storm?  
Created us in glory, to pass away in night?

No! say the sunny heavens, that smile on all alike;  
The waves that bear up navies yet hold them in their thrall.  
No! shouts the dreadful thunder, that teaches us to strike  
The proud, for one usurping what the Godhead meant for all.

No! No! we cry, united by our suffering's mighty length.  
Ye—ye have ruled for ages,—now we will rule as well;  
No! No! we cry triumphant in our right's resistless strength,  
We—we will share your heaven or ye shall share our hell!

### ANTI-SWEATING DEMONSTRATION IN HYDE PARK.

THE most remarkable demonstration since the commencement of the Socialist movement in England was held last Sunday afternoon in this park. The meeting was convened by the S.D.F., who invited the co-operation of the Socialist League, and other labour organizations. Processions with bands and banners were organised from all parts of London, contingents starting from north, east, south, and west. The daily press, as usual, differ considerably as to the numbers present, but probably 50,000 would be a very moderate estimate indeed. One feature in the proceedings was very encouraging, viz., the large number of our foreign comrades who took part in the procession and meeting, and also a large number of the match girls of Bryant and May's, whose strike was successful last week. No. 6 platform was allotted to the League, and shortly before half-past four the five vans which were to serve as platforms for the other meetings, and an omnibus which was to be our rostrum, were placed in position. Punctually at 4.30 it was seen that the processions were entering the park from both sides. The weather was very fine, the bright sun showing up the banners to perfection. All over the vast space the revolutionary emblem was visible. At the other five platforms the principal speakers were Comrades Hyndman, Burns, Williams, Ward, Bateman, Culwick, G. B. Shaw, Herbert Burrows, Amy Hicks, and Mrs. Besant, while at ours W. Morris, F. Kitz, H. H. Sparling, J. Tochatti, and W. B. Parker (chairman) spoke. The resolution passed at the other meetings was very similar to ours at the beginning and end, but in the middle of it palliatives were asked for in the shape of an eight hours' bill, inspection of workshops, State control, etc. Our resolution was as follows:—

"That this meeting, while protesting against the extortion practised under what is known as the Sweating System, points out that this is a necessary result of production for profit, and must continue until that is put an end to; and it therefore calls upon all workers to combine in order to bring about the Social Revolution, which will place the means of production and exchange in the hands of the producers."

The proceedings were opened by the singing of the "Starving Poor of Old England," the enormous crowd joining in the chorus. After our resolution had been unanimously carried, Comrade Rackow, and Mrs. Schack proposed and seconded a resolution setting forth the position of our foreign comrades, which runs thus:—

"We foreign working men in London, taking part in the Anti-Sweating Demonstration in Hyde Park on Sunday July 22, 1888, energetically protest against the sweating system carried on by the capitalists in London and elsewhere, as it is only bare robbery committed by the capitalist class upon the working class. We further protest against the wickedness of some reactionary political parties, who accuse the foreign working men in London of being the cause of this abominable system, because we are not the cause, but the victims of this robbery, as well as the workmen of English nationality. We further declare that this sweating system is only one of those natural consequences of modern production, which is based upon private ownership in land and in the other means of production, and which must necessarily result in robbery, luxury and debauchery on one side, and oppression, pauperism and starvation on the other. We sincerely believe that there is no other remedy to overthrow this wicked system, but to replace it by Socialistic production, based upon common property of the people in land, machinery, and all other means necessary for production, and for this purpose it is our earnest and honest desire to make common cause with our English brethren. In concluding we feel it our duty to declare that we do not believe in trades unionism as a means to obtain this revolution in the system, but in our opinion the only means to obtain this is the international union of all working men under the Socialistic banner to fight out the modern class struggle between capital and labour."

This was carried with one dissentient only. Cheers for the Social Revolution, and the "Marsellaise" by the band, brought to a close the meeting, the processions re-forming, and passing in thousands through the West End to the different places from whence they had come. The whole tone of the meeting was thoroughly Revolutionary and very hopeful. W. B. P.

STRIKE OF SWITCHMEN.—NEW YORK, July 12.—A strike of switchmen has occurred at Kansas city on the Chicago, Burlington and Quincy Railway. A locomotive was thrown off the rails at Chicago owing to some obstruction said to have been placed upon the line by Chicago sympathisers. The driver and fireman were injured.

## THE LABOUR STRUGGLE.

BRITAIN.

**WATERFORD TAILORS.**—There is a dispute in the tailoring trade at Waterford over the question of piece work. A strike is anticipated.

**END OF A STRIKE AT ROWLEY.**—The strike of stone-set makers at Rowley terminated on 16th, and the men resumed work, the employers having conceded the terms claimed.

**THE CHURCH LANE COLLIERY DISPUTE.**—Arrangements have been made between the men and the manager of the Church Lane Colliery, near Barnsley, where the men have been idle three weeks, and work was resumed Thursday (19th) on the terms offered by the owners.

**REDUCTION OF CLEVELAND MINERS' WAGES.**—The Accountants under the Cleveland Sliding Scale, agreed to by the Mine-owners' and Miners' Associations for the district, have declared a reduction under the scale, based upon the average selling price of Cleveland iron for the past quarter, of 701 per ton, leaving the district tonnage at 9'26. A proportionate reduction is also declared in the wages of mechanics, engine-men, and underground datal-men, and quarry-men.

**WOMAN'S WORK.**—The fourteenth annual report of the "Women's Protective and Provident League," which devotes itself to the formation of protective and benefit societies among women earning their own livelihood, has been issued, and may be obtained at the office of the League, Industrial Hall, Clark's Buildings, Bloomsbury, from the secretary Miss Clementina Black, price 1d. It shows a good year's work, and a steady increase of a capacity for combination among women.

**NO WONDER.**—The White Cross Society held their annual meeting on the 19th. Three or four bishops, a dean, a canon, and an earl were on the platform. But none of these went to the heart of the question of prostitution, which they were discussing. It was left to Dr. De Costa, from New York, to say boldly that the starvation wages paid to women were what the society should fight against. His bold, plain statements were received with great applause by the meeting, but the platform looked glum.

**MATCHMAKERS' WAGES.**—The following analysis of wages paid by Bryant and May the week before the strike, is taken from the strike register:—Under 3s., nine girls; one at 2s. 2d., one at 3s. 4d., one at 2s. 5d., two at 2s. 6d., four at 2s. 10d.; under 4s. 65 girls; under 5s., 102; under 6s., 171; under 7s., 148; under 8s., 69; under 9s., 16; there is one at 9s., one at 10s., one at 11s. 1d., one at 12s. 1d., and one, a booker, at 14s; all these include day and piece workers. The average wages of the women and girls was 5s. 5½d.

**RHONDDA VALLEY MINERS.**—Upwards of 7,000 miners employed at the Ocean Collieries and the Ylacooh Colliery, are idle in consequence of a strike of the hauliers of the various pits, who claim an advance in wages of 7½ per cent. The Ocean Collieries Company "voluntarily decided" to grant their employes generally an increase of 5 per cent. soon as they scented danger, but the hauliers, who number about 800, after deliberating for five hours at a mass meeting on Monday (23rd) decided unanimously to refuse the masters' terms, and were backed up by the others.

**SOMERSETSHIRE.**—Several of the miners who have for so long a time been out of work, have succeeded in obtaining a little temporary employment in getting out the foundation of a new shoe factory at Paulton. Others have done a little hay-making. In this way they hope to be able to get through the summer, and "by the time winter comes perhaps the feeling against them will have sufficiently subsided to enable them to again get work underground." Thus runs the version given in the "reptile press," which, however, leaves the moral to be understood—will it be so?

**GOOD GIRLS.**—Three quiet young girls were employed in under-linen making at a large West-end shop. This shop took a new "cutter," who began to introduce lower prices. A reduction of fourpence in the shilling upon a certain branch of work was announced. The three girls refused to accept it, but offered to do the work at a reduction of twopence in the shilling, and on the refusal of this offer gave up work. One of them found other employment, the other two have been taken back on their own terms. The Society of Women Employed in Shirt, Collar, and Under-linen Making, at its annual meeting on July 11th, unanimously resolved to make these three girls (who were not members of it) free members of the society without the preliminary twelve months' payments which are required in ordinary cases before members are allowed to receive benefits.

**A PENNY FOR A DAY'S WORK.**—A correspondent of the *Star* speaks of an old woman upwards of 80 years of age, residing at Stevenage. Her husband is dead, and she has no friends to assist her, and after a life of honest work there is under our beautiful system nothing for her but to keep on as she is doing, or go and be got rid of in the parochial machine-for-slow-murder. When strong enough, and the opportunity arises, she does a little washing, the remuneration for which is small. The majority of her time is occupied in straw plaiting. Commencing early in the day, she works until nine or ten o'clock at night. During that time she generally plaits one "score." The "middleman" buys up the plait and sells it to the manufacturers of hats and bonnets. The amount paid by him is 1½d. per score yards. Out of that sum the plait-worker pays ½d. for the straws, so that for one long dreary day's toil this poor, feeble old lady receives the appalling sum of 1d. When spoken to upon the matter a few days ago she said, "People say there's the house; but I want to keep out of it as long as I can."

**RAILWAY SERVANTS' CONFERENCES.**—On Friday and Saturday (20th and 21st), a Conference between the English and Scotch Societies of Amalgamated Railway Servants was held in Leeds Town Hall. Proposals from the executive of the former society for the amalgamation of the two bodies were discussed, but ultimately a resolution was unanimously passed that the Conference, while recognising the advantages to be derived by both societies from amalgamating, regretted that it was at present impracticable, but considered that a good working agreement, if adopted, might eventually lead to such a consummation. The Scotch representatives then submitted a working agreement, which, after certain modifications, was agreed to, subject to confirmation at the annual meetings of both societies.

A meeting of railway servants of all grades was held at Wolverhampton on Sunday (22nd), to consider their wages and hours. No resolution was come to; but the view was freely expressed that each department ought to assist the other, and especially that the higher grades might render greater encouragement and aid to the lower ones, if they cared to put themselves to the trouble. The meeting considered that such help ought to be forthcoming.

**DUBLIN.**—A new Labour Association has just been started here. A meeting was held on July 19th; at which an organising committee was appointed to arrange a public demonstration.

**TRADESMEN IN CORK UNION.**—On Thursday, 19th, at the Cork Board of Guardians, the resolution passed a few weeks ago reducing the wages of the tradesmen employed in the Union was rescinded, and the wages restored to the old standard.

**THE COTTON TRADE.**—The cotton manufacturers of Lancashire, Yorkshire, and Cheshire have evidently taken alarm, says the *Star*, at the bold front shown by the operatives during the recent advance agitation. With a view to capitalist protection, the United Cotton Spinners' Association have appointed a committee to draw up a scheme of amalgamation. Should this be successful, future struggles in the cotton counties will be of an exceptionally severe character, for the workers are showing an increasing desire to sink minor differences in order to form a powerful organisation. The value of combination has recently been manifested to them by the fact that in places such as Crompton where trade unionism is weak the 5 per cent. advance has not been given.

The reelers at Bannermill Works, Aberdeen, have struck work, in consequence of the employers having refused an advance of 5 per cent. The strikers base their demand upon an advance conceded in Lancashire.

**MINERS' RIOT IN STAFFORDSHIRE.**—At Cannock, on Saturday, nine men and a boy were charged with intimidating certain persons employed by the West Cannock Colliery Company. There is a strike at one of the company's pits against a reduction of 4d. per ton, and a number of rats have taken the place of the strike hands, being escorted to and from the pit by police. This was done on Friday evening, as usual, the blacklegs being hooted by a crowd, which, however, eventually dispersed, and the police then left for the police-station. Sometime afterwards the crowd re-assembled, and paid visits to the houses of several of the blacklegs. Volleys of stones were discharged at windows, which were broken, and in one case the crowd entered one of the houses and ruthlessly broke up all the furniture. Several of the new men being found in this house, they were taken outside by the crowd and hoisted into mid-air until they promised not to work again. The police at length made their appearance and the crowd dispersed, the prisoners being arrested. The accused were remanded. There has been no renewal of the disturbance up to the time of our going to press.

**WOMEN CIGARMAKERS.**—Last year the agitation in the tobacco trade caused by the action of the Government in connection with the tobacco duties received special notice in the *Commonweal*. It will doubtless be remembered that the female cigarmakers suffered considerably, and consequently greatly assisted the male portion of the trade by their timely co-operation. It is pleasing, therefore, to be able to record that they did not fall into the apathy from which they had been aroused, but set to work and formed a union of their own. "The Female Cigarmakers' Protection Union" was established in November, 1887, with its headquarters in Nottingham. They have just issued their second quarterly balance-sheet, for May 5th, 1888. They have 558 members, contributions are 3d. per week, and they pay an out of work fee of 6s. per week for six weeks. They also pay death money at the rate of 2s. 6d. per quarter up to £2. They paid to those out of work last quarter the sum of £9 16s., and to those on strike £41 14s. This strike is still in progress, against a reduction in prices of work. Their fund last quarter was £31 14s. 6d., and their present fund is £38 0s. 6d. Notwithstanding this rather large strike, they have saved on the quarter £6 15s. 11d. This, however, is no doubt due to the levy of 3d. extra per week which the members who are still in work have paid to support their more unfortunate sisters. The manner in which this union is conducted does them great credit, and one has only to peruse their book of rules and neat little balance-sheet, got out under the direction of their able secretary, Mrs. Briant, to see how well women can work when they make up their minds to do so. The strike which they are now engaged in is, no doubt, a great strain on their slender means, and, taking all things into consideration, I think it will be admitted that they are doing very well; and I am sure they have the sympathy of the male portion of the trade, as well as the good wishes of all those who understand the claims of labour.—H. DAVIS.

### AMERICA.

The boot-blacks of Lincoln, Neb., have formed a union.

The stove moulders of Toronto have managed to obtain a Saturday half-holiday.

In Massachusetts, 12,000 children under 14 years are working in the mills and shops, according to report.

Nearly 4,500 girls and women are employed around the Omaha mines, many of them working at night.

According to an estimate in Bradstreet's, the whole number of strikes last year in the United States was 858, involving 340,854 wage-workers.

The Working-men's Assembly of the State of New York intends to have a committee present in Albany during the extra Session of the Legislature. The committee will make war on all bills in favour of contract prison labour.

National District Assembly 126, which is composed of carpet workers, and of which John Morrison is master workman, will hold its annual meeting in New York on July 28. The district has a membership of about ten thousand.

At the National Convention of the Brassworkers held in Pittsburg last week, the initiatory steps were taken toward the formation of a National Trade Assembly. The next Convention will be held in New York on October 13.

All employes of the Milwaukee Road in Dakota were notified on the 30th of June that they had been assessed one-third of their pay for the first six days of the month to help the company pay damages sustained through the "Q" strike.

In Oregon, workmen of a brush and broom factory went on strike against low wages, and their employer contracted the work to convicts. The strikers started a co-operative shop, put a label on their goods, and are now doing a successful business.

Eighteen special agents of the Department of Labour are now engaged collecting statistics regarding employment on railroads in Maine, New Hampshire, Vermont, Rhode Island, Connecticut, Massachusetts, New York, New Jersey, and Pennsylvania.

The miners employed by the Mineral Mining Company and the Excelsior Coal Company, at Shamokin, Pa., have brought suit against their employers to secure semi-monthly payments, as provided by law. They appealed to Governor Beaver, and he advised them to go to the Courts. The miners throughout Pennsylvania are watching the case, which is being pushed by the Knights of Labour.



**THE IRONWORKERS' DISPUTE IN AMERICA.**—NEW YORK, July 10.—The Association of Western Ironmasters has been dissolved. Thirty-eight firms, employing about 25,000 hands, having signed the workers' scale of wages, the dispute between masters and men has ended in a victory for the latter.

Mrs. Leonora M. Barry, of the Knights of Labour, who looks after the interests of the women in the order, in her latest report states: "In nearly every large city there are immense shirt factories, where women and children are employed and paid, in some instances, not more than 1s. 3d. or 1s. 8d. per dozen for making white shirts."

Some seven hundred members of the four Brotherhoods of locomotive engineers, firemen, brakemen, and switchmen held a meeting in St. Cloud Minn., on the 9th inst., for the purpose of taking steps looking to an amalgamation of these orders. The sentiment developed was favourable to their union, and a further meeting for this purpose will be held in Minneapolis four weeks hence.

It is reported that there are more men idle in Pittsburg now than there are at work. According to recent calculations there have been more strikes and labour troubles in that city during the past year than in any other three cities in the country of its size and population. It is also reported that the workmen of that city are more thoroughly organised into unions than in any other city in the country.

The strike of Brewers' Union in Cincinnati, Ohio, because a member was discharged by his "employer" for disobedience of rules, was formally declared off on the 7th of July after a continuance of three months. It had caused no inconvenience to the boss brewers after the first few days, and now all the brewers are scab establishments. The workmen lost their jobs and about 150,000 dols. in wages.

The eighth biennial session of the Iron-moulders' Union of North America began on the 11th inst. in St. Louis, Mass. The session will continue for five or six days. The main question to be considered will be the appointment of a committee to confer with the Committee appointed by the Manufacturers' Association at its June meeting in Pittsburgh, on a question of wages to be paid moulders throughout the country.

At Hainesville, N.J., a strike was inaugurated at the Columbian Iron Foundry on the 10th inst., which will probably last some time. Last winter John D. Johnson, owner of the works, owing, he averred, to a decrease in the amount of business done, reduced the wages of his employes 10 per cent., promising to restore it when business grew better. On the 10th a committee waited upon him and asked that they be granted 10 per cent. increase and their wages be paid every week. These demands the proprietor refused to concede, stating the amount of business done in the foundry would not admit it. The committee then withdrew and a general strike was ordered. Ninety men are out of work. H. F. C.

### WARREN'S BLACKGUARDS IN TRAFALGAR SQUARE.

NEVER since Bloody Sunday has more brutality been shown by the Law-'n'-Order ruffians than that displayed in the Square every Saturday. Pasha Warren appears to have a body of giants specially renowned for all the offensive qualities pertaining to the name of Bloy or Endacott. These youths are retained for special service in Trafalgar Square, and are to be let loose upon all occasions when any considerable collection of people get together in that locality. They are none of them under six feet, and are provided with hob-nail boots and carry the art of kicking to its highest perfection.

The rules for the guidance of this singular bodyguard are said to be as follows:—

I. This corps to be known as "Warren's Blackguards," and to be specially selected from all those policemen renowned throughout the force for false swearing, brutality, and scoundrelism of all kinds.

II. General directions.—The movements of all prominent Radicals, Socialists, and Land Nationalisers to be specially observed, and every attempt made to irritate them into breaking the peace. For instance, every obnoxious individual of this class is to be followed and if possible surrounded by burly constables, who will deafen him with cries of "Move on" on every side, and accentuate those cries by treading on his toes, kicking him on his shins, and punching him in the back. Should he attempt to take the number of any constable, this is to be the signal for a general assault; those in the rear will drive his hat over his eyes, and those in front will knock the note-book and pencil out of his hands. It is possible that he may lose his temper, and hit out wildly; in that case run him in at once for an assault upon the police. (N.B.—Those leaders who occupy a respectable position in society, and whom therefore even an ordinary magistrate may elect to believe, can be rushed out of the Square at top speed by a force of fifty or a hundred policemen, and thrown under a passing cab or wagon, and thus satisfactorily disposed of.)

III. Special attention to be given to paper sellers and boys who sing the "Marseillaise" or cheer the leaders. The ordinary course of kicking and cuffing, which every constable knows so well how to administer, will do for these. An excellent plan is to drive them into the corner of the Square and there surround them by a strong force of police, who will let them go after half murdering them. A good method with paper sellers, who are usually poor people, and whose evidence, therefore, will not be taken by any magistrate, is to snatch their papers from them and tear them up; any remonstrance on their part to be met with immediate arrest.

IV. All constables who distinguish themselves by kicking, cuffing, scratching, and biting in the most effective manner will receive rapid promotion. Skillful perjury is also a high recommendation.

(Signed) I CHARLES WARREN.

Whatever the apparent cause of any riots may be, the real one is always want of happiness.—Tom Paine.

Congressman Farquhar mistakes the sentiments of trade unionists and Knights of Labour when he says they consider the tariff question a labour question or a wage question. Intelligent working-men have got over all that. It matters not how high or how low the tariff duties are, working-men get the worst of it under the present industrial system.—Buffalo Truth.

As there are no men who complain more of the frauds of business than highwaymen, gamblers, and other thieves of that kind, so there are none who so bitterly exclaim against the frauds of gamblers, highwaymen, etc., as usurers, brokers, and other thieves of this kind; whether it is that the one kind of cheating is a discountenance or reflection upon the other, or that money, which is the common mistress of all cheats, makes them regard each other in the light of rivals.—Fielding.

### SOCIALISM IN ABERDEEN.

GLASIER'S visit—which had been postponed for a fortnight—came off on Saturday, 30th June. At the usual weekly meeting held in Castle Street, Glasier delivered a rousing address to a large crowd, Leatham presiding. An unusually good impression appeared to be made, and three quires of *Commonweal* were sold.

On the Sunday afternoon another meeting was held at Duthie Park, East Waterside Gate, on a pleasant open promenade by the side of the Dee, with a prospect across the river of a green, steep, wooded bank. An old man had been so pleased with Glasier on the previous night, that he carried a large stool from another part of the town to the meeting-place, where, to our surprise and amusement, he was waiting us with the improvised platform. Glasier and Leatham again addressed the meeting, Glasier's speech being so brilliant as so evoke a hearty cheer at the close. Coming from Aberdonians, with their natural stolidity and their strict Sabbatarianism, this indicates no slight degree of enthusiasm. This meeting lasted about two hours; and although both speakers were in fettle for another open-air meeting, an indoor lecture had been announced for 6.30, and as we were some distance from home we had to hurry off in order to be in time.

At the indoor meeting—which, in consequence of the fineness of the weather, was but thinly attended after all—comrade Glasier delivered an admirable lecture, "The Prophecy of Socialism." A discussion followed, in which two strangers—the ex-President of our local Trades' Council and a well-known local Radical wire-puller—took part, expressing their general sympathy with the movement.

The effect of comrade Glasier's visit and speeches has undoubtedly begun to give the movement somewhat of a lift.

Comrade Rev. Alex. Webster took Leatham's place one night in Castle Street, dealing very effectively with "Recent Clerical Deliverances on Socialism."

Comrade Leatham has spoken in Castle Street on the last two Saturday evenings, considerable enthusiasm and interest being manifested by his audiences, which are largely composed of the same people week by week. Questions have been asked of the lecturer by persons in the crowd, and some have been sent to him through the post, as well as information regarding local jobs and abuses. The treatment of these questions and items of information gives manifest satisfaction and evokes evident interest.

All meetings are begun and ended with singing, the "Songs of Labour" proving very useful. Copies of the words of some of these have been printed, and are handed out to such of the bystanders as are willing to help in the singing. By this means the branch choir receives very acceptable assistance, and this method might with advantage be adopted by other branches. At our last Saturday night meeting, three vociferous cheers were given for the Social Revolution for the first time.

We do not add much to our membership; but the knowledge of, and sympathy with Socialism, are steadily growing. With the approach of the winter, when indoor meetings will be better attended, our numbers are likely to be substantially increased. Altogether the outlook is cheering. J. L.

**MONEY SPENT ON SCIENCE AND ART.**—It appears from a return issued the other day that from 1859 to 1888 there has been spent on Burlington House £288,055; on the British Museum, £1,366,259; on the Natural History Museum, £760,771; on the National Gallery, £394,569; on the National Portrait Gallery, £2,236; on Marlborough House, £8,326; on South Kensington, £526,000; on Bethnal Green Museum, £10,455; on the Geological Museum and College of Chemistry, £62,312; Royal Gardens, Kew, £56,734; Royal Botanic Gardens, £18,113; Royal Institution, £1,200. These figures may be profitably compared with those of other governmental expenditures.

## THE SOCIALIST LEAGUE.

OFFICES: 13 FARRINGTON ROAD, E.C.

The Offices of the Socialist League will be open for the sale of *Commonweal* and all other Socialist publications from 8.30 a.m. to 9 p.m. every day except Sunday. The Secretary will be in attendance from 10 a.m. to 9 p.m. daily.

**Executive.**—Monday, August 6th, being Bank Holiday, the Council meeting will be held on Tuesday, August 7th, 1888.

**London Members' Meeting.**—The next monthly meeting of members will take place on Monday, August 13, 1888, at 13 Farringdon Road, at 9 o'clock.

**Socialist League Propaganda.**—H. Danm, Is.

**Strike Committee.**—Collected in Regent's Park, Sunday July 22nd, 4s. 1d. J. LANE, Treasurer.

"COMMONWEAL" PRINTING FUND.

Langley, 2s.; P. W., 6d.; C. J. F., 2s. 6d.; K. F., Is.

### REPORTS.

**MITCHAM AND MERTON.**—Sunday week Kitz and Eden made a tour of the neighbourhood with back numbers of *Weal* and other literature. House to house visitation met everywhere with a cordial reception. Monday, 16th inst., successful meeting held on Wimbledon Broadway, in aid of match-girls, addressed by H. Dalchow, Eden, Kitz, Mr. Mercer, City Missionary, Rev. Macdonald, Presbyterian minister. The local Christians cordially co-operated. £2 12s. 4½d. collected. Mr. Macdonald seconded the socialistic resolution, which was passed unanimously. Sunday morning last, good meeting on Fair Green, addressed by Eden, Kitz, and Dalchow.—F. K.

**NORTH LONDON.**—A good meeting was held at Ossulton Street, on Friday evening, by Nicoll, Parker, Cores, and Cantwell. On Sunday morning Brooks, Cantwell, Mrs. Schack, Parker, and Cores were the speakers in Regent's Park. Several labour songs were sung. 4s. 2d. collected.

**GLASGOW.**—On Sunday, Glasier and Gilbert held a good meeting on Jail Square, at one o'clock. At five o'clock our usual meeting at Paisley Road was held, when Pollock and Glasier spoke to a very large audience.

**NORWICH.**—July 28th, a good meeting held St. Catherine's Plain, Friday last, which lasted over three hours. Saturday night Poynts and Darley opened new station at Stump Cross, well attended Sunday morning. Good meetings held at North Walsham and Wymondham by Mowbray, Morley, Adams, and Darley. In afternoon very enthusiastic meeting in Market Place, by Reynolds (Lowestoft) and Mowbray. In evening, in Market Place, Reynolds spoke at some considerable length. Very active preparations are being made by Branch for Demonstration in August, when we hope, weather permitting, to have the largest gathering of people ever held by the Socialists in Norwich.

**WALSALL.**—Good discussion last Monday, in which Guillemard, Wesley, Sanders, Carless, and others took part. Sanders opened outdoor meeting on the Bridge, on Saturday, followed by Tanner and Haddon (S.D.F., Birmingham), who were well received by large audience. Meetings on Sunday at West Bromwich Road and Daw End, addressed by Guillemard and Carless. Attendance large.—J. T. D.

LECTURE DIARY.

LONDON.

Acton.—Any information from Secretary Harnett, 7 Redmore Road, Hammersmith.
Clerkenwell.—Hall of the Socialist League, 13 Farringdon Rd., E.C.
Fulham.—8 Effie Road, Walham Green. Sunday at 8 p.m.
Hackney.—The next meeting of members will be held at 26 Cawley Road, Victoria Park, Sunday July 29, at 4 p.m.
Hammersmith.—Kelmescott House, Upper Mall, W. Sunday July 29, at 8 p.m.
Merton.—Club-house, 3 Clare Villas, Merton Road, Singlegate.
North London.—The business meetings will be held on Friday evenings at 6 Windmill Street, Tottenham Court Road, after the open-air meeting at Ossulton St.

PROVINCES.

Aberdeen (Scottish Section).—Secretary, J. Leatham, 15 St Nicholas Street. Sunday night meetings, Baker Street Hall, 6.30.
Bradford.—Read's Coffee Tavern, Ivegate. Meets Tuesdays at 8.
Carnoustie (Scottish Section: Forfarshire).—Meeting every Tuesday, at 8 p.m., in the Carnoustie Restaurant.
Cowdenbeath (Scot. Sec.).—J. Duncan, 30 Arthur Pl., sec
Dumdee (Scot. Sect.).—Meetings every Sunday in the Trades Hall, opposite Tay Bridge Station.

OPEN-AIR PROPAGANDA.

SUNDAY 29.

10.30...Starch Green .....Hammersmith Branch
11.30...Latimer Road Station .....The Branch
11.30...Mitcham Fair Green .....Nicoll
11.30...Regent's Park .....Samuels & Mainwaring
1.30...Walham Green .....Fulham Branch
3.30...Hyde Park .....Parker & Nicoll
7 ...Clerkenwell Green .....Mrs. Schack
7 ...Weltje Road, opposite Ravenscourt Park .....Hammersmith Branch

Tuesday.

8.30...Fulham—opposite Liberal Club.....Fulham Bh.

Friday.

7.30...Euston Rd.—Ossulton Street .....Nicoll

EAST END.

SUNDAY 29.

Mile-end Waste ... 11 ...Hicks & Lane.
"Salmon and Ball" ... 11 ...Bethnal Green Bh.
Leman Street, Shadwell ... 11 ...Parker.
Gibraltar Walk, Bethnal Green Road, ... 7 ...Cores & Lane.
Well Street, Hackney... 11.45...Cores & Brookes.
Kingsland Green ... 11.30...Davis.
Victoria Park ... 3.15...M'waring, Brooks
Triangle, Hackney Road ... 8 ...Cores & Brookes.
Stanford Hill ... 7.30...Nicoll & Parker.

TUESDAY.

Mile-end Waste ... 8.30...Cores, Lane, Hicks and Charles.

WEDNESDAY.

Broadway, London Fields 8.30...Cores, Charles, & Mainwaring.

THURSDAY.

Packington St., Essex Road 8.30...Kitz, Nicoll, Marsh, and Cores.

FRIDAY.

Philpot St., Commercial Rd. 8.30...Lane, Charles, Cores, M'waring

SATURDAY.

Mile-end Waste ... 8 ...Lane, Mainwaring, Parker & Wess.

PROVINCES.

Aberdeen.—Saturday: Castle Street, at 8 p.m.
Glasgow.—Sunday: Jail's Square, at 12.30; Paisley Road Toll, at 5 o'clock.
Leeds.—Sunday: Hunslet Moor, at 11 a.m.; Vicar's Croft, at 7 p.m.
Leicester.—Sunday: Russel Square, at 11 a.m.
Ipswich.—Sunday: Near Town Hall, at 11, Charles and Adams. Ship Launch, at 3, Adams & Charles.
Norwich.—Sunday: Market Place, at 3 and 7.30. Wymondham, Sunday. North Walsham, Sunday. St. Faiths, Sunday at 11.30. Crostwick Common, Sunday at 3. Thorpe, Monday at 8 p.m. Yarmouth, opposite Town Hall, Thursday at 7.30. St Catharine's Plain, Friday at 8.30 p.m. Stump Cross, Saturday at 8.15.

Hoxton.—Persons wishing to join this branch, which is in process of formation, should communicate with H. D. Morgan, 22 Nicholas Street, Hoxton.

EAST-END PROPAGANDA.—A meeting of all interested in the Socialist propaganda in the East-end of London will be held at the Berner Street International Club, Commercial Road, E., on Saturday evening at 9.30.

THE LABOUR UNION.—WOOLWICH.—Arsenal Gates (open-air), Sunday July 29, at 6.30, Graham Wallas, M.A. August 5th, George Bernard Shaw. Aug. 12, A. K. Donald.

Norwich.—On August 12th and 13th a great Socialist Demonstration will be held. Speakers: William Morris, Annie Besant, C. J. Faulkner, Mrs. Schack, S. Mainwaring, W. Ogden (Oxford Branch), Herbert Burrows, C. W. Mowbray, and others.

Regent's Park, Sunday July 29, at 4 o'clock, an International Socialist Meeting will be held, addressed by several German speakers and also by Nicoll and Parker of the Socialist League. All our German speaking or English comrades living in the district are earnestly invited to attend and make this meeting a success.

SOCIALIST LEAGUE LITERATURE.

- Chants for Socialists. By William Morris. . 1d.
Organised Labour: The Duty of the Trades' Unions in Relation to Socialism. By Thomas Binning (London Society of Compositors). . 1d.
The Commune of Paris. By E. Belfort Bax, Victor Dave, and Wilkam Morris. . 2d.
The Aims of Art. By Wm. Morris. Bijou edition, 3d.; Large paper, 6d.
The Rights of Labour according to John Ruskin. By Thomas Barclay. . 1d
The Tables Turned; or, Nupkins Awakened. A Socialist Interlude. By William Morris. In Wrapper . 4d.
The Manifesto of the Socialist League. Annotated by E. Belfort Bax and William Morris. An exposition of the principles on which the League is founded. . 1d.
Useful Work v. Useless Toil. By William Morris. . 1d.
"All for the Cause!" Song. Words by William Morris; Music by E. Belfort Bax. 4to, 4 pp. 6d. per dozen, 4s. 6d
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BANK HOLIDAY

(AUGUST 6TH, 1888)

to

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TICKETS can be had at Office of Socialist League, 13 Farringdon Road; Autonomie Club, 6 Windmill Street, Tottenham Court Road; Communist Club, 49, Tottenham Street, W.; International Clubs, Berner Street and Princes Square; Detloff, 18 Sun Street, Finsbury.

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

# THE COMMONWEAL

## The Official Journal of the SOCIALIST LEAGUE.

VOL. 4.—No. 134.

SATURDAY, AUGUST 4, 1888.

WEEKLY; ONE PENNY.

### NOTES ON NEWS.

THE Government have got what they wanted in the matter of the Irish Inquisition; but it is rather more than doubtful if they do not find they have got more than they know what to do with. We need not trouble ourselves as to any "revelations" concerning Mr. Parnell and other Irish members; the best that the enquiry can do for the coercionists is to show that the Irish are determined at any cost to get rid of English landlord tyranny (would that we could say of all exploiting tyranny!), and also that they have every reason for their determination. If the knowledge of this turns the public opinion of this country, all that one can say is that it is the opinion of a public of fools and wanton oppressors.

Meanwhile what has come to light about Mr. Mandeville's treatment in Tullamore Jail will put a spoke in the wheel of Balfour's lot, and deservedly so. He was tortured as far as it was thought he could bear, and his tormentors went a little too far—and killed him. Do not let us forget, however, that the point of his ill-treatment was that he was to be made to feel that he was being treated like ordinary offenders, and that this means that "ordinary offenders" are habitually tortured in our jails. With all its pretences to humanity (for our present prison system is the result of philanthropy), our modern sham society is forced to find some substitute for the rack and the thumb-screw.

Nay, it is not only "convicted felons" that are treated as no man has a right to treat another, whatever his fault may be, but people arrested by Warren's modern miracles in blue, whether they have done anything or nothing, must be taught that they had best not be suspected of wrong-doing. The committee on the accommodation provided for prisoners has let some light on a very dark place. Dark very literally. "The cells with very few exceptions imperfectly lighted, many quite dark. . . . The offices of nature must be performed under conditions of disgusting publicity. . . . Generally eight and sometimes twelve prisoners in a cell 12 ft. by 15 ft., the space not nearly so insufficient as in many cases"; and so on, and so on. In Manchester City Court, rooms 21 ft. by 15 ft., and others 15 ft. by 14 ft., as many as thirty men have been shoved into the larger rooms, and twenty women in the smaller. Hull as bad or worse; Liverpool and Sheffield as bad as the worst.

Truly "Society" is in a bad way, if it wants so much taking care of! For my part when I consider the recklessness with which charges are made against poor people, I cannot help feeling some gratitude towards Balfour and Warren, and such like fools, for now and then shutting up one of the well-to-do. One almost feels as if one would like to do a good turn to those heroes, who are both rather strong in the educational line, by giving them a little education gratis, first in the elegant waiting rooms of the police court, and next in the salubrious and cool solitude of Pentonville or Tullamore. Yet, after all, even so I doubt if one could knock remorse or consideration into such blockheads.

Luckless Italians are being swindled into emigrating to America by emigration agents, and finding themselves workless and destitute when they get there. The Italian vice-consul says that 5000 Italians have applied to his consulate this year for assistance, and that there were 2000 destitute in New York now. So it goes on; in high places as in low; for indeed I don't see much difference but hypocrisy, between the agents above-mentioned and the delicate gentlemen and ladies who are so anxious to get rid of our poor people lest they should take money of their pockets at home. Let us see your backs at any rate: if you thrive afterwards well and good; if not, your discontent will annoy and frighten us no longer.

But what's this? I read in the *Daily News* that people in the United States are extremely irritated with Colonel Ingersoll because he has stated that, "The second generations of Germans and Irish in America are thoroughly patriotic." This irritation is felt because people

are so sensitive about immigration. Heavens! this is sensitiveness so great it is hard to understand. But at any rate, you transporters of the British and Irish, you had better look out, for clearly this door is going to be shut against your troublesome people soon. How would it be if you let them earn their livings at home, as they could so easily do if it were not for your idle lives which they have to keep?  
W. M.

A somewhat belated copy of the *West Cumberland Times* recently came to my hands, and among other items (of news) was a report of the usual monthly meeting of the "Wigton Union Rural Sanitary Authority." One of the chief matters to discuss was a letter from some lawyers at Carlisle, who, writing on behalf of Lord Leconfield, the lord of the manor, that all the earth thereabouts and all the minerals under the earth were "reserved to his lordship with full power to work the same"; that therefore certain arrangements made by the Board to supply a place called Fletchertown with water from a small stream flowing over the land could not be agreed to by his lordship, as the water may be required by his lordship to work the said minerals. Fletchertown might go thirsty for all his lordship cared, for in the event of the water being diverted "he will take such steps as he may be advised."

"The letter was read with scornful emphasis by the chairman, special prominence being given to the name of Lord Leconfield." Somebody called him a "glutton," but that is not very serious; but a Mr. Moore (more power to him!) made a remark which—in view of the very dangerous state of the public mind—must have attention drawn to it, for it seems almost possible that the *Times* might base another series of "—— and Crime" articles on such a remark as Mr. Moore's, who, according to the report, said, "I wad shut seek fellows as that." Mr. J. Williamson (deprecatingly), "No." Mr. Moore, "Ah, but I wad."

Now this sort of talk is very sad. There was for just a moment a hope that the clumsy printer—printers make good scapegoats—had left out the word "up," meaning simply that the speaker would "shut up" such as the dog-in-the-manger monopolist lord, as any other wild beast would be "shut up"; but when he repeats his remark with an added emphasis which comes from the use of the word "wad," one regretfully comes to the conclusion that this sort of talk must be "noticed."

Such talk as this of "shutting" our various monopolists and exploiters is a very short step from the republishing of such works as "Killing no Murder" and "The Gospel of the Dagger," and is much to be deprecated—just now—when there are so many more potent "resources of civilisation" available to rid the world of "seek" vermin, much as they deserve "shutting" (up).

There is also a further objection in my mind against 'shutting'; it is much too merciful. When one recalls the round of agonies and tortures suffered by so many thousands of workers at the bidding of our Leconfields, the blood turns to flame to think there is a chance of such wrong never being fairly avenged, which could only be by making the monopolists and sweaters go through a few years of the same suffering.

If any reader of the *Weal* lives anywhere in the West Cumberland district, let him turn his attention to Mr. Moore or any others who talk like him of using such harsh measures to a "real live lord"; 'tis rankest blasphemy.

Something of a fleet has been got together somehow, and naturally the usual big line appears on the Contents Bills, "Ironclads in Collision." Certainly, what else are they for and what else can you expect?  
T. S.



## THE REVOLT OF GHENT.

(Continued from p. 234.)

Says the old chronicler:—

“When Philip van Artevelde and his company entered again into Ghent, a great number of the common people desiring nothing but peace, were right joyful of their coming, trusting to hear some good tidings; they came against him, and could not restrain, but demanded tidings, saying, ‘Ah, dear sir, Philip van Artevelde, rejoice us with some good word, let us know how ye have sped’: to which demands Philip gave none answer, but passed by, holding down his head. The more he held his peace, the more the people followed him, pressing to hear some tidings; and once or twice as he rode to his lodging ward, he said to them that followed him, ‘Sirs, return to your houses: for this day God help you, and to-morrow at nine of the clock come into the market place, and then ye shall hear the tidings that I can show you.’ Other answer could they have none of him, whereof every man was greatly abashed.

“And when Philip van Artevelde was alighted at his lodging, and such as had followed him had been at Tournay with him, and every man gone to their own lodgings, then Peter du Bois, who desired to hear some tidings, came in the evening to Philip’s house, and so then they two went together into a chamber; then Peter demanded of him how he had sped, and Philip, who would hide nothing from him, said, ‘By my faith, Peter, by that the Earl of Flanders hath answered by his council sent to Tournay, he will take no manner of person within the town of Ghent to mercy, no more one than another.’ ‘By my faith,’ quoth Peter, ‘to say the truth, he doth but right to do so: he is well counselled to be of that opinion, for they be all partakers as well one as another; now the matter is come even after mine intent, and also it was the intent of my good master John Lyon that is dead; for now the town will be so troubled, that it will be hard ever to appease it again. Now it is time to take bridle in the teeth; now it shall be seen who is sage and who is hardy in the town of Ghent. Either shortly the town of Ghent shall be the most honoured town in Christendom, or else the most desolate. At the least, if we die in this quarrel, we shall not die all alone; therefore Philip, remember yourself well this night how ye may make relation to-morrow to the people of the determination of your council holden now at Tournay, and that ye may show it in such manner that the people may be content with you: for ye have already the grace of the people, for two causes; one is, because of your name, for sometime James van Artevelde, your father, was marvellously well beloved; the other cause is, ye entreat the people meekly and sagely, as the common saying is throughout the town, wherefore the people will believe you to live or die: and at the end show them your counsel, and say how ye will do thus, and they will all say the same. Therefore it behoveth you to take good advice in showing words, whereon lieth your honour.’ ‘Truly,’ quoth Philip, ‘ye say truth, and I trust so to speak and show the business of Ghent, that we who are now governors and captains shall either live or die with honour.’ So thus they departed for that night each fro other: Peter du Bois went home to his house, and Philip van Artevelde abode still in his.

“Ye may well know and believe that when the day desired was come that Philip van Artevelde should generally report the effect of the council holden at Tournay, all the people of the town of Ghent drew them to the market place on a Wednesday morning; and about nine of the bell Philip van Artevelde, Peter du Bois, Peter de Nuire, Francis Atreman, and the other captains came thither, and entered up into the common hall. Then Philip leaned out at a window and began to speak, and said—

“O, all ye good people, it is of truth that at the desire of the right honourable lady, my lady of Brabant, and the right noble duke Albert, bailiff of Hainault, Holland, and Zealand, and of my lord the bishop of Liège, there was a council agreed and accorded to be at Tournay, and thereat to be personally the Earl of Flanders; and so he certified to these said lords, who have nobly acquitted themselves: for they sent thither right notable councillors, and knights and burgesses of good towns; and so they and we of this good town of Ghent were there at the day assigned, looking and abiding for the Earl of Flanders; who came not nor would not come; and when they saw that he came not nor was not coming, then they sent to him to Bruges three knights for the three countries, and burgesses for the good towns; and they travailed so much for our sakes, that they went to him to Bruges, and there they found him, who made them great cheer (as they said) and heard well their message: but he answered them and said, that for the honour of their lords, and for the love of his sister the lady of Brabant (he said) he would send his council to Tournay within five or six days after, so well instructed by him that they should plainly show the full of his intention and mind. Other answer could they none have, and so they returned again to us at Tournay.

“And then the day assigned by therle there came fro him to Tournai the lord of Ranessels, the lord of Gountris, sir John Villayns, and the provost of Harlebeke; and there they showed graciously their lord’s will, and certain arrest of this war, how the peace might be had between the Earl and the town of Ghent. First, determinally they said, the Earl will that every man in the town of Ghent, except prelates of churches and religious, all that be above the age of fifteen year and under the age of sixty, that they all in their shirts, bare headed and bare footed, with halters about their necks, avoid the town of Ghent, and so go a twelve mile thence into the plain of Buresquans, and there they shall meet the Earl of Flanders, accompanied with such as shall

please him; and so when he seeth us in that case, holding up our hands and crying for mercy, then he shall have pity and compassion on us if it please him. But, sirs, I can not know by the relation of any of his council but that by shameful punishment of justice there shall suffer death the most part of the people that shall appear there that day. Now, sirs, consider well if ye will come to peace by this means or not.’

“When Philip van Artevelde had spoken these words, it was great pity to see men, women, and children weep, and wring their hands for love of their fathers, brethren, husbands, and neighbours. And after this tournament and noise, Philip van Artevelde began again to speak, and said, ‘Peace, sirs, peace,’ and incontinent every man was still. Then he began to speak, and said—

“‘Ah, ye good people of Ghent, ye be here now assembled the most part, and ye have heard what I have said. Sirs, I see none other remedy but short counsel, for ye know well what necessity we be in for lack of victual; I am sure there be thirty thousand in this town that did eat no bread this fifteen days passed. Sirs, of three things we must of necessity do the one. The first is, if ye will, let us enclose ourselves in this town, and mure up all our gates, and then confess us clean to God, and let us enter into the churches and ministers, and so let us die for famine repentant of our sins like martyrs, and such people as no man will have mercy of. Yet in this estate God shall have mercy of our souls, and it shall be said in every place where it shall be heard, that we be dead valiantly, and like true people.

“‘Or else, secondly, let us all, men women, and children, go with halters about our necks in our shirts, and cry mercy to my lord the Earl of Flanders: I think his heart will not be so indurate (as when he seeth us in that estate) but that his heart will mollify and take mercy on his people; and as for myself, I will be the first of all to appease his displeasure; I shall present my head and be content to die for them of Ghent.

“‘Or else, thirdly, let us choose out in this town five or six thousand men of the most able and best appointed, and let us go hastily and assail the Earl at Bruges, and fight with him; and if we die in this voyage, at the least it shall be honourable, and God shall have pity of us, and all the world shall say that valiantly and truly we have kept and maintained our quarrel. And in this battle, if God will have pity of us, as anciently he put his puissance into the hands of Nebuchadnezzar, duke and master of his chivalry, by whom the Assyrians were discomfited, then shall we be reputed the most honourable people that hath reigned sith the days of the Romans.

“‘Now, sirs, take good heed which of these three ways ye will take, for one of them must ye needs take.’

“Then such as were next him, and had heard him best, said: ‘Ah, sir, all we have our trust in you to counsel us, and sir, look as ye counsel us, so shall we follow.’

“‘By my faith,’ quoth Philip, ‘then I counsel you; let us go with an army of men against the Earl; we shall find him at Bruges; and as soon as he shall know of our coming he will issue out to fight with us, by the pride of them of Bruges, and of such as be about him, who night and day informeth and stirreth him to fight with us; and if God will by his grace that we have the victory, and discomfit our enemies, then shall we be recovered for ever, and the most honoured people of the world; and if we be discomfited, we shall die honourably, and God shall have pity of us, and thereby all the other people in Ghent shall escape, and the Earl will have mercy on them.’

“And therewith they all answered with one voice, ‘We will do this, we will do this, we will make none other end.’

“Then Philip answered and said, ‘Sirs, if it be your wills to do thus, then return home to your houses, and make ready your harness, for to-morrow sometime of the day I will that we depart out of Ghent and go toward Bruges, for the abiding here is nothing for us profitable; and within five days we shall know if we shall die or live with honour, and I shall send the constables of every parish from house to house, to choose out the most able and best appointed men.’

“In this estate every man departed out of the market-place, and made them ready; and this Wednesday they kept the town so close, that neither man nor woman entered nor issued out of the town till the Thursday in the morning, that every man was ready, such as should depart; and they were to the number of five thousand men, and not past, and they had with them two hundred cars of ordnance and artillery, and but seven carts of victual, five of biscuit bread, and two tun of wine, for in all they had but two tun, and left no more behind them in the town.

“This was a hard departing, and they that were left behind were hardly bested. It was pity to behold them that went forth, and they that abode behind said to them, ‘Sirs, now at your departure, ye know what ye leave behind you, but never think to come hither again without ye come with honour; for if it be otherwise, ye shall find here nothing; for as soon as we hear tidings, that ye be either slain or discomfited, we shall set the town a-fire and destroy ourselves like people despaired.’

“Then they that went forth said to comfort them, ‘Sirs, pray to God for us, for we trust he shall help us and you also, or we return again.’

“Thus these five hundred departed from Ghent with their small provision; and that Thursday they went and lay a mile without Ghent and brake not up their provision, but passed that night with such things as they found abroad in the country; and the Friday they went forth, not touching as yet their victual, for the foragers found somewhat in the country, wherewith they passed that day, and so lodged a seven mile from Bruges, and there rested and took a place of ground at their device, abiding their enemies; and before them there was a

great plash of standing water, wherewith they fortified themselves on the one part, and on the other part with their carriages. And so they passed that night.

"And when it came to the Saturday in the morning, the weather was fair and clear, and a holiday called in Bruges, for that day of custom they made processions. Then tidings came to them how the Ghentois were come thither. And then ye should have seen great murmurings in Bruges, so that at last word thereof came to the Earl and to his company, whereof the Earl had great marvel, and said, 'Behold yonder ungracious people of Ghent, I trow the devil hath brought them to their destruction; now is the time come to have an end of this war.'

"And so then his knights and squires came to him, and he received them graciously, and said to them, 'We shall go and fight with yonder unhappy people of Ghent. Yet,' quoth the Earl, 'they had rather die by the sword than by famine.'

"Then the Earl was counselled to send three men of arms into the field to see the demeanour of his enemies. And so then the marshal of Flanders appointed out three squires, valiant men of arms, to go and see the behaving of the Ghentois.

"As Lambert of Lambres, Damas of Buffey, and John of Beart; and so they three departed from Bruges, and rode toward their enemies. And in the meantime, while these three went forth, they of Bruges made them ready to issue out to go and fight with the Ghentois. Of whom I shall show somewhat of their order." WILLIAM MORRIS.

(To be continued.)

NO MASTERS IN AMERICA!—The Pittsburgh *Tribune* condemns certain dailies for employing the term "ironmasters," and asks from what monarchy do the proprietors recruit their forces, that a term "so decidedly un-American" should be admitted to their columns? "The night masters should be instructed by the chief masters to inform the city masters that masters left America with the peace of Appomattox."

A TALL STATEMENT.—The Chicago *Journal of Commerce* states that three newsboys of that city, guilty of no misdemeanour, were arrested last week at their request and sent to Bridewell. Their reason for wishing to go there, as stated to the police justice, was that they wanted to learn a trade. Under the laws of the trades unions there is almost no chance for the American boy to learn a trade in any shop or manufactory outside of a house of correction!

LESS THAN PAUPERS.—The average earnings of all the manufacturing and mining operatives in this country is 1 dol. 2 cents per day. The average family of the working-man is five. Allow two of the family to earn the average wages, which would give to the family 2 dols. 4 cents a day, or a fraction over 40 cents a day for the support of each individual of the family. The statistics of the board of charity of the State of Illinois show the cost of supporting each pauper in the State to be 66 3-10 cents per day, 26 cents more than the labourer gets.—*Chicago Labour Enquirer*.

ANOTHER TRAMP-MAKER.—A machine has just been completed that will revolutionise the cooper trade. With this machine three men will be able to make 600 oil barrels a day. It is the invention of a woman, Mrs. Maria E. Beasley, who has been working on it for the past eight years. She has interested a number of capitalists, who are erecting a building to put the machine in operation. If the machine proves a success it will destroy the cooper trade, as the men who tend the machine need not be skilled men. The machine furnishes further proof that machinery is destined to supplant the hand-work of the toiler, and should warn the working people of the danger that threatens them. They see the course of the tide, feel the pressure of machinery that is crowding them to the wall, and stand idly by doing nothing to prevent themselves being made the hewers of wood and the drawers of water. Is it not as plain as two and two make four that, under the present system, every improvement of machinery works to the injury of the toilers? What are you doing to prevent this? Are you one of the great army which is striving to bring about a system under which the toiler will receive the benefit of the increased production, or do you content yourself with growling at your hard lot and doing nothing to better your condition? If you are, it is time you should wake up and organise.—*Independent*.

"A FACTORY ACT WANTED FOR INDIA."—It can hardly be denied, asserts the *Indian Spectator*, that the cotton and other mills in Bombay have retrograded. In the case of the former the stoppages of the machinery twice a day for half an hour each have become a thing of the past. The mills now only stop at twelve noon for ten minutes for oiling the engines, and in some mills they pride themselves upon having such good engines that they run from sunrise to sunset without once stopping. Further, they used to stop every other Sunday for cleaning the boilers. But now the mills have extra boilers, so that a stoppage for this purpose is not necessary. This we look upon as little short of slavery, and a law alone, we fear, can stop it. It is true the hands get a few of their native holidays in most of the mills, but, as is pointed out, they have to attend without pay for half the day, for the purpose of cleaning up. They commence work in this hot weather at 5.30 and work till 6.30—thirteen hours, probably thirteen hours and a-half. They have to walk three miles to their homes in the evening and three miles back in the morning, so that 15 to 15½ hours are daily consumed in work, and the remaining 8½ to 9 hours at home, not in sleep, for the morning meal has to be cooked before they leave, and the evening meal after they return. The officials themselves and the agents would all be glad, we are told, for the Government to step in, and pass a 10 hours law for all hands, men, women, and children, also enforce stoppage on every half-Saturday for cleaning up, and on every Sunday—not because it is Sunday, but because it gives one day's rest in seven, and allows the hands time to do their marketing in the larger and cheaper markets, and time to wash their clothes, and also allows the officials a little rest. The hands used to sleep during the two half-hours, and it was a sight to see the wretched people lying all over the mill floors like an array of dead bodies. Such rest is impossible now. Our comment upon all which is that though there is very much more than a "Factory Act" needed, it is a cheering sign to see such a respectable bourgeois paper as the *Spectator* going as far as it does. Seeing that the press follows public opinion rather than makes it, this means that there is in India as elsewhere a large section who are for "going further."

## DYING IN HARNESS.

JOHN BOYLE O'REILLY.

ONLY a fallen horse stretched out there on the road,  
Stretched in the broken shafts and crushed by the heavy load;  
Only a fallen horse, and a circle of wondering eyes  
Watching the frightened teamster goading the beast to rise.

Hold! for his toil is over—no more labour for him;  
See the poor neck outstretched, and the patient eyes grow dim;  
See on the friendly stones how patiently rests the head—  
Thinking, if dumb beasts think, how good it is to be dead;  
After the weary journey, how restful it is to lie  
With the broken shafts and the cruel load—waiting only to die.

Watchers! he died in harness—died in the shafts and straps—  
Fell and the burden killed him: one of the day's mishaps—  
One of the passing wonders marking the city road—  
A toiler dying in harness, heedless of call or goad.

Passers! crowding the pathway, staying your steps awhile,  
What is the symbol? Only death—why should we cease to smile  
At death for a beast of burden? On, through the busy street  
That is ever and ever echoing the tread of the hurrying feet.

What was the sign? A symbol to touch the tireless will?  
Does he who taught in parables speak in parable still?  
The seed on the rock is wasted—on heedless hearts of men,  
That gather and sow, and grasp and lose—labour and sleep—and then—  
Then for the prize!—A crowd in the street of ever-echoing tread—  
The toiler, crushed by the heavy load, is there in his harness—dead!

(From 'Songs, Legends, and Ballads,' Boston, 1873.)

## REVOLUTIONARY CALENDAR.

WEEK ENDING AUGUST 11, 1888.

5	Sun.	1642. Portsmouth surrenders to the Parliament. 1835. Miners' riots at Ilkeston. 1887. Midland Railway strike (midnight 4—5).
6	Mon.	1775. Daniel O'Connell born. 1839. Lovett and Collins imprisoned for Chartism. 1887. Antonio Carra died.
7	Tues.	1830. The Bourbons finally deposed from the throne of France. 1834. Watson arrested for selling unstamped papers. 1860. C. Southwell died.
8	Wed.	1815. Napoleon banished to St. Helena. 1855. Riot in Hyde Park. 1877. W. Lovett died. 1894. Stellmacher hung at Vienna.
9	Thur.	1853. Michael Schwab born. 1882. Thomas Walsh sentenced for treason-felony.
10	Fri.	1643. Siege of Gloucester, causing the march of London tradebands and forming of Cromwell's Ironsides. 1646. John Lilburne sent to Newgate for libelling the Cromwellians. 1782. Trial of David Tyrie for high treason. 1792. Attack on the Tuilleries and flight of the king. Foundation of the Commune of Paris and the French Republic.
11	Sat.	1549. Ket's rebellion in Norfolk. 1868. Students' demonstration at Paris.

*Lovett and Collins.*—The trial of William Lovett, Secretary to the General Convention of the Working Classes, on the charge of publishing a seditious libel, took place before Mr. Justice Littledale at the Assizes, Warwick, on Tuesday, August 6th, 1839. John Collins, a working cutler, who had been very successful in a lecturing tour, was put on trial the day before on the same charge as Lovett, which charged them with having on July 4, at Birmingham, with 10,000 people, unlawfully assembled armed with divers offensive weapons, . . . to the great terror and alarm of the peaceable subjects of our lady the Queen. Lovett most ably defended himself; and although the whole of the proceedings were legal and orderly until the police made the trouble, "property" had had a bad scare, and the jury after a three minutes' consultation returned a verdict of "Guilty," and Lovett and Collins were each sentenced to be imprisoned in the common gaol of the county for one year. While in prison they were of course shamefully treated, but by keeping up an active agitation they secured in time some valuable concessions, which improved not only their own position but of all the other prisoners. While in prison Lovett wrote a work which on their release was published in their joint names under the title 'Chartism, or a New Organisation of the People.'—T. S.

*Lilburne's imprisonment.*—It is impossible to over estimate or too much admire the extraordinary omnipresence of "glorious John Lilburne." Whether it is London, combating with good round English epithets the self-seeking apostles of greed and tyranny, or in the field flashing a never-failing sword in behalf of the English republic, John Lilburne is the finest figure of the hour. He was the first of the honest democrats who found out and denounced the parliamentary plunderers. He was the last to leave the field where a Stuart's partisan was to be met. Goaded and abused by the rich cowards in London town, he was their shield and buckler even as late as 1651, when he smote James Stanley, Earl of Derby, at Wigan, and laid the gigantic form of the King's bosom friend, Lord Witherington, in the dust.—L. W.

AND SHALL JOHN DILLON DIE?—The *Freeman's Journal* said last week the public will be concerned to learn that imprisonment is visibly telling on the health of Mr. Dillon. If anything were to happen to John Dillon (says the *Freeman*), we don't know who could stand between the people and those responsible.

FACILITIES FOR TRUNCHEON WORK.—Warren's wolves no longer carry their truncheons suspended in a leathern case from their waist-belt. The fact that they were seen without their truncheons gave rise to the foolish rumor that the use of them had been abolished by the Chief Commissioner. There is no need to say that this is not so. Tailoring arrangements have been made by which a long pocket for the truncheon is provided at the right-hand side of the uniform trousers, and inside, much after the fashion of the pocket in which carpenters and joiners carry their rules. The truncheon can now be more readily got at!



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

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

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

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

COMMUNICATIONS RECEIVED—Will be used: J. S. (Birmingham); W. D. (Edinburgh); J. B. L., T. S., and H. S. S. Unsuitable: H. B. T. S.

Periodicals received during the week ending Wednesday August 1.

<b>ENGLAND</b> Bristol Mercury Die Autonomie Justice Labour Tribune London—Freie Presse Norwich—Daylight Postal Service Gazette Railway Review Worker's Friend	Fort Worth (Tex)—South West Milwaukee—National Reformer Coast Seaman's Journal	Marsala—La Nuova Eta Cremona—Il Democratico Gazetta Operaia Turin—Il Muratore
<b>INDIA</b> Madras—People's Friend	<b>FRANCE</b> Paris—Cri du Peuple (daily) Le Parti Ouvrier (daily) La Revolte Lille—Le Cri du Travailleur	<b>SPAIN</b> Madrid—El Socialista Barcelona—Tierra y Libertad
<b>UNITED STATES</b> New York—Der Sozialist Freiheit Truthseeker Volkszeitung Jewish Volkszeitung Alarm Workmen's Advocate Boston—Woman's Journal Buffalo—Arbeiter-Zeitung Chicago—Labor Enquirer Detroit—Der Arme Teufel	<b>HOLLAND</b> Hague—Recht voor Allen	<b>GERMANY</b> Berlin—Volks Tribune
	<b>BELGIUM</b> Seraing (Ougree)—Le Reveil Ghent—Vooruit Liege—L'Avenir Antwerp—De Werker	<b>AUSTRIA</b> Wien—Gleichheit Brunn—Volksfreund
	<b>SWITZERLAND</b> Bulletin Continental Zurich—Sozial Demokrat Arbeiterstimme	<b>ROMANIA</b> Jassy—Municipal
	<b>ITALY</b> Milan—Il Fascio Operaio Rome—L'Emancipazione	<b>DENMARK</b> Social-Demokraten
		<b>SWEDEN</b> Stockholm, Social-Demokraten Malmo—Arbetet
		<b>NORWAY</b> Kristiania—Social-Demokraten

### SHAM CLERGYMEN—AND OTHERS.

An edifying instance of the meanness of spirit engendered by the hypocrisy of the present social system may be seen in the strange interest and delight with which our "Respectables" gloat over the disgrace and suffering of any unfortunate "criminal," who, not being careful to qualify himself for practising his predatory habits in the orthodox and approved fashion, is brought within the grasp of that very partial instrument which is called "justice." It ministers immensely to the complacent self-satisfaction of Bumble to be able, from time to time, to raise hue and cry after some "unprincipled adventurer" or some "escaped convict," for by dwelling on the details of a fellow-creature's errors and misfortunes, he realises the better the solidity of his own position, and is encouraged to thank God that he is not as other men are. The latest example of this moral scape-goat on which Bumble can pour the vials of his virtuous indignation, is the "sham clergyman" who has been sentenced to seven years' penal servitude for the awful crime of solemnising matrimony according to the rites of the Church of England without being in holy orders, and for forging a signature to letters of ordination. The *Daily News*, perhaps the most eloquent mouthpiece of Bumbleism, expatiated lately on the career of this "sham clergyman" in an article of the well-known respectable type. The "Rev." George Ellis was, it appears, "an adventurer of the purest water." He had the impudence to begin life as "the illegitimate child of a woman in Lincolnshire," who afterwards was low enough to marry "a dealer in rabbit-skins." Being thus steeped in illegality from the outset, it is no wonder that Ellis grew up to be an artful dissembler, and had the hardihood to become an assistant teacher in a Roman Catholic school, "though it is not stated that he was brought up in that faith." Not content with this outrage on decency and religion, he proceeded after a time to obtain admission into the Church of England—that very heart and hotbed of respectability and Bumbleism. "To have gone so far," says the *Daily News*, aghast in pious amazement, "his respectability, to all outward seeming, must have been without a flaw." But this scheming step-son of a dealer in rabbit-skins was bent on a still greater insult to the sacredness of social order, for he actually had the temerity to make himself an English clergyman, and—as a necessary adjunct—to marry into a respectable family. He came into possession of a living worth £800 a-year, which he held, says the *Daily News*, "for five fat years." It is fearful to contemplate, from the respectable point of view, what deeds were enacted during that quinquennial period. "Nobody could have seemed more solidly established, more unquestionable. He no doubt received the neighbouring gentry, dined with the squire,

visited the sick, took the chair at the village concert, banked the pennies of the poor, and dispensed the local charities in coal and blankets at the Christmas season." He thus, it will be seen, trespassed beyond forgiveness on the province of Bumble, whose special pleasure (and profit) it is to discharge the duties just enumerated—especially that of banking the pennies of the poor. Religion had also her grievance against this most hardened of imposters, for he actually "joined man and woman at the altar, and pronounced the nuptial benediction in the approved form." The horror which Respectability feels at this crowning outrage, this wound inflicted on its tenderest feelings, is fortunately mitigated by the conviction that "the law recognises all these acts as lawfully done, so that none of the persons have suffered any injury." Indeed, the only person who seems to have suffered in the sequel is the "sham clergyman" himself, who has been sentenced to what even the *Daily News* denounces as a "monstrous penalty."

The final reflection which the *Daily News* makes on Ellis's career is concerned with the "mystery of crime," since "with but half the application he devoted to the manufacture of sham orders, he might have obtained real ones." There is no accounting for the diversity of human tastes, and perhaps it is odd that Ellis, who was apparently a man of considerable cleverness, should have preferred the dangerous road to the safe one. It is possible, however, that he found a zest in the very humour of the situation, and that a sense of his perilous position as a ravaging wolf within the blatant fold of Bumbleism lent a charm to those ministerial duties, the performance of which would perhaps have otherwise been too irksome and monotonous for so active a mind. Anyhow, it is odd that the *Daily News* should not see that a deliberate and conscious imposture, such as that of which Ellis was guilty, is not the only or the worst kind that exists in modern society. "His whole life," it says, "was an elaborately acted lie. To have maintained the imposture so long he must have played up to his assumed character by a thousand acts of propriety and of virtue. He must have seemed temperate, charitable, God-fearing, and of devout and decent life." But this is an exact description of the conduct of a large percentage of the true Respectables, both in the church and the other honourable professions—the only difference being that Ellis knew that he was acting a lie, while they are ignorant of it or ignore it. Now a knave is a dangerous person, and one with whom the State must be prepared to deal; but he is not so dangerous as the fool who acts a life-long lie without being himself aware of it. And therefore I think we should feel some pity for the "sham clergyman" who has gone to penal servitude for seven years, while so many "real clergymen" are left at large to feather their own nests in a manner not less selfish, though happening to meet with the approval and sanction of Bumble.

H. S. S.

### NOTES.

THE "Match Strike" is over, and the poor white slaves for once have the advantage in points; the advantage is very small as an entity, but compared with the immediate past is not to be despised. It may be relied upon, however, from the bluffing tone taken in all letters to the press by the capitalists, that every such victory has to be paid for; very soon they find some new scheme to rob the worker and be revenged for the blow struck for freedom. The only way is to work for the elimination of the exploiter; to contrive a scheme where, as Des Cartes said of the other almighty, there is no room for him. Next to that, perhaps the best thing is only to use goods made by better paid and better treated labour. I have it on really reliable authority that we can do good work by recommending the goods of Martin Harris and Co., Stratford. They are not very widely known in London, but deserve to be from the way the worker is treated. Another firm whose goods should be asked for, from the same reason, is "Daniels, Stratford." These advertisements are not paid for, but it is quite useless to say don't use Sweater Robber Saint and Co.'s matches without, where possible, advising whose to use when we can get reliable information that the workers are fairly treated.

Cunningham Graham in a speech the other night, urged that "attention to minutiae" was really the secret of the power wielded by the great robbers of to-day. This has been most strongly brought out in the papers of late before the Sweating Commission and elsewhere. The question arises seeing the amount of material which has to be provided by the worker at the cost of the worker, why should not this system be extended? As well as providing paint, paste, string, stamps, brushes, etc., etc., why not the wood and the brimstone and the wax? As well as finding thread, buttons, needles, etc., etc., why not also the cloth? Echo says, "Why not?"

The Queen of England now carries her hatred of the English to the extent of having Indian servants, and so the slaves of this country are being put to the expense of fitting up special quarters to accommodate more imported slaves. A Mr. William Digby once wrote a book entitled "India for the Indians—and the English". In the event of a new edition, perhaps he will add "England for the English—and the Indians" (as well as the Germans).

According to the *Star*, the Swiss are still moving. Zurich, Basil, and Aargau have gone in for free burying as well as free schooling. Parish burial, here considered a disgrace, is there obligatory on rich and poor alike. "A labourer serves his country with his spade just as



a man in the middle ranks of life serves it with sword, pen, or lancet. . . . And it ought to be quite as natural and straightforward a matter for a labourer to take his pension from his parish, because he has deserved well of his parish, as for a man in higher rank to take his pension from his country, because he has deserved well of his country." —Ruskin. And one public burial should be no more dishonourable than the other; the parish crematorium for the mechanic no worse than Westminster Abbey for the general.

By the way can any reader give me any details about the new cremation departure made in Manchester? Cremation is worth the attention of Socialists, to prevent it becoming a new monopoly and source of exploitation, as the orthodox burying business has become.

T. S.

### LETTER FROM AMERICA.

THE following extracts from letters written by John F. Ingalls, President of the Senate, will give you an idea how corrupt our politicians are:—"Depew's connection with railroads and corporations would be a heavy load, especially in the agricultural States. We might as well nominate Gould or Vanderbilt at once." And "We enter the race seriously handicapped. Harrison has demonstrated an incapacity to carry his own State, besides his unfortunate Chinese record; and as Morton was not sufficiently lavish with his money to buy the Senatorship from the New York Legislature, it is improbable that he will be liberal enough to purchase the venal Irish vote of New York city."

The great lock-out of Iron and Steel workers west of the Alleghany mountains is nearly over. Before the end of the week it is expected that all the manufacturers will have accepted the workers' scale based on last year's wages. This lock-out has been a cleverly managed dodge on the bosses' part. They are pocketing snug profits every year, and were afraid the workers might this year demand an increase in wages. So they concluded to take the wind out of the sails of their men, and declared that they were unable to pay last year's wages any longer. The workers took fright, and simply demanded the continuance of last year's scale. After the farce of locking out their men for about three weeks, the bosses have now mostly conceded this point. This was one of the biggest lock-outs ever inaugurated in the United States, 10,000 men were involved, and yet strange to say no one ever looked upon the matter seriously.

George Matzinger, an Austrian revolutionist, who, under Spies' editorship, wrote in the Chicago *Arbeiter Zeitung*, the brilliantly conceived articles about "Revolutionary Warfare" died last Sunday week in the Jefferson Lunatic Asylum, Illinois. As no one claimed his body it was turned over to the College of Physicians and Surgeons for anatomical purposes. Through the use of opium the once brilliant writer and orator had become a physical wreck. However in his time he did sterling good work.

The business of the alleged dynamite conspiracy in Chicago is of a serious nature. To give a clear idea of it I had better give you a report from day to day:—

July 6th.—The principal event to-day is the arrest of S. A. Bauereisen, deputy-auditor of the Aurora division of the Locomotive Engineers Brotherhood, charged with complicity in the dynamite plot against the Chicago, Burlington, and Quincy railroad. Bauereisen denies that he is guilty; he was arraigned before Commissioner Koyné, who fixed his bail at 5000 dols., which was furnished by a Chicago merchant. Chairman Hoge, of the Burlington Grievance Committee, says he knows Brodrich and Bowles slightly. The third man, Wilson, is a stranger to him.

July 7th.—As passenger train No. 17 on the "Q" road was leaving Chicago this evening, a stone was thrown through the cab window of the engine, narrowly missing the scab engineer and fireman. At Riverside, and again at Napierville, the engine was bombarded. The fireman was struck on the head, inflicting a slight scalp wound. It is said that five attempts in all have been made to wreck trains with dynamite. The excitement had somewhat subsided when it was renewed by the arrest of Alexander Smith, at Aurora, Illinois, one of the striking firemen charged with complicity in the plot.

July 9th.—Whether Smith, Bowles, or any other of those arrested as suspects "confessed" is still unsettled. The arrest of George Gooding, a striking Brotherhood man, at Aurora, this afternoon, says United States Marshal Marsh, completes the arrests it is intended to make at present. Gooding is a popular man among the Brotherhood members. He was brought from Aurora to Chicago on a special train closely watched by Pinkertons.

July 10th.—Chairman Hoge, of the Grievance Committee of the Locomotive Engineers, and Chairman Murphy, of the Grievance Committee of the Firemen, were arrested this morning. Both were taken completely by surprise. They were brought to police headquarters and locked up on charges of conspiracy. The much talked-of circular, in which Hoge is said to have asked Brotherhood men to hire themselves secretly to the "Q" road, and then disable the engines, is said to be the basis of the charge against him. Murphy is charged with being an accomplice. Both were released on bail for 1500 dols. each. Hoge's two clerks, Kelly and Mc Gilvarry were also arrested.

July 11th.—Attorney Collier, of the "Q" road, says the two clerks, Kelly and McGilvarry, turned informers, and have confessed that Hoge sent the circular advising Brotherhood engineers to hire out for the "Q," disable engines, and then quit in a body. Both men have put their story in writing, and though they are still at the Desplaines Street station, they can go when they please, but they don't want to go. "You couldn't drive these two fellows away with a club," said a bobby, "they want protection, and so propose to stick close to the police."

July 12th.—Inspector Bonfield, one of the murderers of our Chicago comrades, took to-day the confiscated dynamite to be analysed. It is what is known as 30 per cent. grade. It is but little stronger than gunpowder.

July 12th.—Two photographers went out yesterday with a Burlington employé to "take" the wrecked train which was derailed by strikers on Wednesday night at the corner of Western Avenue and Indiana Street. They were not interfered with while making their negatives, but strikers surrounded them when they had left the yards, and demanded the negatives. This being refused, the three young men got a thrashing. They finally got away, however, with the negatives, leaving everything else behind them. On request of the Burlington-road, policemen have once more been

detailed to accompany each switching crew day and night. A force of police will also patrol the "Q" yards.

The case against Broderick, Wilson, Bowles, Bauereisen, Godin, and Smith was opened to-day. Hoge and Murphy will be tried separately, as they are accused by the "people of Illinois" under the Merritt law, and not by "the people of the United States." U. S. District Attorney Ewing, in his outline of the case, said the Government has nearly one hundred witnesses against the accused. Hoge knew all about the handling of the dynamite. Bowles and Smith (the two informers) put a dynamite cartridge on the Burlington track at Eola, near Aurora, May 29 last. Smith exploded another cartridge on the track at South Aurora on the 14th June. Bowles and Hoge had talked together about the dynamite in Hoge's room before the Eola explosion, while Bauereisen met Smith shortly after that and asked him if he had "set off any of the stuff yet." The Eola explosion partially wrecked the engine of the train. The South Aurora explosion was comparatively harmless.

The first witness, Sam. J. Madden, said the cartridges taken from the prisoners contained 30 per cent. nitro-glycerine. The fulminating caps found on Broderick were designed to explode dynamite. John J. Kelly (another informer), clerk to Hoge, testified that Bowles opened a package marked "Hercules" in the presence of Hoge at the Grand Pacific Hotel. Bowles spoke of "working it" on the Fulton branch of the "Q." He told witness that he laid the cartridge on the track, using a sheet of lead to keep it on the rail, and the caps for exploding it. He had four cartridges and a half dozen caps.

The switchmen in Kansas city, Mo., held a stormy meeting last night, which resulted in the lifting of the boycott on Burlington freight.

July 15th.—Bowles, the man against whom the most conclusive testimony was given yesterday, has made a "full confession." He was closeted all the afternoon with Attorney Ewing, General Manager Stone, Inspector Bonfield, and Marshal Marsh. He came into court and took a seat with the prosecuting attorney and opposite his colleagues, who flashed contemptuous looks at him. He was visibly agitated, and moved restlessly in his seat, keeping his eyes bent on the floor. He got up and waived examination. Then was a scene in court, and the defending attorney was nearly chucked out.

The officials of the "Q" road at Nebraska claim to have unearthed a plot to blow up with dynamite the new bridge over the Missouri River.

July 16th.—It has been decided not to arrest chairman Hodge and others on the U. S. warrants, as the conclusion was reached that a close surveillance was all sufficient.

The "Q" men maintain that Bowles and Kelly are members of the secret order of Pinkertons, of which Inspector Bonfield is also a member.

Alexander Smith, who turned informer, was the first witness to-day. He confirmed what Attorney Ewing had said on the first day of the trial.

Bowles, since "confessing," has been kept in the U. S. Marshal's office and allowed to sleep there, as he is afraid of meeting his former comrades.

Newark, N.J., July 17, 1888.

HENRY F. CHARLES.

### SOCIALISM IN LEICESTER.

ON Sunday, July 1st, Robson lectured on "Interest and Profit;" and we had plenty of discussion, mostly from Co-operators, our only persistent opponents, urging that doctrine as practical, and that the masses could, if they only practised thrift, wrest the capital from the proprietors. Sunday, 8th, Robson and I gave them battle, and soon convinced the bulk of audience that the power of Co-operation was all right for those who could supply capital, as the present system is, but no good to any others. Same day discussion turned on Trade Unionism, and Robson gave a clear exposition of the "Iron Law of Wages" with modern instances in our own district. Sunday, 15th, a debate between Slater and Barclay, at Secular Hall, "Individualism a preferable means of elevating the masses to Socialism." Audience joined heartily in discussion at the close. The keenest relish is shown for our addresses and discussions in Russell Square, and we know we are getting a great many to understand and desire Socialism; but in spite of all the lectures at the Secular Hall, in spite of the discussions in open air and at the clubs, we can get no additional members, and no better organisation. Even our own members, who pay regularly, will not come up to meetings indoor or out of door; and Robson and myself, after the first and second Sunday in the Square, have had no support. Sunday last, 22nd, we again met in the Square, our 8th Sunday, and had an audience of from 60 to 100, and a general discussion maintained with spirit on Henry Georgism, Value, and First Principles; but none of our own members turned up save one, who came when it was late. We thought of accepting William Morris's offer to come to Leicester to address us, but under the circumstances fear it would be throwing away energy. Our town is given up to Teetotalism, Religion, and Horse-racing; and Radical as it is considered to be, puts the boycott on Socialism wherever possible without appearing tyrannical. Sunday, 20th, Barclay spoke in Russell Square, on Co-operation. Lively discussion at close. Warner and Evans supported. Our secretary, Gorrie, is enthusiastic and energetic, but unfortunately cannot attend the open-air meetings. In evening, Thomas Slater (late of Bury) a strong Bradlaughite, Co-operator, and anti-Socialist, lectured at Secular Hall, on "Remedies for Poverty." He advocated Malthusianism, Co-operation, and Land Nationalisation, and pooh-poohed Socialism. He had no idea how Land Nationalisation was to be brought about. Robson and myself criticised him severely, Robson dealing with the Population Humbug, and I with Land Nationalisation mainly; quoting the Fabian tract "Land and Capital" so as to convince many among audience that Land Nationalisation would not ultimately be any remedy, and was Socialism as far as it went.

T. BARCLAY.

METROPOLITAN PAUPERISM.—The weekly return of metropolitan pauperism shows that the total number of paupers relieved in the third week of last month was 90,239, of whom 54,274 were indoor and 35,965 outdoor paupers. The total number relieved shows an increase of 3,103 over the corresponding week of last year, 4,441 over 1886, and 6,425 over 1885. The total number of vagrants relieved on the last day of the week was 875, of whom 669 were men, 183 women, and 23 children under sixteen.

PITY THE PAUPERS.—Recently the soup distributed in the sick wards of the Wandsworth Union was of such a mysterious and questionable character that the patients refused to eat it. One old woman described it as appearing like "chopped worms." H.M. Inspector also "inspected" the lockers of the sick, and made them turn out any scraps, or bread and butter, and cleared them away. Now these poor old women at the least get barely sufficient to eat, and if they like to save a bit against they feel hungry, why should H.M.I. rob them of a portion of their small parish allowance? I wonder if he cleared his own cupboard out when he got home, and went hungry the rest of the day? I rather think he did not. Remember, ye guardians, cooks, and inspectors, that "what is good for the goose is good for the gander" in this "Christian" land.—E. R.

# THE LABOUR STRUGGLE.

BRITAIN.

**GREENOCK HOLEBORERS' STRIKE.**—The holeborers in the employment of Russell and Co., shipbuilders, Greenock, have struck work for an increase of wages.

A strike has occurred at the Central Marine Engine Works, West Hartlepool, throwing nearly 700 men idle. The cause of the strike is the introduction of new rules.

**NUT AND BOLT STRIKE.**—A meeting of nut and bolt makers on strike was held on 27th, at Darlaston, when it was resolved to continue the strike at factories where employers refuse to pay list prices.

The labourers employed in the erection of the new Midland Station and Hotel at Bradford have turned out on strike. The grievance appears to be a dispute about the employment of some non-society labourers.

**CABLE-CHAIN STRIKE.**—At a meeting of cable chainmakers at the Star Inn, Primrose Hill, it was stated that several employers still refused to concede an advance, and it was decided to continue the strike at their works.

**BOOT MANUFACTURERS BOYCOTTED.**—A Northampton correspondent states that there are prospects of a great shoe trade dispute. The Northampton Trades' Union have passed a resolution boycotting eight local manufactories.

**LIVERPOOL DOCK-LABOURERS.**—The strike of dock-labourers in the employ of Papayanni and Co., against the use of elevators, concluded Monday 30th, when nearly all the men, who had been out for three days, resumed work on the old terms.

**DUBLIN.**—At a public meeting held at 2 Catherine Street, July 24th, the "Labour Union of Ireland," an association having for its object the organisation of all classes of workers, was inaugurated. Addresses setting forth the necessity of combination, etc., were delivered by the chairman, Mr. T. Kinlin, P. Doran, T.C., Mahon, Ellis, and others. A great number of members joined.

**CO-OPERATIVE TOBACCO.**—The Cigarette-makers and Tobacco-cutters' Co-operative Manufacturing Society, 157 Houndsditch, has issued its second quarterly balance-sheet. It shows 48 members, an increase of 8 in the quarter; sales £2,233, increase £1,206; balance carried forward £27 10s. 9½d. The society is receiving very encouraging support, but would not grumble if given some more.

**RHONDDA VALLEY MINERS.**—The Ocean Company's underground hauliers, numbering about 800, who struck in consequence of a dispute as to an advance of 1s. 6d. in the pound, resolved at a mass meeting held on the 25th ult. to accept the 5 per cent. advance offered by the masters, and to give six months' notice to terminate the sliding scale, which has regulated their wages for the past nine years. About 6,000 miners were idle for three days owing to the dispute.

**THREATENED STRIKE IN SMALL CHAIN TRADE.**—The fortnight's notice for a return to the 4s. list of prices in the small chain trade in the Cradley Heath and adjoining districts terminated Saturday. Some of the employers are in favour of list prices being maintained, and efforts will be made to avert a strike. The prices paid at some of the factories are exceptionally low, and there is every probability that a strike will be declared at these factories in the event of the employers refusing to pay the list prices.

**STRIKE OF NAVVIES.**—The whole of the navvies employed on the railway now in course of construction in the Lambourn Valley, between the towns of Newbury and Lambourn, struck work on the 26th, with little prospect of success. They had been receiving 16s. 6d. per week, and demanded an advance of 3s. The contractor refused to comply, and paid off the men. The works are at a temporary standstill, but fresh gangs are being engaged, there being no organisation to prevent it, and work will soon be resumed.

**BROXBURN SHALE MINERS.**—A largely attended meeting was held on Thursday, 26th ult. It was said that contracts for coming season compared with those of last were a halfpenny per gallon better for burning oil, which for twenty million gallons—yearly output—was something like £41,000 more to the shareholders. If the employers would give the miners an advance of 2d. per ton over an output of 1,600,000 tons of shale, it would but amount to £13,000, or less than a third of the extra profit. Nothing, however, was said about demanding it.

**ABERDEEN COTTON STRIKE.**—Strike among the reelers at Banner Mill still continues. After being out a week they were asked to go back on the old terms, but are holding out for a 5 per cent. rise. There are 600 out. The Trades Council has taken up the matter, and there is talk of arbitration and a compromise. One of the officials of the firm said as to the low wages of the girls that they would "just need to make the more at night"—i.e., on the streets. In another mill, in these parts, Richard and Co., there are over 2,000 girls employed at wages just as low as at Banner Mill. Our local comrades are doing some good work in connection with the strike.

**ANOTHER MATCH GIRLS' STRIKE.**—The women employed at "Pace's Factory," Bromley—a branch of Bryant and May's—turned out on strike on Tuesday, 24th ult., to the number of about one hundred. Most of them are box-makers, and work in their own homes. Six or seven girls had been brought from Glasgow, and it was alleged that they were being paid 1½d. per gross of boxes instead of 2½d., paste and hemp, however, being provided in addition to the wage. The English women struck against the importation of outside labour, and appealed to Mrs. Besant for aid. On investigation it was found that the "Scotchies" had been brought to teach a new way of working, and were then to return, so the girls were easily persuaded to treat them as friends. The organisation of the Match Girls' Union has been satisfactorily effected.

**EBBW VALE MINERS.**—Week before last we recorded a short but successful strike against the dismissal of three workman, discharged for refusing to clear away rubbish free. The men demanded (1) that certain discharged workmen be re-instated; (2) that all ripping top be paid for by the employers, and not by sub-contractors, and at the same price as that paid at the company's pits in the valley; (3) that all contractors shall no longer have any authority in the stall roads. The first request was granted, and a little time asked for to make arrangements for settlement of the other questions, answer to be given on the first Monday in August. The prices claimed for the different thicknesses were—for the first ripping 11d., second 7d., and the third 5d., or 1s. 11d. for 2 feet and up to 2 feet 6 inches, all over 2 feet 6 inches to be paid extra. The men are looking forward to their next monthly meeting with considerable interest. In the event of their claim not being conceded, a suspension of all work will ensue.

**TOBACCO TRADE.**—Six hundred girls in Clark and Son's tobacco factory, Liverpool, struck Monday against a reduction of wages, and were taken on on the old terms pending the decision of the proprietors, who are at present out of town.

About a month ago the London cigarette makers, both male and female, started a Society, and comrade Rochman, who was appointed secretary, organised it on a Socialistic basis. Since its formation it has done several things; first, the employés of the Salonica Company struck against a reduction of 18½ per cent., which we are glad to say they gained. Last Thursday a strike took place at the Egyptian Cigarette Company for an increase of 18 per cent., and Monday the secretary had an interview with the manager, who agreed to pay an increase, but refused to take back the men that struck. The strike therefore still continues, those who are out holding together wonderfully. The Union numbers 250, and expects shortly to include all cigarette makers.

**CHAINMAKERS.**—A large meeting of small chainmakers, of Cradley Heath and district, was held last week. T. Homer, who presided, said when they turned out on strike the bulk of the operatives would be with them. They had a better prospect before them than ever of gaining the advance. When they "turned out" two years ago, things were not so favourable as now. In many instances the men had been reduced from sixty to seventy per cent. below the 4s. list. They had now two powerful factors on their side—smallness of the employers' stocks and improved trade—which augured well for their success. It was an utter impossibility to get an advance of wages without resorting to a strike; therefore, they had to turn out to recover what had been taken from them. Notices had been sent to the employers intimating that work will cease on 30th inst. unless advance is granted. The cable-chainmakers are still idle, but one or two employers have consented to pay the advance, and their hands have been allowed to resume work. The other men express their determination to remain out until the employers give way.

**"SIGNS OF BAD TRADE."**—The following are extracts from the balance sheets of public companies published during June:—St. Katherine's Engineer Works, Edinburgh, average dividend for the past eight years is stated in the prospectus to have been 18½ per cent. Davy Brothers (Limited), earned £3,295 clear profits on the working of the year, Guisely and Yeardon Coal Company (Limited), earned a profit in six months of £1,149, Lochore and Capeldrae Canal Coal Company (Limited) only earned a profit of £220, owing to strikes and other troubles, Niddrie and Benhar Coal Company (Limited), admitted a profit on the year of 8792, Tredegar Iron Company (Limited), have for the 12 months, "notwithstanding depression of trade and competition," says the report, a gross profit of £2,917, Ebbw Vale Steel, Coal, and Iron Company (Limited), "although the continued keen competition, both home and foreign, has kept profits at a very low level," the gross profits for the year are £65,577, John Brown and Company (Limited)—"The collieries have worked steadily, but owing to the low price of coal the result has not been so satisfactory as was anticipated, the net profit on the year's trading is £45,539," Bristol Waggon Works—During the year the net profits of the Company had been £7604, Darlington Steel and Iron Company (Limited)—Owing to an accident the profits only amounted to £9,462. These are a few samples, and are fairly typical of the stock. Besides the profits each director has a salary ranging from £250 in small concerns to £2000 a year in large, and these salaries have to be paid before dividends are spoken of. It is often urged that, suppose the profits were divided amongst the workmen, the share coming to each would be so small as to be unappreciable. This is so much more humbug, as it frequently amounts to several pounds per annum. Take the case of the Bristol Waggon Works quoted above. The sum is not a large one as compared with some of the others. And yet divided amongst the workmen it would have given each man £7 10s. That may be a small sum to the capitalist, but it is much to the poor man.—*Miner.*

AMERICA.—July 17.

Quiet prevails at the Burlington Yards in Kansas City, Mo. The work goes on as usual, and there has as yet been no collision between the police and the striking switchmen.

C. A. Russ and Co., granite contractors, at Green's Landing, M.E., rather shut down than accede to the demands of the working-men for a monthly pay-day and a scale of wages.

The Conference of the wage committee of window-glass workers and manufacturers at Pittsburgh, adjourned on the 13th of July after practically confirming the wages of last year.

The Conference at Pittsburg of the wage committee of window glass workers and manufacturers adjourned on the 13th of July, after practically confirming the wages of last year.

At the Iron Moulders' Convention at St. Louis, Secretary Fox made a report showing receipts in general fund, 66,326 dols. 76 cents.; disbursements, 62,379 dols. 69 cents.; balance cash on hand, 3,947 dols. 7 cents.

The weavers employed by the Glasgow Manufacturing Company, manufacturers of dress goods at South Hadley Falls, Mass., struck yesterday for an increase of pay. The company employs 350 hands and pays 10,000 dols. monthly in wages.

A mass meeting of working-men held at Montreal, Canada, on the 14th of July, condemned the landing in Canada of undesirable immigrants, and called upon the Government to put a stop to the practice by imposing a fine of 1,000 dols. for each offence upon any steamship bringing such people to Canada.

Up to the beginning of July the special educational fund of the Knights of Labour, recently called for by General Master Workman Powderly, aggregated over 6,500 dols. As soon as Mr. Powderly feels that the fund will sustain the work in hand, it is understood he will send lecturers out to all the fields of labour.

About two hundred men and women employed by the Hatters' Fur-cutting Company, of Park Avenue and Walworth Street, Brooklyn, are on strike against low wages. The men claim that some of them are able to earn only 5 dols. a-week, while some of the women earn only 2 dols. 50 cents. The Executive Board of D. A. 49, to which the strikers are attached, has been asked to try to settle the matter. It is believed that such a settlement will be made.

The employés of the Norway Iron and Steel Works at Boston, Mass., met on the 15th July to consider a 5 to 20 per cent. cut down. The speakers believed the superintendent had reduced wages without the knowledge of the proprietors to cover 25,000 dols. expenditure resulting from mismanagement and for the benefit of his brother, a contractor. Knights of Labour officials advised the appointment of a committee to lay the grievance before the proprietors.

The Flint Glass Workers' Convention at Cleveland, Ohio, has concluded its labours. The wage scale was slightly increased. The glass packers' application to be admitted into the union was refused.

Eighty employés at the Columbia Iron Works, at Hainesport, Burlington County, near here, struck on the 13th of July. They demanded the restoration of 10 per cent. which was taken from their wages last winter, and weekly instead of bi-weekly payments. The owners of the works refused to accede to the demands of the men, and the latter quit work at once.

The journeymen plumbers will hold a Convention in Boston on July 30th. Within the past year a number of locals have been added to the National District, two having recently been formed in Washington. A circular has been issued inviting the International Plumbers' Union to participate. The International Plumbers' Union is almost as strong in point of membership as the National District, and if it should decide to send delegates to the Convention an amalgamation of the two organisations would be looked for.

Lodge No. 1 of the United Order of Carpenters and Joiners has obtained an injunction in the Supreme Court of New York to prevent the proposed consolidation of the United Order with the Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners of America. General Secretary P. J. McGuire, of the latter organisation, pronounced it "a big bluff to scare members of the United Order who are afraid of the law." Mr. McGuire said the opposition was only an effort of a very small minority to defeat the will of the majority. The "kickers" had been called upon time and again for an account of their finances, under the laws of the State, and had refused to give it. "But the milk in the cocoa-nut," said Mr. McGuire, "is that the walking delegates and salaried officers of the kicking lodges are afraid of losing a job when the amalgamation takes place. The salaried officers are all against the scheme." H. F. C.

## INTERNATIONAL NOTES.

### ITALY.

**ROLESINE (VENETIA).**—The peasants of the southern district of the Venetian province are about as badly off to-day as they were this time five years ago at the time of their great strike for wages. They earn from 25 to 40 centesimi (2½d. to 4d.) in the winter season, and in summer 80c. (8d.) a-day. It is only during the ten or twelve days of harvest that by labouring fourteen hours in the parched and burning fields that they manage to make from 60 c. to 70 c. a-day. It may be remembered by some that the strike in question was repressed by the military, and with much brutality, and that some of those imprisoned for leading the movement were kept in jail for a year before being tried and set free as innocent.

**GENOA.**—Here is another nice little item of usury in Italy. While the *Democratico* of Cremona complains of the high rates of usury there, in Genoa money is lent on articles at the rate of 10 per cent a month, 120 per cent per annum, and if after the month the articles are not redeemed the rate is doubled.

**VERCELLI.**—At a certain small button-factory here fraudulent proceedings on the part of the master have been going on for nearly two years without being discovered. The scales in which the work of the employés was tested weekly were loaded so as to falsify the weight of what each worker brought, and in this simple fashion each man was defrauded of a small portion of his weekly wage. Italian exploiters certainly bring their minds to bear on the smallest details of labour: there is no foolish pride about them!

**MILAN.**—The basket-makers on strike have succeeded in obtaining their modest demands of a few hours less work and a franc or two more weekly wages. They have received all the help possible from their fellow-workers and friends, needy themselves.

**NEW JOURNALS.**—*Il Nuovo Combattiamo* (Genoa), *Il Muratore* (Turin), *La Spira* (Naples), all Communist-Anarchist papers, are making their appearance in the world of Socialist journalism. We wish them success.

**SANTAFIORA.**—The workers in the mercury-mines near here being exposed to continual dangers owing to want of proper arrangements in the mines, have demanded a rise in wages. Far from their demand being even taken into consideration, they have been dismissed at once. The innocents thereupon turned to Crispi for advice and help against the proprietor!

**"SOCIALISTS ALL."**—The same Crispi who in the Italian Parliament the other day wound up a speech about poverty and begging in the large cities, and society providing for the wants of the starving and so forth, by declaring that "he was in favour of the greatest possible freedom for one and all—always within the limits of constitutionalism." Bravo, Crispi! we are "all Socialists," are we not? M. M.

At last Amilcare Cipriani has been amnestied by the Italian Government, and as soon as it became known that our friend was again to come amidst the living, everywhere in democratic and revolutionary Italy the Socialists began to feast the good tidings. At Reggio d'Emilia fifteen hundred persons, headed by brass bands, walked along the streets, shouting "Viva, Cipriani! Abasso la Camorra! Abasso i calunniatori!" (Down with the informer and the calumniators!). At Ravenna all the revolutionary circles have been very animated by the same event. But after all, Cipriani had not been set free. King Umberto had remitted the twenty-five years' hard labour he had got from corrupt judges, who sentenced him contrary to all law. Immediately afterwards he was again apprehended, because at the time of his service in the regular army he abandoned the colours of Savoy in order to follow Garibaldi to Aspromonte. He was tried by court-martial at Milan on Saturday 28th, and (for a wonder) acquitted; being thereupon set at liberty. We hope this is not to be followed once more by an arrest on a trumped-up charge, but that our heroic comrade has been really rendered back to his friends and to the cause of the Social Revolution. V. D.

### SPAIN.

**LINARES.**—A Socialist society has lately been inaugurated in this town at a meeting which was numerously attended and enthusiastic in feeling.

**MADRID.**—The National Union of Workers in Iron and other metals will celebrate their usual Congress in September next.

**SAN JUAN DE LAS ABADESAS.**—The machinists of the railroad to these mines have declared themselves on strike, on account of ill-treatment.

**BARCELONA.**—A strike initiated in one shoe-factory here has extended to one-half of the workers in this trade. The capitalists recognise the movement as serious, and seven or eight of them are combining against the demands of the strikers.

**BILBAO.**—200 navvies have struck for a 10½ hours working day, instead of the 13 which the contractors impose upon them. Their attitude is at present firm and quiet, and they expect to win. M. M.

### DENMARK.

Our comrade Axel Danielson, the editor of *Arbetet* (Labour) who some weeks ago was sentenced to one year's imprisonment, has again been found "guilty" by the bourgeois magistrate of his land and sentenced to ten months' more solitary confinement. But at the same time we are glad to say that the Socialist movement there seems to increase in proportion to the persecutions of those who devote their energies to the cause of labour emancipation. V. D.

### STRIKE OF NAVVIES IN PARIS.

PARIS.—There has been going on for several days past a great strike of navvies in Paris, which threatens to assume very important and threatening proportions. The accounts of it given by the ordinary press are wholly untrustworthy, but we are arranging for a full and accurate report next week. S.

### THE METROPOLITAN BOARD OF WORKS.

ONE of the most amusing incidents that has occurred lately, and which has caused much merriment in Socialist circles, is the recent action of the Metropolitan Board of Works. It will be remembered that this body—which has lately been in such bad odour, owing to the swindling carried on by the surveyors, architects, and other agents employed by them—had the impudence to make a bye-law last December, which had for its object the prevention of collections being made in the parks, commons, etc., under their control, no doubt with the object of crippling our propaganda; but when our comrades commenced the open-air meetings this season, it was agreed that we should defy this decree, which had been endorsed by the Home Secretary and by Act of Parliament had become law. Very large meetings were held at Victoria Park, and our income rose from a few shillings weekly to over £2 one week, and nearly the same amount the next. During this time the names of our comrades S. Mainwaring, W. B. Parker, and F. Charles were taken, as also the name of our indefatigable friend Annie Besant, with a view to summonses being issued. But at the last they seem to have funked it, because they knew perfectly well, in the words of the Home Secretary, that the forcing of the bye-law would cause more trouble and irritation than by dropping it; but in order that the Board might not appear to have lost its dignity they have made a brand new bye-law, forbidding collections where nobody has ever wanted to make them, and where there is no one likely to give anything—viz., in the parts of the parks, commons, etc., where no meetings are held! What fools these fellows are. P.

THE women of the dives are not immoral by nature. They are women and daughters of women, with human passions, human appetites, and human desires. Nine out of ten would give up their lives of shame were any avenue of comfortable existence open to them. They are the effects, not the causes of sin. Some few may have become what they are by excess of natural passions in early life, but it does not take long for their course to develop into a hum-drum business that they would gladly exchange for a better. But drink and abandon and the curses of Pharisees soon lead them to believe that there is nothing else for them in the world. Moralists and reformers, begin your work in another direction.—*Baltimore Critic*.

## THE SOCIALIST LEAGUE.

OFFICES: 13 FARRINGDON ROAD, E.C.

The Offices of the Socialist League will be open for the sale of *Commonweal* and all other Socialist publications from 8.30 a.m. to 9 p.m. every day except Sunday. The Secretary will be in attendance from 10 a.m. to 9 p.m. daily.

**Executive.**—Monday, August 6th, being Bank Holiday, the Council meeting will be held on Tuesday, August 7th, 1888.

**London Members' Meeting.**—The next monthly meeting of members will take place on Monday, August 13, 1888, at 13 Farringdon Road, at 9 o'clock.

### "COMMONWEAL" PRINTING FUND.

Langley, 2s.; P. W., 6d.; C. J. F., 2s. 6d.; K. F., 1s.; A. W. Jalfow, 1s.

## REPORTS.

**FULHAM.**—Tuesday evening, opposite Liberal Club, Bullock and Groser spoke to fair audience. Sunday morning Tarleton addressed capital meeting. Fair sale *Weal*, and another member made. Owing to bad weather no evening meeting held.—S. B. G.

**MERTON AND MITCHAM.**—Last Sunday morning good meeting on Fair Green, addressed by Kitz, D. Nicoll, and Eden. Good sale of *Commonweal*. Collection local propaganda 1s. 2½d. In the evening social gathering at Merton Club room.

**ABERDEEN.**—At Castle Street, Saturday night, Aiken presiding, Leatham addressed large and sympathetic crowd on the Banner Mill shareholders' treatment of their employés (who are on strike just now) and on the Labour problem in general. Questions answered at close. At Sunday night branch meeting indoors, Leatham read lecture on "War" to good audience.—J. L.

**GLASGOW.**—We had excellent assistance from Smith and Davidson, of Edinburgh, this week, who were here on a holiday. Saturday evening, despite rain, Smith, Downie, and Glasier spoke on Jail Square. Sunday mid-day, Smith, Davidson, and Glasier spoke to large appreciative audience. At Paisley Road, evening, Smith, Gilbert, and Glasier spoke, while Pollock, Adams, and Mc Culloch pushed literature. *Commonweal* sold out.—J. B. G.

**NORWICH.**—Tuesday last a debate began in Gordon Hall between Mowbray, who opened, and Mr. Searl, who replied, each taking an hour. The hall was quite full; debate adjourned for a week. Thursday, good meeting at Yarmouth, held by Poynts and Mowbray. The authorities have passed a bye-law, not to allow any meetings there, as there have been several complaints about our meetings; we intend carrying on meetings in Yarmouth, if not at that spot, then at another; Friday night, good meeting on St. Catharine's Plain, by Mowbray and Morley. Sunday morning meeting held at St. Faiths. In afternoon large meeting in Market Place, and another in evening addressed by Mowbray; fair sale papers and good collections.—A. T. S.

**WALSALL.**—Indoor meeting Monday, addressed by Deakin, Sanders, and Guillemard. Sanders held open-air meeting, Sunday, on West Bromwich Road. Large audience and good sale literature. No outdoor meeting on Saturday owing to wet.—J. T. D.



## LECTURE DIARY.

## LONDON.

- Acton.**—Any information from Secretary Harnett, 7 Redmore Road, Hammersmith.
- Clerkenwell.**—Hall of the Socialist League, 13 Farringdon Rd., E.C.
- Fulham.**—8 Effie Road, Walham Green. Sunday at 8 p.m.
- Hackney.**—Enquiries, communications, etc., to E. Lefevre, Secretary, 28 Percy Terrace, Victoria Rd., Hackney Wick.
- Hammersmith.**—Kelmescott House, Upper Mall, W. Sunday August 5, at 8 p.m.
- Merton.**—Club-house, 3 Clare Villas, Merton Road, Singlegate.
- Mile-end and Bethnal Green.**—95 Boston St., Hackney Road.
- North London.**—Secretary, Nelly Parker, 143 Cavendish Buildings, opposite Holborn Town Hall. The business meetings will be held on Friday evenings at 6 Windmill Street, Tottenham Court Road, after the open-air meeting at Ossulton Street. All members are asked to attend at Ossulton St. at 8 o'clock. On Friday evening, August 10, a Social Evening will be given. Refreshments provided. Members of other branches welcomed; free admission.
- Plaistow.**—A branch has been formed here and is commencing a vigorous propaganda in this district. All communications to be addressed to A. Barker, 4 Osborne Terrace, Leyton, E.
- St. Georges in the East.**—A meeting of the members of this branch will be held at 23 Princes Square, on Sunday morning after the meeting at Leman Street. Rochmann, secretary.

## PROVINCES.

- Aberdeen** (Scottish Section).—Secretary, J. Leatham, 15 St Nicholas Street. Sunday night meetings, Baker Street Hall, 6.30. Choir practice at 46 Marischal Street on Thursday evenings at 8.
- Bradford.**—Read's Coffee Tavern, Ivegate. Meets Tuesdays at 8.
- Carnoustie** (Scottish Section: Forfarshire).—Meeting every Tuesday, at 8 p.m., in the Carnoustie Restaurant. H. M'Cluskey, Millar Street, Secy.
- Cowdenbeath** (Scot. Sec).—J. Duncan, 30 Arthur Pl., sec
- Dundee** (Scot. Sect.).—Meetings every Sunday in the Trades Hall, opposite Tay Bridge Station.
- Edinburgh** (Scottish Land and Labour League).—35 George IV. Bridge. Meetings for Discussion, Thursdays at 8 p.m.
- Galashiels** (Scot Sect).—J. Walker, 6 Victoria St., sec.
- Gallatown and Dysart** (Scottish Section: Fife).—Meet every Tuesday at 7 p.m. in Gallatown Public School. Secretary, A. Paterson, 152 Rosslyn St.
- Glasgow.**—84 John St. Reading-room open 10 a.m. till 10 p.m. daily. Discussion every Thursday evening at 8 o'clock. On Sunday evening, at 7 o'clock.
- Leeds.**—Clarendon Buildings, Victoria Rd. and Front Row. Open every evening. Business meeting Saturdays at 8 p.m. communications to T. Paylor, 11 Sheldon Street, Holbeck, Leeds.
- Leicester.**—Hosiery Union, Horsefair St. Fridays at 8.
- Lochgelly** (Scottish Section: Fife).—Secs. (pro tem.), John Greig and Hugh Conway, The Square.
- Norwich.**—Monday, at 8, Debate in Gordon Hall between C. W. Mowbray and Mr. Scurl. Tuesday, 8.30, Members' Meeting. Wednesday, at 8.30, Choir Practice. Saturday, 8 until 10.30, Co-operative Clothing Association.
- Oxford.**—Temperance Hall, 25½ Pembroke Street. Wednesdays, at 8.30 p.m.
- Walsall.**—Lecture Room, back of Temperance Hall. Mondays at 8 p.m.
- West Calder** (Scottish Section).—Sec., Robert Lindsay, West Calder.

## OPEN-AIR PROPAGANDA.

## SUNDAY 5.

- 10.30...Starch Green .....Hammersmith Branch  
11.30...Latimer Road Station ...Hammersmith Branch  
11.30...Mitham Fair Green .....The Branch  
11.30...Regent's Park .....James, Brooks, & Cores  
11.30...Walham Green .....Fulham Branch  
3.30...Hyde Park .....Brooks  
7 ...Clerkenwell Green .....James  
7 ...Weltje Road, opposite Ravenscourt Park  
.....Hammersmith Branch

## Tuesday.

- 8.30...Fulham—opposite Liberal Club.....Fulham Bh.

## Friday.

- 7.30...Euston Rd.—Ossulton Street ...James & Fuller

## EAST END.

## SUNDAY 5.

- |                                     |     |       |     |                  |
|-------------------------------------|-----|-------|-----|------------------|
| Mile-end Waste                      | ... | 11    | ... | Mrs. Schack.     |
| "Salmon and Ball"                   | ... | 11    | ... | Nicoll.          |
| Leman Street, Shadwell              | ... | 11    | ... | Parker.          |
| Gibraltar Walk, Bethnal Green Road. | ... | 7     | ... | Parker.          |
| Kingsland Green                     | ... | 11.30 | ... | Mainwaring.      |
| Victoria Park                       | ... | 3.15  | ... | Parker.          |
| Triangle, Hackney Road              | ... | 8     | ... | Parker.          |
| Stamford Hill                       | ... | 7.30  | ... | Brooks, M'waring |

## TUESDAY.

Mile-end Waste ... 8.30...Cores, M'nwaring.

## WEDNESDAY.

Broadway, London Fields 8.30...Cores, M'nwaring.

## THURSDAY.

Packington St., Essex Road 8.30...Nicoll & Fuller.

## FRIDAY.

Philpot St., Commercial Rd. 8.30...Cores, Parker, and Mainwaring.

## SATURDAY.

Mile-end Waste ... 8 ...Parker & Cores.

## PROVINCES.

- Aberdeen.**—Saturday: Castle Street, at 8 p.m.
- Leeds.**—Sunday: Hunslet Moor, at 11 a.m.; Vicar's Croft, at 7 p.m.
- Leicester.**—Sunday: Russel Square, at 11 a.m.
- Norwich.**—Sunday: Market Place, at 3 and 7.30.
- North Walsham, Sunday at 11.
- Wymondham, Sunday at 11.
- St. Faiths, Sunday at 11.30.
- Croxtwick Common, Sunday at 3.
- Thorpe, Sunday at 8 p.m.
- Yarmouth, opposite Town Hall, Thursday at 7.30.
- St Catharine's Plain, Friday at 8.15 p.m.
- Stump Cross, Saturday at 8.15.

**HOXTON.**—Persons wishing to join this branch, which is in process of formation, should communicate with H. D. Morgan, 22 Nicholas Street, Hoxton.

**EAST-END PROPAGANDA.**—A meeting of all interested in the Socialist propaganda in the East-end of London will be held at the Berner Street International Club, Commercial Road, E., on Saturday evening at 10.

**THE LABOUR UNION.**—WOOLWICH.—Arsenal Gates (open-air), Sunday August 5th, George Bernard Shaw. Aug. 12, A. K. Donald.

**NORWICH.**—On August 12th and 13th a great Socialist Demonstration will be held. Speakers: William Morris, Annie Besant, C. J. Faulkner, Mrs. Schack, S. Mainwaring, W. Ogden (Oxford Branch), Herbert Burrows, C. W. Mowbray, and others.

**ZUKERTORT CHESS CLUB,** 217 City Road, E.C.—This Club asks us to notify our readers of its existence; that it is well fitted up; and that a first-class man has been secured who gives three hours' instruction every evening.

## SOCIALIST LEAGUE LITERATURE.

- Chants for Socialists.** By William Morris. . 1d.
- Organised Labour: The Duty of the Trades' Unions in Relation to Socialism.** By Thomas Binning (London Society of Compositors). . 1d.
- The Commune of Paris.** By E. Belfort Bax, Victor Dave, and William Morris. . 2d.
- The Aims of Art.** By Wm. Morris. Bijou edition, 3d.; Large paper, 6d.
- The Rights of Labour according to John Ruskin.** By Thomas Barclay. . 1d.
- The Tables Turned; or, Nupkins Awakened.** A Socialist Interlude. By William Morris. In Wrapper . 4d.
- The Manifesto of the Socialist League.** Annotated by E. Belfort Bax and William Morris. An exposition of the principles on which the League is founded. . 1d.
- Useful Work v. Useless Toil.** By William Morris. . 1d.
- "All for the Cause!"** Song. Words by William Morris; Music by E. Belfort Bax. 4to, 4 pp. 6d. per dozen, 4s. 6d.
- Mrs. Grundy (Cartoon).** By Walter Crane. Fine hand-made large paper. . 6d.

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(AUGUST 6TH, 1888)

to

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# THE COMMONWEAL

## The Official Journal of the SOCIALIST LEAGUE.

VOL. 4.—No. 135.

SATURDAY, AUGUST 11, 1888.

WEEKLY; ONE PENNY.

### NOTES ON NEWS.

MR. MATTHEWS, in giving a well-deserved tribute to Sir Charles Warren for acting up to the heart's desire of a Coercionist, denied that the police had lost their popularity with the great mass of the people. That may well be, as it is not easy to lose that which one has never had; but we may safely assert in Mr. Matthews' teeth that there are many thousands of people who used to think nothing about the police, or looked on them as a necessary useful machine, who now look upon them with active detestation. Many a worthy citizen has had his love for law-'n'-order shaken by the "admirable courage" of Sir Charles Warren; indeed, that is the definite gain that we have got from Trafalgar Square.

The Government have driven the *Times* Protection Bill (as the *Daily News* happily calls it) through in the lump, and have thereby shown us once more, if we needed another example, how tremendously powerful the rich men who govern society are, and in what a false position those men put themselves who attack some of the consequences of this tyranny, while they are not prepared to attack the tyranny itself. This wretched Bill provides a council of three to report on the hopes and necessities of the Irish, which everybody already knows all about, with the intention of swaying public opinion to the stark reactionist side again. Of course, the three will look at any evidence which is brought before them from the purely conventional point of view. It can only be hoped that the result of the humbug will be to push the Irish Question on a stage further by exasperating both sides a little more, and making the country feel more than it now does the idiotic dead-lock which greed and jingoism have got us into.

☞ I must say that our comrade Bax's appeal to us to consider the Question of Africa is very timely. Here we have now the Pope taking the matter up, and urging the exploiters on to their task, and a Cardinal preaching on the subject to a most respectable audience anent it; an audience who were naturally, whatever their religious differences might be, most lovingly unanimous on this point. One paper says that this task of civilising Africa is well worthy of Modern Christianity. Surely that is undeniable. Tom Turnpenny never had a better job offered to him; 20 per cent. and the Gospel (or a thousand per cent. for what I know) are tempting indeed. To save your soul and your business at one stroke is certainly making the best of two worlds.

☞ It is true that some simple people might say: Why are the English philanthropists and the Italian pietists so anxious about the interior of Africa, when the interior of London is so handy to them? Would it not be easier to deal with wage-slavery at home than chattel-slavery abroad? Would not a resolute attempt to get rid of that do away with far more misery than the abolition of the slave-trade in Africa? Is it not pretty certain that the extinction of wage-slavery would render all forms of slavery unprofitable, and therefore cut them up by the roots?

☞ Well, these are simple questions! The philanthropists, Italian and English, Catholic and Protestant, are anxious about the African chattel-slavery just because they are anxious about the English and Italian wage-slavery—that is, they are anxious that it should continue without much friction, and allow them to go on living (as an Arab slave-dealer does) on other people's misery. It is true some of them who are able with a mighty effort to bring their minds to bear upon the condition of the Interior of London, and who are not more ill-natured than other people, are shocked at the consequences of wage-slavery. But then nature will not allow us to grieve too much over other people's misery (not even the best of us) if we cannot remedy it; and since these capitalist-philanthropists are forced to see that the only remedy involves the loss of their position of idle superiority, there is to them no remedy, and they soon cease to grieve or to think of the unhappiness of London.

☞ Flatly it is much easier to deal with the African slavery than with that of London; always so long as you are prepared to make wage-slavery and its misery take the place of chattel-slavery and its misery

in Africa, as it has done in Europe, and in the process to destroy whatever compensatory pleasure exists in the ruder form of servitude. The Cardinal drew a moving picture of the sufferings of the human merchandize in transit, and we have got that well into our minds now. But how can we who live comfortably ever get into our minds the multitudinous suffering, the forms of which are too numerous to reckon up, of the millions at home whom our philanthropists cannot deliver from their slavery? Or how many new forms of suffering, of which we at home should hear nothing, would not the importation of wage-slavery into barbarous countries create?

☞ To put this matter in the fairest way possible—the present rulers of society are bound by their position to seek for new markets in order to work off the stock of wares which they go on producing by means of partly unpaid labour; they *must* do this whatever fresh suffering the process entails on the barbarous population they civilise, or the civilised population which they degrade far below barbarism. In the barbarism which they destroy they can only supplant one form of slavery by another; and in the civilisation which they uphold they are powerless to stem the flood of misery. In all this there is one element of good, that their necessities are leading gradually but swiftly to the extinction of the system which has produced all the misery and incapacity.

Mr. Balfour has further endeared himself to his countrymen and the world at large, by laughing in his seat in Parliament when he was questioned about a poor man who went mad in Limerick jail. No objugatory words could add to the disgrace which the mere statement of this fact involves. This person afterwards said that Kennedy was treated with "great kindness." Pray, was that *before* he went mad or *afterwards*? We Socialists know pretty well what the "kindness" of English prisons is, and the public have lately heard something of the "kindness" of Irish ones. So the question is worth asking.

Mr. Wilberforce Bryant, in addressing the shareholders of his very prosperous and no doubt highly philanthropic concern, has really gone beyond the license which good-natured people are apt to allow to persons driven into a corner. As to his figures and explanations we know that every statement made can be figured and explained away, while the fact of dreary life-long torment, falsely called work, and something more than *semi*-starvation still remains, since indeed, as our comrade *Freedom* remarks, averages don't fill people's bellies. Let all that pass until Mr. Bryant chooses to explain why the 15 per cent. dividend lately declared does not go to the workers whose labour has earned it. And again, Mr. Bryant's coarse abuse of Mrs. Besant and Herbert Burrows is not difficult to bear, and no doubt our comrades look upon it as a certificate of honour, as showing that they at least have done something.

But the accusation which Mr. Bryant made against the Trades' Council, of admitting that the girls had nothing to complain of while at the same time they were supporting the strike, was a serious one; as, if it had been true, they must have been stigmatised as acting with treachery towards the workers who had trusted them, to say nothing about their humbugging the general public. Happily, in her letter to the *Pall Mall* of August 3rd, Mrs. Besant disposes of this falsehood, and Mr. Bryant must finally be set down as a kind of champion of shabbiness, really a prize animal of his kind. Meantime, there are the match-girls, and many thousands like them, not to be disposed of so easily as Mr. Bryant! How long will it last? Can anything to come be quite as bad as our present "Society"? W. M.

Hopwood, Q.C., Recorder, in charging the grand jury at the Liverpool Quarter Sessions, entered into a long defence of his lenient sentences, which have been the subject of considerable comment. "Long sentences were cruel to the prisoner and injurious to the community. The theory that long sentences would afford time for reflection, education, and reform had not worked successfully. They only made the criminal classes more violent and cruel and a source of large and unnecessary expense to the taxpayers."

This is quite a portion of the same subject as that affected by the "curious return" dealt with elsewhere. There is no individual link in a chain. The Rev. Sydney Smith, in his articles on the iniquitous Game Laws, dwelt on the shameful fact that one day's sport for the lord of the manor or the squire often meant the ruin of as much food as would have kept the whole village for half the year; that this waste of crops—though nominally compensated—seldom was really repaid to the suffering cultivator; that the high preserving naturally meant stringent punishments for any infringement by the starving of the village; often meant the breaking up of the homestead, the wife and family to the workhouse, the husband and perhaps eldest son to the county jail.

For knocking down rabbit or hare, perhaps in the man's own gateway,—jail—loss of name—of work—of home; next, and naturally, more crime (?), severer punishment, and so

"Heap heavier still the fetters, bar closer still the grate,  
Patient as sheep we yield us up unto your cruel hate."

And so prisons—of both sorts—grow and grow, and so also does the debt grow which "pruputty" owes; owes, in that it is pledged for the building and supporting its jails; but owes in that more serious sense, to the mass whom they have robbed and made criminal and poor.

"Choked with the soil for which you lust  
The bit of clay for whose delight  
You grasp, is mortgaged, too; Death might  
Foreclose the very day in dust."

T. S.

## THE REVOLT OF GHENT.

(Continued from p. 243.)

FROISSART goes on to say:—

"This Saturday in the morning Philip van Artevelde ordained and commanded that every man should make him ready to God, and caused masses to be sung in divers places by certain friars that were with him; and so every man confessed him, and prayed to God for grace and mercy. And there were certain sermons made, enduring an hour and a half; and there it was shewed to people by these friars and clerks, figuring them to the people of Israel, whom King Pharaoh kept long in servitude: and how after by the grace of God they were delivered, and led into the Land of Behest by Moses and Aaron, and King Pharaoh and the Egyptians slain and taken. 'In likewise,' quoth these friars, 'ye good people, ye be kept in servitude by your lord the Earl of Flanders, and by your neighbours of Bruges, before whom now ye be come, and shall be fought with by all likelihood, for your enemies have great will to fight with you, for they fear little your puissance. But sirs, take no heed to that, for God, who knoweth and seeth all things, shall have mercy on you. Nor think nothing of that ye have left behind you, for ye may well know it is without recoverance if ye be discomfited, therefore sell your lives valiantly, and die if there be none other remedy honourably. And be not dismayed if great puissance of people issue out of Bruges against you, for victory lieth not in puissance of people, but it is all only God; and by his grace it hath been often times seen, as well by the Macabeus as by the Romans, that a small people of good will, trusting in the grace of God, hath discomfited a great number of people; and sirs, in this quarrel ye have good right and a just cause, and therefore by many reasons ye ought to be hardy and of good comfort.'

"Thus with such words and other these friars preached to the people that morning, wherewith they were well content. And three parts of the host were houselled, showing themselves to have great trust in God. And after these masses sung, then they assembled together on a little hill, and there Philip van Artevelde, by great sentence, showed them from point to point, the right that they thought they had in their quarrel; and how that often times the town of Ghent had required their lord the Earl to have mercy on them, but they could never come to no point with him, but to the great confusion and damage of the town of Ghent, and to the inhabitants thereof; also saying, how they were then come so far forth, that to recoil again they could not: and also then to return (all things considered) they could win nothing thereby, for they had left nothing behind them but poverty and heaviness; and moreover, he said, 'sirs, think neither of your wives nor children, but think of your honour.' Thus such fair words Philip van Artevelde showed among them, for he was well languaged, and could speak right well, and well it became him; and finally he said, 'Now, fair lords, let us truly and equally depart our victual each to other like brethren without any manner of outrage: for when this is spent, it must beve us to seek for new, if we think to live.'

"And so then right humbly the carts were discharged, and the bread was divided by the constables, and the two tuns of wine, the bottoms were set upward; and so there they dined with the bread and with the wine, and were content with their small repast for that time, and felt themselves better disposed, both in courage and in their members, than and when they had eaten more meat.

"And when this dinner was past, then they set themselves in order, and drew themselves within their *ribandeaux*, the which were high stakes, bound with iron and sharp pointed, which they used ever to bear with them in their war; and so they set them before their battle, and closed themselves within them: and in this estate the three squires that were sent from the Earl to see their demeaning found them: for

they approached so near that they might well aview them, for they came just to their stakes; but the Ghentois never stirred for all them, but let them alone, and made semblant that they were right joyful of their coming.

"Then these courriers rode to Bruges to the Earl, and found him in his lodging, with a great number of knights and squires with him: so they came through the press to the Earl, and they spake out aloud, because the Earl would they should be heard: and so there they showed how they had ridden so near to the Ghentois, that they might have shot at them if they had list, but they suffered them to pass peaceably; and also they showed how they had seen their banners. Then the Earl demanded what number of people they were by estimation: they answered, that surely as they could descry, they passed not a five or six thousand. Then the Earl said, 'Well, let every man apparel himself, I will go fight with them: they shall not depart without battle.' And therewith the trumpets did sound through Bruges, and then every man armed him, and assembled in the market place, and set themselves in order with their banners, as was the usage. And before the Earl's lodging assembled lords, knights, and squires.

"When everything was ready, then the Earl went to the market place, and saw there great number of people well ordered and arranged, whereof he rejoiced; and so at his commandment every man drew in good order into the fields. It was great pleasure to behold them: they were a forty thousand armed men, and so, what a horseback and afoot. They came near to the place where the Ghentois were, and there they rested: and by that time that the Earl was come thither, it was past noon and the sun began to decline. Then some said to the Earl, 'Sir, ye see yonder your enemies, they be but a handful of men, as to the regard of your company, and sir, they cannot fly away; we would counsel you not to fight with them this night, let them alone till to-morrow, and sir, thereby ye shall see what they will do; they shall be feebler than they be now, for they have nothing to eat.' The Earl accorded well to that counsel, and would that it should so have been done; but they of Bruges were so hot and hasty to fight, that they would not abide, but said, set on them, they shall not long endure; and so then they of Bruges began to shoot guns at them: and then they of Ghent discharged at once three hundred guns at one shot, and so turned about the plash of water, and caused the sun to be in the eyes of them of Bruges, the which grieved them sore, and so entered in among them and cried 'Ghent'; and as soon as they of Bruges heard them cry 'Ghent' and heard so many guns come in among them, and saw how they set full front on them, like falsehearted people and of evil courage, they gave way to the Ghentois to enter in among them; and so without any defence they cast down their weapons and turned their backs: then the Ghentois, seeing well how their enemies were discomfited, kept themselves still close together, and beat down on both sides and before them, and ever went forth crying 'Ghent'; saying also, 'Follow, follow, our enemies are discomfited, and let us enter into Bruges with them; God hath regarded us this evening by his pity.' And as they said, so they did, for they pursued them of Bruges sharply; and as they overtook them they slew them, and tarried not, but kept on still their way, and ever they of Bruges fled on before: there were many slain and beaten down, for among them of Bruges there was no defence.

"I trow there was never so unhappy people, nor more recreantly maintained themselves, for all the great pride and bobance that they were of before. Some would think and suppose by imagination that there had been some treason, the which was not so; it was none other but their simple defence and evil fortune that fell on them.

"When the Earl of Flanders and the company that was about him saw the evil order and rule of them of Bruges, and saw how they were discomfited by their own folly, and could see no recoverance, for they fled away before the Ghentois, the Earl then was abashed, and all they that were about him, and so discomfited, that they fled away, every man to save himself. Of a truth, if they of Bruges would have returned again, and assailed the Ghentois with their help, they had been likely to have recovered all again; but they saw no remedy, for they fled toward Bruges as fast as they might; the father tarried not for the son, nor the son for the father.

"So then the men of arms and all brake their array, but they had no list to take the way to Bruges: the press was so great in the way toward Bruges, that it was marvel to see and to hear the clamour and cry of them that were slain and hurt; and the Ghentois following them of Bruges, crying 'Ghent, Ghent,' still going forward, and beating down of people. The most part of the men of arms would not put themselves in that peril; howbeit, the Earl was counselled to draw to Bruges, and to be one of the first that should enter, and then to close the gates, to the intent that the Ghentois should not be lords of Bruges. The Earl seeing none other remedy, nor no recoverance by abiding in the field, for he saw well every man fled, and also it was dark night, wherefore he believed the counsel that was given him, and so took the way toward Bruges, with his banner before him, and so came to the gate, and entered with the first and a forty with him. Then he set men to keep the gate, and to close it if the Ghentois did follow: then the Earl rode to his own lodging, and sent all about the town, commanding every man, on pain of death, to draw to the market place. The intention of the Earl was to recover the town by that means; but he did not, as ye shall hear after."

(To be concluded).

He who will not reason is a bigot; he who cannot is a fool; he who dare not is a slave.







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

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

J. B. G.—Have no knowledge of person you name. "England's Hold on India" is unavoidably crowded out. It is in type, and will appear next week.

Periodicals received during the week ending Wednesday August 8.

<b>ENGLAND</b> Freedom Labour Tribune London—Freie Presse Norwich—Daylight Railway Review Telegraph Service Gazette Worker's Friend	<b>FRANCE</b> Paris—Cri du Peuple (daily) Le Parti Ouvrier (daily) La Revolte Le Coup de Feu Lille—Le Cri du Travailleur	<b>GERMANY</b> Berlin—Volks Tribune	<b>ITALY</b> Milan—Il Fascio Operaio Rome—L'Emancipazione Marsala—La Nuova Eta
<b>INDIA</b> Bankipore—Behar Herald Madras—People's Friend	<b>HOLLAND</b> Hague—Recht voor Allen	<b>SPAIN</b> El Productor Madrid—El Socialista	<b>NETHERLANDS</b> Cremona—Il Democratico Gazetta Operaia
<b>UNITED STATES</b> New York—Der Sozialist Freiheit Truthseeker Jewish Volkszeitung Alarm	<b>BEELGIUM</b> Seraing (Ougree)—Le Reveil Ghent—Vooruit Liege—L'Avenir Antwerp—De Werker	<b>PORTUGAL</b> Lisbon—O Protesto Operario Porto—A Revolucao Social	<b>AUSTRIA</b> Arbeiterstimme Wien—Gleichheit
<b>BOSTON</b> Liberty Buffalo—Arbeiter-Zeitung Chicago—Labor Enquirer Vorbote Detroit—Der Arme Teufel Fort Worth (Tex)—South West Milwaukee—National Reformer	<b>SWITZERLAND</b> Zurich—Sozial Demokrat Arbeiterstimme	<b>GERMANY</b> Jassy—Municipal	<b>DENMARK</b> Social-Demokraten
	<b>ITALY</b> Milan—Il Fascio Operaio Rome—L'Emancipazione Marsala—La Nuova Eta	<b>GERMANY</b> Stockholm, Social-Demokraten	<b>SWEDEN</b> Stockholm, Social-Demokraten
		<b>NORWAY</b> Kristiania—Social-Democraten	<b>WEST INDIES</b> Cuba—El Productor

WILLIAM LOVETT.

WILLIAM LOVETT, the original draughtsman and penman of the People's Charter, was born May 8, 1800, in the little fishing village of Newlyn, about a mile westward of Penzance, Cornwall. His mother was a West-country woman, his father a Hull man, trading as captain of a small vessel calling at Falmouth. He was drowned before William was born, and Mrs. Lovett and the child were taken care of by her brother, a ropemaker; who, however, dying early, again left Mrs. Lovett to the rough battle of life, and she gained a living for herself, her boy, and aged mother by selling fish in Penzance market. Mrs. Lovett seems to have made somewhat of a struggle to give the boy some education, but in his "Life and Struggles in Pursuit of Bread, Knowledge, and Freedom" (Trubner, 1876), Lovett says he was possessed of a greater love of play than learning. He reports of one school which he attended that he saw a boy hung up by his thumbs, his toes only just touching the ground; the next school he went to had a bit of a wag and possibly a Republican for master. One day Lovett having to set his own writing copy, wrote "All kings have long heads"; opposite to this the master wrote "All horses have longer heads." It may be this had some effect on Lovett's thinking later on. Lovett was apprenticed to the rope-making, and after serving his time and passing through various changes of fortune by slackness of trade, was at last induced to leave his native place and journey to London, that universal refuge; left home June 23rd, 1823, travelling by water, and arrived a total stranger with the large sum of 30s. to commence a new life with. While serving his time as a rope-maker, he had always been much inclined to carpentering and cabinet work in his spare hours, and failing now in London to get work at rope-making got a job as carpenter, later on developing into a skilled cabinet maker and working at that trade for some years.

In his "Life" he gives some interesting details of "Mapleism" in the cabinet-making trade of sixty years ago. By means of the Mechanic's Institute he was adding to his mental stores.

After getting married he invested some small savings in a small general shop in May's Buildings, St. Martin's Lane, which was not a success. He was next invited to take the situation of storekeeper to the "First London Association," one of the first co-operative stores started in the southern part of England. This early identified him with the co-operative movement, and entailed some sacrifice, as the salary was less than he would have earned at his other trade, but this loss was a small thing to Lovett, who all through his life went for social progress and good of his fellows rather than any personal gains.

In his account of his work in the co-operative movement he gives a picture of Robert Owen, which is not a very pleasing one.

In 1831 he had some trouble with the authorities, because he refused either to serve in the militia or pay for a substitute. For this his goods were seized. He started a Plan of Campaign based on "No Vote, No Musket." He suffered much loss, but he broke down a shameful system then in vogue. In this year was started "The National Union of the Working-classes and others, its objects being the Protection of Working-men, the Free Disposal of the Produce of Labour, Effectual Reform of the Commons House of Parliament, Repeal of all Bad Laws, and to collect and organise a peaceful expression of public opinion."

Agitation now occupied a very large portion of his time, and as fast as one society or association failed, another took its place; the failures were not few. One of the main sources of this failure was the infamous spy system, which was worked by the authorities to the very fullest extent. By this means a society was soon weakened by doubt among the members, and then broken up by being hurried to some vain show of strength, or more often still by lying informations leading to illegal breaking up of meetings, and still more illegal arrests and imprisonments of each set of leaders.

Lovett naturally came often into collision with the authorities in these matters; and, though never giving any sanction to the physical force party, making in fact some violent enemies among that party by his persistent stand for moral force, yet he was not always able to come out unscathed when opposed by perjured Crown spies and witnesses.

In 1832, the Government ordered a general fast as an appeal to God to remove cholera. Lovett and his co-workers believed a "fast" to his class would be of more good. A subscription was started to provide by help of those who could afford it, a dinner for those who could not. The dinner to be preceded by a procession, but no public meetings. There was an immense gathering, a hundred thousand people, said one report, assembled in Finsbury Square. Lovett, James Watson, and Henry Hetherington headed the procession, and attempted to take a walk through the Strand, Piccadilly, Hyde Park, Oxford Street, and Holborn. They were treated as we were treated on Bloody Sunday, November 13, 1887. At Temple Bar the road was blocked by police armed with truncheons and drawn cutlasses "admirably adapted for fighting in a crowd," said one of the organs of law-n-order. Going by Chancery Lane to Holborn another body of police blocked the way; twisting and turning to avoid these, they found themselves in Tottenham Court Road, when some lost patience and forced a passage, when staves came into play, and further trouble was prevented by turning into North Crescent and with a few words dismissing the crowd to dinner. After such an earnest effort by the police to provoke a great riot, some one had to suffer even though no riot took place, and Lovett, Watson, and Benbow were arrested, and on May 16, 1832, charged at Clerkenwell Sessions House with being "disaffected and ill-disposed persons, who with force and arms had made a great riot, tumult, and disturbance," and "with having for the space of five hours caused great terror and alarm to all the liege subjects of the King." The trial was worthy of a Crimes Court in Ireland, and to point the comparison a Mr. Roach was chairman. The jury acquitted. In the following May, the Calthorpe Street Riot took place, when the police, remembering their previous failure, got to work much sharper, and very speedily had a crowd of dangerously wounded men, women, and children. One policeman was killed, and at the inquest a verdict was brought in of Justifiable Homicide; and when a man named George Fursey was put on trial for killing a policeman named Brook, the jury brought in a verdict of acquittal, which was received with immense applause. Lovett was not at this meeting, not being much in favour of it, and also having promised to complete some dining-tables he was making; but for this he would have been in a bad fix, for a police spy named Popay seems to have laid a complete plan to finally deliver Lovett to the enemy.

In 1836, Lovett was appointed to draw up an Act for the regulation of Friendly Societies; and about the same time he drafted a telling petition against land monopoly, which was extensively signed and then presented by Cobbett to the Commons, and by Lord King to the House of Lords.

The war against stamped newspapers helped to keep Lovett busy, and brought him in contact with many of the widest known names in the history of cheaper information—a movement sometimes called the "Fight for a Free Press."

"The London Working-men's Association," started in this year, issued a very attractive address and programme, and made one of the very earliest efforts towards Internationalism between the working-classes in an "Address to the Working-classes of Belgium," called forth by a Government prosecution of Jacob Kats, who was fined and imprisoned for calling a meeting of fellow labourers. This was answered in an eloquent address from the working-men of Belgium; for inserting this the *Journal du Peuple* was prosecuted.

In 1837, a petition to the Queen was prepared by Lovett and his co-workers, and on desiring to present it personally they were informed that it could be done by the deputation, which must attend in Court dress at the next levee. They didn't do so, but let Lord John Russell present it.

THOS. SHORE, jun.

(To be concluded.)

Another labor paper, the *Labor Globe*, of Knoxville, Tenn., has died for lack of support. It should have given a column or two to sporting affairs.—Pittsburg Labor Tribune.

## LETTER FROM AMERICA.

The big iron and steel workers' strike in the west of the Allegheny Mountains is completely over. There was a meeting of the Manufacturers' Association on the 18th July. The following resolution was adopted: "Resolved, That the conference committee of manufacturers be dissolved and that all members of the Association of Manufacturers of Iron, Steel, and Nails who have not signed the Amalgamated scale be absolved from all pledges, written or otherwise, and are authorised to act in their individual capacity regarding the starting of their work." Most of the firms have signed the wage scale drawn up by the workers' committee. There may be a few idiots who may try to run their shops with non-union men, but they will soon be worsted under the present conditions.

The defeat of the bosses will most assuredly lead to the formation of a trust—that is, to the formation of a union of such manufacturers as will not only pledge themselves not to act independently, but who will all place themselves liable to a heavy forfeit in case of breaking faith. Half a dozen men worth a good many millions are taking the lead. This plan will also contemplate the taking care of weak firms who have contracts and who cannot stand a long strike. The success of the other trusts as against workmen and the public in general has led to this plan.

Of the few persons now left in Chicago who dare to think independently and who are also not afraid to speak their minds, Mrs. Lucy Parsons is one. When told of the recent arrests made in Chicago, she told a reporter: "They haven't murdered any Anarchists since November last, and they seem to be thirsting for more blood. I don't believe there was a conspiracy only in the hellish imagination of Bonfield and his minions. If Grinnell and Gary are not killed very soon, I will kill them myself, and you can rest assured I will not make a botch of it. Pointing to her ten-year-old boy, Albert, she continued: "What do you suppose I am raising him for? I shall teach him that his father was murdered, and by whom! Those red-handed butchers had better look out."

One dynamite scare was not sufficient for Mr. Bonfield, so he had to discover another conspiracy. "If you are to be the saviour of society, well, do it well," seems to be the motto of the Chicago ruffian. Last week, on the 27th of July, we were startled to read the following news in our capitalistic press: Bonfield, who believes in the iron hand and is not in favour of leniency toward those who make it a business (mark the phrase!) to overturn the existing order of things, has of late been diligently at work in Chicago, and of course he discovered some time ago evidence of a dynamite plot to murder several people obnoxious to the Anarchists and destroy any amount of property. So far our C. P. Well, what did Bonfield do? With a large force of club-swingers and revolver-shooters, he went to the house of three Bohemian workmen, John Hronek, Frank Chlebowa, and Frank Chapak, and he—the mighty Bonfield—discovered there a dagger, poisoned of course—you never read a penny-horrible without a poisoned dagger—a revolver—fancy that!—and several bombs, loaded and not loaded—oh my! Now this conspiracy was got up to remove Judge Gary, Judge Grinnell, Captain Schaack, and Inspector Bonfield. The State of Illinois, the U.S. and all surrounding villages, were to be blown up—so Bonfield maintains. About the dynamite found in his house Hronek is said to have given the following explanation: "Just after the Haymarket affair a friend of mine, whose name is Frank Karafiat, came to me and said he had some dynamite he wanted me to keep for him, as he was afraid to have it around him. He had to go out of town, and I let him put it in the house. I got afraid, and threw some of it in the river, but the rest I couldn't dispose of, because I was afraid I'd meet a policeman who would arrest me. I meant to throw it all in the river, but didn't get a chance; but I haven't been in any conspiracy." Bonfield says Chlebowa has split and told the following story: "He begins with his first meeting with Hronek and Chappak, and describes how Hronek told about a bomb which he had invented. It was no bigger than a base-ball, but unusually destructive. It was filled with dynamite and broken glass. These bombs were to be used against the two judges, the inspector, and Captain Schaack. Chlebowa was particularly assigned to the captain and the inspector. Hronek was to give the signal and to tell just what they were to do in the way of avenging the martyrs. About July 1 he was visited by Hronek, who brought him two bombs of the broken glass variety, and two sticks of dynamite from which he was to make bombs of gaspipe after the usual pattern. The other two men were also supplied with bombs and dynamite. He had the stuff in the house for about a week and then grew so afraid that it would be discovered that he made away with it by throwing it in a privy vault."

However, the statement of Bonfield about Chlebowa's confession has as yet not been confirmed. A fourth man, also a Bohemian, has been arrested, but I have not been able as yet to ascertain his name. Both Chlebowa and Chapak have been released against 5,000 dols. bail each. Hronek is still in jail. The case will be prepared for the grand jury, who meet this week.

The latest news is this: It is still uncertain whether the police had a confession from one of the three Anarchists first imprisoned. The impression, after careful investigation by the local papers, points decidedly against the existence of any statement made by either of the prisoners.

The truth of the whole story may be this. Hronek had some stuff in his house since the Haymarket affair, of which he could not dispose. A friend of his who knew about it, and with whom he had a row, denounced him to the police, and Bonfield for the purpose of his own glorification constructed the whole conspiracy.

## THE BURLINGTON CASE.

July 16th.—A Conference was held this afternoon at the office of the Chicago, Burlington, and Quincy Road, at which the strikers were represented (?) by Chief P. M. Arthur, of the locomotive engineers, and Chief F. P. Sargent, of the firemen. Hoge and Murphy were also present. The officials of the two Brotherhoods at once assured the railroad men that they had no sympathy with dynamiters, nor lawlessness in any form. All agreed that it would be well if the strike could be ended.

The trial was resumed this morning. The testimony of informer Smith was in the same line as that of Bowles.

July 17th.—"We will use all our influence to have the strike declared off," said Mr. Arthur this morning. "The Brotherhood has no pity nor respect for men who will proceed to such damnable deeds. There is no sympathy for them."

July 18th.—The biggest sensation yet in connection with the "Q" case was that which McGinn, of Pinkerton's detective agency, sprung on the public to-day. McGinn admitted to-day that Wilson, one of the accused men, was a Pinkerton man. Wilson arose, left the accused men, and took a seat near the prosecuting attorney, Ewing. There are four informers now,

viz., Bowles, Wilson, Smith, and Kelly. Bowles was on the stand to-day. He produced the following letter:—

"Peoria, Ill., June 27, 1888.

"To J. A. Bowles:—

"Dear Sir and Brother,—If you think that that man you speak of is watching you, don't do anything that would make you suspicious. I think you could give him the slip easy at night by taking a walk to the next town, and if the ——— should follow you shoot him, for I would not have any mercy on any ——— that would follow me.

"S. A. BAUREISEN."

Bowles was hissed by the audience in the Court-room.

July 19.—The impression is gaining ground among the strikers that chairman Hoge, of the Locomotive Grievance Committee, is a Pinkerton detective.

Much curiosity was expressed to-day as to what the defence would be. The lawyer of the defence said simply: "We rest our case and are prepared to discuss proofs." Commissioner Hoyne said: "The prosecution has presented a good probable case against the prisoners, and I should not be performing my duty unless I referred the charges against all the prisoners to the Grand Jury. It is for the Grand Jury to pass upon the men's guilt or innocence."

The Court ordered that the amount of bail should remain as already fixed, 5,000 dols. each. The three prisoners, Broderick, Bauereisen, and Goding, were not allowed their liberty on bail.

July 20th.—The two chairmen, Hoge and Murphy, are travelling round the country to induce the strikers to end the strike, but everywhere the strikers declare they desire the strike to continue. The Radicals have obtained a complete ascendancy on all the Western and several of the Eastern roads.

A peculiar state of affairs was developed to-day, when the case of conspiracy against chairman Hoge and Murphy of the Burlington strikers was called in court. Neither of the accused was present, and Frank Collier, attorney for the Burlington Company, and representing the prosecution, surprised everybody by a request that the case be continued. He explained his reason for this strange action by saying: "Hoge and Murphy are now out of the city on an extensive tour, doing virtually the company's work." Counsel for the defence made no objection to a continuance, and the Court granted a postponement of one week.

July 21st.—Ex-Engineer Aug. Keogel, a prominent Brotherhood man in Aurora, Ill., was arrested on a charge of assisting Bauereisen. Keogel furnished bonds for his appearance on Wednesday next.

July 22nd.—Nothing new.

July 23rd.—A Committee of Strikers has been formed to agitate for the repeal of the Merritt laws. So Parson's word comes true: "The same men who cried loudest for the adoption of the Merritt laws now cry loudest for the repeal."

Newark, N.J., July 24, 1888.

HENRY F. CHARLES.

## NATIONAL ANTHEM FOR 1851.

(Taken from "Voices from the Workshop on the Exhibition of 1851," a 1d. broadsheet, printed by the "Working Printers, 4A, Johnson's Court, Fleet Street," and sold at 8, George Street, Euston Square.)

God save the working-man,  
The skilful artisan,  
The son of toil,—  
To him thy aid impart,  
Strengthen his hands and heart,  
Bid all his foes depart  
From British soil.

With mighty power come down,  
Hurl Mammon from his throne,  
Bid slavery cease;  
Give industry its own,  
Genius with honour crown,  
Let Britain win renown,  
By acts of peace.

Shine forth celestial light,  
Let might give way to right,  
Let tyrants fall;  
Confound their policy,  
Expose their trickery,  
Destroy their usury,  
Disperse them all.

Clothe idleness with shame,  
Give vice its proper name,  
However drest;  
Give knowledge liberty,  
Wisdom authority,  
That Labour's sons may be  
By Justice blest!

## CORRESPONDENCE.

An "English Churchman and reader of the *Commonweal*" writes to us as follows:—"The Son of Man hath not where to lay his head." A tiny incident shows that the Christians of a highly respectable London suburb are still proving Christianity to be true by illustrating this state of things very practically. Respectability bids the black-coated, top-hatted pieties who monopolise the parish church of this suburb (they don't care a rap for an old but savage letter written by an ex-fisherman and clergyman of their own persuasion named James, because they call it "inspired,"—meaning—evacuating formula!). Well, R. bids them have their "services" choral; Competition bids them do things on a fine scale; so they have a solo-boy, all the way from fifteen miles the other side of London. Convenience places the boy at school in the suburb: no difficulty till the summer holidays: school closes: boy comes up on Sundays: then, to the mingling of laughter and deep pain of every man who looks at Fact, not Formula; Thing, not Wrapping, not a soul can be found to offer him—a dinner! Ears tickled, the inanities stalk home: this small bright human being has no corner at any dining table! What a mess of snobism, selfishness, and insouciance! Priests and Levites of the Parable, ye are not in it!"

A WORD TO WIVES.—We tell our children that if they are but shrewd and industrious and economical enough they may some day become as rich as Vanderbilt or Gould. Not only do ambitious parents thus give their children a wrong start in life, but in too many homes you will find an ambitious wife, who loves money and distinction, urging on her husband to the acquisition of these things, not infrequently to his and her financial and social ruin.—*Rev. Hugh O. Pentecost.*



## THE LABOUR STRUGGLE.

BRITAIN.

**CLYDE SHIPBUILDING.**—Monday afternoon, 5th, 100 men were thrown idle in the shipbuilding yard of Napier and Sons, Glasgow, owing to a dispute amongst the heaters of rivets.

**CABLE CHAIN STRIKE.**—The strike in the South Staffordshire cable chain trade practically terminated on Monday, 6th, it being announced at a meeting of the operatives at Cradley Heath, that, with the exception of one small employer, all the masters had granted an advance, and the men would resume work immediately.

**CABINET MAKERS COMBINE.**—A well-attended meeting was held at Shore-ditch Town Hall on the 1st, for the purpose of strengthening the Trade Societies. Several M.P.'s were there and spoke, Stuart and Pickersgill doing their usual respectable platitudes, with which those present were however quite content, promptly shutting up the one speaker who dared to be more advanced.

**CARDROOM STRIKE.**—The strike of card and blowing-room operatives at Brickhouse Mill, Bury and Elton, still continues. The local Card and Blowing-room Hands' Association has for the second week paid to its members and also non-members out on strike the sum of £8, 4s. 4d., the rate of payment being 5s. per week for females, and 10s. per week for males, with 1s. per head for children under ten years of age in the latter case.

**LONDON COMPOSITORS.**—At the one hundred and sixty-second quarterly delegate meeting, held at the Memorial Hall, Farringdon Street, on Wednesday, 1st, a highly satisfactory report was submitted by the secretary. This is now the largest centralised trade union in the United Kingdom, numbering 7,300 members, and having an invested capital of £23,000. Delegates were elected to represent the society at the forthcoming Trade Union Congress at Bradford, and the meeting adjourned until the 15th inst.

**NUT AND BOLT STRIKE.**—On Thursday, 2nd, a meeting of nut and bolt makers was held at Darlaston, to consider advisability of calling out those men who are employed in the small works where notice has not yet been given demanding wages in accordance with the list of 1881. Resolutions were passed in favour of the operatives continuing to "play on" at the factories where the employers refuse to pay the advance; also in favour of the workmen giving notice at the small factories for the payment of list prices.

**STRIKE IN THE NORTHAMPTON BOOT TRADE.**—The boot and shoe riveters and finishers employed at the Northampton factory of Messrs. Joseph Dawson and Sons, of Northampton and London-wall, E.C., resolved on Friday, 3rd, to come out on strike on the wages question. The dispute may affect a number of manufactories in town, as the men's union decided last week to insist on special wages being paid by all metropolitan manufacturers with factories in Northampton. Messrs. Dawson and Sons have refused to pay Northampton current wages, let alone as high as London manufacturers; hence the strike.

**THREATENED STRIKE AT BLACKBURN.**—A mass meeting of the cardroom hands of Blackburn and district was held Friday, 3rd, to take into consideration the wages question. Some time ago the cardroom hands of North-East Lancashire applied for an advance in wages of 10 per cent. for men and 5 per cent. for women. The employers offered 5 per cent. all round, but this the operatives refused. At Friday's meeting it was stated that the operatives in North-East Lancashire were underpaid compared with those in the south of the county, and it was unanimously resolved to give notice on Tuesday unless an advance was granted; this notice has been given.

**SPINNERS' GRIEVANCES.**—For several weeks the spinners at Victoria Mill Padiham, have complained about extra work and lessened earnings. The matter was brought before the Spinners' Association, who decided that the hands should cease work unless something extra was allowed. Interviews have taken place between the hands and the company, but no satisfactory arrangement has been arrived at. No notice being required at the mill, the spinners are now virtually on strike, and will not resume work till a settlement is effected, as the matter is now in the hands of the Committee. There are other mills in the town where the same complaints are rife, and unless an improvement shortly takes place they will also be brought to a standstill.

**OCEAN COLLIERS AND THE SLIDING SCALE.**—In accordance with the resolution recently passed to terminate the sliding-scale which has regulated their wages for the past nine years, the employes of the various pits have forwarded to their employers a six months' notice terminating the scale six months from August 1st, 1888. At a mass meeting, the timbering dispute, and the recent decision of the Pontypridd stipendiary, that colliers had no discretion in the selection of timber, was the subject of a lengthy discussion, and a resolution was passed that the men, as heretofore, should decline to place flat timbers except only when under a clod. The men maintain that, after ripping, the use of notched round timbers is essential to secure them from danger.

**SWEEPING IN THE CUTLERY TRADE.**—At an inquest held on 3rd, at Sheffield on a pen-blade grinder, evidence was given which showed that he was in receipt of a miserable wage. A witness said deceased, who was 63 years of age, worked for a sweeper, and he believed he died from want. Although he worked every day he did not earn more than 9s. per week, out of which he had to pay 2s. 6d. per week rent, 1s. per week for the hut in which he lived, and 1s. 6d. for grinding-stones and tools. His work was grinding and glazing of "fied" penknife blades, for which he was paid at the rate of 1s. per gross, reckoning 14 blades to the dozen. The coroner said "the deceased was a free agent, and if he liked to work at such low wages was at liberty to do so." The jury, acting upon the medical evidence, found a verdict of death from apoplexy.

**YORKSHIRE MINERS' ASSOCIATION AND THE PROPOSED ADVANCE OF WAGES.**—On Tuesday 31st a largely attended meeting of the Council of the Yorkshire Miners' Association was held at Barnsley. The chief question discussed was the movement amongst the lodges for an advance of 10 per cent., to be demanded on the first of October next. It was resolved not to take any active steps until the opinions of other districts are obtained. It was further resolved that the Association officials write to other trades-union officials connected with mining districts where the counties are free from sliding scales, soliciting their opinion on the desirability or otherwise of demanding an advance, and asking if they would attend a conference to discuss and pass resolutions, saying what action should be taken, and whether such conference should be held early in September. It was agreed that when the replies were received the same should be laid before the district.

**TRADE UNIONISTS AND CO-OPERATION.**—The Trade Union M.P.'s have issued a letter "recommending to the attention and good help of our fellow Trade Unionists the National Co-operative Festival, which is to be held at the Crystal Palace on the 18th August. This festival of labor is especially designed to make prominent that branch of the co-operative movement which most interests us as Trade Unionists, viz., the reconciliation of capital and labor, by giving to the worker a share in the profits of industry and in the management of the workshop. . . . It is hoped that the Festival and Exhibition, as a whole, will demonstrate the capacity of our workers, and advance their claims to larger social rights and consideration. For these reasons we again ask you to give what aid you can." The office of the Festival Committee is 1, Norfolk Street, Strand.

**OUR MINERS' "BUTCHERS' BILL."**—It seems to be inevitable that every year we must pay in human life for so many tons of mineral wrought, but it is perfectly clear that very much more is now paid in that way than there need be. In 1887 there was a death for every 173,919 tons wrought as compared with 178,391 tons in the preceding year. As there were just over 173 million tons wrought the deaths totalled up to 1,051. There is some satisfaction in knowing that the coal miner's occupation is now fully twice as safe as it was thirty years ago, the ratio being then one death among 245 persons employed, and for the present year one in 529. If this can be done under capitalism, what could not be done if the mines were controlled and worked by associations of free workmen? The number of persons employed in and about the whole of the mines in the United Kingdom amounts to 568,026, of whom 5,725 are females above ground.

**BURNLEY COTTON SPINNERS.**—The master cotton-spinners of Burnley apparently have a desire, says the *Star*, to see male and female workpeople on an equal footing. They are willing to give a 5 per cent. advance to both sexes alike. This has already been touched upon in the *Star*, but may be told again, seeing that, if this equality is insisted upon, the mill-hands are next Wednesday to give a week's notice. The card-room (male) hands of Preston and district earn about £1 a week—some less—the Oldham hands 5s. a week more. The female card-room hands of Preston earn 10s. or 11s. a week, and in rare cases 16s. It is the card-room and "blowing-room" hands in the north-eastern district that stand out for the 5 per cent. further advance to males than females, and it is against this favor to the men that the mill-owners object, and upon which the strikers (if they do come out) will receive the support of the Amalgamated Society of Operative Cotton Spinners of the county palatine.

AMERICA.—July 24.

The Union Labour Party of Connecticut will have a national ticket in the field.

There are at least 250,000 women in Massachusetts alone who are earning a living by industrial occupations.

The Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers will celebrate its quarter of a century of existence on August 17th, at Detroit.

A co-operative broom factory has been started at Harrisburg, Oregon, by the members of Knights of Labour Assembly 5371.

The Hat Finishers' National Association are furnishing their union labels to the trade at the rate of nearly 1,000,000 a month.

The Wage Conference of prescription glass manufacturers and workmen has resulted in an amicable settlement, and the factories will all resume on August 17th.

The United Order of American Carpenters and Joiners have prepared a bill to be presented to the Legislature prohibiting pawnbrokers from making loans on mechanics' tools.

A machine has just been completed that will revolutionise the cooper trade. With it three men will be able to make 600 barrels a-day. It is the invention of a woman, Mrs. Maria E. Beasley, who has been working on it for the past eight years.

The women employed in the shoe factory at Carlisle, Pa., have struck on the 16th July because of the re-instatement of Abram Keiter, the foreman who was accused of immoral and cruel conduct to the women in the factory last year. The men also threaten to strike.

President James Campbell, of the Universal Federation of Window-glass Workers, Patrick Cleary, and John Phillips, all of Pittsburg, sailed on July 21st for Europe as delegates from this country to the Biennial Convention of their organisation at Charleroi, Belgium.

Mr. Robertson, of the Pittsburg brass-workers, will be in New York this week to make arrangements for holding on October 13th a Convention of Brass-workers. It is the intention to form one large organisation and obtain a national district charter from the Knights of Labour.

The first English issue of an organ devoted to the interests of the bakers of North America made its appearance last week. It is known as the *Bakers' Journal*. It will be issued weekly at Paterson, and edited by J. P. McDonnell. The first number gives promise of a healthy and prosperous life.

Master Workman Monaghan, of the Switchmen's Union, arrived here on the 19th of July, and has been for two days investigating the recent strike in the Wabash yards. He has concluded that the strike was uncalled for and has declared it off. Monaghan says the trouble was insignificant and could have been amicably settled.

The following official figures show the condition of the membership of the Knights of Labour:—July 1, 1886—Membership, 729,677; in bad standing, 26,753; number of local assemblies, 5,892; number of assemblies lapsed, 117. July 1, 1887—Membership, 548,239; in bad standing, 36,888; number of local assemblies formed, 2,358; number lapsed, 598. July 1, 1888—Membership, 348,672; in bad standing, 76,366; number of locals formed, 376; number of lapses reported, 1,355. H. F. C.

**MUST DRAW THE LINE AT POLICEMEN.**—Notices have been posted on the chapel gate at Broadford, county Limerick, denouncing a schoolmistress and some young girls for having sat to be photographed with policemen. One of the latter has made himself specially obnoxious by giving evidence in the prosecution of a clergyman under the Crimes Act.

**HIGHLAND LAND LEAGUE.**—At a meeting in London, on the 24th, it was unanimously decided to hold the annual conference at Inverness on the 19th of September. The Irish and Welsh Land Leaguers have promised to be influentially represented, and John Morley, M.P., is expected to be the chief speaker at the demonstration which usually follows the conference. A proposal to invite Mr. Gladstone and the other Liberal leaders to visit the Highlands in order to acquaint themselves with the condition of the crofters and cottars was unanimously agreed to.

## INTERNATIONAL NOTES.

## FRANCE.

As our readers are aware, an important strike of several thousand navvies has suddenly broken out at Paris, and at the present moment is rather increasing than diminishing in numbers and also in energy. The utter impossibility of living with their miserable wages is the only reason which has led the toilers to come to the serious decision of stopping work altogether. This absolute impossibility has been acknowledged even by the Paris Municipal Council, which lately decided that in all the city works the price given for one hour's work would henceforth be sixty centimes—say fivepence halfpenny—and that the day's work would be reduced to nine hours. The wages now paid to the navvies are thirty, thirty-five, and forty centimes (from 2½d. to 3½d.). The navvies on strike claim from their private exploiters the same conditions and terms which the Paris Municipality have considered to be essential, since they have prescribed them to their own contractors. It was thus to be hoped that the municipal councillors would at once have helped and relieved those who did but appropriate to themselves the very decisions which the former had rightly come to. Instead of acting in that way, the only logical course which they could have followed, the famous Radicals of that "representative" body hurried themselves in condemning the strikers and their revindications. Two Socialist councillors, comrades Vaillant and Chauvière, having asked a sum of 20,000 francs for the relief of the wives and children of these poor and exploited men, a large majority of the Council—the first municipality of the world, as they call themselves—met this fair demand with a plain and distinct refusal. This much for the Municipal Council; but the government of Floquet and Co., supported by Clémenceau and the whole *fine fleur* of Radicalism, and even by large numbers of so-called parliamentary Socialists, have gone much farther than that, and their conduct deserves to be remembered by the proletariat of France and elsewhere. For the first time, the government have ordered not only their police, but their infantry and their cavalry and their gendarmerie to be set on foot against the most peaceful strikers that ever were met anywhere. The wood and stone yards have been occupied by military force, and soon afterwards a real war has begun between the workers and the supporters of bourgeois exploitation. At a few yards' distance from the Place de la République, on the bridge over the river Oise, a wholesale massacre of toilers has been perpetrated, the soldiers of "republican" France seeming to be delighted at the opportunity of sabring through the workers' chests and carrying a bloody victory over unarmed men at the point of their bayonets. We hope that such a savage blood-letting of the proletariat, ordered by the first "extra-Radical" ministry that ever has been in office, will not remain unremembered, as a forlorn lesson, by those who, until now, have laboured under the illusion that "democratic" governments are of any avail for the settling of the people's interests and rights.

Continuing in that savage and reactionary way, the Government have decided to at once expel from the French territory all those strikers who happen to have been born on the other side of the boundaries of the bourgeois republic. In the world of the *haute pègre* (upper crust), financial and industrial, the wolves and the lynxes of all nationalities combine to their heart's content, and in a business-like fashion, for the exploitation and the robbing of the toilers, and the police never interferes with that "international" society of thieves and plunderers; but poor workers, happening to be Italians, or Swiss, or Belgians, or Germans, are not allowed to combine and to meet with their French comrades and to show their spirit of solidarity towards their fellow workmen. That piece of infamy of Floquet's government also ought to be carefully registered for the time when all these "Radicals" will have to tender their accounts to the people's justiciaries.

In spite of all bloodshed, and arrests, and expulsions, the strike goes on steadily and with increased energy. The ten thousand navvies have already been joined by the carmen, and the cabbies are likely to follow suit; further, the "Chambre Syndicale" of the cabinetmakers of the Seine Department, in addressing to the strikers a sum of money for their relief fund, have announced that in a few days they also will join the march, so that the movement initiated by the navvies may become the prelude of a general strike of all the Parisian workers.

We may say in conclusion that several masters have informed the committee of the strike, which holds its daily meetings at the "Bourse du Travail" (the Workers' Exchange), that they are prepared to agree with the terms laid down by the navvies, but the latter, in acknowledging their good will, have decided to stand firm until all masters have come to recognise the righteousness of the toilers' revindications.

Emile Eudes, the former member and general of the Commune of Paris, died suddenly at Paris from an apoplectic fit while speaking at a meeting of the navvies. Next week we will give a brief summary of his political career.

## GERMANY.

At Munich, the police have succeeded in getting up a fresh case of secret conspiracy, in which twelve Socialists are concerned, among them being Ignaz Auer, the former member of the Reichstag, comrades Birk, father and son, and an old woman of sixty-five, who seems to have particularly endangered the security of the German empire. This will be the fourth trial for conspiracy at Munich, since the year 1882.

At Berlin, Hamburg-Altona, Elberfeld, and several other places, similar cases of secret conspiracy are also to come forward, and it is a curious thing to note that, since the accession of William the Second to the throne of his "ancestors," most of the Socialists prosecutions are cases of "secret conspiracy." Our comrades there keep *secretly* the forbidden papers, as *Freiheit, der Sozial Demokrat*, etc., and the police argue that, by keeping these papers, they really are *conspiring* against the German Empire. But we earnestly hope that the time is ripening, when our comrades of the German lands will make up their minds for a real and gigantic conspiracy, which will put an end to the despotic rule of Bismarck and his tools.

The strike of the Hamburg cabinetmakers is likely to end with the complete victory of the workers. Three firms have resolved not to accept the terms of the strikers, but it is pretty sure that they will soon be obliged to come to an agreement. At any rate, those who already have won their case, show a great deal of solidarity with their fellow comrades. The strike, up to the present moment, has been carried through successfully, but at a cost of over 80,000 marcs, and 2000 marcs more are wanted weekly to support the workers and their families.

At Hamburg, the police have suppressed the special organ of the painters and decorators, "*der Korrespondent*," which had only gone through fourteen numbers, and was a very ably written paper of that particular trade. At

Munich, they confiscated the whole edition of a pamphlet dealing with the "judicial murders" that have occurred in Bavaria.

The German tailors will hold their annual conference at Erfurt, from the 5th to the 8th of this month, and the engineers of the same country will have their annual meeting at Marburg on the 12th inst. Both these trades having particularly suffered in their interests during the last year, the discussions in connection therewith are likely to be of great importance.

## AUSTRIA-HUNGARY.

At Brunn, Reichenberg, and in other parts of the northern districts of Bohemia, a number of over 20,000 weavers have just gone to strike. The weavers have to work 12 hours a day for the miserable sum of from 3s. 6d. to 5s. 6d. a week. And yet these starving men only ask to be allowed to work 11 hours daily, with an increase of 20 per cent. on their wages. But the exigency of the times, which are very hard indeed for the "poor" capitalists, do not allow the latter to agree to the "exorbitant" claims of the workers. If the weavers did get hold of the machines and the factories altogether, and they have a better right to them than the exploiters have, what then? V. D.

## EXCURSION TO PETERSHAM PARK.

Last Monday an excursion took place to Petersham Park, organized by the Socialist League and foreign sections. Although the weather was somewhat unsettled, a very pleasant day was enjoyed. The returns are not yet to hand, so the number present is not known; but by the afternoon there was a numerous gathering.

LOCAL SWINDLING.—Knowing how swindlers of all sorts hate publicity, we are proposing to deal with some of those robberies, which, petty in themselves, make up that immense aggregate which means wealth to a few and misery to a many. As a sample of what we mean, we are informed that in Abingdon bread is sold almost invariably without being weighed, and that coals are likewise almost invariably sent out without any means of the consumer knowing how many hundredweight make a ton. Now, as to each of these articles there are Acts of Parliament of a stringent nature, and what is of some moment, reasonably plain and simple, which insist that the bread shall be weighed on delivery, and that a weighing machine shall be easily available to check the coals, and in the case of the coals none are to be sent out without a ticket recounting these details. We shall be glad to learn from any Abingdon reader, or failing that, will ask some Oxford reader to inquire as to the truth of this. The reason for this action is plainly as follows: There is a want of solicitude for the common-weal which to-day has come to be as much a crime as any of the offences usually called crimes. What is everybody's business is nobody's business, is much too often the cause of suffering; in small country places, however, there are several reasons which prevent any action which might do good, simply because the "good" seems distant, remote, small and problematical, and the "bad" to the initiator is immediate and often severe, a very small effort for improvement perhaps meaning absolute ruin to the unhappy agitator. We propose to try and stir up trouble from a distance; if supported in this action we will try and remove some of these small evils which in the mass make up the sum total of human misery. To do this one of the first things is to be in possession of the exactest facts, and we ask for local newspapers and reports such as can be relied upon, so that at least light can be let into some of the dark corners, and the paths of the evil doers made as uneasy as possible.

"If before his duty man  
With listless spirit stands,  
Ere long the great avenger takes  
The work from out his hands."

—T. S.

## THE SOCIALIST LEAGUE.

OFFICES: 13 FARRINGDON ROAD, E.C.

The Offices of the Socialist League will be open for the sale of *Commonweal* and all other Socialist publications from 8.30 a.m. to 9 p.m. every day except Sunday. The Secretary will be in attendance from 10 a.m. to 9 p.m. daily.

## REPORTS.

FULHAM.—Sunday morning Maughan, Mrs. Taylor, Samuels and McCormack (S.D.F.) spoke to good meeting. *Commonweal* sold well, and 1s. 6d. collected. In evening Groser, Samuels, and Tochatti addressed capital audience. Some opposition, which Tochatti replied to.—S. B. G.

ABERDEEN.—Unusually large meeting held in Castle Street, Saturday evening, Duncan presiding, and delivering good opening speech. Leatham thereafter spoke for an hour and three-quarters, criticising the Archbishop of York's Address on the social problem. The speech was frequently applauded, and a cheer was accorded to the speaker at the close.—J. L.

GLASGOW.—Very successful meetings this week. On Saturday Downie and Glasier addressed a prolonged meeting on Jail Square, at the conclusion of which several questions were answered. On Sunday at mid-day Glasier and Downie again spoke at the same place to a good audience which manifested great interest in our comrades speeches. In the evening our usual meeting at Paisley Road was held by Pollock, Glasier, and Gilbert. There was a large and very sympathetic audience.

NORWICH.—Tuesday, debate continued between Mr. Scurl and Mowbray. Hall packed. Thursday, notwithstanding threats from authorities at Yarmouth, Poynts and several comrades commenced meeting on the Quay, and afterwards adjourned to Church Plain. Very large attendance. Police, as usual, were most brutal in conduct, pushing and stamping upon our comrades; the crowd continually calling for groans for the police, and urging our comrade to go on. Finally Poynts name was taken, and a summons has been issued against him for obstruction under the Act of 1849. He has to appear on Wednesday next. This being the first case the Branch have had in connection with the right of free speech, they are determined to carry on the propaganda in spite of prosecution. Large number of the people are with us; if we give in here, the law-and-order folk will very soon try it on in Norwich. Friday, good meeting at St. Catharine's Plain by Poynts, Morley, and Mowbray. Sunday morning, good meetings at North Walsham and Wymondham by Mowbray, Morley, Darley and Poynts, and in the Market Place afternoon and evening. In Gordon Hall, Mowbray lectured, Poynts in chair.—A. T. S.

WALSALL.—Monday, Deakin lectured on "Leclaire and Godin." Saturday evening, Sanders held open-air meeting on the Bridge, and despite rain, kept good audience together for an hour. Meeting on West Bromwich Road, Sunday, addressed by Carless. Good attendance.—J. T. D.

**LECTURE DIARY.**

**LONDON.**

**Acton.**—Any information from Secretary Harnett, 7 Redmore Road, Hammersmith.

**Clerkenwell.**—Hall of the Socialist League, 13 Farringdon Rd., E.C.

**Fulham.**—8 Effie Road, Walham Green. Sunday at 8 p.m.

**Hackney.**—Enquiries, communications, etc., to E. Lefevre, Secretary, 28 Percy Terrace, Victoria Rd., Hackney Wick.

**Hammersmith.**—Kelmescott House, Upper Mall, W. Sunday August 12, at 8 p.m.

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

**Mile-end and Bethnal Green.**—95 Boston St., Hackney Road.

**North London.**—Secretary, Nelly Parker, 143 Cavendish Buildings, opposite Holborn Town Hall. The business meetings will be held on Friday evenings at 6 Windmill Street, Tottenham Court Road, after the open-air meeting at Ossulton Street. All members are asked to attend at Ossulton St. at 8 o'clock. On Friday evening, August 10, a Social Evening will be given. Refreshments provided. Members of other branches welcomed; free admission.

**Plaistow.**—A branch has been formed here and is commencing a vigorous propaganda in this district. All communications to be addressed to A. Barker, 4 Osborne Terrace, Leyton, E.

**St. Georges in the East.**—A meeting of the members of this branch will be held at 23 Princes Square, on Sunday morning after the meeting at Lemn Street. Rochmann, secretary.

**PROVINCES.**

**Aberdeen** (Scottish Section).—Secretary, J. Leatham, 15 St Nicholas Street. Night and place of meeting have had to be changed in consequence of Sabatarian prejudice of landlords. Branch meets in Oddfellows' Hall on Monday nights at 8. Choir practice at 46 Marischal Street on Thursday evenings at 8.

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

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

**Cowdenbeath** (Scot. Sec.).—J. Duncan, 30 Arthur Pl., sec

**Dundee** (Scot. Sect.).—Meetings every Sunday in the Trades Hall, opposite Tay Bridge Station.

**Edinburgh** (Scottish Land and Labour League).—35 George IV. Bridge. Meetings for Discussion, Thursdays at 8 p.m.

**Galaashiels** (Scot Sect.).—J. Walker, 6 Victoria St., sec.

**Gallatown and Dysart** (Scottish Section: Fife).—Meet every Tuesday at 7 p.m. in Gallatown Public School. Secretary, A. Paterson, 152 Rosslyn St.

**Glasgow.**—84 John St. Reading-room open 10 a.m. till 10 p.m. daily. Discussion every Thursday evening at 8 o'clock. On Sunday evening, at 7 o'clock. Special Business Meeting on Sunday evening, 19th.

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

**Leicester.**—Hosiery Union, Horsefair St. Fridays at 8.

**Lochgelly** (Scottish Section: Fife).—Secs. (*pro tem.*), John Greig and Hugh Conway, The Square.

**Norwich.**—Tuesday, Debate between Mr. Scurl and C. W. Mowbray. Wednesday, Members' Meeting at 8.30. Saturday, Co-operative Clothing Association, 8 until 10. Saturday next, at 8.30, a Social Meeting for comrades and friends will be held in the Gordon Hall, when our London and Oxford comrades will be present.

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

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

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

**OPEN-AIR PROPAGANDA.**

**SUNDAY 12.**

10.30...Starch Green .....Hammersmith Branch  
11.30...Latimer Road Station ...Hammersmith Branch  
11.30...Mitcham Fair Green .....The Branch  
11.30...Regent's Park .....Cantwell  
11.30...Walham Green .....Fulham Branch  
7 ...Weltje Road, opposite Ravenscourt Park  
.....Hammersmith Branch

**Tuesday.**

8.30...Fulham—opposite Liberal Club.....Fulham Bh.

**Friday.**

7.30...Euston Rd.—Ossulton Street .....The Branch

**EAST END.**

**SUNDAY 12.**

Mile-end Waste ... 11 ...Parker.  
"Salmon and Ball" ... 11 ...Nicoll.  
Leman Street, Shadwell ... 11 ...Lane.  
Gibraltar Walk, Bethnal Green Road. ... 7 ...Parker.  
Kingsland Green ... 11.30...  
Victoria Park ... 3.15...Parker.  
Triangle, Hackney Road ... 8 ...Parker.  
Stamford Hill ... 7.30...Lane, Mainwaring

**TUESDAY.**

Mile-end Waste ... 8.30...Cores, M'nwaring.

**WEDNESDAY.**

Broadway, London Fields 8.30...Fuller.

**FRIDAY.**

Philpot St., Commercial Rd. 8.30...Cores, Parker, and Mainwaring.

**SATURDAY.**

Mile-end Waste ... 8 ...Parker & Cores.

**PROVINCES.**

**Aberdeen.**—Saturday: Castle Street, at 8 p.m.

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

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

**Norwich.**—

Yarmouth, Church Plain, Thursday at 7.30.

St Catharine's Plain, Friday at 8.15 p.m.

Stump Cross, Saturday at 8.15.

**THE LABOUR UNION.**—WOOLWICH.—Arsenal Gates (open-air), Sunday August 12th, A. K. Donald.

**EAST-END PROPAGANDA.**—A meeting of all interested in the Socialist propaganda in the East-end of London will be held at the Berner Street International Club, Commercial Road, E., on Saturday at 10 p.m. *prompt.*

**ZUKERTORT CHESS CLUB,** 217 City Road, E.C.—This Club asks us to notify our readers of its existence; that it is well fitted up; and that a first-class man has been secured who gives three hours' instruction every evening.

**LAW AND LIBERTY LEAGUE.**—The monthly meeting of the General Council will be held at 34 Bouverie Street, at 7 p.m. on August 11th. *Agenda:* Report of Executive; Report of Treasurer; Metropolitan Bye-law on Collections; The Right of Procession; Interference of the Police with Public Meetings; Test Questions for Parliamentary Candidates.

**THE SOCIALIST CO-OPERATIVE FEDERATION.**—This Society is now registered. The first General Meeting of the Members will be held at the Hall of the Socialist League, 13 Farringdon Road, E.C., on Saturday August 18th, at 8 p.m., for the election of the Committee and for any other business. All members are particularly requested to attend, and to bring their subscription cards for audit. Non-members who wish to attend can become members on payment of the entrance fee, 1s., in the Hall.

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Lecture by William Morris at 8 p.m. in Gordon Hall—subject, "Monopoly." Admission 3d.

**Monday meetings** will be held Market Place at 1 p.m. and 6.30; Carrow, 1.30. At 8 p.m., lecture by Annie Besant, at St Augustine's Boys' School—subject, "Socialism the only Hope of the Workers." Admission 3d.

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# THE COMMONWEAL

## The Official Journal of the SOCIALIST LEAGUE.

VOL. 4.—No. 136.

SATURDAY, AUGUST 18, 1888.

WEEKLY; ONE PENNY.

### NOTES ON NEWS.

It is assumed by the speakers at a party meeting that the audience will stand anything, partly because as a rule if they are thorough partisans they only listen to certain party catch-words and cheer them; but in one of Mr. Balfour's late speeches he must have tried the "thorough" party quality of his friends somewhat, and probably rather disappointed them, in spite of the loud and prolonged cheering which followed the remark, which we may assume was caused by the fact that the Under-Secretary spoke loud at this point of his speech.

Said Mr. Balfour: "If it were true that the Union could only be maintained by taking away the civil rights of the Irish people, by putting in prison people who are innocent, by attacking those who are guilty of no other offence than that of differing from us in political opinion, I would not lift a hand to maintain the Union. I would rather that it were sacrificed, and that the greatness of this Empire were sunk in the dust, than that we should soil our hands by the political methods of which we are accused by our political opponents! *But it is not true.*"

How is that for high? One can imagine the fervour with which this flower of rhetoric was fired off at the heads of the Tory audience, and no wonder that they cheered. But on the whole it was probably *not* so much because Mr. Balfour spoke loud that he was cheered, but because his audience must have felt that they had come to the climax of the entertainment, and that no bigger lie could be told them that day. What Mr. Balfour says he would *not* do under any circumstances is an accurate description of what he *has* done.

After all, why should Mr. Balfour be so earnest in disclaiming his acts, or trying to put another colour on them? It is his business as an officer of the Executive of our "Society" to put his enemies in prison, and the legal accusation to be brought against them is a very insignificant detail of the matter. They are his enemies, that is enough.

In fact, all this business of careful discrimination between "crime" and "political offences" and the like is beside the question. What Mr. Balfour does with his Irish enemies "Society" in general does with its enemies, only with far more cant and hypocrisy, since it feels itself safe in the absence of responsibility which its corporate quality gives it; and no doubt decent people are apt to feel as Mr. Balfour feels about Mr. Mandeville and others, that if they suffer in the process of slow torture, and sometimes die of it and sometimes go mad of it, so much the worse for them; that comes of their being our enemies.

For instance, when Judge Stephens the other day gave four lads fourteen years each for an act of brutality and robbery committed against an old woman, whatever enjoyment he might have had in the surprise of his victims, and the shrieks of their female relatives, which the reporter tells us rang through the Court, all that was by the way. As a judge (apart from the fact of his being Stephens) he had to make the accused feel that they were enemies, and were going to suffer the "woe to the vanquished," which is so old a story. It was not the brutality which he was set to punish, but the inconvenience to that abstraction, "Society," in which things are everything, persons are nothing, and to which Balfour sacrificed so recklessly in that prize lie of his.

Can we venture to hope that when the Irish have got Home Rule, and before they have attained to social freedom, the memory of Balfour's prison and its tortures and injustices will make the then rulers of Ireland inconsistently merciful to those other enemies, the enemies of "Society," who may come under their hands, that they will rather remember the suffering inflicted on persons, than the damage done to things? We can almost hope that it will be so with such a quick-witted and impressionable people, and that during the space that intervenes between the attainment of Home Rule, and the realisation of True Society, Ireland will be noted for the lightness of its sentences on "criminals."

The Foresters have given a snub to American exclusiveness as to colour by cancelling the Constitution of the subsidiary High Court of the United States, which refused to withdraw the exclusive word "White" which had been put into the clauses of its rules. This decision and the enthusiasm with which it was done are creditable to the Foresters; but are they going to stop at condemning the exclusion of "men of colour" from the advantages of Society? Won't they now protest in some form against the exclusion of "men of labour" from these advantages? Surely this is their business if nothing else is.

Lord Salisbury has had at the Mansion House the usual opportunity of uttering a manifesto on behalf of the Ministers, if they have one to utter, and in any case of blowing their trumpet before the fools who allow themselves to be governed by them. His speech was not surprising, but it is worth noting as giving a fair summing-up of the aspirations and covert fears of the stupider part of the middle-classes, of whom Lord Salisbury, in spite of his surface cleverness, is a good representative.

He plumed himself on the passing of that piece of humbug, the Local Government bill, and had the effrontery to hope that it would be *final*. In dealing with the matter of Ireland he had the further effrontery to hint (he durst not do more) that the opposition of the Irish was slackening. He said that the disease of Ireland was its poverty; and surely he might have added of England also, or else it is a delusion that the Government has been driven to hold a Commission on the sweating system (in London not in Ireland) and the resistance of the match-girls to the horrible shabbiness of the pious Bryant and May, and their poor little gain is a dream. He crowed over the diminution of boycotting in Ireland: but we Socialists can answer for it that it has not diminished in England; only here it is the boycotting of the oppressed by the oppressors and not of the oppressors by the oppressed. The hymn that he sung to the sacredness of "free" contract no doubt was echoed in the breasts of his hearers, who rejoiced in believing that heaven would never sanction the abolition of *their* monopoly.

Then came his own subject, foreign affairs: "Popular passion or popular feeling" may "drive the vast force of nations" into war, "but the object of the rulers of the world is to secure uninterrupted peace." This seems intended as an insult to the people; but he is not thinking of them; his "popular feeling" one can see means the feeling of the bourgeoisie only—the others—what others are there to this most noble man? For the rest he is right; "popular passion," *i.e.* the necessities of the competitive market may bring on war, and most bitterly will "the rulers of the world" regret that they cannot help it, for who knows but that "the popular passion" of the real people may then change the aspect of affairs.

Egypt, he said, is happy; that is, its accursed exploiters are: "it is going on up to and beyond the utmost wishes we can have formed?" Yes, and what wishes can its luckless peasants have formed? I fear not much. I am sure that though Lord Salisbury has heard of them, he only thinks of them as a fact in the lump, and has practically entirely forgotten that this fact is composed of many thousand persons, each one of whom is a sufficiently complex fact in himself or herself. He said also that it was not the annexation of territory (in Egypt) that was desirable. Just so. To sneak a thing is much more convenient than boldly robbing it: besides, we have done that already: why steal it twice?

But enough about this grievous twaddle! The real thing to note in it is the complete ignoring of all but the middle-class and its rulers: the Marquis sneers at that middle-class, as his hereditary position and politics compel him to do; but he is devoted to its interests, is its faithful servant; is, in spite of his sneers, an integral part of it, a result of its holy dogma of "free contract." Below that he knows of nothing but a machine which sometimes creaks inconveniently.

The *Daily News* says that the strike in Paris is a political one: that means in other words that the Paris workmen understand by this time

what their true position is; that it is not a mere rise of wages that they need, but a change in the basis of Society. The *Daily News* further opines the strike and the "riot" (*i.e.* the police attack on the citizens) at the funeral of Eudes are the results of Boulangerism—cause and effect with a vengeance! If the *Daily News* goes on like that it will presently credit the General with being the cause of the Revolution of 1798—or in the long run of Noah's Flood. There is abundance of cause for a "political strike" or an insurrection in Paris as in London. Slavery is cause enough for any amount of "disturbance"; and we need not go from the grimly sublime to the loathsomely ridiculous by picking Boulanger out of the mud in order to account for it. After all, herein the *Daily News* is like Salisbury and ignores all classes but the Bourgeois, and thinks Society is composed of that—plus unreasonable, inscrutable disturbances.

W. M.

## THE REVOLT OF GHENT.

(Concluded from p. 250.)

FROISSART goes on:—

"In the mean time that the Earl was at his lodging, and sent forth the clerks of every ward from street to street, to have every man to draw to the market place, to recover the town. The Ghentois pursued so fiercely their enemies, that they entered into the town with them of Bruges; and as soon as they were within the town, the first thing they did, they went straight to the market place, and there set themselves in array. The Earl then had sent a knight of his, called Sir Robert Marshall, to the gate, to see what the Ghentois did; and when he came to the gate, he found the gate beaten down, and the Ghentois masters thereof: and some of them of Bruges met with him and said, 'Sir Robert, return and save yourself if ye can, for the town is won by them of Ghent.' Then the knight returned to the Earl as fast as he might, who was coming out of his lodging a horseback, with a great number of cressets and lights with him, and was going to the market place; then the knight showed the Earl all that he knew; howbeit, the Earl, willing to recover the town, drew to the market place; and as he was entering, such as were before him, seeing the place all ranged with the Ghentois, said to the Earl, 'Sir, return again; if we go any farther, ye are but dead, or taken with your enemies, for they are ranged on the market place, and do abide for you.' They showed him truth. And when the Ghentois saw the clearness of the lights coming down the street, they said, 'Yonder cometh the Earl, he shall come into our hands.' And Philip van Artevelde had commanded, from street to street as he went, that if the Earl came among them, that no man should do to him any bodily harm, but take him alive, and then to have him to Ghent, and so to make their peace as they list. The Earl, who trusted to have recovered all, came right near to the place whereas the Ghentois were. Then divers of his men said, 'Sir, go no farther, for the Ghentois are lords of the market place and of the town; if ye enter into the market place, ye are in danger to be slain or taken: a great number of the Ghentois are going from street to street, seeking for their enemies: they have certain of them of the town with them, to bring them from house to house, where as they would be: and sir, out at any of the gates ye cannot issue, for the Ghentois are lords thereof; nor to your own lodging ye cannot return, for a great number of the Ghentois are going thither.'

"And when the Earl heard those tidings, which were right hard to him, as it was reason, he was greatly then abashed, and imagined what peril he was in: then he believed the counsel, and would go no farther, but to save himself if he might, and so took his own counsel: he commanded to put out all the lights, and said to them that were about him, I see well there is no recovery; let every man depart, and save himself as he may. And as he commanded it was done: the lights were quenched and cast into the streets, and so every man departed. The Earl then went into a back lane, and made a varlet of his to unarm him, and did cast away his armour, and put on an old cloak of his varlet's, and then said to him, 'Go thy way from me, and save thyself if thou canst, and have a good tongue, an thou fall in the hands of thine enemies; and if they ask thee anything of me, be it not known that I am in the town.' He answered and said, 'Sir, to die therefore, I will speak no word of you.'

"Thus abode there the Earl of Flanders all alone; he might then well say that he was in great danger and hard adventure, for at that time, if he had fallen in the hands of his enemies, he had been in danger of death: for the Ghentois went from house to house, searching for the Earl's friends; and ever as they found any they brought them into the market place, and there without remedy, before Philip van Artevelde and the captains, they were put to death;<sup>1</sup> so God was friend to the Earl, to save him out of that peril; he was never in such danger before in his life nor never after, as ye shall hear after in this history.

"Thus about the hour of midnight the Earl went from street to street, and by back lanes, so that at last he was fain to take a house, or else he had been found by them of Ghent; and so as he went about the town he entered into a poor woman's house, the which was not meet for such a lord; there was neither hall, palace, nor chamber; it was but a poor smoky house; there was nothing but a poor hall, black with smoke, and above a small plancher, and a ladder of eight steps to mount upon; and on the plancher there was a poor couch, where as

the poor woman's children lay. Then the Earl sore abashed and trembling at his entering said, 'O good woman save me; I am thy lord the Earl of Flanders; but now I must hide me, for mine enemies chase me, and if ye do me good now, I shall reward you hereafter therefor.'

"The poor woman knew him well, for she had been often times at his gate to fetch alms, and had often seen him as he went in and out a-sporting; and so incontinent as hap was she answered; for if she had made any delay, he had been taken talking with her by the fire. Then she said, 'Sir, mount up this ladder, and lay yourself under the bed that ye find thereas my children sleep.' And so in the mean time the woman sat down by the fire with another child that she had in her arms: so the Earl mounted up the plancher as well as he might, and crept in between the couch and the straw, and lay as flat as he could; and even therewith, some of the ritters of Ghent entered into the same house, for some of them said, how they had seen a man enter into the house before them; and so they found the woman sitting by the fire with her child; then they said, 'Good woman, where is the man that we saw enter before us into the house, and did shut the door after him?' 'Sirs,' quoth she, 'I saw no man enter into this house this night; I went out right now and cast out a little water, and did close my door again; if any were here, I could not tell how to hide him; ye see all the easement that I have in this house; here ye may see my bed, and here above this plancher lieth my poor children.' Then one of them took a candle and mounted up the ladder, and put up his head above the plancher, and saw there none other thing but the poor couch, where her children lay and slept; and so he looked all about, and then said to his company, 'Go we hence, we lose the more for the less; the poor woman saith truth, here is no creature but she and her children'; and then they departed out of the house: after that there was none entered to do any hurt. All these words the Earl heard right well where he lay under the poor couch: ye may well imagine then that he was in great fear of his life: he might well say, I am as now one of the poorest princes of the world, and might well say, that the fortunes of the world are nothing stable; yet it was a good hap that he scaped with his life; howbeit, this hard and perilous adventure might well be to him a spectacle all his life after, and an ensample to all other."

If you are anxious about the fate of the Earl, I may tell you that he escaped. For my part, I have always felt more anxious for the fate of the poor woman and her children, and can only hope that they came to some good by the wild changes that were going on round about them, though, alas! I doubt it; and I ask you to look upon them as a kind of symbol of the lowest order of the people; of the proletariat, of which in the Middle Ages we know so little, and of which in modern times there are many people who would be pleased to know nothing, but whom we have got to look on now as the friends who are to turn war into peace and grudging into goodwill.

The Ghentmen bore their victory well; there was no pillage of Bruges, and they took pains to distinguish friend from foe, sending, indeed, five hundred of the notablest burgesses as hostages to Ghent, and levelling the walls, but doing no more harm there to persons and things.

Almost all Flanders fell to the victors at once; and if the Flemish victory had happened twenty years before, it is probable that Philip van Artevelde might have ruled Flanders longer than his father did. But while the craft-gilds and the emancipated serfs were growing in wealth and prosperity, and the former at least into corruption, the spirit of monarchical bureaucracy was growing also, and had to hold out a hand to the corruption within the crafts in order to make an end of the communistic spirit which had sustained itself throughout the earlier period of their struggle, while the workman were all real workmen. Once again it is clear to me that the presence in our history of the great burgesses who led this revolt, their power and riches are signs that the corruption of the gilds had begun: and in no case could a true social revolution have been won in the Flemish mediæval cities. The valour and conduct of the gildsmen of Ghent was indeed a link in the revolution of the middle class whose final triumph is so recent, and they could no more have sustained a set of quasi-republican municipal republics lying between Germany and France, than the Jacobins of the French Revolution could have sustained their ideal republic of property for some, happiness, peace, and virtue for all, as a result of the ultimate corruption and fall of feudal privilege.

Yet the extinction of the revolt of Ghent is a sad story, and I will hurry through it in a few words.

I have said that in better times Ghent might have held her own for long: Van Artevelde was undoubtedly a man of conduct or something more: an alliance with the English king and some yielding to the French one, might have staved off war and ruin. But England was tired of the French war, a fool sat on her throne, surrounded by factious nobles; and above all, her gentlemen had just been terrified themselves by the peasant revolt, to which this one of Ghent was clearly akin: no effective English alliance was to be had. As to France, apart from the jealousy of neighbours, Paris also had been alight while Ghent was burning, and the Host of the Mallets had driven away king and court to Meaux in Brie. It was time, thought the French king, that gentlemen should help gentlemen; so a huge French army took the field, and the fatal day of Rosebeque, where twenty-five thousand Flemings and their leader Van Artevelde were slain, extinguished the sovereignty of Ghent for ever. This took place in November 1382.

Peter du Bois had his usual luck, though, and escaped the slaughter of Rosebeque. Entering into Ghent he found the gates open and the people too much dismayed to make any defence; but a few words from

<sup>1</sup> Later on Froissart gives us quite another account of the behaviour of the Ghentois, and tells that they acted with great moderation.

the stout partisan, and probably the sight of his corps unbroken, put heart into them again. The gates were shut and they prepared for defence; and the war went on with varying fortunes, until after the death of the then Earl, peace was made on terms that on the face seemed not unfavourable to the town of Ghent. This was done in December 1385. Peter du Bois at the conclusion of the peace would not trust himself within the reach of the arms of the men whose rebel he had been, and left his own country for England, where he lived some years and died peaceably.

From that time onward Ghent played her part in the development of the guildsmen and yeomen into the modern middle-class; but the high-tide of the progress of the handicraftsmen was over; commercialism and bureaucracy were doomed to come between the partial development of those ideas of brotherhood and fair dealing which had place in the mediæval gild, and the more inclusive ideas of the destruction of class distinctions and the new birth of society, which are stirring us to-day. But the times have brought about the times, and Ghent still lives, not only in the past, but in the present also, and while I speak is taking her full share in the struggle towards communal life which is the real fact of modern history. Who knows but we may live to see a new Revolt of Ghent on these new terms and in the assured hope of well-deserved victory.

WILLIAM MORRIS.

REVOLUTIONARY CALENDAR.

WEEK ENDING AUGUST 25, 1888.

19	Sun.	1780. Beranger born.
20	Mon.	1854. Schelling died. 1862. J. L. Ricardo died.
21	Tues.	1798. Michelet born. 1844. Monument begun at Edinburgh to Muir and others. 1867. Druitt and others sentenced for picketing during tailors' strike.
22	Wed.	1642. Great Civil War begins. 1861. Richard Oastler died.
23	Thur.	1305. William Wallace murdered.
24	Fri.	1572. Massacre of St. Bartholomew. 1789. Liberty of French press decreed. 1849. Henry Hetherington died. 1887. National League proclaimed.
25	Sat.	1651. Wigan Lane. 1776. David Hume died. 1839. Outbreak at Brussels.

Henry Hetherington, the Poor Man's Friend.—Henry Hetherington was born in 1792 in Compton Street, Soho. Intelligence and kindly nature marked his boyhood. He was apprenticed to the printing trade, and served his time with the father of Luke Hausard. After his time was out, trade being very bad, he was for some eighteen months out of work, and then went to Brussels, working for a short time in Ghent. It was while working there that he received the lesson in political economy which affected all his life. He was discussing with a fellow workman the news of the superb magnificence with which England had rewarded the "Iron Duke," the conqueror at Waterloo. Hetherington, full of attachment to his native country, immediately exclaimed, full of the exaggerated emotion of youth, "Ay, see there! Look what a fine country ours is! You would not hear of any other country giving money and estates to their public servants like our country." The Belgian workman was older; he darted an expressive look at Hetherington, and then replied in broken English, "Ay, ay, it is a *tam* fine country, and a *tam* fine thing for the Duke; but it is a *tam* bad country and a *tam* bad thing for de people!" About the time of the Belgian trip Hetherington married, and had nine children, of whom one only, David, was living when Henry died, 1849. Among his earliest connections was that with the "Freethinking Christians"—a body much talked of in London at one time, and having several members of considerable talent. It was in relation to this body that Hetherington produced the pamphlet which, so far as I know, was his first essay in print. Its date is 1828, and is entitled, "Principles and Practice Contrasted; or a Peep into "the only true Church of God upon earth," commonly called "Freethinking Christians." He was one of the earliest and most energetic of working men engaged in the foundation of mechanics' institute. Dr. Birkbeck frequently called upon Hetherington at his shop in the Strand, even in his sorest times of persecution. The pamphlet mentioned as published in 1828 was issued from his shop, 13 Kingsgate Street, Holborn. Here he began the warfare against the Whigs by issuing the first number of *The Poor Man's Guardian*; this was in 1831. At the close of 1830 he was appointed by the Radical working men of London to draw up a *Circular* for the formation of trades unions. That document was sanctioned by a meeting of delegates, and formed the basis of the National Union of the Working Classes—which eventually led to Chartism. William Carpenter had been prosecuted for his *Political Letters*; now the Government pounced down on Hetherington. Three convictions were obtained against him for publishing *The Poor Man's Guardian*. He was ordered to be taken into custody, but the Bow Street magistrates could not enforce the order for some time. Hetherington with all that deliciously provoking coolness for which he was characterised, actually sent a note to the magistrates to tell them "he was going out of town." Then he printed the note in his *Guardian*, and announced a tour through the country. At Manchester he narrowly escaped being taken by Stevens a Bow Street "runner," and he might have remained at large for a longer period than he did, had he not resolved to return to London to have a last look at his dying mother. He reached his home late one September night, knocked and was not heard, and before he could knock again was surrounded by Bow Street spies and dragged away, and was in Clerkenwell Gaol before his family knew of his return. Was six months in gaol. The *Guardian* was, however, still carried on. At the end of 1832, when he had not been many months at liberty, he was again convicted and again imprisoned for six months in the same gaol; and now his friend Watson was a fellow prisoner, also for the same "high crime and misdemeanour" of selling in free England a penny paper without a taxed stamp. Their prison treatment was most cruel. An opening called a window, but which was without a pane of glass, let in the snow upon their food as they ate it; cold and damp filled their bodies with pain; and the Liberal Government seemed intent on trying by these means whether they could not break their spirits. Cleave and his wife were seized, Heywood of Manchester, Guest of Birmingham, Hobson and Mrs. Mann, with about five hundred others, were imprisoned as vendors of the "Unstamped." The spirit displayed is worthy of remembrance. They carried the "Unstamped" in their hats, in their pockets; they left them in sure places to be called for; and when for a few weeks the Government actually empowered officers to seize parcels, open them in the streets, and take out any unstamped publications, Henry Hetherington made up dummy

parcels, directed them, sent off a lad with them one way, with instructions to make a noise, attract a crowd, and delay the officers if they seized him; meanwhile the real parcel for the country was sent off another way. After the verdict of "justifiable homicide" upon the policeman slain at the Calthorpe Street meeting, a letter appeared in *The Poor Man's Guardian*—signed Palafax Junior, but really written by Julian Hibbert—containing something more than inuendo, in an advice to the people attending such meetings in future to take bread and cheese with them, and a good long, sharp pointed and strong backed knife with which to cut it. In 1833 Hetherington moved from 13 Kingsgate Street to his well known shop, 126 Strand. The *Destructive*, which he issued here, ironically styled the *Conservative*, was also unstamped. The *London Dispatch* which followed reached at one time 25,000 weekly. In 1834 he defended himself on a trial for publishing the *Guardian*, and obtained an acquittal, but was condemned for the *Conservative*! Not having grown fond of prison from his experiences of it, he took a snug little box at Pinner, and by going out of his house in the Strand at the back by an outlet into the Savoy, and by entering the same way, and in the disguise of a Quaker, he evaded the keen eyes in wait for him. But the Government revenged themselves by making a seizure for £220 in the name of the Commissioner for Stamps, on the false pretext that he was not a registered printer. They swept his premises. But undaunted he resumed his work. Julian Hibbert, from the moment that he learned Hetherington was in danger of another imprisonment for the Palafax letter, put him down in his will for 450 guineas, and did not cancel the gift when the proceedings were abandoned. Henry Hetherington purchased another machine—no printer would undertake his work—and continued to publish the "Unstamped" until the Government consented to reduce the stamp to one penny, when he issued (stamped) the *Two-penny Dispatch*, of which James Bronterre O'Brien was the talented editor. He incurred some embarrassments by the publication of part of an Encyclopædia, at the suggestion of Dr. Birkbeck. The "Oddfellows," another publication, was more successful. The comparatively narrow circumstances of Hetherington in after years are due to his tenderness: he could not have the heart to sue his debtors at law, though others sued him. He wrote 'Cheap Salvation' in consequence of his conversations with the chaplain of Clerkenwell Gaol. In 1841 he was tried on a charge of publishing a "blasphemous" work—Haslam's 'Letters to the Clergy of All Denominations'—and sentenced to four months' imprisonment in the Queen's Bench prison. He represented London and Stockport in the great Convention of 1839, of which the beloved exile Frost was a member. His later years were devoted to Socialism and Chartism. "In this institution we have all witnessed his rare enthusiasm and fervour, and his clear judgment so often mingled with humour that always rendered him a welcome speaker. The quality I marked in him (T. Cooper speaking) the very first time I saw him—which was at the second Sturge Conference, at Christmas 1842—and which he always displayed . . . was the faculty of reconciling misunderstandings and preventing ill feeling arising from difference. With regret it must be stated that there is too strong reason to conclude that our friend's decease was hastened by want of proper care. His strict temperance—for he had been an almost absolute teetotaler for many years—warranted him in thinking that he was not very likely to fall a victim to the prevailing epidemic. When he was seized with it he refused—from what we must call a prejudice—to call in medical relief. Our friend Holyoake prevailed on him to have a physician called in,—it was too late. "Happily the gloomy bigot can forge no tales of death-bed horrors in this instance: he can derive no lessons from it to frighten children. We say this with satisfaction; for although the mind of man may sometimes wander in his last hours, and the true philosopher will not resort to the account of them for the test of a man's opinions, yet it is well for the sake of others that the death of a freethinker can be shown by unquestionable testimony to be without the horrors in which the superstitious delight to clothe it. I care not whether all of us agree in every item of our deceased friend's convictions; I for one do not; but we are the foes of priestcraft and superstition, and therefore we make common cause in his opposition to those twin plagues of the human race; and we honour his memory for the courage with which his freethought was proclaimed in life and fortitude with which the confession of it was signed in death." Hetherington left a Testament of Opinions, signed and witnessed, in which he expressed himself as totally opposed to the popular ideas as to the existence of God, and his belief that Truth, Justice, and Liberty will never be permanently established till every vestige of priestcraft and superstition shall be utterly destroyed. He desired to be buried in unconsecrated ground, without interference from priest or clergyman, and without any pomp or display, even protesting against the wearing of mourning clothing. Then follows his confession of faith as a Socialist. "These are my views and feelings in quitting an existence that has been chequered with the plagues and pleasures of a competitive, scrambling, selfish system; a system by which the moral and social aspirations of the noblest human being are nullified by incessant toil and physical deprivations; by which, indeed, all men are trained to be either slaves, hypocrites, or criminals. Hence my ardent attachment to the principles of that great and good man, Robert Owen. I quit this world with a firm conviction that his system is the only true road to human emancipation; that it is, indeed, the only just system for regulating the affairs of honest, intelligent human beings—the only one yet made known to the world that is based on truth, justice, and equality. While the land, machines, tools, implements of production, and the produce of man's toil, are exclusively in possession of the do-nothings, and labour is the sole possession of the wealth-producers—a marketable commodity, bought up and directed by wealthy idlers—never-ending misery must be their inevitable lot. Robert Owen's system, if rightly understood and faithfully carried out, rectifies all these anomalies. It makes man the proprietor of his own labour and of the elements of production; it places him in a condition to enjoy the entire fruits of his labour, and surrounds him with circumstances that will make him intelligent, rational, and happy. Grateful to Mr. Owen for the happiness I have experienced in contemplating the superiority of his system, I could not die happy without recommending my fellow countrymen to study its principles and earnestly strive to establish them in practice," etc. A favourite phrase with him was "We ought to endeavour to leave the world better than we found it," and there is every reason to believe that he acted up to it. He died about 4 a.m. Thursday August 24, 1849. His funeral was numerously attended. He was buried in Kensal Green Cemetery in ground purchased by Devonshire Saull, a wine-merchant of the City well known in all democratic societies of that day. Adjoining the grave is the monument of "Publicola," the author of the well known letters of the *Weekly Dispatch*. Addresses were delivered by G. J. Holyoake and James Watson. Hetherington's name is on the Reformers' Memorial erected in 1855.—T. S.

OUR comrades at Norwich carried out their programme of the Socialist Demonstration with great success, and made an undoubted impression on the city and district. All the meetings were thoroughly well attended by sympathetic crowds, and the speakers were well received everywhere. We shall print a report on this important attack on capitalism in our next, as space and time fail us this week.—Ed.





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

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

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

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ERRATUM.—On p. 253, for “meaning—evacuating formula,” read “meaning—evacuating formula.”

CONTRIBUTIONS received—R. G., and G. P. Held over—H. W., and D. N.

Periodicals received during the week ending Wednesday August 15.

ENGLAND	Boston	HOLLAND
Bie Autonomie	Buffalo—Arbeiter-Zeitung	Hague—Recht voor Allen
Justice	Chicago—Labor Enquirer	ITALY
Labour Tribune	Vorbote	Rome—L’Emancipazione
London—Freie Presse	Douglasville (Ga.)—Roll Call	Cremona—Il Democratico
Norwich—Daylight	Fort Worth (Tex.)—South West	Messina—Il Riscatto
Personal Rights Journal	Milwaukee—National Reformer	SPAIN
Postal Service Gazette	Coast Seamen’s Journal	El Productor
Railway Review	FRANCE	Madrid—El Socialista
Worker’s Friend	Paris—Cri du Peuple (daily)	GERMANY
NEW SOUTH WALES	Le Parti Ouvrier (daily)	Berlin—Volks Tribune
Hamilton—Radical	La Revolte	AUSTRIA
INDIA	En Avant	Wien—Gleichheit
Bankipore—Behar Herald	Lille—Le Cri du Travailleur	Brunn—Volksfreund
Madras—People’s Friend	BELGIUM	ROUMANIA
UNITED STATES	Seraing (Ougree)—Le Revell	Jassy—Muncitorial
New York—Freiheit	Ghent—Vooruit	DENMARK
Truthseeker	Antwerp—De Werker	Social-Demokraten
Volkszeitung	SWITZERLAND	SWEDEN
Jewish Volkszeitung	Zurich—Sozial Demokrat	Stockholm, Social-Demokraten
Alarm	Arbeiterstimme	Malmö—Arbetet
Workmen’s Advocate		

## WILLIAM LOVETT.

(Concluded from p. 252.)

In reading the detailed history of this period as given by such men as Lovett, Watson, and their nearest colleagues, Dan O’Connell, Feargus O’Connor, and some of the much talked of so-called leaders, come out very badly.

In 1839, Lovett was tried and sentenced with John Collins to one year in Warwick County Gaol for the Birmingham riots of July. On their release they were accorded public receptions in Birmingham and London, and money was raised for a holiday in Cornwall to restore his health.

On his return he tried for a short time bookselling in Tottenham Court Road, prison life weakening him too much to go back to the bench. He was made vestryman and next guardian of St. Pancras, and was offered by Samuel Smiles the post of sub-editor of the Leeds Times, which however, not caring to leave London, he declined.

He next projected a society which was called the National Association of the United Kingdom, which started a paper entitled the National Association Gazette, edited by J. H. Parry (later on well known as Mr. Serjeant Parry), who remained a true and helpful friend to the last, providing pecuniary help when the old Chartist was ill and past work.

So intense was the feeling against the Chartists, that unrebuked, a man named Watkins preached and published a sermon, and given from many pulpits, advocating assassination of the Chartist leaders.

In 1842, Lovett was concerned in starting the National Hall in Holborn, which, holding some two thousand persons, was for some years the centre of Radical agitation in London, W. J. Fox often lecturing there, as well as many other well-known men, Mazzini, Kossuth, and W. L. Garrison among them.

In 1844 the Czar of Russia honoured this country with a visit. Mazzini was at that time residing here, and a trap letter was sent by Lovett to Mazzini, which was later on used by Thomas Slingsby Duncombe in Parliament with much effect in an exposure of a shamefully general opening of letters by the Post-office authorities in the interests of despotism, and by which Sir James Graham, then Home Secretary, earned eternal infamy, and perhaps something tangible.

The particular letter above referred to as suffering from the Gramhamizing then in vogue, was as to a public meeting proposed to be held as a working-class expression of opinion of Nicholas of Russia. This meeting was held at the National Hall, June 6, 1844, was attended by an immense crowd, which filled two other rooms beside the main hall. The handbill calling the meeting, the speeches made, and the resolutions moved, gave great offence to law-n-order.

Whenever the spirit of Jingoism proved particularly uneasy, then Lovett and his friends were to the fore with some address urging the people to peace, goodwill, and solidarity of the workers. Many of these addresses were drafted by Lovett, and they are, both for matter and manner, better work than that turned out by many college-educated highly-placed statesmen; they are a direct contradiction to the sneer of one of his obituary writers, who wound up a bigoted notice (‘Publisher’s Circular,’ August 16, 1877) with the wise remark “That a Cornish ropemaker was, however, not likely to be a far-sighted politician.”

In 1846, Lovett was a member of the Anti-Slavery League, George Thompson being president, Lloyd Garrison lecturing at the National Hall, and Frederick Douglas (still living and working in the cause of his fellow blacks) as missionary. For a short time Lovett was connected with William Howitt in the long-dead *Howitt’s Journal*.

The “Year of Revolutions” was marked for Lovett by public presentation at the National Hall of a silver tea service and purse of hundred and forty sovereigns, which by level-headed work in the interest of his fellows he had fairly earned. This year was started one more of the almost innumerable societies of the time with which he was concerned. The People’s League, a very short-lived League indeed this, for dissension began in it almost before it was launched.

From 1849 to 1857, Lovett was mostly engaged in an educational enterprise carried on at the National Hall. This poor Cornish ropemaker, by severe application, had fitted himself to fill with credit the post of master to a really important school. He had made the acquaintance of Mr. William Ellis—the founder of the Birkbeck Schools.—and by him was encouraged to aim at, for the time, a very high standard. Believing all education defective which did not embrace some knowledge of the physical, mental, and moral nature of those instructed, he was desirous that Physiology should be a subject of study. The schools were, however, avowedly secular schools, and there was much trouble in getting trained and qualified secular teachers. He met this difficulty by fitting himself. That he acquitted himself well, may be judged by the fact that his work when published, under the title “Elementary Anatomy and Physiology, for Schools and Private Instruction,” passed through several editions, and was used as a text-book, among other places, at the Heriot Hospital Schools, Edinburgh.

It may be that his own mental drilling made him a little impatient of some of the wrong-headed work going on around him; anyhow, he, in 1856, drew up a petition to the House of Commons which proves him in possession of an idea which has, in a manner, been put into practice in Northern Europe, where the right to vote rests on an educational qualification, not on “pruputty.”

The petition was presented by Mr. Roebuck, and excited much laughter, as in such a place it well might, for it set out that “neglect of public duty, self-interest, incompetence, etc., had led to a lamentable sacrifice of human life, and to a wanton and lavish expenditure of the resources of the nation; and demanded the abolition of all property qualifications, and an intellectual and moral standard substituted instead;” that there should be a Public Court of Examiners, and a list prepared of “persons competent to share in the government of their country.”

It would have to be a pretty thin “moral standard” for many to pass to-day, with Hughes-Hallett, Balfour, Hartington, and apostate Goschen to pass. It was even worse in 1856, so they might well laugh.

In 1857 he was jockeyed out of his premises, the National Hall, and just when fairly under weigh on an enterprise which had gone through much opposition, but which then seemed destined to do immense good by instilling the elements of sound knowledge, unlearned with any superstitions of priestcraft or statecraft; gin and gospel calling in the aid of corrupt laws managed to ruin the whole.

Next to the hall was a public-house; the publican desired Lovett’s premises to convert into a music-hall. By means of an agent the publican managed to purchase the reversion of the premises. Having done this he set himself to drive Lovett out, and although his lease had some six or seven years to run was soon successful. A report was sent to the Commissioners of Police that the premises were unsafe, and that a meeting of unemployed was about to be held which should be prevented as dangerous to life and limb. The magistrates—who from the very first opening of the hall had been opposed to the place because held by Chartists—issued a warrant, and a police surveyor made a survey. Naturally, the place was condemned; on a builder being called in to answer the demands made in respect of one wall, an effort was made to get another part condemned; and such work as this, the blocking up of entries, and the other various devices, resulted soon in the closing of this school to some three hundred children, besides many adults who attended the lectures and evening classes. A license had been refused to the Chartists, but no sooner was it a gin-shop than it was put under the protection of law-n-order. Well might Lovett urge attention to a moral standard for statesmen.

After this blow Lovett for some years taught physiology and anatomy at St. Thomas Charterhouse Schools, and after that at a school in Gray’s Inn Road.

During 1850 and 1851, he was one of a committee with such men as Lord Ashley, Dickens, Thackeray, and Robert Chambers, to forward the Great Exhibition among the working-classes; but not much was done by the committee, before, on a motion by Dickens, they dissolved.

During the last twenty years of his life he was a great sufferer from bronchitis, and not able to take his old busy part in the movements of the time as he would have wished; but his quiet lodgings in the Euston Road were often visited by those busy in the strife, who

desired to learn something of the old Chartist, to use his flowing pen for some new appeal to the people, or to pay some slight tribute to his past labour. The well-known lawyer, Sergeant Parry, was one of the friends who to the last helped to make somewhat easy the declining years of the good old servant of man.

During one of his severe bouts of illness he made an elaborate model of a district hall or voting-place, and of a self-registering ballot-box. He was allowed to exhibit the hall model at South Kensington Museum, but not the ballot-box; it was too political. Governments are easily scared.

As Lovett was the original draughtsman of the People's Charter of 1838, it may be thought strange not to have given some attention to that important item. The importance of the item demands special attention, and will be given in a special notice under Chartism.

He died at 127, Euston Road, August 8, 1877, aged 77 years and 3 months, and was buried at Highgate Cemetery, G. J. Holyoake giving a short address at the grave after the service.

In an appreciative notice in the *Bookseller* (October 5, 1877), he is justly called "a brave old man," who had lived to see some of his most reviled notions adopted by Conservative statesmen; and so it ever is—

"Count me o'er earth's chosen heroes,—they were souls that stood alone,  
While the men they agonised for hurled the contumelious stone."

THOS. SHORE, jun.

## CORRESPONDENCE.

### ENGLAND'S HOLD ON INDIA.

We have been asked by a correspondent in India to reproduce the following letter to the *Times of India* :—

SIR,—I suspect that that article ("Will England Retain India") from the *Contemporary Review* has received the assent, reluctant or otherwise, of many of your readers. The writer thinks it wise "never to prophesy unless you know," and therefore guards himself from expressing any opinion as to the immediate tendencies which will influence the change of rule. Among these tendencies he ignores the evil effect the constant drain of our home charges has upon the agriculture, the manufactures, and general prosperity of India. India is sold to the gold bugs of Europe. England, connected as she is with huge dependencies, ever in need of loans for railways, for wars, and the general purposes of administration, feels herself obliged to humour these capitalists in every way, great and small. They will not allow her Finance Minister or Chancellor of the Exchequer to remove the paltry £50,000 annually received from the silver duties, because these silver duties prevent the silver wares of India from being sold in England, notwithstanding that India, at the fiat of Lancashire, was obliged to give up one million sterling annually of cotton duties upon fine yarns and cloths, without compensation, to the many Indian merchants who had duty-paid stocks on hand. They will not allow her Government to re-habilitate silver by encouraging its use in the Home exchanges, and to discourage the present excessive use of gold by giving facilities to private banking, and the issue of notes of small denomination, such as the £1 notes universally circulating in Scotland, or 10s. and 5s. notes. England, through her Foreign trade, is thus herself sold to the capitalists of Europe, bound hand and foot, unable to extricate herself or her dependencies from the toils in which these capitalists have enmeshed her.

We see the consequences in the value of the rupee falling in the short space of ten years from 1s. 10½d. to 1s. 4d., and no man being able to tell where this lowering of values will stop. The manufacturers of Europe are helpless to resist this downward course of events; they can only ship their goods to the east, west, and south, to Asia, America, and Australia, through the banks; the banks are held in a vice by the depreciation brought about by the Rothschilds and Barings, as manifested by the policy of the Bank of England, with the result that the gold prices of home manufactures have to come down to the value of the depreciated silver. Indian merchants get ever less gold prices for their seeds and raw cotton, and they therefore can in return only do a trade by offering ever diminishing prices for English goods. The manufacturers can only meet this new phase of trade by producing goods in ever-increasing quantities, not, mind you, by increasing the number of their workmen, but by improving the productive power of their machinery, and by reducing the pay of their hands. The British workman, not finding his services in request, has to accept less and less wages, or starve. He is able to do the former, because he can now live upon the cheap bread made from American, Russian, and Indian wheat imported at the reduced silver prices. He does the latter to the extent of three million of the population of the British isles, now in a state of hopeless semi-starvation, kept only from death by the humane (!) poor laws of the country. Thus the vicious circle goes on, and the gold bugs, a few hundred people at the best, are the only ones who benefit. The home charges in themselves are bad enough, but their evil effect is exaggerated out of all proportion by the fall in the value of silver. We have to pay, as the interest of all sorts of scandalous charges foisted by the British Government upon India, the interest upon the railway capital held in England, and for pay and pension payable in England, £16,000,000 sterling per annum. We were only able to do this by means of £8,000,000 of opium tribute paid in rather an involved way by the working classes of Europe and America for tea, and by the upper classes for silk, to the Chinese, who were thus able to indulge in their favourite form of intoxication to the extent of half the Indian tribute. Now, however, the Chinese are commencing to grow their own opium *pari passu* with the increased consumption of Indian teas and diminished sale of their own growth, and our £16,000,000 of tribute to England has suddenly swollen by the diminished value of silver to the equivalent of £24,000,000 at 1s. 4d. exchange. So long as there are good harvests in India, an increased quantity of Indian produce has gone home to pay for the increased rupee Council Bills drawn upon India. But how long can this strain go on? Let a famine come, and where shall we be? A diminished quantity of wheat is due to a diminished rainfall, which, again, prevents the growth of the cotton and oil seeds upon which our prosperity depends. But apart from the famine ques-

tion, which may or may not come to the fore, what is the result of the abject fear and dread in which the British Government and all the Continental governments hold the gold bug? Enormously increased quantities of raw produce from India to England and the Continent. A wonderful prosperity among the classes in India, such as mucedums, merchants, and the professions who live upon the profits of this carrying trade, but a corresponding diminution of wealth in the backbone of the country, the cultivator or farmer, and the working classes immediately dependent upon his prosperity. The English Government, sold to the Shylocks of Europe, has its exact counterpart in the Indian Government, sold to Shylocks of India. The Government here in their heart of hearts know that the land revenue of the country is paid directly by the money-lender of the country, and therefore have they sold the patrimony of the cultivator for the revenue they cannot do without. The writer of the *Nineteenth Century* article feelingly instances the paternal care the Government of India showed thirty years ago in protecting the fields of the sepy from the action of the law courts. Is such a policy in vogue now? I doubt it. I know that the Purdesi peons of Bombay live upon the merest pittance, so that they may be thereby enabled to send three-fourths of their monthly pay to their country in the north of India to keep their families going and meet the land revenue collector. Only last month I got into conversation with a cooly carrying my luggage to Matheran, who told me that he was a farmer on the Wai Ghaut near Mahableshwur, that he had to pay the Government ten rupees land rent, and to his money-lender forty rupees per annum, the amount of the principal due to the man being Rs. 200, which he never hoped to pay off. His interest was thus at the rate of 20 per cent. per annum, and four times the amount of the Government rent. That for the past fifteen years he had for eight months of each year carried loads at Matheran, in order to keep his family going and meet his obligations. That his father, children, and wife were dead, only his old mother being left to let him feel he had a tie on earth. That during the four monsoon months he cultivated his fields. In a few years this man will die, the debt will die with him, as he has no sons to perpetuate the bond, and the money-lender, through the courts, will seize upon the property, and become a rack-renting landlord. The Government cannot help itself. So long as it feels necessary to go on bahadooring the Russians, the land revenue must continue to be got in at every sacrifice, under the penalty of no further loans from the gold bugs of Europe; the village money-lender, therefore, feels himself the pillar of the State, and the cultivator must succumb to his burdens. No government that has to support itself by such a policy can deserve to survive. In the meantime, unless a purer idea of their responsibilities arise in the minds of the English and Indian Governments, this fallacious foreign trade, based as it is upon the obligations payable to the interest-monger of Europe and his compeer in India, will continue to increase in quantity and decrease in gold value, until the masses in this country who work with their hands will find the burden unsupportable, and after us—the deluge. X.

### "WOMEN CIGARMAKERS."

Will you permit me to correct a statement made by your correspondent H. Davis in your issue of July 28th, headed "Women Cigarmakers," in which he states that in the agitation in the tobacco trade last year the female cigarmakers greatly assisted the male portion of the trade by their timely co-operation. It is quite true that the females suffered in common with the other portion of the trade, but the agitation was carried on solely by the men's unions, greatly assisted by Mr. H. Broadhurst, M.P., and the Labour members of Parliament generally. The females' union of which your correspondent speaks had not the remotest connection with that agitation, but sprung into existence through a Nottingham manufacturer ineffectually attempting to reduce his hands' wages. Thanking you in anticipation for the insertion of this correction,—Yours fraternally,  
HENRY COLLIER.

### THE NATIONAL CO-OPERATIVE FESTIVAL.

It is at the same time both unfortunate and yet of good omen that the First General Meeting of the Socialist Co-operative Federation should be announced for Saturday the 18th, as on that day the Crystal Palace will be the scene of an important demonstration by the most advanced wing of the co-operative movement.

Conceived and organised by E. O. Greening, aided by some members of the "Productionist" party, three years ago a flower show was held at South Kensington. To the flower show was added a small exhibition of Co-operative Productive Societies' manufactures. The success was such that the committee were emboldened to make arrangements to hold the third one on such an extensive scale, that the Crystal Palace was considered the only suitable place.

A show of flowers, fruit, vegetables, and honey will be held in the central transept, the exhibits being mostly from cottage gardeners and allotment holders, the professional grower and nurseryman being absent.

An industrial exhibition of the work of skilled workmen in their own trades, amateur work, women's and children's work, for which there are some 700 exhibitors, with four or five thousand articles, to compete for medals offered by the Society of Arts, who have appointed judges, and whose chairman, Sir Douglas Galton, will open the exhibition.

The most important part to readers of the *Weal* should be, however, the exhibition in the large concert hall of the manufactures of the Co-operative Productive Workshops.

It is expected that here will be found the most important representation of what has been done towards the elimination of the capitalist exploiter. Some objection will doubtless be taken as to the inner details of some of these societies. It is, however, capable of proof that in spite of all the evils of the surrounding capitalist-competitive-system, that something has been done towards making the worker his own employer. Watches, jewellery, washing and wringing machines, boots, shoes, portmanteaus, kitchen utensils and compounds to cook in them, locks and nails, and many other articles are now produced in co-operative workshops, and Socialists can do good work in studying how best to inspire with their enthusiasm the somewhat too cautious orthodox co-operator. The need of this inspiration and enthusiasm is admitted by a large section of co-operators, each succeeding Annual Congress has strengthened the "Productionist" party as opposed to the mere "Distributionist," the profit-making co-operator, and there is no doubt in the minds of many that the demonstration on Saturday will mark a very important era in the co-operative movement in England. In the evening a great public meeting will be held, addressed by several well-known men.

It will be a really serious stocktaking and review, preparatory to some developments in the direction of true Co-operation and true Socialism. A large volunteer committee will be ready at hand to aid, exhibit, and explain, and nothing spared to make a success of this effort to turn into practice the motto "All Products to the Producer."

T. S.

# THE LABOUR STRUGGLE.

BRITAIN.

Railway navvies at Lambourne have gone on strike for an increase of 3s. per week.

At Abertillery, a mass meeting resolution was carried unanimously in favour of the eight hours' movement.

It is reported that the trouble in the Tyne shipbuilding trade is practically at an end. The ship carpenters have obtained an advance, as also have some of the engineers.

The Union of Women Matchmakers' is now close on 600 strong, and growing. If the girls and women who work in the jam and pickle trade would follow suit they would be well advised.

Earl de la Warr is moving for more returns as to overwork on railways. At a mass meeting at Middlesbro' the railway delegate resolved that the time has come to make ten hours the universal labour day.

Wanted! urgently, name, address, and any details as to that Sheffield coroner, who at the inquest of the pen blade grinder held on the 3rd inst., expressed his unasked opinion "that the deceased was a free agent."

WHITEHAVEN.—The extensive collieries in this district, worked for many years by Earl of Lonsdale, have just passed to the management of Sir James Bain and Co., of Glasgow. Will the workers gain anything by the change of owners?

EBBW VALE.—Some new regulations issued at the Waunlwyd Colliery with regard to slag, have resulted (as all new regulations issued by the employers do) in considerable reductions of wages. There is considerable probability of more trouble; it was resolved to protest.

ONE ONLY OF THIS SORT.—At Barnfield Mills and Resolution Mills, near Hindsford, the employers gave 15 per cent. advance instead of the 10 per cent. asked for. This is worth notice, in face of the strikes and threats of strikes which are reported from every cotton trade district.

About 400 timber yard labourers at West Hartlepool have struck work for an advance of wages to the extent of 6d. per day. At the present time the men earn 4s. to 5s. per day, and the large imports just now arriving stimulate the demand for men. Telegrams have been despatched to other centres for men to displace the strike hands, and it is assumed that the matter will be quickly settled.

TOBACCO TRADE.—The strike of cigarette makers at the Regie Cigarette Company for an increase of 18 per cent., which was reported in the *Commonweal* for August 4, has now been satisfactorily settled in favour of the men, the company granting the men's demands, and in future to employ none but unionists. A large public meeting was held last Sunday at 3, Princes Street, Spitalfields, at which it was resolved to continue fighting the employers until class society becomes a thing of the past.

The annual report of the Yorkshire Miners' Association deals lengthily with the Mines Act, and urges that the Act has secured powers which have been agitated for for some years. "In respect to the power to prosecute owners, agents, and managers, we may say we have not got all we desired. At the same time we must say the Act goes a long way in our direction. . . Our advice to workmen is, whenever and wherever you see a mine owner, mine manager, or any person in authority, commit an offence against the Act, prosecute him."

STRIKE IN THE NUT AND BOLT TRADE AT DARLSTON.—At a meeting held last Saturday, it was reported that although the principal firms had conceded the list prices there were still a number of men on strike, and that the number would be increased by addition of Cotton's workmen, whose notice expired that day; in all probability other notices would follow. Levies were being more regularly paid than at first by the Smethwick men, and there was good reason to hope that all the Darlston employers would concede the mens demand—viz., the 1881 list less 5 per cent.

DERBYSHIRE MINERS.—The miners in this district mean to make a vigorous beat up for an advance. The mischief is that many of the men who are always ready to enter on the fields when won, are too slow to help anything to the victory. The miner's agent for the district, Mr. Haslam, says many of the men have not so much courage as Bryant and May's match-girls. The attention which is being paid in this district to the question of mineral royalties is bodeful for some of the authorised and mighty robbers. A big meeting is to be held at Clown on August 21, which it is hoped will have important results.

THE DISPUTE IN THE BOOT AND SHOE TRADE.—The result of the strike in Northampton last year was a compromise between the manufacturers and operatives. The arbitration committee which was appointed drew up a uniform statement of wages for the whole of the town, which was accepted by both sides. Since then a number of London manufacturers paying first and second class rates have found that by removing their businesses to Northampton they can secure a reduction in the prices which they pay; also rents are lower than in London; one manufacturer saying (according to the *Shoe and Leather Record*) that he saves 2½ per cent. per week on his "working expenses" as compared with London. This is the opportunity they have been longing after for a good while past. They have found the trade-union rates of wages press rather heavily on them and restricted their opportunities of obtaining orders; naturally they have seized the first opportunity of easing themselves of their burden. This is a very serious matter for the London trade-unionists—indeed, to all the London workmen—as the immediate result must be and is that hundreds of good skilled workmen are now forced to compete with others for the commoner and badly-paid-for classes of work, and it is on that kind of goods that the "sweating system" obtains. This matter is all the more important, inasmuch as it is among the men working at the better class of work that the trade-union is strongest, the union having made comparatively little headway among those who work for the shoddy manufacturers. A mass meeting of those concerned in London was called, and despite the advice of their secretary, C. Freak, refused to submit the question to arbitration and resolved to fight the masters. A deputation was appointed and sent to Northampton, and, according to instructions, convened a mass meeting of shopmates there. After a long discussion, the following resolution was carried by a majority of ten only: "That in the opinion of this meeting the men of Northampton should use all legitimate means to assist the London shopmates in maintaining their wages." While the manufacturers have every probability of making a united stand, the operatives are divided in opinion both in London and Northampton.—G. C.

TIME CRIBBING AND SMALL FINES.—At Bolton Town Hall, on Thursday, a special meeting of the borough magistrates was held to consider a letter from the Home Secretary as to the small fines imposed by the Bench in cases of cotton manufacturers charged with working overtime. The Bolton Trades' Council had made complaint that flagrant breaches of the Act were punished by paltry fines of 5s., and urged that personal friendship had more to do with such decisions than justice. None of the magistrates whose decisions were challenged attended. After a very warm debate it was decided to answer the Home Secretary "that in serious and repeated offences the full penalty would be imposed."

BOYCOTTING THE WORKERS.—At the Pontypridd Police Court the Great Western Colliery Company has just been condemned in various sums for having acted on a boycott issued by the agent of another colliery company. A strike having taken place at the Albion Colliery, some of the strikers obtained work at the Great Northern. After some days, the men were called to the office and examined by the manager, who said he had orders to stop all men who came from the Albion. The men each claimed a month's wages as damages for illegal dismissal. The agent of the Albion Co., W. Lewis, when cross-examined, had to admit having sent out to various collieries a list of strikers with a request that such men should be discharged. After much legal quibbling, judgment was given for six out of the seven plaintiffs for seven days at the rate of 2s. 8d. per day.

BAKERS AND CONFECTIONERS.—"Amalgamated Union of Bakers and Confectioners, 21st Branch, London, August 14, 1888. To the Jewish master bakers of East London. We beg to inform you that since the 4th of August we, the Jewish journeymen bakers in the East-end, have formed ourselves into a branch of the above Union, with which we henceforth go hand in hand and shall be under its protection. It may be well for clearing away misapprehensions to tell you that the purpose of our Union is not, as many of you seem to think, against your interests, but simply to protect and defend our interests, and to give the best loyal consideration to you as long as you treat us properly and in accord with the way our fellow Christian brethren are treated by their employers. We see no cause whatever why we, Jewish workers, should be doomed to such hardships as we have had to bear hitherto. We hope that you will give to this your best attention, which will be to your own as well as our advantage.—The 21st Branch of the Amalgamated Union of Operative Bakers and Confectioners, held at the 'Duke of Gloster,' New Road, E."

AMERICA.—July 31.

The Federation of Labour has added 50,000 to its membership within a year.

It is estimated that the lock-out of the Brewers' Union has cost that organisation 97,700 dols.

The labour organisations of Grand Rapid, Michigan, will celebrate Labour Day, the first Monday in September.

It is officially announced that no strikes will be authorised by the Knights of Labour this year except under extreme provocation.

Eighteen special agents of the National Bureau of Labour are now engaged collecting statistics regarding employment on railroads in the Eastern States.

One or two Rondout brickmakers made a reduction of 12½ per cent. in the wages on the 27th July. The brick market is said to be dull. Curious whenever a reduction of wages is made the market is always dull.

Nearly 1,000 hands will be thrown out of work through the shut down of the Norfolk and New Brunswick Hosiery Company's shops at New Brunswick. The shut down will take place at the end of this month. The poor condition of trade is the cause of the suspension.

The wall paper pool, a combination of manufacturers of wall paper, having for its object the crushing out of existence the smaller concerns, is said to be on the verge of dissolution owing to the failure of all the members to live up to the terms of their pool agreement.

Thirty-five feeders in the American Nail Factory, Hamilton, struck work on the 24th July. They were formerly paid 9 cents a keg for cutting nails out of 13 inch plates, but 8 inch plates were substituted, thus giving more work, and as there was no increase in pay given the strike resulted.

The strike at Singer, Nimick and Co.'s steel works at Pittsburg, Pa., has ended in favour of the manufacturers, and nearly all of the old men returned to work yesterday or will go back to-day. It was a struggle for recognition of the Union, and hereafter the mill will be operated independent of any labour organisation.

Two thousand men recently went out of the lumber mills at Gravenhurst, Ont., for a reduction of hours from eleven to ten. One year ago a reduction was secured from twelve to eleven. Several firms have already conceded the reduction, and the mills will doubtless soon be running again at the reduced hours.

The Iron Moulders' Union has decided that on and after April 1, 1889, nine hours shall constitute a day's work for members of the union. If employers resist, strikes will be ordered in small districts, support being called for from the remainder of the country. The resolution was adopted by a close vote, meeting bitter opposition.

A movement is on foot among the soap manufacturers of the United States to form a soap trust. A meeting was held in New York city recently and the plans of organisation discussed, but no definite action was taken. It is proposed to hold another meeting shortly and perfect the organisation. The association will regulate prices and production, and endeavour to secure legislation that will protect the best interests of the manufacturers.

In many places in Georgia, Florida, Alabama, Tennessee, and North Carolina, farm hands are paid from 35 to 50 cents. per day. The P. E. Bishop of Florida recently said that he knew people who were getting 50 cents. a-week. Servants get 2 dols. and 3 dols. a month in Western North Carolina and parts of South Carolina. Railroad labourers get from 90 cents. to 1 dol. 25 cents. a-day. In the trades wages run nearly up to the northern standard.

A great indignation mass meeting was held in San Francisco, California, July 25th, against the Chinese. Thousands were turned away from the main hall and formed an overflow meeting. After the speeches a memorial to Congress was adopted with cheers, setting forth that through the perversion of the laws by the United States Court thousands of Chinamen were entering this port weekly, and offering to prove these facts at their own expense to a visiting Congressional Committee, and finally demanding the impeachment of federal Judges Sawyer and Sabin for perverting the laws. A resolution was also adopted starting a large popular subscription to fight the Chinese invasion legally, step by step. The meeting was called and participated in by all the trades' unions in the city.



## INTERNATIONAL NOTES.

## FRANCE.

Twice in less than a fortnight the proletariat of Paris has been shot by the police and the soldiers, at the special command of that criminal government headed by Floquet and supported by Clémenceau, Joffrin, and other "possibilists," who promised to give the people of France those "radical" reforms which, as they said, would better their condition. The prime minister of "republican" France, seized with dismay at the gravity of the economic and social questions which are to be solved and which he altogether ignores, as all politicians and mere parliamentarians do, has thought that a wholesale blood-letting of the Parisian revolutionaries would put these "disagreeable" questions out of his way and enable him and his bourgeois confederates to go on with their humbugging of the French working classes. But thanks to the admirable order which prevailed at the funeral of Emile Eudes, and to the wonderful patience shown by the ten thousand navvies at strike, who did not answer the brutal provocations of the police, Floquet has not got his *journée*, as he undoubtedly had all things ready for getting one. The people of Paris will take up that challenge at their day and at their hour, not at the moment chosen by Floquet, and they only need a little patience to have the victims of the police brutality wholly avenged, if they remember that the Third Empire, which was far more powerful than the parliamentarian Republic of the French bourgeoisie, was squashed and fell to pieces just one year after the funeral of Victor Noir. Here also the same cause will have the same result.

Emile Eudes, whose funeral has been attended to by one hundred thousand people, has assuredly been one of the most sympathetic men amongst the French revolutionaries. He commenced his political career very early, and before even he was twenty years of age he was sentenced to six months of imprisonment for his anti-religious and atheistic propaganda, vigorously carried on by him and his friends in the columns of a courageous paper, entitled 'La Libre Pensée' (Freethought). At Ste. Pélagie he met Gustave Tridon and the other convicts of the Renaissance-trial, and henceforth became a follower of Blanqui. He was a clever and prudent organiser, and together with Blanqui, Granger, and some other very active citizens, he succeeded, in spite of the imperial police, in creating all through Paris a revolutionary force which was ready for action at the time of the murder of Victor Noir, and, but for the cowardice of Rochefort, would then have brought about a formidable insurrection and most probably the downfall of the Third Empire. During the Franco-German War, on the 14th of August 1870, Eudes was among the few energetic men who tried to gain over the Parisians to take up arms, by attacking the barracks of the Villette fire-brigade. If this attempt, described by Blanqui in 'La Patrie en Danger,' had been successful, it would have averted from France the catastrophes that afterwards befell her and most likely would have delivered the country from all the bourgeois Republicans who, for the last eighteen years, dishonour their country.

At the affair of La Vilette, Eudes and his friend Brideau were captured and sentenced to death by court-martial. Whilst Gambetta, the forefather of the Republicans à la Floquet, urged upon the Corps Législatif to shoot the two convicts, Michelet, the illustrious historian of the French Revolution, drew up a protest that became famous, and prevented the wish of Gambetta to be fulfilled. A few days afterwards the Empire broke down at Sedan, the people of Paris overran the Chamber, Eudes and his fellow prisoners were liberated. During the siege, Eudes, as commander of the 138th battalion of the National Guard, took his fair share with Blanqui of the affair of the 31st October, and was again imprisoned. After the capitulation of Paris, on the eve of the 18th of March, the Central Committee of the National Guard entrusted him with the command of the twentieth Legion, and he assured the success of the Parisian movement which led to the proclamation of the Commune. With Brunel and Daval he then became the commander-in-chief of the revolutionary forces of the French capital, and at the same time was elected by 19,000 suffrages as member of the Commune. Our readers are aware of the active part he took in all the military operations of the Commune against the Versailles reactionary troops. He was of course condemned to death, but succeeded in reaching London, where he lived until the general amnesty of July 1880. Soon after his return to Paris he became one of Blanqui's contributors in *Ni Dieu ni Maître* (Neither God nor Master), and in 1882 was sentenced to some months of imprisonment for the affair of the Père Lachaise. At the time of his death he was chief editor of the daily paper *L'Homme Libre* (the Freeman), which is the organ of the Blanquist section of the French Socialists.

Emile Eudes died from an apoplectic fit on the platform where he was supporting the action of the navvies at strike; he fell, like a soldier, in the middle of a fight of the proletarians against their masters, and even his political adversaries were obliged to do homage to his indomitable bravery and the uprightness and integrity of his revolutionary convictions.

Another veteran of the revolutionary struggles in France has just passed away. Benjamin Flotte died at Cuers (Var Department) at the age of seventy-six. In 1839 he was arrested with Barbes and Blanqui, and sentenced to nine years imprisonment. Under the Third Empire he got five more years. During the siege of Paris in 1870 he was with Eudes at La Vilette, and during the Commune he was sent to Versailles in order to negotiate with the wholesale murderer, Thiers, for the liberation of the hostages and the release of Blanqui, a negotiation which of course fell to the ground. After the amnesty, he returned from America, where he had gone to live, to Paris where he became one of the most active members of the Central Revolutionary Committee.

The navvies' strike is quietly but firmly going on, and spreading amongst other trades too. Much calumny and vilification is heaped on the heads of the men at strike by the Bourgeois press of the "model" Republic, but they don't answer the odious provocations of these low-lived and miserable penny-a-liners. The carpenters and the locksmiths have joined in the struggle, other trades are to follow, and there is much talk in Paris about a "general" strike. In the provinces too, at Amiens, Lyons, Marseilles, and several other popular centres, great excitement prevails, and we may fairly say that we are on the eve of great events.

## AUSTRIA-HUNGARY.

The Austrian Government have published, on the 1st of this month, their exceptional law against the Anarchists. It says that in the judiciary districts of Vienna, Korneuburg, Wiener-Neustadt, Wels, Prague, Brüx, Ticin, Jungbunzlau, Reichenberg Brunn, Olmütz, Neutitschein, Graz, Leoben, Klagenfurt, the jury will be replaced by an exceptional tribunal (from August 10 until July 31, 1889), that is to say by a set of Nupkins who have made up their minds that Anarchists are wild beasts who always

and in every case ought to be sent to hard labour imprisonment, for the trial of the following crimes: High treason, breach of public order and peace, insurrection, riot, assault, falsification of credit notes, coinage of base money, crimes against religion, murder, manslaughter, arson, felony, house-breaking, libel and some minor offences. Of course, as our Austrian colleagues of the Socialist press point out, this exceptional law is likely to become a sort of common law, as it will be renewed every year, exactly in the same way as the Anti-Socialists laws are in Germany.

## HOLLAND.

The Socialists in South-Holland are very hard at work, and they deserve to be supported in their struggle, because they have to stand firm there against the most reactionary set of people that ever existed anywhere. Our colleague, *De Volkstem* (Voice of the People) has particularly hard work to do. All possible means are used to undermine and kill the young organ of the toilers, which until now was issued at Middleburg, but in consequence of the difficulties and pettyfogging persecutions which it had to bear from the middle-class there, will henceforth be published at Flushing. The workers of Amsterdam, the Hague, and other towns have now decided to overflow Middleburg and the surrounding land with leaflets and pamphlets. The Socialist agitation is carried on all over Holland with great energy and good success, nearly all the organised trades unions have joined the Socialist Party. In the northern parts of the country, the Hague, Amsterdam, Rotterdam, etc., the Anarchists, who have a regular organ of their own, also make very useful work by carrying on the propaganda, and we may say that the two sections of the Socialists are living on good terms, which ought to be the case everywhere, more generally than it is.

V. D.

## LITERARY NOTES.

The *Ploughshare* (Martin, George Street, Aberdeen, Id.) is "a journal of radical religion and morality," issued monthly by the Rev. Alex. Webster. Its present number is devoted to "The Cottar's Saturday Night," one of a series of lectures on "Texts from Burns," and deals in existing social conditions "without gloves."

Articles of interest to Socialists in August magazines:—*Quarterly Review*: "Chinese in Australia." *Contemporary Review*: "State Socialism," John Rae; "The New National Insurance Laws of Germany," Henry M. Felkin. *Nineteenth Century*: "East London Labour," Miss Beatrice Potter; "Democracy and Party," T. E. Kebbel; "Workers' Songs," Miss Laura A. Smith. *Longman's Magazine*: "The Storage of Life as a Sanitary Study," Dr. B. W. Richardson. *Universal Review*: "Home Rule," T. P. O'Connor, M.P.

## THE SOCIALIST LEAGUE.

OFFICES: 13 FARRINGTON ROAD, E.C.

The Offices of the Socialist League will be open for the sale of *Commonweal* and all other Socialist publications from 8.30 a.m. to 9 p.m. every day except Sunday. The Secretary will be in attendance from 10 a.m. to 9 p.m. daily.

**London Members' Meeting.**—The next monthly meeting of members will take place on Monday, Sept. 3, 1888, at 13 Farringdon Road, at 9 o'clock.

## REPORTS.

FULHAM.—On Tuesday evening, Maughan, Groser, and Mordhurst spoke to a good audience, opposite the Liberal Club. Sunday morning, Tarleton spoke for an hour to a very fair meeting. Some opposition from a co-operation friend, to which Tarleton replied. In the evening Tochetti, Bullock, and Groser addressed an excellent meeting. A lady opposed, and was answered by Bullock and Tochetti.—S. B. G.

HACKNEY.—The next meeting of members will be held at the Berner Street Club, Tuesday, August 21st, at 9.30 p.m.

NORTH LONDON.—Good meeting addressed at Regent's Park by Cantwell, Nicoll, Saunders, and Mrs. Laer. Collected for propaganda 3s. 5d. Good sale of literature.

STAMFORD HILL.—Nicoll and Brookes spoke. At close of meeting one of Warren's "Lambs" asked Brookes for his name, which he declined to give. Upon which the individual paid to protect the interests of the public, replied, "Then, do the other thing." These ruffians have much to learn yet. Perhaps this is a preliminary to active hostilities in this neighbourhood.

BRADFORD.—Sunday, August 12, Gaskell lectured at Laycock's Temperance Hotel, on "Socialism v. Individualism," to an attentive audience. Good discussion.—P. B.

GLASGOW.—On Saturday evening Downie and Pollock addressed a good audience on Jail Square. On Sunday evening we held a meeting on the Green near the monument, where Glacier was much interrupted in his address by a band of ignorant and rowdy orange youths. With this exception the large audience was attentive and sympathetic. We intend holding a meeting next Sunday evening in same place, and members are asked to turn up in force. During the week Emery Walker, Secretary of the Hammersmith Branch, visited our Rooms, and on Thursday night had a hearty meeting with a number of our members.

NORWICH.—Saturday night a meeting of comrades and friends was held in the Gordon Hall to welcome our London comrades. Several comrades rendered some capital songs. Comrade Morris also gave a reading. A very pleasant evening was spent.

WALSALL.—At indoor meeting last Monday J. Sketchley (Birmingham), delivered a most instructive lecture on "The Land Question from the Socialist Standpoint." Good attendance, and questions asked at close were satisfactorily disposed of by lecturer. Sanders held outdoor meeting on the Bridge prior to the lecture, also spoke at same place on Saturday and on Sunday at West Bromwich Road. At Saturday's meeting our audience was larger than usual, considerable opposition being evinced, and a good crop of questions followed. These were well dealt with by our speaker who was frequently applauded.

## EAST END PROPAGANDA.

Concentration on one or two particular places has led to an apparent slackening, which will, however, be fully made up later. Splendid meetings have been held on Sunday mornings at Leman Street, and almost every night on Mile-end Waste, Gibraltar Walk, the Broadway, and the Triangle, Hackney, have not been quite regularly attended, owing to the great attention given to other parts. A capital station has been made at Philpot Street, Commercial Road, and good congregations have listened to the Gospel of Socialism. At Kingsland Green, Stamford Hill, and Victoria Park immense audiences have attended. In about 100 streets a house to house visitation has been made, about 4,000 back numbers of the *Commonweal* and *Freedom* and 10,000 leaflets have been distributed. Every Saturday a meeting has been held at Berner Street Club, and next Saturday will discuss the taking of a large hall for the winter. Last week the speakers were Brookes, Charles, Cores, Gault (S.D.F.), Hicks, Lane, Mainwaring, Nicoll, Parker, Mrs. Schack.—W. B. PARKER, Sec. East-end Propaganda.

**LECTURE DIARY.**

**LONDON.**

**Acton.**—Any information from Secretary Harnett, 7 Redmore Road, Hammersmith.

**Osborneville.**—Hall of the Socialist League, 13 Farringdon Rd., E.C. Sunday August 19, at 8.30, Brooks, "Influence of Theology on Present Society." Wed. 22, at 8.30, J. Lane, "The Need of a Labour Party." Sun. 26, W. B. Parker, a lecture. Wednesday 29, F. Charles, "Society, Present and Future." Sun. Sept. 2, Rochmann, "Will Palliatives do Good?" Wed. 5, Turner, a lecture.

**Fulham.**—8 Effie Road, Walham Green. Sunday at 8 p.m.

**Hackney.**—Enquiries, communications, etc., to E. Lefevre, Secretary, 28 Percy Terrace, Victoria Rd., Hackney Wick.

**Hammersmith.**—Kelmescott House, Upper Mall, W. Sunday August 19, at 8 p.m.

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

**Mile-end and Bethnal Green.**—95 Boston St., Hackney Road.

**North London.**—Secretary, Nelly Parker, 143 Cavendish Buildings, opposite Holborn Town Hall. The business meetings will be held on Friday evenings at 6 Windmill Street, Tottenham Court Road, after the open-air meeting at Ossulton Street. All members are asked to attend at Ossulton St. at 8 o'clock.

**Plaistow.**—A branch has been formed here and is commencing a vigorous propaganda in this district.

**St. Georges in the East.**—A meeting of the members of this branch will be held at 23 Princes Square, on Sunday morning after the meeting at Lemn Street. Rochmann, secretary.

**PROVINCES.**

**Aberdeen** (Scottish Section).—Secretary, J. Leatham, 15 St Nicholas Street. Night and place of meeting have had to be changed in consequence of Sabbatarian prejudice of landlords. Branch meets in Oddfellows' Hall on Monday nights at 8. Choir practice at 46 Marischal Street on Thursday evenings at 8.

**Bradford.**—Read's Coffee Tavern, Ivegate. Meets Tuesdays at 8. Scott, of Manchester (S.D.F.), will lecture next Sunday. Cunninghame Grahame and Mrs. Graham have promised to address a meeting on August 3rd.

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

**Gowdenbeath** (Scot. Sec).—J. Duncan, 30 Arthur Pl., sec

**Dundee** (Scot. Sect.).—Meetings every Sunday in the Trades Hall, opposite Tay Bridge Station.

**Edinburgh** (Scottish Land and Labour League).—35 George IV. Bridge. Meetings for Discussion, Thursdays at 8 p.m.

**Galashiels** (Scot Sect).—J. Walker, 6 Victoria St., sec.

**Gallatown and Dysart** (Scottish Section: Fife).—Meet every Tuesday at 7 p.m. in Gallatown Public School. Secretary, A. Paterson, 152 Rosslyn St.

**Glasgow.**—54 John Street. Reading-room (Draughts, Chess, etc.) open 10 a.m. till 10 p.m. daily. On Thursday evening first, at 8, Choir Practice will be resumed; all musical members invited. On Sunday at 2 p.m., instead of 7. Business Meeting.

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

**Leicester.**—Hosiery Union, Horsefair St. Fridays at 8.

**Lochgelly** (Scottish Section: Fife).—Secs. (pro tem.), John Greig and Hugh Conway, The Square.

**Norwich.**—Gordon Hall.

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

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

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

**OPEN-AIR PROPAGANDA.**

**SUNDAY 19.**

10.30...Starch Green .....Hammersmith Branch  
 11.30...Latimer Road Station .....Hammersmith Branch  
 11.30...Mitcham Fair Green .....Rochmann  
 11.30...Regent's Park .....Parker  
 11.30...Walham Green .....Fulham Branch  
 7 ...Weltje Road, opposite Ravenscourt Park  
 .....Hammersmith Branch

**Tuesday.**

8.30...Fulham—opposite Liberal Club.....Fulham Bh.

**Friday.**

7.30...Euston Rd.—Ossulton Street .....The Branch

**EAST END.**

**SUNDAY 19.**

Mile-end Waste ... 11 ...East-end C'mittee.  
 "Salmon and Ball" ... 11 ..."  
 Lemn Street, Shadwell ... 11 ...Nicoll. "  
 Gibraltar Walk, Bethnal ... 7 ...East-end C'mittee.  
 Green Road.  
 Kingsland Green ... 11.30... "  
 Victoria Park ... 3.15... "  
 Triangle, Hackney Road ... 8 ... "  
 Stamford Hill ... 7.30... "

**TUESDAY.**  
 Mile-end Waste ... 8.30...East-end C'mittee.

**WEDNESDAY.**  
 Broadway, London Fields 8.30... "

**FRIDAY.**  
 Philpot St., Commercial Rd. 8.30... "

**SATURDAY.**  
 Mile-end Waste ... 8 ... "

**PROVINCES.**  
**Aberdeen.**—Saturday: Castle Street, at 8 p.m.  
**Glasgow.**—Sunday: Jail's Square, at 12.30; Paisley Road at 5; Green, near Monument, at 6.30.  
**Leeds.**—Sunday: Hunslet Moor, at 11 a.m.; Vicar's Croft, at 7 p.m.  
**Leicester.**—Sunday: Russel Square, at 11 a.m.  
**Norwich.**—Sunday: Market Place, at 3 and 7.30. North Walsham, Sunday at 11. Crostwick Common, Sunday at 3. Yarmouth, Church Plain, Thursday at 8.  
**Walsall.**—Meeting at Daw End on Sunday morning. Deakin, Guillemand, and Wesley, speakers.

**EAST-END PROPAGANDA.**—A meeting of all interested in the Socialist propaganda in the East-end of London will be held at the Berner Street International Club, Commercial Road, E., on Saturday at 10 p.m. *prompt.*

**ZUKERTORT CHESS CLUB,** 217 City Road, E.C.—This Club asks us to notify our readers of its existence; that it is well fitted up; and that a first-class man has been secured who gives three hours' instruction every evening.

**THE SOCIALIST CO-OPERATIVE FEDERATION.**—This Society is now registered. The first General Meeting of the Members will be held at the Hall of the Socialist League, 13 Farringdon Road, E.C., on Saturday August 18th, at 8 p.m., for the election of the Committee and for any other business. All members are particularly requested to attend, and to bring their subscription cards for audit. Non-members who wish to attend can become members on payment of the entrance fee, 1s., in the Hall.

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# THE COMMONWEAL

## The Official Journal of the SOCIALIST LEAGUE.

VOL. 4.—No. 137.

SATURDAY, AUGUST 25, 1888.

WEEKLY; ONE PENNY.

### NOTES ON NEWS.

THE verdict on Mr. Ridley's suicide, passing over the conventional phrase of "temporary insanity," will be endorsed by most men who are not rabid partisans. The poor man was too weak to play a part in the civil war which is now going on, and so was crushed out by an extra turn of "the system" driving him up against his own conscience and that of the community amongst which he lived. It is a thousand pities that he could not have trusted himself to the good will of his fellow-countrymen, and snapped his fingers at the authority which bade him go a little further than usual in torturing a prisoner!

The check to the share of Italy in the plunder of Africa will scarcely make a nine days' wonder, yet one cannot help feeling some exultation at the defeat of the armed clerks of the counting-house, under whatever nationality they may serve; though naturally one is most pleased when they belong to our own counting house, whose tyranny presses most nearly on ourselves.

The new Kaiser's speech at Frankfort-on-Oder furnishes a curious commentary on Lord Salisbury's view of the pacific tendencies of the rulers of Europe at present; but it does not tell us anything new about the character or aspirations of the German demi-god. We have all known that he is a furious reactionist, who will do all the damage he can during his reign; but in this matter of war he will be rather driven than driving; the blind instincts of the commercial bourgeoisie, which force them to the worship of such men as this, will settle that matter for or against. It is at any rate pretty certain that if the Kaiser does fairly "go on the rampage" in the temple of reaction, he will pull the roof down on his own head. So may it be!

The closing of the Landore Works is a good example of the position of the workman under nineteenth century capitalism. A thousand men employed in working at—in fact they know not what. Suddenly without warning the work comes to an end, and they are in the streets with a prospect of what would be indeed a cruel punishment for gross misconduct. And what can they do? They have never had the least control over their own work, know nothing about the market for it, or what may influence that market; nor have their "employers" a grain of responsibility for them. They can do nothing but try to put themselves once more in a position, which involves helpless ignorance on one side and complete irresponsibility on the other. They are simple machines in helpless dependence on other men's wills, other men's necessities, of which they know nothing. When will the time come when they will make up their minds to employ themselves, and accept the responsibilities of their own lives? They will one day have to choose between that and sheer starvation.

Zola is being attacked in England through the publisher of his English translations, and there will doubtless be many pros and cons on the matter. The only one of his works that I have read is 'Germinal'. If that is a fair specimen of them, I must say that whatever grossness there is in it could do no harm except to those who are determined to have harm done to them. I feel sure also that the grossness is there not for "nastiness" sake, but because it forms part of a true picture of the life which our civilisation forces on labouring men; and I hold that "What is not too bad to be done, is not too bad to be told about," though I find no difficulty in imagining that our rulers and masters take a very different view of the subject.

W. M.

One of the most completely comic things in print lately, occurs in the *Pall Mall Gazette* of the 2nd inst. Comic and yet tragic; comic because of the tragic so close behind.

Frank Holl was painting John Bright's portrait, and in course of the chat during a sitting, on Gladstone's name being mentioned, Bright expressed much regret at the breach which had come between them. "Do you know, Mr. Holl, I seriously fear that my dear old friend's

mind has really become seriously undermined." Later on, while at work at Hawarden, a somewhat similar conversation takes place about Bright, similar regret at the broken friendship, and——. "Tell me, Mr. Holl,"—and here his mouth twitched, for he was evidently struggling with great emotion—"tell me, did you notice anything in the manner of my old friend which would lead you to believe that his reason was becoming in any way unhinged?"

Evidently there was more in Axel Oxenstierna's advice than even he meant, "Behold with how little wisdom this world is governed." "With how little wisdom," apparently with no wisdom whatever. Bright fears for Gladstone's reason, and Gladstone for Bright's. Somewhere hereabouts can be found the factors of a mental equation, which should delight my anti-Parliamentary friends. A set of revolutionists—mad; a set of reactionists—madder; a set in power sitting on the safety-valve of Free Speech and press—madder still; and the result of the seething together of these mad elements a mass of mad legislation, and a social state that the maddest dreams of the Bedlamite could never suggest. "'Tis a mad world, my masters, a mad world."

We are told by those who have much to do with the "insane" (?), that outside the one particular weak point it is hard to distinguish the patient from the attendant or the doctor. Suppose, after all, it shall some day be decided that the sane is insane and *vice versa*, it will be rather rough on some. Possibly the man who makes so much fuss about "interfering with freedom of contract" may become somewhat discredited, and quite a number of the adored fetishes of to-day may be thrown down. To-day the Socialist is mad, should be confined, either in jail or asylum—when possible is so served. To-morrow—well—"Time makes ancient *good* uncouth." Roughly, the rich and the powerful are the only sane; Socialists are not rich and powerful, therefore the Socialists are not sane; Q.E.D. with a "!"

Imagine a "Vision of Judgment" when social systems shall be weighed off; when "sane" shall scale against "insane." When one comes to consider how many "impossibilities" of the past are "commonplaces" to-day, verily some of the "sane" should be a bit careful as to what they say of the insane; it should suggest that even—

"After us, some purer scheme  
Will be shaped out by wiser men than we,  
Made wiser by the steady growth of truth."

The Lord Chief Justice, by a decision on Saturday, decided that "boycotting" is legal. In the case of Gregor, Gow and Company v. the Peninsular and Oriental Company, T. Sutherland, M.P., and various other steamship companies, claim for damages was made for an alleged illegal combination to boycott and ruin by means of bribing and intimidating shippers in China not to send goods by the plaintiffs' ships. In an elaborate judgment his lordship held that the defendants were justified in "using inducements" and in "withholding advantages." It was fair trade competition and not unlawful.

The foxhunters of Nottingham have boycotted the parson who protested against the way his crops were destroyed. The foxhunting parsons used to boycott the Rev. Sydney Smith when he made this same sort of protest. Our modern parson suggests that the foxhunters should all emigrate; let us add to that a wish that all the parsons go with them.

The robbers are getting ready to go. A proclamation has just been published in the *Gazette* to the effect that on and after October 1st the rate at which freight shall be paid for the conveyance on board of any of her majesty's vessels of treasure belonging to parties other than the Crown, whether gold, silver, jewels, or other articles, which may by special order be received on board, shall be 1 per cent. This order suggests that the people who have gold silver and jewels in quantity enough to require a war ship to carry them off are already making contracts as to the price of carriage. May they soon be called upon to part with their 1 per cent.! We can well afford to lose the jewels if the owners go also.



Civil war is not far off surely when between two hundred and three hundred representatives of Law-'n'-Order are occupied from nine in the morning until six in the evening with battering-ram, scaling-ladders, bayonets, and other resources of civilisation, against a family of twelve who simply defended their own house. If done somewhere in Southern Europe, or Mexico, or Peru, or in the moon, what a scream would go up from Exeter Hall!

What, by the way, are England's resources of civilisation in the war time? Our army costs us millions, and our navy also; yet it is not too much to say that our army and our navy is about the shoddiest lot that ever professed to be ready for war. For the last fortnight every day has put the country to hundreds of thousands of pounds expenditure for repairs only of contract-built ships. Somebody will have to be hanged yet for this business.

T. S.

### OUR TASK TO-DAY.

MAN is to a great extent the creature of circumstances. Even by experience he learns wisdom very slowly. Years, generations, and centuries roll on, and the worker is still in bondage. Civilisation, progress in art and science is ever moving onward, yet the wealth-producer is ever the mere hewer of wood and drawer of water. Revolts, insurrections, and revolutions have swept over the earth in different ages and in different nations, but despotism is everywhere in the ascendant, ever-rampant tyranny is everywhere supreme. Yet amid the clang of arms and the jubilation of the triumphant reaction, fear and trembling are everywhere manifest. The crowned despot, resting on his throne of blood, in whose ears ring as music the despairing cries of the enslaved millions, though surrounded by his countless legions, has in his bosom a presentiment of coming danger, of the approaching life or death struggle for truth, for liberty, for justice.

But why is despotism everywhere triumphant? Why is this ever-rampant tyranny everywhere supreme? Why is the worker still in slavery, why at the bottom of the social scale? Because he learns wisdom so very slowly, because he is ever credulous, ever the victim and slave of idle hopes and childish fears.

If we go back no further than the early part of the present century, we find evidence of the above in abundance. The great Radical movement, which took its rise at the close of 1816, aimed at the reform of the House of Commons, believing that the vote would give political power, and that political power would enable the workers to free the country from the tyranny and corruption then so prevalent. The movement was genuine as far as the demand went for political power. There were a few who believed that the possession of political power would enable the workers to free themselves from the social evils under which the people groaned. The movement spread rapidly, was carried on with energy, was met by the Government with Acts of Coercion, which called forth increased determination on the part of both leaders and people. From 1817 to 1828 the Catholic party joined in the movement, and the leaders of the Radical party believed them in earnest. But in the latter year, so soon as Catholic Emancipation began to be visible, to be within a measurable distance of the region of practical politics, then the Catholic party withdrew from the movement. The Radical party felt the loss, but were not discouraged. In 1831 another and, under the circumstances, a more dangerous element joined the movement. A large portion of the middle-classes, with their leaders, joined in the demand for Radical reform. The demand for manhood suffrage was declared to be premature. The old leaders of the Radical movement were said to be somewhat too extreme, too revolutionary, too impracticable. The men of principle had to give way to the men of expediency. The men of revolutionary ideas had to make room for the men of moderate views. The ever credulous people believed the new comers, and their old and trusted leaders were pushed aside. Political trickery and political fraud were triumphant, and the reign of tyranny secured.

The people accepted a lesson of expediency, and their betrayal was the inevitable result of their credulity.

A few short years and Chartism raised its head. The mass of the workers had not forgotten their shameful betrayal by the middle classes, of the little (reform) bill instead of manhood suffrage, and the suppression of their meetings and the brutal tyranny of the Whigs. It was to be the whole charter and no surrender. The middle classes were no longer to be trusted. Meetings were held in almost every town, in many parts in every village. The demand for the charter rolled through every valley, it pealed forth from the mountain tops, and penetrated the bosom of every family. The demand of the people was again answered by Coercion. The leaders were defiant, and the people were enthusiastic. Large numbers were arrested, but few were discouraged, while the people remained true to the cause. When the people cannot be crushed by Coercion, when the leaders cannot be discouraged by arrest and imprisonment, then other means are resorted to to prevent the success of the movement. But the game of 1832 could not again be played. The enfranchisement of the middle-classes was an accomplished fact. The people were too enthusiastic, the bulk of the leaders too devoted, for a scheme based on expediency to be at all successful. But were there is a will there is a way. The will was there, and the way was found once more to "divide and conquer."

All admitted the justice of manhood suffrage. The same with regard to the ballot, annual Parliaments, payment of members, and the other points of the charter. The *Moderates* again came to the front.

But this time it was not the principle that was wrong, but the leaders. The name too, was obnoxious. Chartism had been connected with violence and bloodshed, and many of the leaders were men of a revolutionary character. The *Moderates* then, came to the front and demanded manhood suffrage and all the other points, but the name, well, they would not be called Chartists. The new movement was to be "The Complete Suffrage Movement." By the side of this new movement arose, too, the question of Moral v. Physical Force. Large numbers of the middle-class flocked to the new standard, while those who remained in the ranks of Chartism were pointed to as men dangerous to society, who ought to be shunned by all law-abiding citizens. Many of the loudest of the Chartist leaders found their way into the ranks of the new movement. Personal bickerings, want of confidence, distrust and disorganisation followed.

The revolutionary movements of 1848 raised the hopes of the workers. The "Charter and No Surrender" again became the cry of the people. Hundreds, nay, thousands of meetings were held throughout the country; missionaries were sent out in every direction, organisation followed as if by magic; the movement became formidable, and was again answered by Coercion. The country was filled with spies, plots were organised, arrests followed, the best men were imprisoned. Soon the old questions were raised once more to disorganise and destroy the movement. The failure of the movements on the Continent destroyed the enthusiasm in England, and during 1849-50, Chartism withered and died.

And why did Chartism fail? Because it aimed at an impossible task. It sought to destroy the tyranny of the State while retaining the conditions, which alone rendered tyranny possible. The aim of Chartism was the enfranchisement of the toiling millions, or in other words, to transfer political power from the classes to the masses. In principle Chartism was revolutionary in relation to all the other classes of society, and to the very conditions on which the political supremacy of these classes depended. But its method, its action, and its general policy were all anti-revolutionary in character and tendency. Hence its internal weakness and premature failure.

And what is our position to-day? What is the position of the revolutionary forces in the year 1888? Still sectional, and to a great extent still anti-revolutionary.

The working-classes, from their economical position in relation to the other classes of society, are the only possible revolutionary element in modern society. The development of our modern system of production renders it impossible for them to be otherwise than revolutionary. To be logical, to be consistent, from interest even as well as from principle, they must be revolutionary in relation to all the institutions of society; in relation to the throne, the aristocracy, the church; to the standing army, and all the repressive forces organised to keep the workers in bondage; revolutionary in relation to our whole capitalistic system of usury, of production, and of exchange. To be logical, to be consistent, they must be revolutionary in relation to all the conditions on which the State rests to-day.

In every age and in every country the Church and the State have been the great centres of despotism. The Church and the State, the throne and the altar, the priest and the soldier, have ever made war on the people. It is the same to-day. In almost every age efforts have been made to reform the Church, to diminish its power, to free it from corruption. Rivers of blood have been shed, and thousands of martyrs have given up their lives for the purification of the Church. But the Church is still the great engine for enslaving the minds of men, for binding mankind in ignorance and superstition. And the same with the State. For how many generations have not the best of nature's nobles laboured and suffered and died in their endeavours to reform the State. But the State is still supreme. It is still the great centre of despotism, still the seat of centralised tyranny. It still claims unquestioned obedience to its decrees. The State, like the Church, is a relic of barbarism. If we would raise man to dignity, in place of the Church we must have a free and rational system of education. If we would raise man to liberty, in place of the State we must have the free organisation of Society.

To be revolutionary you must be consistent; consistency admits of no compromise. To be revolutionary in relation to the throne, admits of no recognition of any mere modification of the institution of royalty. The same with regard to the church, or the aristocracy, the standing army, the principle of usury, our modern system of production and exchange. All these rest on the principle of monopoly, of privilege. For the workers to recognise these or any of them, or any mere modification of them, would be to cease to be revolutionary, would be to abdicate their rights and their duties, to alienate themselves from their historical position. To aim at a mere modification of tyranny, either political or social, is not to be revolutionary. But to be revolutionary in relation to all the existing conditions of society, political, social, and economical, is the historical and the only logical and consistent position of the working-classes.

Let us then cease to recognise any form of tyranny, any form of usurpation, of monopoly, of privilege, of exclusiveness. Let us seek no compromise with wrong, triumphant though it be. Revolutionary from principle, let us be consistent. Revolutionary from necessity through the development of our modern system of production and exchange, let us do our duty. In that alone lies our dignity, our future liberty.

J. SKETCHLEY.

There can be no true political liberty with economic subjection.

## REVOLUTIONARY CALENDAR.

WEEK ENDING SEPTEMBER 1, 1888.

26	Sun.	55 B.C. Cæsar landed in England.
27	Mon.	1770. Hegel born. 1846. Secession of "Young Ireland" from Repeal Association.
28	Tues.	1849. Venice taken by Austrians after heroic resistance. Outbreak in Cephalonia.
29	Wed.	1657. Col. John Lilburne died. 1883. James Carey executed. 1886. Free Speech demonstration in Trafalgar Square; present, 80,000 people, 2,373 police and detectives.
30	Thur.	1793. Thomas Muir tried for sedition. 1855. Feargus O'Connor died.
31	Fri.	1793. Brissot and twenty followers guillotined. 1803. Trial of Edward Kearney and Owen Kirwan for high treason. 1884. Attack on Warsaw prison. 1886. Dinner to French Socialists in London.
1	Sat.	1783. Dean of St. Asaph tried for seditious libel. 1803. Trial of T. M. Roche for high treason. 1884. John Snowden, Chartist, died. 1886. Domela Nieuwenhuis released from jail.

## CORRESPONDENCE.

## "AFRICA."

Seeing that comrade Bax's article on the "dark continent," although it suggests the possible postponement of the Social Revolution for another century, has not thrown any of your readers into fits of expostulation, I feel bold enough to ask the writer whether the activity of Socialists in Europe and America or the energy of capitalists in Africa is to be the determining factor in the consummation of our hopes. Are we to divert our attention from the immense body and seat of vitality of the beast to go into despair over its suckers and tentacles? Surely our comrade must have been in the dumps when he wrote an article so infected with pessimism. He must have been blind for the moment to the extraordinary and phenomenal success of our principles in all the more advanced countries. He must have been temporarily deaf to the loud moan and fierce cry of the proletariat all over the world. He can't possibly have heard that a little woman within the last few weeks, by the power inherent in our Cause, has engaged and routed a whole company of the enemy. Let us have no more despairing vaticinations, but let a note of hope and triumph prevail all over the field. We all revere our comrade because he is in the habit of roaming amidst philosophic altitudes, far from the dusty earth, and we gratefully admit that when he comes down he generally lands somewhere; but let me beg of him, if he has any control over his parachute, to descend next time in Europe rather than in Africa.

ROBERT GRIERSON.

London, Aug. 10th, 1888.

## A MODEL CANDIDATE PROPERLY SAT UPON.

The *Miner*, just to hand, gives an account of a nasty knock the parliamentary wire-pullers have had in Greenock. The Liberal and Radical associations having invited Mr. Jas. Hill, of London, to deliver an address with a view of becoming a candidate, Keir Hardie wrote a letter to the local papers giving some useful details of Mr. Hill's treatment of the workers. He was charged with having sent to America for the locks with which to execute a Government contract. Only the *Greenock Telegraph* would insert the charge. His reply, printed in the *Times*, was to the effect that he could not buy locks in this country cheap enough, because the British workman, with "his short hours and long pay," and his "drunkenness and improvidence," his inferior workmanship, etc., etc., had ruined the trade. He went abroad for his locks instead of making them himself, because he would "be sorry to have any direct dealings with the British workman." This lovely sample of the successful merchant wages-sweating parliamentarian, in his explanatory speech to the wire-pullers seemed to think it something to boast of "that by his action he had raised the value of the locks 50 per cent. and reduced their price other 50 per cent. He seemed to claim credit for having reduced workmen's wages by half." James Hill's chances of being selected for that district have been completely "busted," and the official caucus is dancing mad. Let it not be forgotten that this is the same man whom Henry Broadhurst, the "Labour representative," supported in his candidature at Brixton, over which Henry got so savage when properly challenged for it by Keir Hardie at the last Trades Congress. This candidate is worth looking after wherever he turns up.

T. S.

"OUT OF THE MOUTH OF BABES AND SUCKLINGS."—Judge (to small boy on the witness stand), "Little boy, do you know where you'll go if you swear to what is not true?" Small boy: "Yes, sir; I'll go to the Legislature. That's what my pa did."—*Washington Critic*.

The *Pall Mall Gazette* the other day, in an article on "Phonograph Possibilities, or Talking Waxworks," suggested that half a dozen wax imitations of the Prince of Wales should be made, so that by fitting inside a phonograph with a speech suited for the occasion, half a dozen such functions as foundation-stone laying, exhibition opening, prize distributing, and such other odd jobs as flunkies require to be done by princes, could be done at once and nobody know but what it was really their much-loved prince. Instead of a special train (at public cost), the wax figure could be sent down on goods-train, and a man for half a crown could turn the handle and make the figure work off the well-worn sentences. Since the above is about the only sort of public work Albert Edward does, we should do well to knock off his screw and adopt the suggestion. Edison would probably turn out half a dozen good working images for a couple of thousand pounds. We might also serve the head of the firm by the same process of disestablishment, and by employing some person capable of writing correct English, have some Queen's Speeches not quite so open to cavil as is generally the case. The million a-year we could save by the above course could be well used in developing co-operative homesteads; and altogether the idea should be carefully considered with the view of early utilisation.—T. S.

## HUMBLE ("?" ) FISHERMEN.

"But the Son of Man hath not where to lay his head."—NEW TESTAMENT.  
"Doth give bold advertisement."—SHAKESPEARE.

WE are often called extravagant for speaking of workers as "wage-slaves," but the following advertisements show that the idea of chattel-slavery has not quite deserted at least one section of the community. As may be expected, that section is the clergy. In looking over the *Church Times* this week I find there are a number of advertisements of "priests" who require substitutes during their holidays. One offers, as remuneration for his services, "good rectory, garden, *servants*; moderate use of carriage, to a "bachelor, or, if married, without children." Another, who has a "small church" and "light duty," in a beautiful neighbourhood on the main line of the Midland Railway, easy of access to a number of interesting places, offers "vicarage and servant b. w." to one who has "no family" and "no extreme views." "Servants" are included with "good garden, carriage, and three bedrooms," in one case, and in another "two servants" are offered as "remuneration" with a "house and garden near the pier." There is one which is worded, "Very small country parish, Berks; remunerations—vicarage, garden produce; two servants on board wages; air bracing, vicarage prettily situated; apply immediately." And, finally, "The vicar of a bracing country village, close to the Dunstable Downs, offers hospitality (except wine, etc.) and cheerful society at the vicarage to a clergyman who will take charge of his parish for five weeks." The vicar, I presume, in this case, means to leave his mother-in-law at home.

Apart from the manner in which these "labourers in the vineyard" include their servants with their houses, gardens, and carriages, and offer them as chattels in remuneration to any chance assistant, their own case is worthy of note. According to their own account, they all live in bracing, beautiful villages; have carriages and servants, with small churches and light duty; yet, poor souls, they find it necessary to have a holiday of four or five weeks to recruit themselves: while the position of a young gentleman who for the labour of reading "matins" and "evensong" four times can get a large house, with garden, carriage, and two servants for a month, is not unenviable.

There are many other significant things to be found in these advertisements. One shows the advantage it is for a woman to be a "lady," by asking for a cottage or unlet farm *rent free*, on the ground that being "a lady of good birth," the education of her two boys would would thus "not suffer from the loss of income resulting from family misfortune"—that is to say, in the highest probability, from their parents' vices.

To him that hath shall much be given. "A clergyman of means," for "very light duty of parish" among an agricultural population of 385, can have "a lovely rectory, handsomely furnished, eight bedrooms, etc., excellent offices, beautiful lawn, grapery, extensive stabling, coach-houses, etc., and well-stocked gardens. Beautiful church, perfect national schools (excellent grant this year). . . . Where the climate far excels that of Torquay, with the purest water." The whole "sheltered from all winds." Who would not be a clergyman "with means," to go to South Devon and enjoy this paradise? 'Tis true the adjectives are somewhat suspicious; excellent, beautiful, extensive, perfect, make one reflect; but the lawn, the grapery, the stabling, the coach-houses, and the gardens must exist, if ever so small; and then, they are all in South Devon, with a population of 385,—all to be had "for very light duty of parish." If one were only a clergyman with "means"!

"The Rev. John Going and one of his daughters wish to make up a party for a month's holiday. The Rhine, Lake of Zurich, beautiful Swiss scenery, views of the Alps, etc." Socialists who wish to join him may apply to "Hawkchurch, Axminster."

Another advertisement begins "Do HELP THE COLLIERS"; but the way to do it is to subscribe to the colliers' church, which it is candidly confessed "has been an absolute venture of faith"—in other words, a speculation.

But there is hope in the wording of this appeal—the clergy evidently find there is more sympathy for men than churches; but on the other hand, they do not hesitate to ask money for their "venture of faith" as for the oppressed workers. "Do help the colliers," is evidently a better cry than, Subscribe towards our speculation. G. P.

## THE SOCIALIST CO-OPERATIVE FEDERATION.

The First General Meeting of the Socialist Co-operative Federation was held at 13 Farringdon Road on Saturday last, T. F. Murray in the chair. There was a good attendance to hear the report of the Provisional Committee and to elect the first working committee, in accordance with the Rules, which are now duly registered. Considerable discussion took place as to future arrangements, and among other things it was decided to appoint a series of local committees of three to promote the furtherance of the scheme in various districts, receive subscriptions, and enrol members, etc. Local committees were elected for East-end, Canning Town, Hoxton, Southwark, Kennington, Battersea, Lambeth, Peckham, and Stoke Newington.

The General Committee elected was as follows: H. A. Barker, T. Binning, Wm. Binning, D. C. Dallas, Mrs. Gostling, F. Henderson, T. F. Murray, and S. Oliver. A. C. Varley, Secretary *pro tem*.

The report shows that upwards of 400 5s. shares are subscribed for, of which 300 are now fully paid up, in addition to which many promises have been received from persons to join on the formal starting of the society.

The first meeting of committee will be held at 3.30 p.m. on Sunday, August 26, at the Labour Union Printery, 158 Pentonville Road, to receive subscriptions, enroll members, etc.

Asking ten hours' pay for eight hours' work is dishonest, is it? Well, what do you call asking ten hours' pay for eight hours' work? Is that merely legitimate business?—*Pateron Labor Standard*.



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

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

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

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

**Subscriptions.—For Europe and United States, including postage, per year, 6s. six months, 3s.; three months, 1s. 6d.**

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

N. S.—For particulars of the Kaweah colony write to J. J. Martin, Box 427, Visalia, Tulare Co., Cal., U.S.A.  
UNSUBSCRIBABLE—"A Landlord's Song." WILL BE USED—D. N.; J. T. W.

Periodicals received during the week ending Wednesday August 22.

<b>ENGLAND</b> Church Reformer Justice Labour Tribune London—Frede Presse Norwich—Daylight Railway Review Telegraph Service Gazette The Miner Worker's Friend NEW SOUTH WALES Hamilton—Radical INDIA Bankipore—Behar Herald Madras—People's Friend UNITED STATES New York—Freiheit Der Sozialist Truthseeker Volkszeitung Jewish Volkszeitung Alarm Workmen's Advocate	<b>Boston</b> —Woman's Journal Liberty Chicago—Labor Enquirer Vorbote Fort Worth (Tex)—South West <b>FRANCE</b> Paris—Cri du Peuple (daily) Le Parti Ouvrier (daily) Lille—Le Cri du Travailleur Nimes—L'Emancipation <b>HOLLAND</b> Hague—Recht voor Allen <b>BELGIUM</b> Ghent—Vooruit Liege—L'Avenir Antwerp—De Werker <b>SWITZERLAND</b> Zurich—Sozial Demokrat <b>ITALY</b> Gazetta Operaia Milan—Il Fascio Operaio	<b>Rome</b> —L'Emancipazione Marsala—La Nuova Eta Cremona—Il Democratico Florence—La Question Sociale Messina—Il Riscatto Turin—Il Muratore <b>SPAIN</b> El Productor Madrid—El Socialista <b>PORTUGAL</b> Lisbon—O Protesto Operario <b>GERMANY</b> Berlin—Volks Tribune <b>AUSTRIA</b> Arbeiterstimme <b>ROUMANIA</b> Jassy—Muncitorul <b>DENMARK</b> Social-Demokraten <b>SWEDEN</b> Stockholm, Social-Demokraten Malmo—Arbetet
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## SOCIALIST WORK AT NORWICH.

I AM sure our comrades generally will be glad to hear a little of the course of Socialist propaganda in Norwich and its neighbourhood, which for some reason or other has become a stronghold of the cause.

Our comrades had determined on a rally in Norwich, and invited several of us Leaguers, together with Mrs. Besant and Herbert Burrows, to help them. Faulkner, Mrs. Schack, Mainwaring, and Morris got down to the old city on Saturday evening, and were most cordially received by the Branch at the Gordon Hall, where there was singing and recitation, and agreeable converse generally.

On the Sunday morning Mainwaring went to Yarmouth, and addressed a large meeting on the beach. Mrs. Schack went to Wymondham, and though the meeting in that quiet little place was not big, it was very attentive and serious. In the city itself, Faulkner spoke at St. Mary's Plain and Morris, with Mowbray in the chair, in the Market Place. The meeting there was considerably over a thousand, and was attentive and sympathetic. Faulkner came up just before it was over, and gave a short address on the subject of Education; and the meeting held well together to the last.

In the afternoon a waggonette was drawn up under the bronze shadow of that very dull hero the Iron Duke (in bronze), and Mowbray was in the "chair" there at 2.30, our comrades of the Branch being drawn round the platform. It was an exciting scene when we got there, the concourse being very large round the platform, in spite of the counter attractions of the fag end of the Salvation Army and the summons of the bells of the huge tower of St. Peter Mancroft. The "Army" having done speaking, moved away with its band, which presently came into the place, but with few followers, and the coming of another band of gossellers had no influence on the meeting except to swell it somewhat. Before 3 o'clock there must have been fully ten thousand persons closely packed round the waggonette. The comrades being called upon now sang "No Master," in the midst of which Herbert Burrows and Mrs. Besant came duly punctual, and the business began. A resolution in favour of the abolition of private property had been prepared, which was moved by Herbert Burrows, who began by telling the audience that some five years ago he lectured on Socialism in Norwich to an audience of five persons. His clear and telling speech was well received. Mrs. Besant followed, and was received with much enthusiasm. Morris supported, and the resolution was put after an amendment had been called for without result, and four-fifths of the meeting or more held up their hands for and six hands against. Mrs. Schack and Faulkner then spoke, and the meeting broke up, without the least disorder, except that one man, a stranger, got some-

what obstreperous (or rather the liquor in him did) and was run in by the police. This would not be worth mentioning if it were not that our comrades were vexed and indignant that the Norwich Nupkinse gave him a month next day, our comrades by no means wishing to bring the law down on their opponents for such trifles.

In the evening Burrows and Mainwaring spoke again in the Market Place to a large audience, and Morris lectured (on Monopoly) at the Gordon Hall, which was as full as it would hold. No opposition could be got, and it was clear that the whole audience were really Socialists.

On the Monday Burrows, Mainwaring, and Morris spoke in the Market Place in the dinner hour; the audience was again large for a week-day, and did not break up till 2.30, having listened eagerly all the time. Burrows and Mrs. Besant spoke at Carrow, close to Colman's mustard works, in the dinner hour, and had a large and satisfactory audience, mostly composed of the workmen and girls, Mrs. Besant telling her hearers of the illegality of fines. The last open-air meeting was in the Market Place at 6.30. Burrows, Mainwaring, and Morris speaking. One or two ill-conditioned persons attempted to get up a row on this occasion, but produced little or no effect on the crowd, who listened as attentively as before.

The meetings ended with Mrs. Besant's lecture in St. Augustine's School, a large room somewhat on the outskirts of the town, to which we had been driven by the refusal of the large halls in the town. This place was crammed by an eager audience, who took up every point in the lecture, which, though both eloquent and clear, would have been hard to follow by a non-Socialist who had not studied the question. The answering of the questions also which were put gave occasion to the audience to show that they appreciated the points, and certainly except for a few respectables who honoured us with their presence, there could have been but few present who were not thoroughly sympathetic.

The press, both Liberal and Tory, reported all our proceedings fully, and considering all things, quite as fairly as could be expected. In comparing the audiences there with others, one could not fail to be struck with an air of eagerness and receptiveness, which shows that the propaganda is doing its work. The audiences do not come to stare or loaf, but to listen.

The impression which Socialism has thus made in a place not very important, nor specially progressive, is the result of sheer hard work on the part of our comrades, who are all quite poor men, and have no influence but what their steadiness and enthusiasm in the Cause gives them. What has been done there can be done elsewhere if only men will devote themselves to the propaganda.

Our comrades are in trouble at Yarmouth. The week before this demonstration, comrade Poynts was summoned for speaking on the Church Plain in that town, though we had held meetings there for long, and though a religious meeting was being held at the same time as he was holding the Socialist one. Our comrade has been sent to prison for a month for this terrible "offence" of free speaking, and as this is clearly a piece of mere persecution of opinion, it is to be hoped that all parties who have any feeling for freedom will back up our friends, who are fighting the battle of free speech for all honest men, both in the present and the future.

WILLIAM MORRIS.

## YARMOUTH AND FREE SPEECH.

FOR some considerable time the Norwich branch has been holding very successful meetings every week, which are considerably increasing in number, much to the annoyance of the bourgeois class at Yarmouth, who have at last taken steps to try and suppress them by summoning one of our comrades for obstruction. Two summonses have been issued, the first one under the Act of 1849—which has been since withdrawn, I suppose through the Act being rather old and the police evidence shaky. The second one was issued, and our comrade, George Poynts, had to appear on Wednesday, August 15th, before a special muster of the great unpaid. Our comrade made an able defence, and clearly proved no obstruction was caused. Of course these non-producing idlers could not understand that. Our comrade pointed out to them another meeting was being held at the same time and place by the Church Army, who were really causing the obstruction if there was any. But these gentlemen were not considering whether it was a religious or Socialist meeting, so they fined our comrade £1, and £1 7s. 6d. costs, in all £2 7s. 6d., or one month's imprisonment. Our comrade is now doing the term of imprisonment. As it was his wish as well as ours that this question should be fought out, we intend carrying on the propaganda there in spite of prosecutions or imprisonment. We have comrades in this branch who are willing to carry on the meetings, without any fear of imprisonment or fines. The more sacrifice we make we feel sure the movement will go on with greater success than ever. On Thursday last a good meeting was held by comrade Reynolds, who had his name taken by one of the modern wolves. We expect he will receive a summons in a day or two; he will then be able to cheer our imprisoned comrade by his presence in the same gaol.

A. T. S.

**HIS SHARE.**—A good story appears in the *Times of Natal*. According to that journal a well-known broker was slumbering in church the other Sunday during the sermon. The preacher, in a burst of eloquence, had said, "And what are we to have as our share of this transaction?" The slumbering broker was partially aroused by the loud tones, and to the horror of those near him, he ejaculated "A thousand, fully paid!"

**HOW POLITICS ARE MADE ATTRACTIVE.**—The following appeal to Staffordshire Unionists was lately posted extensively on the North Staffordshire Railway:—"Unionist meeting to be held at the seat of Basil Fitzherbert, Esq., 16 July, 1888. To be addressed by Captain Edwards Heathcote, M.P., etc., etc. There will be the following attractions: Two bands, fire-engine competition, athletic sports, lawn tennis, balloon ascents at frequent intervals, dancing, Punch and Judy, and boating on the lake, etc." At Tunbridge Wells a few days afterwards a "Grand Unionist Demonstration" was widely advertised, the programme of which included a captive balloon, an ox roasted whole, races, dancing, swimming, and a good many other like things, while NO SPEECHES was a conspicuous line on the bill!



## THE CLASSICAL EDUCATION FRAUD.

A RAVEN TO THE RESCUE.

In the July number of *Macmillan* Mr. J. H. Raven gave us a third instalment of his now famous "Diversion of a Pedagogue," which are not less diverting than heretofore. Mr. Raven is, in schoolboy phraseology, a "beak," and is thus able from his own experience to draw on a rich store of scholastic blunders, of which he instances some striking specimens, often felicitous enough through their very oddness and perversity. But, in addition to this entertaining record of schoolboy ineptitude, Mr. Raven creates a "diversion" of a different sort by introducing into his article a plea for the old grammar-and-lexicon system of classical education still in vogue at our schools, and a lively attack on the "improved method" of literal translations. While admitting that a grown man can learn better in the modern fashion, he argues that it is not so with a boy. "With some," he says, "it is a favourite idea that the study of grammar should be a finishing rather than, as it is generally, an introductory step in learning languages. This is maintained in spite of the fact, which I suppose is generally recognised, that young boys are naturally gifted with small powers of understanding and considerable powers of memory. . . . Boys cannot use a grammar as a book of reference; they have not the necessary intelligence and experience. It is far easier to them to get inflection by rote." But Mr. Raven here overlooks the consideration that a boy's memory might be just as readily utilised in the way of vocabulary and translation as in that of grammar and syntax, and with far better results; since, instead of being chained to the acquisition of rules which are to him meaningless, he might master whole passages, chapters, and even books of the easier classical authors, and thus be led to take a rational interest in work which would offer some chance of substantial progress. A basis of knowledge being thus acquired, grammar might afterwards be studied in an intelligent manner; at present it is "a finishing process" only in the sense that by its dull monotony it too often deals the death-blow to a boy's interest and attention.

All this was pointed out more than sixty years ago by Hamilton, the promulgator of the so-called "Hamiltonian method" of line-for-line, word-for-word translations, and again by Sydney Smith, who strongly advocated this system in his powerful and incisive essays on Classical Learning. It is useless for Mr. Raven to plead that the shaft of Sydney Smith's ridicule "flies harmlessly over the head of the modern pedagogue"; for, unfortunately, a great deal of what was written of the classical education of half a century ago is true also of the present time. There is still the same degradation of learning to the level of a dull and useless task; boys are still "lexicon-struck," as Sydney Smith inimitably expressed it, in early youth, and consequently still "go over to the blockheads." "One can hardly doubt," says Mr. Raven, "that the best parts of the Hamiltonian system were in vogue long before Hamilton's time, and are still in common use." But the essential part of the Hamiltonian method is the deliberate systematic use of literal translations *under the supervision of the master*, and this has certainly never been adopted in our schools. On the contrary, translations have everywhere been condemned, denounced, and confiscated; with the result that what should have been done openly and with intelligence has been done secretly and in the most slipshod manner; Bohn's "cribs," which are mostly exceedingly loose and untrustworthy paraphrases, being privily studied by thousands of schoolboys, while the schoolmasters are engaged in demonstrating the folly of using a faithful translation!

Thus the years go on, and the lexicon-struck schoolboy at the close of his educational career is found to know next to nothing, while his teachers are reduced to that most pitiful afterthought of the classical apologist—the plea that the object of a boy's education is not to learn, but to "learn *how* to learn," in which mysterious process grammar is (quite arbitrarily) assumed to be the most fitting instrument. Truly those pedagogues who are engaged in so hopeless and disheartening a task stand in need of some "diversion," and it is well that Mr. Raven can from time to time bring his small crumbs of comfort to his classical fellow-labourers—these modern Elijahs who are perishing of mental inanition through sheer lack of some more solid and rational occupation. Among the many rotten institutions which are still bolstered up by the combined powers of prejudice and "vested interests," the present system (if such a crazy, hap-hazard affair can bear the name of "system" at all) of classical education deserves an honourable, or rather dishonourable, mention.

H. S. S.

WHO, INDEED!—Recently in New York a German woman administered poison to her three children; "because I loved them so" was her reason. "I was so very poor and I could not get enough work to support them and they were going to be taken away from me and I preferred to have them die rather than part with them," she explained to the police officer who was sent to arrest her. And then she launched at the 60,000,000 of the people in this American "land of the brave" the following terrible conundrum: "Will you tell me why the American people liberated the blacks and made slaves of the whites?" Will not some of our "statesmen" friends take this poor woman's question as a subject for an oration, say next Fourth of July? Or perhaps our great national debating society, which meets in Uncle Sam's big buildings in Washington, will take it and discuss it some Saturday afternoon when they get through with the tariff question. There is a pious oriental proverb which says: "Beware of groans of wounded souls, since the inward sore will at length break out. Oppress not the uppermost a single heart, for a solitary sigh has power to overthrow the whole world." And if one sigh can stir an avenging God to action what may not be expected from the myriad of sighs that go up from the hunger-pinched lips of the women and children who go supperless to bed in this land.—*Chicago Sentinel*.

## LETTER FROM AMERICA.

THE BURLINGTON STRIKE.

July 26.—Speaking in reference to the claim made by the strikers of the Chicago, Burlington and Quincy Railroad, that the strike has cost that road about 4 million dollars. Paul Morton, one of the managers, says: "That is not so. The strike has cost us lots of money, and we expected it would when we refused to accede to the demands of the men. I suppose the strike has cost us about 2 million dollars." The joint conference of the four great brotherhoods, viz.: the engineers, the firemen, the switchmen, and the brakemen met on the 25th July, in St. Joseph, Mo., and concluded its deliberations. It was resolved to make war to the knife on the "Burlington" system. The proposition of Hoge and Murphy, the two chairmen of the Grievance Committee who are supposed to be bought over by the company reads: "That no strikers shall be blacklisted by the 'Q,' and that as many of them shall be given work immediately as possible by the Burlington company; that the strikers shall be given the preference for two years, and that the company shall give all the men who quit work on February 27 recommendations if they so desire." This proposition has never found favor with the strikers. The joint meeting adopted in its stead the following resolution: "Resolved, That this meeting heartily indorses the action taken by the Chicago, Burlington, and Quincy railroad men in refusing to declare the strike off on the conditions offered." A scheme was brought up during the meeting for a Federation of the four brotherhoods and referred to the respective conventions of the four organisations: the engineers at Richmond in October, the firemen at Atlanta, Ga., in September, the switchmen at St. Louis Mo., in September, the brakemen in October at Columbus, O. The first convention will adopt a Federation clause in its constitution, which will be accepted by the other conventions at their meetings, and when this work is accomplished a grand advisory board will be established, to be made up of delegates from the four organizations.

The dynamite conspiracy case was begun on the 25th July, in Aurora, Ills. The case against the alleged conspirators was taken up.

July 27.—At Aurora, Ills., in the examination into the alleged dynamite conspiracy, John Queenan and C. R. Blackner testified to the explosion at South Aurora, June 14th, and W. R. Thomas testified in relation to the explosion at Eola, June 29th. Alexander Smith (an informer) testified to taking a ride with Bowles (another informer) to Eola at the date when the dynamite was placed upon the track, and swore that they heard the explosion on their way back to Aurora. He also swore that he received a package of dynamite from Goding's wife. The prosecution rested their case and the complaint against Bauereisen and Goding for bringing dynamite into the State was taken up. The shorthand writer for the Burlington Company read the statement which was made by Goding after his arrest, and then the Court adjourned until the 31st July.

The cases of Chairmen Hoge and Murphy, charged with being implicated in the Burlington conspiracy, were called in the Chicago court this morning. The accused were represented by Judge Barnum, who stated his clients would waive examination, and asked that the bail formerly given be allowed for their appearance. In the absence of any opposition from the prosecution this was done. The informers Kelly and McGilvary, Hoge's clerks, followed suit, waiving examination, and being held on their former bonds.

## THE SO-CALLED DYNAMITE CONSPIRACY.

The plot against the three arrested Bohemians—whose correct names seem to be: John Hronek, Frank Chepak, and Frank Cleboun—was too thin, so the infamous Bonfield caused another arrest to be made. Rudolph Sevic, a gunsmith, and also a Bohemian by birth, was arrested on the 25th July, charged with violation of the law pertaining to the handling of the dynamite. It was known among his countrymen that Sevic had now and then sold some dynamite. The police now worked the following dodge. They told Mrs. Hronek that her husband was sure to be hung, and she could only save him by letting them know where dynamite was to be found. The poor woman gave in at last, and led the way to the basement, in which Sevic's shop happens to be, and to the immense delight of the clubbers, who allowed her to do the searching, returned to the open-air with a basket full of dynamite. Anyone who reads this tale will at once perceive the "make" of it, as no man engaged in serious business would permit his wife to know all the ins and outs of it. Sevic is about 28 years, and of very intelligent appearance. He was locked up in jail in default of 7000 dols. bail.

The four men are indicted for the manufacturing, procuring, and selling of dynamite; for making, etc., of dynamite with intent to take the life of Judge Joseph E. Gary, for the same with intent to take the life of John Bonfield, inspector of police, for the same with intent to take the life of Judge Grinnell, and the lives of certain persons to the jurors unknown. The bail has been fixed at 15,000 dols. each. They are also charged with general conspiracy to commit murder and specifically to kill Gary, Grinnell, and Bonfield. The verdict may be from 5—25 years penal servitude. Bonfield testified before the Grand Jury with the informer Frank Cleboun. Another witness in the case was a Bohemian detective. *No dynamite was found in the houses of the three first prisoners, only some instruments which are said to resemble bombs.* The accused are now in Cook county jail awaiting trial.

Some of the readers of the *Weal* will undoubtedly ask themselves: Well, what about this whole business? we can hardly make head or tail of it.

Now we over here being entirely dependent on the meagre and garbled information given by the authorities to the public are exactly in the same position. We also do not quite as yet know what to make of it. But one thing I may say, Of late the position of Bonfield as the "bloody Warren" of Chicago, has been a very precarious one. Bonfield has not managed the elections in the republican interest as he ought to have done, or anyhow he did not meet with the success his superiors supposed he would. This of course made the chieftains of the republican party in Chicago very much discontented with their tool, and they looked out for a better man. Aldrich, the captain of Desplaines Street station, is at present their favorite. Naturally, Bonfield, feeling his position shaky, did not desire to go without a desperate fight, and in order to force the capitalists to support him he discovered (!) this terrible dynamite conspiracy for the purpose of glorying again as the saviour of the commonwealth. *I may say that in well informed revolutionary circles the accused men are totally unknown, and during my three months stay in Chicago I did not even hear their names mentioned, although I had been constantly in touch with all the extreme revolutionists.* The whole conspiracy is nothing else but a trick on Bonfield's part to keep his present job.

The "Burlington Conspiracy" is of similar calibre, and I hope to be able to give you full particulars.

Newark, N.J., July 31, 1888.

HENRY F. CHARLES.

## THE LABOUR STRUGGLE.

BRITAIN.

The fustian cutters up in the Lymm district are glad to get a job navvying on the Ship Canal.

**EBBW VALE.**—1,500 men of the Ebbw Vale Iron and Coal Co. have decided to strike. This will affect another 6,000 men.

Cradley Heath small chain makers have decided on a strike. Two firms have made small concessions, which have been accepted.

West-End tailors have decided that seventeen hours a day is a bit too much, and have had a meeting with a view of making a change.

Eleven steam navvies are at work on the ship-canal job. They dig out and dispose of the earth at the rate of nearly six hundred yards per day.

There are in Oldham some 12,000 or 13,000 looms engaged on velvet, and of these about 8,000 are idle. These should employ about 3,000 people, who have been on out-of-work pay for about seven months.

Government is reported to be considering favourably the question of allowing trade societies to appoint and pay inspectors under the Factory and Workshop Acts. This would lead to important results.

Seventeen trade societies have forwarded to the Labour Bureau reports showing an aggregate membership of 186,130, of which total 7,000 were unemployed. For the month the percentage of unemployed is 3.9; for last August was 8.5.

The Scottish Parliamentary Labour Party intend to hold a conference at the Waterloo Rooms, Wellington Street, Glasgow, on Saturday August 25, at 2 p.m. Cunninghame Graham, William Saunders, John Ferguson, and others will take part.

**ORGANISATION OF UNSKILLED LABOUR.**—The well-known Socialist navvy, John Ward, has begun the organisation of the navvies and unskilled labourers of London. The name of the society is the "Amalgamated Society of General Labourers."

Railway men are getting very uneasy. A good meeting has just been held at Wolverhampton to consider the hours of labour. Seventeen hours a day some of the slaves do. At Darlington also there has been a good meeting, and generally the men seem waking up.

**FOUND! AN EMPLOYER PAYING BACK DUES!**—Messrs. Wyman and Sons, printers and publishers, of Lincoln's Inn Fields, have given a pension of £100 per annum for life to W. H. Phillips, on his retirement from the post of case-overseer, which he has filled for a number of years.

**NO SLAVES IN ENGLAND.**—In the course of a Petty Sessions case at Altrincham, where a carter was summoned for sleeping while travelling on the public roads, it was stated by the wife of the defendant that her husband had only had one night at home in eight nights, having to go to market at night and work in the fields by day.

Amalgamated Boot and Shoemakers' quarterly report has a quite optimistic cast. Trade is fairly good. The income for the quarter (£335) was, therefore, somewhat lower than the previous. The report gives the result of the vote on the eight hours' question, and says "it is one of the most unsatisfactory ever taken." Some of the members apparently like long hours.

**COAL TRADE.**—A well attended meeting of miners belonging to the Oldbury, Langley, and Rounds Green districts was held on Friday near Furnace Row, Oldbury, to discuss the formation of a Wages Board. A resolution in favour of reform of the land-laws and abolition of royalties was passed, and also a pledge to join the West Bromwich, Oldbury, and Tipton Miners Association.

**COLLIERY STRIKE.**—The strike at South Hetton Colliery, Durham, by which nearly 4,000 men and boys are idle, still continues. The men state that until their alleged grievances are redressed they will not return to work. South Hetton Colliery has not been worked since Friday 17th, and Murton Colliery followed their example last Monday. Both collieries belong to the Murton Hetton Coal Company (Limited).

**COTTON TRADE.**—A largely attended meeting of Burnley cardroom hands was held on the 14th, when report was submitted of interview had with the masters of Manchester during the afternoon. The meeting decided by an overwhelming majority to accept the masters' offer of 5 per cent. advance to males and females. The threatened strike both in North and in North-East Lancashire will now be averted.

Want of backbone has caused the collapse of the North-east Lancashire cotton strike. The early withdrawal of the notices by the female hands has been a great factor in this result. The *Cotton Factory Times*, in a long article says now frankly what Socialists have been saying for a long time, "That old-fashioned unionism is played out."

**IRONWORKERS' STRIKE AT ABERDEEN.**—About a thousand ironworkers in various shipbuilding yards at Aberdeen struck work yesterday, in consequence of the refusal of the masters to grant them an advance of wages to the extent of 10 per cent. A compromise was attempted, the employers offering to meet the men's claims by an advance of 5 per cent. This, however, was refused. The iron trade in Aberdeen is fairly brisk just now.

John M. Ronaldson, inspector under the Coal Mines Regulation Act in the Ayrshire district, has got his back up. The secretary to the Miners' Union made some complaints of breaches of the Act, which the inspector denied repeatedly. Having been proved guilty of some want of correctness in his denials, he writes that he will attend to no more complaints made by the miners' representative. If any man loses his life from this *promised neglect*, will he be prosecuted for murder? If not, why not?

**THE SWEATING SYSTEM IN LEEDS.**—The Report by the Labour Correspondent of the Board of Trade on the sweating system in Leeds has been published. It states that in Leeds the growth of the Jewish population has been strikingly sudden and rapid. Twenty-five years ago there was not a sufficient number of Jews in Leeds to form a congregation for which ten men are requisite. Mr. Abrahams was of opinion that there might now be 8,000 foreign Jews in Leeds. They have settled in a district called the Leylands, and have taken such complete possession of it that in the Board School of the locality 75 per cent. of the children are Jews.

**STRIKE IN THE GUNLOCK TRADE.**—The gunlock filers of Darlaston are on strike for an advance of 2d. per lock upon store locks, and on other locks in proportion. At a meeting of the men held on Wednesday, the 15th inst., it was stated by Mr. R. Juggins, secretary to the Midland Counties Trades' Federation, that their present wage did not exceed one shilling per day. At

a further meeting, on Saturday, he advised them to be united, as there was a good demand now for the locks in question, and as a consequence the advance would soon be obtained. After discussion it was unanimously decided to continue the strike until the advance be conceded, and that an appeal for support to all employed in the gun trade be issued.

**SHIPBUILDING STRIKE.**—On Saturday last 300 boiler-makers in Messrs. Harland and Woolf's shipbuilding works, Belfast, struck work for an advance of wages. A month ago the boiler-makers, platers, and riveters gave notice that unless an increase of 2s. per week were given them they would cease work. That notice expired on Thursday 16th. since then the masters have offered 1s. per week advance, but it was refused. On Tuesday the gates of the shipbuilding yard were closed, and 5,000 hands were locked out. This is the result of the strike, and done to embroil the strikers with the other workmen, the majority of whom are not in favour of the strike at all; this is especially the feeling amongst the night hands, who maintain they had no part in the dispute, and were quite willing to remain at work. The "Island Lambs" are better at murdering stray Catholics than at standing together. So far the other shipbuilding yards have not been affected by the dispute. According to arrangement, the operatives met at the works Tuesday afternoon, and received the wages at five o'clock due since the previous Thursday. Prior to and after payment groups of different trades were eagerly discussing the strike, or, as most of them call it, the "lock-out." No definite step has yet been arranged amongst the men, but as the strikers' unions are strong it is believed the affair will last a good while.

**COTTON TRADE RETURNS.**—According to the Board of Trade returns, the cotton industry is still improving. The exports of yarn for month ending July 31st were 21,378,800 lbs., an improvement of about 5 per cent. on the same month in 1887 and 1886. For the seven months ending July 31 the exports of yarn reached a total of 147,919,000 lbs. The greatest increase is to the East; China and Hong-Kong have taken 11,366,000 lbs. Japan 19,370,000 lbs., nearly double the recent averages. India, Straits Settlements, and Ceylon have taken 30,113,300 lbs., being about a million over averages of two last years. Cotton cloth shows a like improvement. France has made a bit of a spurt in consumption. Portugal for the seven months has taken 52,390,000 yards, being about 50 per cent. increase over the first seven months of the two previous years. Next to India, China heads the list, taking in the seven months 380,253,500 yards, or 20 per cent. increase. Japan stands for 48,520,000 yards, nearly three times as much as taken two years ago. Total exports of cloth for seven months reach 2,895,275,700 yards, being over one hundred millions of yards increase on 1886-7. Naturally on this increase masters are trying all the old tricks of cribbing time and increasing output without increasing pay, and naturally the workers demand their share of improved trade. The pity is that want of union and promptness prevents the workers getting their dues.

TO THE WORKMEN WHO ARE OR LATELY HAVE BEEN ON STRIKE IN PARIS OR ELSEWHERE IN FRANCE.

**COMRADES.**—We of the Socialist League have been watching with intense interest the struggle which you are carrying on. When you have read the name we bear you will not want to be told how deeply we sympathise with your efforts to uphold the solidarity of labour, and applaud the courage which has sustained you in conflict. But we believe it may encourage you to know that there are English workmen who understand your position and are not deceived by the sophistries and calumnies of the bourgeois press. Two things have struck us in comparing this strike with others that have taken place in our country and elsewhere. In the first place, that the strikers regard it not merely as an attempt to raise their wages and shorten their hours of labour a little, but as a protest against the general robbery of the workers by capital; and in the second place, that in France this is well understood by the bourgeois masters of so-called society, and has inspired them with fear.

This then, comrades, makes your strike of especial importance. You may be compelled to resume work under the pressure of starvation, which the capitalists so well understand how to use against you, backed up as they are by a tyrannical government, which is really nothing but a committee acting for them; but your present defeat will form a standpoint for future victory, and the time when the workman will unite in sweeping away the class robbery on which rests the brigandage now falsely called society.

Accept, comrades, our fraternal greetings and heartfelt thanks for your efforts in the cause of true freedom.

## INTERNATIONAL NOTES.

BELGIUM.

From the 2nd to the 7th of this month the Universal Federation of the Window-glass Makers have held their annual congress at Charleroi. The window-glass makers of America, England, Belgium, France, Italy, Spain, and Portugal were represented by delegates. Among the questions discussed at the gathering, the most important has been that concerning the statistics of glass production. The yearly pane-glass production all over the world, now exceeds one milliard square feet. The general secretaryship has been maintained in Belgium, and entrusted to comrade Abel Delwarte, whose great talents for organisation have been long ago acknowledged by his fellow-workers.

Two important demonstrations have been held at Morlanwez and La Hestre (Hainault) by the group of social science "L'Avant-garde révolutionnaire" (the revolutionary vanguard). Comrades Pintelon, Wysman, and Bergé have developed at great length and amidst the unanimous applause of several thousand workers assembled there, the revolutionary and Communist theories which they intend spreading all through Belgium, the uselessness of parliamentarism and the dupery of universal suffrage which the possibilists of the *Parti ouvrier* advocate as the best means of bringing about the social change. Our friends of the "Revolutionary Vanguard" feel sure that ere long all the workers of that industrial district will go hand in hand with them and leave alone those who preach such petty palliative measures, that have always in the long run brought them under the subjection of the bourgeois Democrats and Radicals.

Oscar Falleur, who has been liberated from jail after having undergone nearly two years of imprisonment (strike riots of 1886), has been ordered by the Minister of "Justice" to leave Belgium. He is now on his way to America. But there is not in the Belgian penal code such a punishment as "exile"; how then has minister Lejeune come to inflict upon our comrade this new condemnation, which in many cases is still stronger than imprisonment? And why is it that our friend has obeyed that illegal order? It is rumoured that the other liberated strikers and "rioters," Schmidt, Wagener, and their comrades, are also about to be compelled to leave their country. That's what the Belgian reactionary Government understands by granting an amnesty. The Socialists there ought to protest most strongly against such arbitrary measures and force upon the powers that be to make a serious and not a bogus amnesty.

## RUSSIA.

Some Continental papers have lately reported that Russia has concluded an extradition treaty with Spain for the following offences: Attempt on the lives of the sovereigns or members of their families, leze-majesty, high treason, conspiracy, attempt on high officials of the State, preparation and detention of dynamite or other explosive substances. The circumstance that a crime has been committed for a political purpose, can never be a pretext for refusing the said extradition. We do not yet know if these informations are correct, but the clauses that are indicated certainly represent the *desiderata* of the reactionaries, especially of the Russian government, in matters of extradition. It is political extradition pure and simple that these reactionaries would first establish by treaty between the conservative countries, and afterwards force it upon the smaller countries. As for the large States who would resist, at least partially, this infamous bit of legislation, as England and France perhaps would do, they would be denounced as the very focusses of "Anarchist" agitation, and the efforts of the "League of the Great Monarchies" would be directed against them. The old right of asylum would have ceased to exist, and the horrible government of the Czar, namely, would be enabled to reach its victims everywhere.

## DENMARK.

Comrade P. Knudsen, secretary of the Social Democratic Federation in Denmark, has sent to us a complete account of the Congress that was held at Copenhagen on the 12th, 13th, and 14th of July last. Our limited space only permits us to give the following condensed extracts from his report. At the Congress, 33 unions or branches of the Party were represented by 65 delegates. In the hall of the meeting-house which belongs to the Socialists, was arranged an exhibition of Socialist newspapers of all countries of Europe, America, and Australia. The chief points for discussion at the Congress were:—The programme of the party, the organisation, and the propaganda. The result of the debates on the first question was the acceptance of a complete programme, from which we quote the following sections: Labour is the source of all social wealth and civilisation, and the whole produce ought to belong to those who labour. In the present society the means of labour—land, factories, machines, engines, means of communication, etc.—are in possession of the capitalists, who in this manner have usurped the results from the labour of past centuries. The capitalist possession of the means of labour is the cause of political oppression, social inequality, and dissensions between nations, all of which cause misery for the productive members of society, and increases the ranks of the proletariat. The capitalist domination prevents a state of society founded upon justice, and produces an unorganised production, in which enormous wealth is destroyed. It is the aim of the Socialists to emancipate labour from the exploitation of capitalism. The present wage-system consequently ought to be abolished. The Danish Socialists fully acknowledge that Socialism is not only a national or local question, but requires theoretical and practical support from the labourers of all countries. The complete emancipation of all human beings must therefore be accomplished without any regard to sex, race, or nationality. The activity of the Congress as to the organisation and the propaganda has, of course, chiefly been of local nature. On the whole, we have been glad to hear that the proceedings of the Congress have shown the most hearty feelings of all concerned, and that Socialism in Denmark has increased not only in numbers but also in organisation. During the present month a Congress of the Danish trades' unions is to be held, and the unions of Sweden and Norway will take part in the proceedings. V. D.

## SPAIN.

MATARÓ.—The workers in metal here have demanded of their employers a ten hours' working-day and extra pay for overtime. The masters held out against them for a time, but on a strike being declared, and the strikers showing signs of remaining firm, they gave in to their demands.

VALENCIA.—The tram-conductors of Valencia have presented the exploiting company under whom they serve with a written request for alterations in the service. They ask for ten hours, and not as now eighteen and nineteen hours a-day; no taking away of established holidays; no dismissal of employes without sufficient reason, and so forth. The company holding out against them, they declared themselves on strike, but unfortunately unsuccessfully, the company having only to raise a finger for a crowd of unemployed men to rush forward to take the place of the strikers without conditions.

NAVARRLES.—We read that a strike of weavers has taken place in this town, and rising out of this a disturbance between the strikers and the non-associates who have taken their place, the president of the trade society and others professing Socialist ideas being arrested for taking part in the affair.

## ITALY.

PRISON JUSTICE.—In an account of his long imprisonment, just terminated, Cipriani tells, among other things, of one old man who was condemned to penal servitude for life. The brilliant hope was held out to him that after twenty years of good conduct he should be released. The prisoner thereupon held out bravely during most of the appointed time of purgatory, and with the hope of a few years of liberty and broken health (if he lived so long) led in prison, we are told, "the life of a saint." But one day, excited by the prospect of being at the end of his time, he happened to pass the governor of the prison without saluting him. Being heavily ironed for this contumacious conduct, he menaced in impotent anger a gaoler who jeered at him in passing, and for this menace he had three years more on a bread and water diet.

THE ROYAL JOURNEY.—The Republicans and Socialists of Italy send up their cry of protest to heaven against the king's journey through Romagna, and the expenses and pomp thereof. Inwardly they must thank the royalists for the move, it being a godsend to the Republican journals in a slack season; it provides them with copy for so long beforehand, if they are provident and begin upon the subject early enough in the year. M. M.

## THE SOCIALIST LEAGUE.

OFFICES: 13 FARRINGTON ROAD, E.C.

The Offices of the Socialist League will be open for the sale of *Commonweal* and all other Socialist publications from 8.30 a.m. to 9 p.m. every day except Sunday. The Secretary will be in attendance from 10 a.m. to 9 p.m. daily.

London Members' Meeting.—The next monthly meeting of members will take place on Monday, Sept. 3, 1888, at 13 Farringdon Road, at 9 o'clock.

## FREE SPEECH FUND.

YARMOUTH.

Our comrade Poynts, of the Norwich branch, was last week fined here £1, and upon application by his friends for his release the amount demanded by Government was £2 19s. 4d., for holding meetings on the Church Plain, a very large open space, at which no conceivable obstruction can take place to the little traffic which passes. They moved to this spot from the Quay side at the suggestion of the police, who explained we might meet there without interference. Blue Ribbon and Salvation Army meetings are still allowed on the disputed spot, so that it is clearly a persecution for opinion's sake. The authorities in this district have probably taken this action in the hope of stemming the enormous spread of our ideas which is going on here, and as a preliminary step to stopping our meetings elsewhere, a course of action which the local papers at Norwich are already beginning to urge them to do. Reynolds has also been summoned this week, and will probably join Poynts in prison before this paper is printed, while several other comrades are ready to follow them in support of the right of Free Speech in the open. In the first case a mother, and in the second a wife, are depending upon our comrades for a living, and we earnestly appeal to all friends and sympathisers to help us in fighting this matter through to the end, and also in forming a Fund for use on whatever occasion may arise, as will surely be the case again before long in other parts of the country.

All amounts will be acknowledged in this column.

F. CHARLES, Sec.

## COUNTRY PROPAGANDA FUND.

Some comrades have arranged to commence a tour of the Suffolk villages, distributing leaflets and other literature, and holding meetings in the various suitable spots throughout the county. This is work that urgently needs doing in all parts of the country, and we appeal for funds to enable the Socialist League to extend their field of operations in this manner.

The following amounts have been received, and all future sums will be duly acknowledged in this column:—13, Farringdon Road, 8s. 3d.; Clerkenwell Green, 1s.; W. Morris, 7s. 6d.; Regent's Park, 3s. 10½d.; Hyde Park, 3s. 0½d.; Leman Street, 1s.; Berner Street, 1s. 6d.; Victoria Park, 3s. 6d. Total, £1 9s. 8d.

F. CHARLES, Sec., 13, Farringdon Road, E.C.

## REPORTS.

CLERKENWELL.—On Sunday evening, August 19th, Turner and Blundell addressed a good meeting at Clerkenwell Green. We collected 1s. for the Country Propaganda Fund, and there was a fair demand for the *Commonweal*. In the hall comrade Brooks lectured on "The Influence of Theology on Present Society" to a fair audience. Some opposition from a Christian Socialist. The lecturer replied to the satisfaction of the audience.—B.

HYDE PARK.—Brooks, Leah, Chatterton, Henderson, Murphy, and Turner spoke. Slight opposition. Audience generally appreciative. Collection, 3s. 0½.

MERTON.—On Sunday, 12th, we held a good meeting on the Fair Green. In evening the audience consisted of the showmen and others gathered for the annual fair of 13th. Good reception. Local inspector out of sorts; threatened to run us in for causing obstruction and begging, as he termed our collection. Cantwell, Kitz, Eden, Dalchow, speakers. 19th, in morning, good meeting, addressed by Rochmann and Eden. In evening, at club-house, controversy between Kitz and Dalchow on "Anarchism v. Social Democracy." Agreed that we hold a set debate, on Sunday evening next, on same question, Dalchow to open at 8 prompt.—F. K.

REGENT'S PARK.—Brooks and Turner spoke. A little opposition from Whelan, who has, however, developed as far as State Socialism, but still holds rather foggy ideas on many points. Collection, 3s. 10½d.

ABERDEEN.—No meeting held on 11th, in consequence of rain. At indoor meetings, on Monday nights, we have had good lectures and discussions. On Tuesday, 14th, Leatham addressed an open-air meeting at Woodside, under auspices of Woodside Diectoral and Industrial Association. Party from Aberdeen Branch sang "Hark, the Battle Cry!" attracting a large crowd, which followed Leatham indoors, where he delivered an address on "The Sweating System, and how alone to Abolish it." Good meeting held on Castle Street, on Saturday night, Aiken acting as chairman and Leatham as lecturer.—J. L.

EDINBURGH.—Very short of speakers this summer. Open-air work generally has been done in co-operation with the S. D. F. On 12th and 19th, however, Davidson, Noble, and John Smith held forth at our old station in Queen's Park. Very successful meetings. Have adopted system of lending pamphlets in streets contiguous to winter meeting place.—J. H. S.

GLASGOW.—On Sunday, at 5, Glasier and Burgoyne held our usual meeting at Paisley Road. There was, as usual, a large and very attentive audience. At 6.30 we held a meeting on the Green, near the Monument, some 500 persons being present, including a knot of Orangemen, who, as on the previous Sunday, enlivened the proceedings by their interruptions. A Tory "working man," who is kept on stock for political use in the west of Scotland, put a series of questions—mostly irrelevant—to Glasier, which were answered.

IPSWICH.—Our comrades here are carrying on an active propaganda, holding meetings weekly at Westerfield, Sproughton, Ipswich, and two at Needham Market. At all these places they are well received, and our ideas are decidedly making headway in this district. A very large quantity of old *Commonweals*, leaflets, &c., have also been distributed in the surrounding villages, and there appears to be every likelihood that Ipswich will soon become as important a stronghold for Suffolk as Norwich is already for Norfolk.

LEEDS.—On Sunday morning Hill, Paylor, and Maguire spoke on Hunslet Moor. At night Paylor, Hill, and Sallett addressed a large crowd in Vicar's Croft. Maguire lectured at Shipley in the evening on "The Breakdown of our Industrial System."

LEICESTER.—On Sunday, 5th, we were accused by a policeman of causing obstruction, and ordered out of Russell Square, but we refused to go. Our individualist friend Slater came up on Sunday, 12th, to help us fight for the right of public meeting, but we, not being interfered with, had a fierce discussion with him instead. On the same evening comrade Robson and James Holmes, secretary of the Hosiery Union, debated at the Secular Hall on "Socialism False in Principle and Subversive of Individual Liberty." On the 19th we had a rattling discussion of the nature of interest and of the results of nationalising the land only.—T. P. E.

NORWICH.—On Friday last a very good meeting was held on St. Catharine's Plain, addressed by Morley, Mowbray, and Cores (London). On Sunday morning successful meetings were held at North Walsham, Diss, and Market Place. In the afternoon a large meeting was held in the Market Place, addressed by Mow-



bray, Reynolds (Lowestoft), Cores (London); after the meeting the members adjourned to Gordon Hall, where several songs were rendered by the comrades. A meeting was also held at Croxtwick by comrades Adams, Darbey, and A. Moore. In the evening another large meeting was held in the Market Place; three new members joined; good sale of *Commonweal* and fair collections.

**WALSALL.**—Last Monday Rowson read a paper on "Co-operation and Socialism," and, after discussion, was followed by other comrades with readings from revolutionary poets. On Saturday a large audience listened to Sanders, Donald, and Richards, a good impression being made.—J. T. D.

**DUBLIN.**—On Saturday last, at 22 Astons Quay, the International Bottle-Blowers' Association, Dublin, presented comrade Schumann with a purse of sovereigns and entertained him at supper in recognition of his services in the great strike of the bottle-blowers a few years ago. Comrade Fitzpatrick addressed the meeting on the question of international union amongst working men, and expressed a hope that the International Bottle-Blowers' Association was only the first step in the great union of the workers of all nations. After many years' residence in Dublin, Schumann is about to return to Denmark, of which country he is a native. On Sunday the members of the Dublin Socialist Club assembled to bid "good-bye" to comrade Fitzpatrick on his departure for London. "Fitz" has always been an earnest, consistent propagandist of the cause, and his loss will be much felt here.

#### EAST END PROPAGANDA.

Fortnightly debates are to be held at Berner Street Club, for cultivation of public speakers. Good meetings at the usual places, and a new station opened at London Fields. A fund to be raised to send Cores and Reynolds on a missionary tour. Arrangements are being made to hold on November 4th a commemorative meeting for the Chicago comrades.—W. B. P.

#### LECTURE DIARY.

##### LONDON.

**Acton.**—Any information from Secretary Harnett, 7 Redmore Road, Hammersmith.

**Clerkenwell.**—Hall of the Socialist League, 13 Farringdon Rd., E.C. Sunday August 26, at 8.30, W. B. Parker, a lecture. Wed 29, at 8.30, F. Charles, "Society, Present and Future." Wed. Sept. 5, Turner, a lecture.

**Fulham.**—8 Effie Road, Walham Green. Sunday at 8 p.m.

**Hackney.**—Enquiries, communications, etc., to E. Lefevre, Secretary, 28 Percy Terrace, Victoria Rd., Hackney Wick.

**Hammersmith.**—Kelmescott House, Upper Mall, W. Sunday August 26, at 8 p.m. H. H. Sparling, "The Cato Street Conspiracy."

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

**Mile-end and Bethnal Green.**—95 Boston St., Hackney Road.

**North London.**—Secretary, Nelly Parker, 143 Cavendish Buildings, opposite Holborn Town Hall. The business meetings will be held on Friday evenings at 6 Windmill Street, Tottenham Court Road, after the open-air meeting at Ossulton Street. All members are asked to attend at Ossulton St. at 8 o'clock.

**Plaistow.**—A branch has been formed here and is commencing a vigorous propaganda in this district.

**St. Georges in the East.**—A meeting of the members of this branch will be held at 23 Princes Square, on Sunday morning after the meeting at Leman Street. Rochmann, secretary.

##### PROVINCES.

**Aberdeen** (Scottish Section).—Secretary, J. Leatham, 15 St Nicholas Street. Branch meets in Oddfellows Hall on Monday nights at 8. Choir practice at 46 Marischal Street on Thursday evenings at 8.

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

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

**Dowdenbeath** (Scot. Sec.).—J. Duncan, 30 Arthur Pl., sec

**Dumdee** (Scot. Sect.).—Meetings every Sunday in the Trades Hall, opposite Tay Bridge Station.

**Edinburgh** (Scottish Land and Labour League).—35 George IV. Bridge. Meetings for Discussion, Thursdays at 8 p.m.

**Galashiels** (Scot Sect.).—J. Walker, 6 Victoria St., sec.

**Gallatown and Dysart** (Scottish Section: Fife).—Meet every Tuesday at 7 p.m. in Gallatown Public School. Secretary, A. Paterson, 152 Rosslyn St.

**Glasgow.**—84 John Street. Reading-room (Draughts, Chess, etc.) open 10 a.m. till 10 p.m. daily. On Thursday evening at 8, Choir Practice; all musical members invited.

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

**Leicester.**—Hosiery Union, Horsefair St. Fridays at 8.

**Lochgelly** (Scottish Section: Fife).—Secs. (*pro tem.*), John Greig and Hugh Conway, The Square.

**Norwich.**—Monday, at 8.30, Workers' Meeting. Tuesday, at 8, a debate will be opened by C. W. Mowbray and Mr. Adie, in the Temperance Hall—subject, "International Revolutionary Socialism"; all seats free. Wednesday, at 8.30, Choir Practice. Saturday, 8 until 10.30, Co-operative Clothing Association.

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

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

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

All persons who sympathise with the views of the Socialist League are earnestly invited to communicate with the above addresses, and if possible help us in preparing for the birth of a true society, based on equality, brotherhood, and freedom for all.

#### OPEN-AIR PROPAGANDA.

##### SUNDAY 26.

10.30...Starch Green .....Hammersmith Branch  
11.30...Latimer Road Station ...Hammersmith Branch  
11.30...Mitcham Fair Green .....The Branch  
11.30...Regent's Pk....Cantwell, Mrs. Schaeck, Parker  
11.30...Walham Green .....Fulham Branch  
3.30...Hyde Park .....Mrs. Schack & Parker  
7 ...Weltje Road, opposite Ravenscourt Park  
.....Hammersmith Branch

##### Tuesday.

8.30...Fulham—opposite Liberal Club.....Fulham Bh.

##### Friday.

7.30...Euston Rd.—Ossulton Street .....The Branch

#### EAST END.

##### SUNDAY 26.

Mile-end Waste ... 11 ...East-end C'mittee.  
Leman Street, Shadwell 11 ...Charles.  
Well Street, Hackney... 11.45...Mainwaring.  
Victoria Park ... 3.15...Mainwaring.  
Triangle, Hackney Road 8 ...Brooks.  
Stanford Hill ... 7.30...Nicoll.

##### TUESDAY.

Mile-end Waste ... 8.30...East-end C'mittee.

##### WEDNESDAY.

Broadway, London Fields 8.30... "

##### FRIDAY.

Philpot St., Commercial Rd. 8.30... "

##### SATURDAY.

Mile-end Waste ... 8 ... "

#### PROVINCES.

**Aberdeen.**—Saturday: Castle Street, at 8 p.m.

**Edinburgh.**—Queen's Park, every Sunday, at 3 p.m.

**Glasgow.**—Sunday: Jail's Square, at 12.30; Paisley Road at 5; Green, near Monument, at 6.30.

**Ipswich.**—  
Sproughton, Wednesday evening.  
Westerfield, Thursday evening.  
Neeham Market, Sunday morning and evening.

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

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

**Norwich.**—Sunday: Market Place, at 11, 3, and 7.30. St. Faiths, Sunday at 11. North Walsham, Sunday at 11. Yarmouth, Church Plain, Thursday at 7.30. St Catharine's Plain, Friday at 8.15 p.m.

**Walsall.**—Meeting at Daw End on Sunday morning. Deakin, Guillemand, and Wesley, speakers.

**EAST-END PROPAGANDA.**—A meeting of all interested in the Socialist propaganda in the East-end of London will be held at the Berner Street International Club, Commercial Road, E., on Saturday at 8 p.m. The first of a series of fortnightly debates will be commenced, on this occasion the subject being "How to Spread Revolutionary Socialism in the East-end."

#### Obituary.

Our comrade Mrs. Dyer, one of the oldest workers in the English Socialist movement, died on Saturday Aug. 11th, and was buried on the following Wednesday at St. George's Cemetery, Hanwell. There was no religious ceremony over the grave, this being the express desire of the deceased; and the funeral was conducted by the members of the Socialist body to which she belonged. Speeches were delivered above the coffin by comrades Murray, Fred Henderson, and W. Bartlett. Our dead comrade was one of the last survivors of the early followers of Robert Owen, and even at her advanced age was an earnest worker in the cause, having spoken at her branch meeting only a month before she died.

#### THE MATCHMAKERS' UNION.

##### THEATRE BENEFIT.

Annie Besant and Herbert Burrows ask us to announce that on August 27, 28, 29, 30, and 31, there will be a Ticket Benefit at the Royal Princess's Theatre, Oxford Street, for the Building Fund of the Women Matchmakers' Union. As soon as sufficient funds can be obtained, it is intended to build a hall in the East-end, in which the girls can meet for recreation; and all who wish to help in this work can do so by taking tickets for the benefit on any of the above dates. The tickets, prices 1s., 1s. 6d., 2s., 3s., 6s., and 10s., can be obtained at 13 Farringdon Road or at 34 Bouverie Street. The piece now being played at the Princess's is the "Still Alarm," and one of the scenes is the realistic fire-engine incident, with the two trained Arabian horses.

#### A GRAND CONCERT

(By kind permission of the Clerkenwell Branch) will be held at HALL OF THE SOCIALIST LEAGUE, ON SUNDAY, SEPT. 2nd,

FOR THE BENEFIT OF

S. W. EDEN,

who has been out of work for several months, and is now in need of help.

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D. NICOLL, Sec.  
W. TURNER, Treas.

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# THE COMMONWEAL

The Official Journal of the  
**SOCIALIST LEAGUE.**

VOL. 4.—No. 138.

SATURDAY, SEPTEMBER 1, 1888.

WEEKLY; ONE PENNY.

## THE CO-OPERATIVE FESTIVAL AND THE SOCIALIST CO-OPERATIVE FEDERATION.

"INSIST more on the points of agreement, don't make so much of the points of difference," says a friend of mine whenever I am urging that Co-operation, after forty years of earnest labour, has done but little towards the real emancipation of the worker. Co-operators look upon Socialists as rebels and robbers; Socialists in return look upon Co-operators as reactionaries and robbers. The points of difference are many, so are the points of agreement. Saturday, August 25, 1888, may some day be looked upon with a considerable amount of agreement. Co-operator and Socialist alike may come to agree that it was a very important day; that it marked the beginning of a new era.

On that day was held at the Crystal Palace, Sydenham, a National Co-operative Festival, consisting of a Flower, Fruit, and Vegetable Show; Co-operative Productive Exhibition; Co-operative Home Industries Exhibition, and two Co-operative Demonstrations, addressed by various well-known Co-operative leaders and other public men. In addition to this serious work there was a concert of 4,000 voices, an important item in the programme being an ode by Lewis Morris (no connection with any other Morris), "The Triumph of Labour," several band performances, a balloon ascent, a fairy ballet, and other items too numerous to mention.

The Flower and Fruit Show was contributed to by some 400 members of Co-operative Societies, sending about 3,500 entries, which were set out on tables extending the whole length of the Palace. The prize list was a most liberal one, special prizes being offered for honey exhibits.

The Co-operative Productive Exhibition was set out in the Large Concert Room, and consisted of the goods manufactured by forty-two Co-operative Societies; forty-one in reality, for "The Co-operative Wholesale" is too much a joint-stock employer society to come under the true definition of a Co-operative Productive Society, *i.e.*, profit-sharing with the workers.

The goods of these forty-one societies consisted of clothing in cotton, silk, and wool; boots and shoes; locks, chains, pails, and general hardware; printing; bags and portmanteaus, watches and jewellery, tobacco, cigars, etc.; house decorations, cocoa and chocolate. Three French societies and one Italian society also exhibited.

The Home Industries Exhibition, set out in the west corridor, consisted of about 1,000 exhibits, the labour of some 600 men, women, and children, amateur and professional. Some beautiful bits of work were shown in this department, proving the existence even yet of workers with love for their work; Huntingdon Shaw or even Tubal Cain would have been proud of some of the hammered iron work.

The whole of the exhibits throughout were excellent; the prizes and general arrangements were on an exceedingly liberal scale; excursions were run from very distant parts of the kingdom; and, altogether, there was some reason for the Co-operator being a bit "cock-a-hoop." Some of them filled the bill too, at least until the demonstration in the evening.

It had been estimated that the attendance would be up to about 40,000, perhaps 50,000 said the sanguine. The day's programme was well deserving of the greater number, but the turn-tables reported 27,169. It had been arranged that there should be two or four platforms; one was found quite sufficient from which to address the 1,500 or 1,600 who stayed to listen to the gospel of Co-operative salvation.

This National Co-operative Festival has been the idea and work of the best men in the Co-operative movement; men who have immense faith in Co-operation as the means of social reform, but who are much out of gear with the great co-operative machine because of loud protest against the profit-hunting, which has become too general.

For years there has been a constantly increasing strain between two distinct varieties of genus Co-operator, the "Distributionist" and the "Productionist." The first regards the question wholly from the "consumer's" point of view, whose *summum bonum* is to spend a

shilling and get back fourpence; to whom "high divi" is a motto of sweet solace. The Productionist regards the question from the standpoint of the absolute worker, the producer.

The immense difference was strongly drawn out in a paper by J. M. Ludlow, read before the Co-operative Congress at Newcastle, April, 1873. He protested against the amount of consideration paid to the consumer. "All are consumers!" Yes; but out of six, "five are pure consumers, one is a child, one a madman, one a beggar, one a thief, one a murderer, and the last is a decent fellow, able and ready to work, in other words a producer. Now the only consideration which, I maintain, is due to the five consumers is this—that the one producer should obtain mastery over them all; that he should exercise authority over the child in order that he may learn to make himself useful; so deal with the madman as to prevent his doing mischief to himself or to others, and, if possible, to enable him to recover his wits; to coerce the beggar and the thief so as to compel them to earn their bread; and, finally, to hang the murderer to the nearest convenient tree branch." And so as to leave not a leg for the Distributionist to stand upon, Ludlow insists that it is no matter whether the consumer be rich or poor: "It is because they are mere consumers, who either cannot or will not restore to production what they take from it, that they have *absolutely no right*, though five to one, to exercise any control over the producer."

Few Socialists will be found, I think, who will cavil at this, for it maintains the Socialist position almost exactly. It is by a man who for some forty years has taken great interest in social matters, and supports the statement that true Co-operation is very like Socialism, and further still, it is an answer to the suggestion that Socialists are borrowing from Co-operators.

In a letter of apology to the Committee of the Festival, Mr. Ludlow remarks that the conflict of claims between production and consumption which has unfolded, was seen by him at a very early period.

Every Congress has seen a keener conflict, until, as the *Pall Mall Gazette* said (May 23, 1888), dealing with the Dewsbury Congress, "Slowly but surely the Co-operative movement in this country has come to a final parting of the ways, and according to the path now chosen will depend whether its future is for good or for evil. . . Profit-sharing or profit-mongering. . . The profit-mongering plan is that which has gradually been growing in favour; and if the process is continued then the last state of the working classes will be no whit better than the first."

"The longest heads in the Co-operative camp are all of one way of thinking in the matter." These same long heads are responsible for the Festival, which is the evidence of a revolt against the growing domination of the consumer, represented in the main by the Co-operative Wholesale Society, the hydra-monopolist of the movement. It is quite in accordance with the eternal spirit of "compromise" which runs through the English mind, that while the official Handbook and Catalogue gives a list of "forty-two" Co-operative productive societies, the whole show was a sort of strike of forty-one societies against the forty-second, the biggest and greediest. This will seem strange to some and will be denied by others, but is absolutely true, no matter how much the spirit of "loyalty to the Wholesale" may cause some to protest.

The Co-operative Wholesale for 1887 reported sales £5,702,235; bank turn-over, £9,374,962; share capital, £300,954; loan capital, £579,817; reserve fund, £132,021; land, buildings, shop, fixtures, nett, £365,731. It is formed of a federation of co-operative societies, comprising 604,800 individual co-operators. A society of such magnitude could wield an immense power for good of the worker, and could, "an it would," in but a year or two effect a revolution in the conditions of labour. How far it doesn't do, it may be judged by an extract from 'Distribution Reform,' by Thomas Illingworth of Bradford, a man competent to give an opinion: "It [the Wholesale] has a turnover of £4,675,371, and is the *proprietor* of four productive societies, doing a business of £162,149 in 1884, and making a nett profit thereon of £5,675, but it does not divide a single farthing of these profits among its workers. It is a sham to represent these societies as co-operative. The Co-operative Wholesale is a gigantic middleman; *in its workshops it pays the worst of competition wages*; in the language of one of the workers in one of the shoe factories, '*the workmen have to work for*

what they can get; they know there is no true Co-operation.' In its transactions with other producers it pays the lowest of competition prices; the profits made out of the retail prices are distributed amongst the members; labour is depressed. In short, it is as far from displaying a single feature of real Co-operation as is any private trader who uses the weapons of competition and capitalism for his personal ends, regardless of the interests of others." (P. 90.)

Such is the Co-operative Wholesale; and the record has to be borne in mind when reading the great claims made on behalf of Co-operation as a whole. In the official Handbook the Wholesale is numbered 17; it had no right in the book at all, unless the details given with entry No. 23 be a constructive libel. No. 23—Leicester Co-operative Boot and Shoe Manufacturing Society. This society arose out of a strike among the workers in the employ of the Co-operative Wholesale. The strike was the final protest against continued ill-treatment; it was decided to found a society "in which the essential principle of Co-operative production—viz., the participation of the worker in profits—should be recognised." The society commenced with a capital of £220, mostly contributed by the men themselves. The first quarterly balance-sheet showed a loss of £15, the second a profit of £43; with this the previous deficit was wiped out, and the remainder became the foundation of a reserve fund. The next quarterly balance-sheet showed that while only £400 of share capital had been employed, a trade had been done of £2,000 and a profit made of £189 0s. 10d. The method in which this was divided is worth quoting: "Share capital, 5 per cent. (a first charge), £5 10s. 8d.; depreciation of fixed stock, £4; Neale Scholarship Fund, £1; District Association Fund, 5s.; Labour Association Fund, 5s.; Joining Co-operative Federation, £2; Reserve Account, £26 0s. 2d. The remainder in accordance with special rule as follows: To workers (1s. 6d. in £ on wages), £60; to committee, £18; to Social and Educational Fund, £7 10s.; to Provident Fund, £15; for special service, £4 10s. 0d.; share capital (dividend), £15; customers, £30. All the profits divided in accordance with special rule are allotted in shares, and have been left in the society, which is thus acquiring added capital and facilities for business. The trade is now about £200 per week, and advancing. Altogether the society affords an admirable example of what well-directed and unselfish labour association may effect."

One is glad to learn from the latest report to hand that this society has been remarkably well supported at Sydenham. The manner in which this £180 odd of profits was cut up, £60 returning to workers as addition to wages, besides the various small sums to kindred associations, and for social and educational purposes, should shame some who claim to be co-operators while they are really only money-lenders.

The details of this society, besides containing useful suggestions of how to use profits when made, convey a really startling lesson as to rapidity of the growth of capital, and the fearful power which is left in the capitalist's hands. Capital £220, at the end of six months had allowed to the contributors to the capital better wages than under the old capitalist employer and cleared £28; at the end of only nine months £400 of capital had earned a profit of £189, besides the better conditions of the worker. Can there be given a plainer proof of the robbery which goes on every day under the wage system?

It is essential to keep these details in mind in order to fairly estimate the full value of the Crystal Palace show and the speeches made at the meetings held during the day. These speeches, made by leading Co-operators, on the occasion of a general review of the Co-operative movement, contain some points of special interest to Socialists in view of the new departure made by the Socialist Co-operative Federation, the first general meeting of which was being held on the same evening. In my next I will endeavour to connect the two events, and also answer the critic who writes in the *Co-operative News* of August 18th.

ANARCHARSIS.

(To be concluded).

A TRADE PAPER ON COMPETITION.—It is generally believed that competition is good, says a writer in the *Shoe and Leather Record*, and so, no doubt, it is when competitors are vying with each other to do something that is good or useful, or where competition breaks up monopolies and prevents undue profits. But when trade competition is manifestly and intentionally a life-and-death struggle, then it has reached a level that is at once deplorable and disgraceful. Yet such is the spirit rampant in some quarters. I called in a shop, in a part of London which I will not specify, where the goods were marked at most remarkably low prices. In the course of conversation the assistant said that they had been doing a good trade, but another firm, having some thirty retail shops, had lately opened two shops, one on each side of them, and only a few doors removed. "But," said he, smiling, "they can't do us; we can make cheaper than they can buy." Of course, I went to interview the manager of one of these establishments, and found him standing at the door waiting for customers. We entered into conversation upon general trade topics, which quickly turned upon the "cutting" trade. I ventured the opinion that he was acting in a foolish and suicidal way, when he said somewhat warmly, "I don't think so. The man who wants to live nowadays must be prepared to undersell his neighbour. The man with the biggest purse will win, and the man who is short of cash must go to the wall. There is Mr. — higher up; he takes advantage of his customers; none of his goods are marked plainly. Well, we have opened a shop both sides of him, and we mean to do him up. There is no lack of money in our family." Ostensibly here the excuse for opening the two shops was to protect the public. I repeat, ostensibly. A far more sensible kind of competition is that of another proprietor of a boot shop in the same vicinity. Here the manager referred to the stupid and culpable competition of his neighbours, but he said, "They do us no harm. We are competing with them too, but we make it a point to supply our customers with stylish and sound reliable goods while they are cutting one another's throats and disgusting the people with cheap rubbish."

## THE MODERN MOLOCH.

It is a sad thing when the comfortable beliefs and fancies of our young days have to be cast aside, and the sweet soothing-syrup of self-congratulation ceases to have effect on our maturer constitutions. I used to be marvellously content with the beauty and excellence of the system under which we live, and to think that nothing could be more fortunate than to be a "happy English child" in the glorious nineteenth century, during the beneficent reign of Good Queen Victoria. Correspondingly, I imagined that nothing could be at the same time more wicked and more stupid than to believe in the "false gods" of the "heathen"; nothing more dull than their "vain repetitions" of prayer, or more ineffectual for good to the persons who spent their time that way; and above all, nothing more atrociously and wantonly cruel than the barbarous rites in the worship of these gods—Moloch, or Juggernaut, for instance: the latter of whom, for some unexplained cause, had a peculiar fascination for me, so happily born in the free and enlightened land of progress.

Alas! all that sweet content is gone from me, probably for lack of faith. At any rate, I must confess that in the worship of that great god of civilisation, named Commerce, the dulness of the prayers offered to him (in those daily litanies called "newspapers"), and the cruelty of the sacrifices made in his service, are scarcely to be surpassed—nay, in the frequency of their occurrence and the generality of their practice they are not to be equalled—in any superstition that I have ever heard of.

It was the perusal of one of those morning litanies that led me into these considerations. Columns of actual prayer to Commerce (called "trade advertisements"), consisting often of the same words or phrases repeated an untold number of times, or again the same formula with slight variations from countless suppliants "seeking employment" at the hands of Commerce; curious hieroglyphs called "trade marks," and the like; these, with the daily list headed "Money Market" (apparently some regulations as to ritual, with whose meaning, however, I am imperfectly acquainted); the chronicles of the acts of the chief votaries of Commerce, and their speeches about him; inspired commentaries on all this, called "Articles,"—these and similar matters make up one vast inky flood of dulness, which seems to deaden the souls of the faithful, and renders them incapable of any other worship.

And perhaps of the whole series the dullest of all is that which goes by the name of the *Standard*. Seldom can I bring myself to read more than ten following lines of this remarkable production; I cannot remember ever reading more than two of those parts called Articles (which are the most readable) entirely through. One of these was issued on the 30th of last January, the other saw the light on the 4th of the present month; and I have saved both of them, since they, with the attendant *News*, throw considerable light on the character of the great god, and the relations between him and mankind at the present day.

For cruelty he seems to have combined the characters of Moloch and Juggernaut, with an added touch of ironical justice or compassion which is all his own. Here, for instance, on the 4th of August is something to compare with the ancient rite of passing children through the fire to Moloch. A factory for the manufacture of paper caps for toy pistols. For this service girls are mostly used. These girls are deprived of their leisure from early childhood, their natural girlish faculties for enjoyment of life are starved, all womanly beauty, all health of body and nobility of soul are sacrificed if need be to Commerce—who doesn't want them, and destroys them. A few years of the misery of blighted hopeless life, and they become skilful "hands," useful to Commerce—and nothing more. There are plenty of them; thousands ready to fill their place, if— Well, what *did* happen, in this happy England, on the 3rd of August 1888 (the year of some former god, superseded by Commerce)? "A terrific explosion"; "two sisters . . . were lying dead, their bodies being mangled almost beyond recognition. Pieces of flesh had been torn from their bodies, and their blackened faces presented a shocking spectacle," etc., etc. The mother "was wandering about in an apparently demented condition." And then of course, *afterwards*, inspectors, etc.

Or here again: "At an inquest held at Sheffield upon Thomas Howard, . . . a witness said deceased, who was sixty-three years of age, worked for a sweater, and he believed he died from want. Although he worked every day, he did not earn more than 9s. per week, out of which he had to pay 2s. 6d. per week wheel-rent, 1s. per week for the hut in which he lived, and 1s. 6d. for grinding-stones and tools. His work was grinding and glazing of 'fied' penknife blades, for which he was paid at the rate of 1s. per gross, reckoning fourteen blades to the dozen." The wheel of Juggernaut's car would pass over *once*, and there an end: but here was the horrible protracted agony of having the life slowly crushed out during years of prolonged suffering—for the glory of Commerce. And what irony, too, in the verdict. Were not Juggernaut's victims self-condemned? Well, who was to blame but this man, for his sacrifice to Commerce? "The coroner said the deceased was a free agent, and if he liked to work" (*liked to, indeed!*) "at such low wages, was at liberty to do so. . . . The jury brought in a verdict of death from apoplexy." How grateful this man should have been to Commerce for such "liberty"; and yet what an influence the god must have had over him, to make him "like to" die under the slow-crushing wheel of commercial progress!

And now from the "article" in the same issue dealing with the general subject of sweating, we learn the immense importance of this divinity, compared to whom the welfare of mankind (in the eyes of his votaries) is a quite secondary consideration. We are told that "the



checks and trammels we should have to impose" in order to ameliorate the lot of the wretched victims of Commerce, "would in all probability do more to cripple and impede our commerce than the diminution even of the sweating scandals would justify." Of course; if Commerce will have his victims, the sacrifice must be made. For what is a man, and who cares for his life or death or degradation? The victims must be found, even, if necessary, at the cost of foregoing that show of freedom of sacrifice. If Commerce should require it, "it is the bounden duty of the State to . . . compel the industrial classes to acquire that skill and knowledge in which lies our only chance of safety" (*Standard*, Jan. 30). So then we gather that Commerce is "our" god—i.e., the god of the non-industrial or exploiting classes; and to gain his favour "we," the said classes, must be prepared to compel the industrial classes (from whose ranks the victims are chosen) to sacrifice themselves to him for "our" exclusive welfare.

Truly, an instructive glimpse into the religion of the idle or exploiting classes! If the industrial classes will consider it, they will see that to them Commerce is, like fire, possibly a good servant, but decidedly a bad master, and that, exalted into a divinity, he "walketh about seeking whom he may devour." A divinity against whom revolt is justifiable and desirable; whose very anger (should they try to cast off his yoke) can hardly be more cruel than his bondage. And learning this they may also learn from Socialism of that far mightier divinity whose dwelling is in every man's heart, whose name is Comradeship, and who requires no other service than the happy lives of healthy and noble-hearted men and women. Commerce is great and powerful; but that combination of free men united by comradeship which Socialists desire, will enable us to make a servant of commerce, and to live a life in which all such fearful sacrifices will be avoided, and from which, amongst other secondary advantages, the cloudy dulness of the daily papers will have passed away.

G. STURT.

### REVOLUTIONARY CALENDAR.

WEEK ENDING SEPTEMBER 8, 1888.

2	Sun.	1685. Alice Lisle beheaded. 1793. Meeting of the London Corresponding Society at Lewis's Auction Room, Oxford Street. 1803. Trial of James Byrne for high treason. 1830. Riots at Leipzig. 1867. 2nd General Congress of the International at Lausanne (2nd—8th). 1870. Badinguet surrenders at Sedan. 1871. Courbet tried for destruction of Vendome Column. 1872. 5th General Congress of the International at the Hague.
3	Mon.	1650. Battle of Dunbar. 1651. Battle of Worcester. 1658. Oliver Cromwell died. 1794. Watt and Downie tried at Edinburgh for high treason. 1803. Trial of John Begg for high treason. 1866. 1st General Conference of the International (3rd—10th) at Geneva. 1877. Adolphe Thiers died.
4	Tues.	1870. Proclamation of 3rd French Republic.
5	Wed.	1794. Trial of David Downie for high treason. 1803. Trial of Walter Clare for high treason. 1842. Trial of 150 "rioters" at York. 1850. Haynau horsewhipped at Barclay and Perkins' Brewery. 1857. Aug. Comte died. 1868. Cab strike in London. 1869. 4th General Congress of the International (5th—12th) at Basle. 1887. Trades Union Congress at Swansea.
6	Thur.	1798. Oliver Bond died. 1803. Trial of Felix Rourke for high treason. 1863. Flight of the King (Bomba) of Naples. 1868. 3rd General Congress of the International (6th—11th) at Brussels.
7	Fri.	1794. Second trial of David Downie for high treason. 1803. Trial of John Killen and John M'Cann for high treason. 1860. Garibaldi enters Naples. 1886. Trades Union Congress at Hull.
8	Sat.	1882. Arabi declared a rebel.

*Attack on General Haynau.*—This "distinguished officer," whose brutalities in Hungary had even caused his recall by the Austrian Government, visited England in 1850. On the 5th September, a little before 12 o'clock, three foreigners "of distinguished appearance," called at Barclay and Perkins' brewery and asked to be allowed to go over the establishment. This was readily granted, and they signed their names in the visitors' book and they crossed the yard with one of the clerks. One of the remaining clerks looked at the signatures in the book, and in less than two minutes, say eye-witnesses, the whisper had passed to the remotest corner of the brewery, and by a spontaneous movement the whole of the workers were out in the yard which the general had not yet crossed. He was soon covered with dirt, and as he ran howling to and fro was turned back on all sides by the horse-whips of the draymen. As the memory of his woman-whipping exploits began to revive among the crowd, they were speedily becoming roused to the pitch of tearing him limb from limb. At last, in a very panic of fear, he burst through them and ran frantically along Bankside to the "George" public-house, where he was put on board a police-galley and rowed up to Somerset House. He had had enough of England, and immediately left it. No steps were taken either by the firm or the Government to find out or punish the "perpetrators of this indignity," as some of the papers called it. The safety with which certain illustrious people move about among us, shows that during the intervening years English workers have increased their regard for Law'n-Order beyond the standard of 1850!—S.

"History, looking back over this France through long times . . . confesses mournfully that there is no period to be met with in which the general twenty-five millions of France suffered less than in this period which they name the Reign of Terror. But it was not the dumb millions that suffered here, it was the speaking thousands and units; who shrieked and published, and made the world ring with their wail, as they could and should: that is the grand peculiarity. The frightfullest births of Time are never the loud speaking ones, for these soon die; they are the silent ones, which can live from century to century!"—*Carlyle's French Revolution.*

### POVERTY AND WEALTH.

JOHN BEDFORD LENO.

You see that 'ere fine row o' mansions,  
Wi' gardens that stretch right away;  
Now, who do yer think, Jack, has built 'em?  
You don't know the cove, I dessay?  
Well, I does; it's that chap a-coming,  
A-riding that smart looking cob;  
He was born, I have heered, in a workus,  
And started to trade with a bob!

"All fair"? not a bit of it, Johnny—  
To plunder without fear or shame;  
He went up to town quite a younker,  
And started the swindling game.  
He fust made a book on the races,  
Laid odds on the horses that run,  
And cheated the poor flats who backed 'em  
By welshing the lot if they won.

After that, just by way of divarsion,  
He took to what folks call the 'Change,  
When he did summat queer, and they cut him—  
Which sounds, well, a leetle bit strange;  
For it must have been summat outrageous,  
To startle them chaps, that be clear;  
I expects he was up to a swindle  
And some on 'em hadn't a share!

Then he turns to what I calls a spider,  
An' spun a great web on the sly;  
An' sent out what folks call a 'spectus—  
All sugar, and treacle, and lie;  
And the poor silly dupes they were tempted,  
And so, by his falsehoods and snares,  
He cleaned 'em all out in a jiffy,  
An' left 'em to starve on his shares.

Then, at length, that 'ere company busted,  
When he started another, I'm told,  
To buy up the City Road scrapings,  
An' turn 'em to real solid gold.  
He used up his printing as ground bait,  
Which brought all the fish to one spot;  
When, his hooks being artfully kivered,  
He caught a fair share of the lot.

The most that he caught were poor widders,  
Whose husbands had left 'em a bit  
To keep 'em outside o' the workus,  
An' folks wi' more money than wit;  
As for pity, lord love yer, that's pisen  
To such chaps as he, you can bet;  
They cast their barbed hooks in the river  
And stick to the swag they can get.

Then he married a real parson's darter,  
And that gave him station, yer see,  
An' that's how it be he's looked up to  
By folks who would shun you and me.  
And when he put up for the county  
You see he was bound to get in,  
For there's nuffin on earth that men worship  
So much as a cartload of tin.

It was "two to one bar none" he licked 'em,  
For there's nothing that wealth cannot reach;  
The parson, in course, didn't forget him  
Whenever he chanced for to preach.  
He pictured the rogue as a hangel,  
Called God to confirm what he'd done,  
An' offered up prayers in the pulpit  
As soon as the 'lection was won.

You and I, Jack, have spent our lives workin',  
In turnin' o' muck into gold;  
But we ain't got a steever between us,  
Our wealth has stuck fast in the mold!  
You ain't got a brick as I knows on,  
You ain't got a shovel o' dirt,  
An', as for your wife, Jack, God bless her!  
She's misery wrapped in a skirt.

THE TRAITOR TO THE COMMUNE GONE MAD.—Jules Ducatel, the miserable hound who enabled the Versailles troops to take Paris from the Communist insurgents in 1871, has now felt the revenge of fate. For his services he received a present from the Thiers Government of 300,000 francs, and with the *Figaro* subscription he became the possessor of another sum of 200,000 francs. The bourgeois enthusiasm in favour of Ducatel was so great that the Opera Comique and other theatres inscribed his name on their free lists for life. Ducatel was also named chief tax-collector at Méun, but embezzled freely. On Thursday 23rd Ducatel was found to be quite mad, and was taken to the asylum of St. Anne, where he occupies the cell adjoining that of Aubertin, who "shot" at Jules Ferry.



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

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

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

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

F. K.—Poem used next week. Book at office.  
Will be used—R. U.

#### Periodicals received during the week ending Wednesday August 29.

<b>ENGLAND</b> Die Autonomie Justice Labour Tribune London—Freie Presse Norwich—Daylight Our Corner Ploughshare Postal Service Gazette Radical Leader Railway Review Worker's Friend	<b>FRANCE</b> Paris—Cri du Peuple (daily) Le Parti Ouvrier (daily) La Revolte La Femme et L'Enfant Le Coup de Feu Lille—Le Cri du Travailleur	<b>ITALY</b> Gazetta Operaia Rome—L'Emancipazione Cremona—Il Democratico
<b>INDIA</b> Bankipore—Behar Herald Madras—People's Friend	<b>HOLLAND</b> Hague—Recht voor Allen	<b>SPAIN</b> El Productor Madrid—El Socialista Saville—La Solidaridad
<b>UNITED STATES</b> New York—Freiheit Der Sozialist Truthseeker Volkszeitung Alarm Workmen's Advocate Boston—Woman's Journal Chicago—Labor Enquirer Vorbote	<b>BELOGIUM</b> Seraing (Ougree)—Le Reveil Ghent—Vooruit Liege—L'Avenir Antwerp—De Werker	<b>GERMANY</b> Berlin—Volks Tribune Wien—Gleichheit
	<b>SWITZERLAND</b> Zurich—Sozial Demokrat Arbeiterstimme	<b>AUSTRIA</b> Wien—Gleichheit
		<b>ROUMANIA</b> Jassy—Municipal
		<b>DENMARK</b> Social-Demokraten
		<b>SWEDEN</b> Stockholm, Social-Demokraten Malmo—Arbetet
		<b>WEST INDIES</b> Cuba—El Productor

### NOTES.

LOOKING over, though with no careful scrutiny, the mass of matter wherewith industrious letter-writers have been aiding the big dailies during the dull time, one is struck even there by the progress that is being made. Fully one per cent. of the writers in the *Telegraph* on the marriage question, for instance, have given evidence of some glimmering of knowledge on the real nature of the evil. Hard and fast, legally enforced monogamy is being widely recognised an impossible ideal, and an undesirable one at that, so long as men and women are as they are. But woman is economically helpless in society as it is, and so long as that lasts, the present form of marriage is indispensable for her protection. Here then is a beautiful dilemma for the advocate of the existing heaven-sent arrangement!

Here and there among the letter-writers there was one who obviously had some dim idea that private property was not necessarily an eternal thing, and that legal enforcement of "conjugal rights" was a revolting anomaly. This is a good deal for *Telegraph* readers.

In the *Chronicle*, among other things, "Sunday fares in tramcars" has been touched on, and the tramway companies have been, nearly all, convicted of doubling their fares on Sundays. When so many abuses exist it is hard to choose fit words for any one of them, but surely one of the meanest and most barefaced thefts is that which waits for the poor worker on a Sunday trip, the one day of his week, and filches an extra penny or twopence from his scanty pocket. On the West London lines I knew they were swindled thus, but did not know till now how widespread the system is. If someone will furnish the names of the shareholders, amount of dividends, and wages paid, of one of the companies doing this, a little wholesome publicity might do good.

This year the harvest is bad, and farmers grumble, and labourers are counting the days to the workhouse or the grave. But the landlords will still have their rent, and capitalists profit by enhanced prices and popular misery. Playing the pleasant game of "Heads I win, and tails you lose," the capitalist is unaffected by the goodness or badness of harvest, save that if there be any difference between them for him, the bad ones are the best.

The same weather which has made the crop of grain scant, has made plentiful the unemployed. For the past week their flag has been regularly raised in Hyde Park, and large groups of miserable men have gathered round it, speaking on and discussing their situation. The "unemployed agitation," which has been chronic in London of late winters, is with us earlier than usual, but looks as if it had come to stay. Few of the papers have noticed it; among those that have the *Pall Mall* signalled itself by a facing-both-ways, sit-on-the-fence-till-we-see-how-the-wind-blows kind of an article.

A few days later the *Pall Mall* did much towards retrieving its position when dealing with the "Lords and the Unemployed." Criticising the Report of the Lord's Committee on the Relief of the Poor in times of exceptional distress, the *Pall Mall* says: "It is written throughout in the spirit of a high-and-dry official optimist, a hide bound pedant of the old school of political economy. It may be taken to represent the high water-mark of the dominant doctrine."

It is no wonder that the *Pall Mall* should cry out upon this monstrous report, for the Noble Idlers who are wise only by their birth and rich only by inheritance or robbery, come out more openly than anyone dare who depends on votes for his place in Parliament. They find fault with Poor Law guardians for opening stoneyards, reprove charitable people for starting relief works, condemn industrial villages; and in short say in a cloud of words to the out-of-work, "Oh, you go starve, and be damned to you!"

### ROGUES AND VAGABONDS.

THE rogues and vagabonds must be restored to the position of honour which under the present order of society they are entitled to occupy. Too often they are treated with disrespect, sometimes with absolute contumely, though it is evident that under competition this important class of consumers should command from all but Socialists, admiration and gratitude. Oh! for a forty-parson power to chant their praise, or shall we commend the task to some of the smart writers of the Liberty and Property Defence League, a labour of love it should be, of re-instating them in their proper position in society? The author of "An Enconium upon Rogues and Vagabonds" might be forthcoming in the writer of a leading article which appeared in the *Standard* about two years ago, wherein the sapient scribbler proved to his own satisfaction that better times might be anticipated, since signs were abundant that the then coming harvest would prove a partial failure. This was a consummation, he assured us, devoutly to be wished, since it would avert the disasters which follow over-production. We admire candour, whether in friend or foe, and when one of the leading lights of the capitalist press frankly avows that the whole duty of men is, in its opinion, to produce commodities to be trafficked in by their masters, and tells them plainly that when they produce more than their masters know how to handle to a profit, they must pay the penalty of excessive industry in complete abstinence from the enjoyment of any of the good things their labour has produced, we exclaim, "Oh, wise man, who revealest to us things hidden from common-sense!"

Certainly, if *Te Deums* are to be chanted for a bad harvest, and from the profit-monger's point of view it is right that at such a time his praises should ascend, he should spare some of the laudation he lavishes upon "bad harvests," so styled, for "bad men," so-called. It is not difficult to prove that they have an equal claim to his gratitude.

To begin with, there is the idle vagrant—the unemployed are generally categorised by the press under this title, "who wouldn't work if he had the opportunity." This is reproached against him as though it were a vicious trait in his character, whereas it testifies to the nobility of his soul and the tenderness of his heart. Has not our old nobility, whom we could ill-spare, the same aversion to work? To brace his breeches his lordship needs a valet, to tie her garter her ladyship summons a maid. The tenderness of his heart is evident in his unwillingness to deprive a fellow-being of the work which the capitalist class provides for some but not for all; in sort, that every man in work must reproach himself that he is keeping some one else out of a job. This, by the way, I urged upon my stockbroking friend who, converted to Socialism, took up with cabinet making. No! an injustice has been done by the well-to-do to the noble army of rag-a-muffins, as they call them, which Earl Pembroke must set himself to repair. The English, who dearly love a lord, if he but give the word, will bow the knee where once they voided their saliva. Yet for sake of the candour we admire in others, we must confess that among the unemployed, with whom we have a wide acquaintance, there are numbers who are mean enough to beg for the work—to beg for it with tears in their voices—which they can get only by underselling the labour of their fellow-workers and throwing them out of employment. Alas for human nature! They find their excuse, a poor one perhaps, in the wives and children who clamour for bread. It is more pleasant to turn one's attention from them to the noble vagabond, who will be no master's man. After a careful study of bourgeois political economy he has recognised the suicidal tendency of Capitalism, and has resolved to check it. Capitalist society for this owes him much thanks. He means to gain its tardy applause of his efforts to adjust the balance between production and consumption. He sees that capital is in a constant conspiracy to cut down wages, when if it rightly understood its own interests it would conspire to keep them up. The worker is

satisfied if in return for his labour he receives a wage which enables him to purchase a modicum of what his labour produces, leaving the enjoyment of the rest to the landlord, the profit-monger, and the usurer. But they conspire to take away from him that purchasing power, and so conspire, in their blundering stupidity, to limit his ability to minister to their wants. Like the old woman in the nursery tale, they kill the goose that lays the golden eggs. The vagabond by refraining from entering the labour-market, prevents the still further lowering of wages, the loss of customers for the capitalist which that means, and so delays the fall of Capitalism. By the exercise of the art of mendicancy, so extolled and so assiduously practised by all religious teachers, not unaided by theft, example of which he finds in the great ones of the earth, he gains as honest a livelihood as theirs without entering into the degrading competition for wages, whose ultimate result will be the overthrow of wagedom. Weigh well these facts Baron Bullion, Duke Broadacres, and scorn no more your vagabond allies!

The vagrant Christy minstrel, the organ-grinder, the itinerant vendor of groundsel or other unconsidered trifles, even the sturdy pedlar who, under pretext of hawking laces, lightens your laundry lines, all these, though less deserving your esteem than he who makes no pretence to work, but like you stands proudly aloof from toil, have claims upon your kindly consideration. As non-producers making shift to be consumers, they do what lies in their power to extricate you from the difficulties in which over-production has involved you. Unlike the mistakenly honest but spiritless workman, who when denied by you the opportunity to produce, ceases,—himself, his wife, and his children,—to consume, the rogue or vagabond manages by hook or by crook—in your case we say by the exercise of intelligence and ingenuity—to continue an effective consumer.

"What we want is a good war," says Mr. Bagman. Quite right, sir, anything that turns wealth into smoke after it has yielded you a profit leaves room for the creation of more wealth and more profit. But a large accession to the ranks of the rogues and vagabonds would serve the same purpose, for their stomachs are as capacious as cannon bellies, and would consume as much, and continued accessions to their numbers will enable them in time to counteract the mistaken efforts of the policeman to limit the sphere of their activity.

But we have thrown out enough hints on what lines a very instructive essay might be penned by any competent individualist. We will conclude with a few words to those Socialists who feel sore at the reproach being constantly levelled at us that all the "rag-tag and bob-tail" of society are in our following; who are concerned that we do not win more 'respectable persons' to our Cause. We are not so much averse to respectability that we would make it a disqualification for membership of our organisation, but the respectable people who put principle before respectability will not allow this reproach to deter them from enlisting under the red flag, and for the rest let their respectability choke them, as it is like to do. At our outdoor meetings I have seen some of the most forlorn castaways of society drop the copper into the collecting-box, which would have saved them from a night's lodging "under the stars." These, too, are our brethren. They will do good service in our fighting regiment—in our Turco contingent. It is not amiss when deputations from the unemployed wait upon hide-bound, stupid officials, to pray that at least the children in board schools be fed, that at least healthy dwellings be constructed to take the place of rack-rented hovels, that behind the small deputation stands a larger one, which is careless whether it enters by the doorway or the window. Courage, "rogues and vagabonds!" the day is not distant when you shall have the opportunity denied you to-day, of leading useful lives in a community in which happiness will be the meed of honesty, from which the only outcasts will be the dishonest, not by circumstance but of choice.

J. HUNTER WATTS.

#### THE FREE SPEECH FIGHT AT YARMOUTH.

THERE seems to have been some delay in serving Reynolds with a summons for speaking here, probably owing to the fact that the ground on which meetings are now being held (and on which Poynts spoke) is apparently under the control of a Market Corporation, and toll had unknown to our comrades been paid for the standing by a Yarmouth friend (Mr. Leach). This made our comrades think the authorities had made a muddle of the whole business, and were acting illegally in attempting to prevent meetings on this spot. But Reynolds has now been duly summoned, and his case came on last Wednesday; while Cores and Mowbray have already had their names taken, and are awaiting summonses.

The captain of the Salvation Army has also been summoned, as the authorities probably recognised it was otherwise a too flagrant case of persecution for opinion's sake merely; and as our comrades intend whatever happens to fight the question out, and the Salvation Army as usual have no intention of being behindhand in the matter, we may expect a good stand will be made in defence of the right of Free Speech.

As Poynts has an aged mother depending upon him for support, and it was thought by the members of the Norwich branch that he was being illegally detained, they have paid the fine and costs, amounting to £3 12s. 6d., in his case intending, if possible, to test the case as one of false imprisonment.

A good meeting was addressed there last Thursday by Cores, the only approach to obstruction being caused by the action of the "moral miracles in blue," who got at loggerheads with the Company's toll-keepers.

A mass meeting will be held on the spot next Sunday morning at 11 o'clock, at which it is hoped all the friends of Free Speech in the neighbourhood will attend and help us.

F. C.

If every worker would promptly and cheerfully subscribe to his local labour paper, and urge others to do the same, his interests would be well looked after, and the quality of the labour press would rapidly improve, but so long as the workers spend more money to support the opposition press than they do for their own, the labour press will have a hard road to travel. Send in your dollar and sustain your own paper.—*Labour's Stage*.

#### LETTER FROM AMERICA.

THE *Omaha Herald* published the following item:—"Judge Gary, of Chicago, the once brilliant lawyer who conducted the Anarchist trial, passed through here last night with the inter-State express of the Union Pacific going west. He was in company of a Chicago physician, who accompanied the judge to the Pacific Coast. A reporter of the *Herald* saw the once celebrated judge, and was astonished to find a physical and mental wreck, which had to be carefully watched by a nurse in the person of a young physician. His life, as far as it can be of use, seems to be ended, and the remainder of his existence will probably be very miserable." As the *Omaha Herald* is a capitalistic paper, the truth of the statement cannot be doubted.

On July 30th, Chleboun, the informer, has been released in Chicago against bail. The next day Rudolph Sevic was able to procure bail for himself to the amount of 16,000 dols. On the motion of Inspector Bonfield, the indictment against Chleboun has been withdrawn. The trial will be during the September sessions.

On the 30th of July, Bauereisen, Goding, and Koegel, three of the men charged with the Chicago Burlington and Quincy conspiracy, had another hearing in the Court at Aurora, Ills. The only new evidence Bowles gave was that Bauereisen purchased some ammonia and several packages of blue vitriol at a drug store, and gave it to him with instructions to go to Mendota and put it in the tanks of several locomotives. He (Bowles) went to Mendota, but the engines were so closely watched that he had no opportunity to use the stuff. The prisoners were held to bail, Bauereisen in 9,000 dols. on three charges of conspiracy, malicious mischief, and unlawful handling of dynamite; Goding in 6,000 dols. on two charges of conspiracy and handling dynamite, and Koegel in 3,000 dols. on charge of handling dynamite.

The managers of the "Q" road are circulating the following rumour:—"Within the last ten days the Burlington has re-employed quite a number of the striking engineers." Of course this is a perversion of the real condition. All the strikers are unanimously in favour of continuing the strike.

On the 10th of August, delegates from the different grievance committees of the Locomotive Engineers met in secret convention in St. Louis. Very little is known of the business transacted, but one thing is certain, the revival element is gaining ground daily, and the conservative element of Chief Arthur and his clique has been broken. It is also believed that a plan for the amalgamation of the four great railway organisations has been drawn up, discussed, and accepted, in spite of the opposition of Chief Arthur.

At present there is very little heard about either of the two alleged dynamite conspiracies. A good many policemen in Chicago even candidly admit that as regards the "Anarchist conspiracy" it was nothing but a put-up job by Bonfield, and that he was the only conspirator. Brutal Captain Schaaek, the unscrupulous tool of the Citizen's Association, is of the same opinion. He admitted to a friend, who also happened to be a friend of a Socialist, that the police had to say the least of it made a cruel mistake. The reptile press hardly talks about either of the cases, which have apparently gone up like a rocket and come down like a stick.

I do not believe that in the alleged Burlington conspiracy Bonfield was the sole, leading motive, but rather the Pinkerton detective agency fixed that case. This agency receives every year from the Burlington people the sum of 50,000 dollars for "services rendered." Last year the Pinkertons did not "discover" anything but the defalcations of an assistant cashier amounting in all to about 5,000 dols. Naturally "discoveries" of that kind are not worth 50,000 dols., and so the honourable Pinkerton had to manufacture an "important discovery." The strike broke out. During the progress of the strike a good many strikers became dissatisfied with the conservative policy of Chief Arthur, and wanted more radical steps taken. But having little experience in either radical tactics or a radical policy, some of the men at last, exasperated, permitted themselves to be entrapped by the cunningness of the Pinkerton scoundrels. More than three-fourths of the originally accused men have turned out to be directly in the pay of the detective agency, and about the honesty of at least one-half of those that remain opinion is decidedly divided. Perhaps three originally indicted are honest, but novices in revolutionary warfare. The Burlington conspiracy is a failure from every point of view, but the Pinkertons have done us, the revolutionists, a great service, which a hundred years of "parliamentary propaganda twaddle" would never have done to us: they have broken the conservative spirit of a good many American workmen, and we are thankful to them for this achievement. In the words of Parsons: "Those who once cried loudest for the Merritt laws now cry loudest for the repeal of these laws."

A great tie-up has happened in Brooklyn. About 400 men, the whole staff of the Erie Basin and Crosstown Street Railway Company of Brooklyn went, on August 4th morning at 4 o'clock, on strike. The company operates 100 cars and has 600 horses in their stables. On July 31st morning a car was sent out with Frank Demange as driver and Con. Sheehan as the conductor. It returned to the depot four minutes ahead of regulation time. William Bray, the starter, reported the matter to superintendent Sullivan, and on August 1st last week Demange was discharged and Sheehan suspended for four days. A committee of the Knights of Labour, to which organisation the employes of the road belonged, called on the superintendent, but without effect. The consequence was a strike. On August 4th the company tried to start some cars manned with the high officials of the road. But some of these new-fashioned drivers and conductors got a thrashing, and at last the attempt to run the cars as usual was given up. On August 5th morning another attempt was made. At 7 o'clock five cars left the Erie Basin stable and started for Greenpoint. The cars were coupled together like a railway train. In front of the first car was a police patrol wagon. Then a section of mounted police rode on either side of the cars. Each car carried about a dozen policemen riding inside as passengers. The horses were handled by superintendent Sullivan, his nephew Daniel Sullivan, foreman Cruise, day starter William Bray, and inspector Downey. On the way stones were thrown from the roofs of houses and from the sidewalks. Several attempts were made to obstruct the cars. Railroad ties, old wagons, and cobble-stones were also placed on the tracks in the worst positions of the city through which the cars run. The company at last had to declare itself beaten, and did not continue to run the cars any longer. During the day a committee of the Executive Committee of the local assembly of the Knights of Labour, F. F. Donovan, member of the State Board of Arbitration, and superintendent Sullivan of the road, effected a compromise. Demange was reinstated as driver, and the strikers gave up their demand about dismissal of starter Bray.

Newark, N.J., August 14, 1888.

HENRY F. CHARLES.



## THE LABOUR STRUGGLE.

BRITAIN.

**WAGES ADVANCE IN IRON TRADE.**—The boilermakers, fitters, and angle-iron-smiths in Victoria Works, Dukinfield, have been granted the advance of 10 per cent. in the wages asked for a week or two ago. This is the first firm in the Ashton-under-Lyne district to grant the advance.

**WEAVERS' STRIKE.**—On Monday 20th the weavers of Moss Street Mill, Blackburn, again struck on account of extra work. The weavers of Nova Scotia Mill also struck on Monday, on the grounds of extra work and excessive use of steam. About 2,000 looms are idle at the two sheds.

**LONG HOURS ON THE RAILWAY.**—A correspondent writes to the *Railway Review* stating that the engine-drivers and firemen of the L. C. and D. Railway work from twelve to fifteen, sixteen, and seventeen hours per day, and are called out again after having only four or five hours' rest off the footplate.

**SPIKE NAILMAKERS.**—Monday 20th, a meeting of spike nailmakers, who are agitating for an advance of 25 per cent., was held in the Hasbury Reading Room. A resolution was unanimously carried demanding an advance of 25 per cent. The last time the men asked for an advance they only received 10 per cent.

**HATTENING REVIVED.**—On Sunday morning 26th it was found that the chain-shop owned by Joseph Fowkes, Beehive Street, Cradley Heath, had been forcibly entered during the night and nine pairs of bellows slit with a knife. The damage is estimated at £20, and is laid to the charge of some of the workers who are on strike. The strike leaders, however, emphatically deny this.

**THE ABERDEEN STRIKE.**—The ironworkers now on strike in Aberdeen maintain their determination not to yield in their demands. The news that a 10 per cent. advance has been granted to the employes of an iron firm near Ashton-under-Lyne has strengthened their resolve. The men are receiving the customary relief from their Trade Union funds, the payment for the first week, received on Thursday 22nd, being 12s. to the older and 10s. to the younger members.

**MORE REDUCTIONS IN CAB HIRE.**—About 150 drivers of the London Improved Cab Company resigned their whips on Tuesday 21st, and demanded a reduction on the rates paid for their vehicles. Of these men 100 ply from the Midland Railway Station and 50 from the Great Northern. Their being out would not have suited the convenience of the masters, so they agreed to knock 1s. off, and now the hansom men pay only 11s., while their brethren of the four wheeler get off for the half sovereign.

**TAILORS AND THE SWEATING SYSTEM.**—On Wednesday 22nd the triennial conference of the Amalgamated Society of Tailors concluded its deliberations in Belfast. A resolution was passed that one of the direct causes of the sweating system was the non-provision of workshop accommodation by employers, and the Conference urged that legislation was required whereby employers of labour should have to provide workshops for their workpeople. It was arranged to hold the next Conference in Liverpool. The head office of the Society will be in Manchester for the next three years.

**SHIPBUILDING STRIKE AT BELFAST.**—The strike at Harland and Wolff's still continues. Many workmen belonging to various sections of the shipbuilding trade, have left for England and Scotland; but the great bulk of the 5,000 men and boys out of employment continue to hang about the streets and docks, some showing no anxiety about the state of affairs, and boasting that they could do without work for months, while others manifest anxiety to arrive at an understanding with the employers. It is reported that the foremen of the several departments had a conference, at which overtures were drawn up for presentation to the management of the firm.

**NUT AND BOLT MAKERS.**—On Wednesday 22nd, a meeting of the Darlaston nut and bolt makers was held at the Cross Guns Inn, with reference to the strike in the trade. It was unanimously agreed, "That this meeting tenders its best thanks to those workmen in other trades and to the public generally for the kind assistance they have already given, and requests a continuance of their support through the present struggle." The question of a general strike was also mooted, and, after some conversation, a resolution was unanimously passed that the meeting recommended the men employed in the various works to consider the advisability of a general strike, and report next week.

**MINERS' STRIKE.**—The Featherstone Haigh Moor Pit, near Castleford, has been set down for a week; the miners state that they have no intention of resuming work on the conditions suggested by the management, against which nearly 400 men have struck. The men state that they have had several interviews with the management, without result. The main objection the men raise to the terms offered by the company is that these deprive them of the perquisites they previously received for "ripping and packing," which was paid for at the rate of 7s. 6d. per yard. In addition to this, the price they receive for tonnage is very low, and under the new conditions they would not be able to earn sufficient to maintain themselves and their families.

**GUNLOCK FILERS.**—The Darlaston store gunlock filers have issued an appeal for aid, in which they state that for many years past they have been unable to earn the barest living, their average wages, when fully employed, after paying for pins, files, oil, shop-rent, etc., not exceeding 1s. 2d. per day of fourteen or fifteen hours. Now, in consequence of an improvement of trade, they have made application for an advance of 2d. per lock, and, the application not having been responded to, they have turned out on strike. Even at the advanced price they would not be able to earn more than from 10s. to 11s. per week. They earnestly appeal to the workmen engaged in other trades for generous assistance that they may be able to improve their wretched condition.

**A SWEATED TAILOR.**—In a five-shillings-a-week stuffy little room in Whitechapel the other day a *Star* reporter discovered a poor worn-looking tailor hard at work on a postman's tunic, for which he would get 2s. for making it in his own home, but only 1s. 6d. if he worked inside. But inside the machine and thread would be provided, so it is much the same thing in the end. He had a daughter working in a factory who the week before last earned 3s. 10½d., and out of that there was 6½d. stopped for reels. She finished three greatcoats for postmen at 5d. each, and six blouses for telegraph men for 5½d. each in the week. The sweater paid 1s. 2d. for the making of a greatcoat. It included working five buttonholes and pressing. The buttonholes and pressing are now done separately by women who only get 3d. The truth of some statements made before the Sweating Commission were urgently denied. "He says women outside the firm were never em-

ployed to finish trousers at 7s. per dozen. Well, I made trousers, turned them out finished and all, for 8½d. a pair. So how could he give women for finishing 7s. a dozen? He also said it cost them 18s. a dozen to finish trousers, and a quick woman would finish one pair in an hour. That's what was said in the papers, and if that was the case a smart woman working 12 hours a-day could make £5s. 8s. a week. There are plenty, sir, as bad as I am, and I'll bring them over to see you at the *Star*."

**STRIKE OF SPINNERS.**—The strike at the Padiham Co-operative Mill still continues, though the matters in dispute are now very small. There is no change to report in the dispute at the Victoria Spinning Mill, the hands being still out and the mill stopped. During past week the mill has been started twice, but with no better success than on the first occasion, only two spinners putting in an appearance. Another interview has taken place between representatives of the spinners and the company, but no agreement was arrived at. The amount paid last week to the hands on strike was about £14, and the committee declare that they are in a position to maintain the struggle for months if necessary, and are taking steps to secure support to those who are not members as well.

**CHAIN TRADE.**—The majority of the operatives in the South Staffordshire district, who recently struck for an advance, have resumed work, some at an advanced and others at the former rate. A good number of the men have resumed work in consequence of there being no funds to support them.

An effort is being made to induce the Royal Commission on Sweating to visit Dudley and Cradley Heath to inquire into the alleged sweating in the chain trade. A memorial on the subject has been forwarded to the chairman of the Commission, the Earl of Dunraven.

The rivet makers in the Blackheath and Rowley districts are again agitating for an advance. Some time ago circulars were sent round to the operatives to ascertain whether they were willing to co-operate with the committee with the view of securing an advance of wages. To this appeal only about one-half responded. An attempt is being made to induce all the workmen to join in the movement, and if this can be accomplished it is expected that early steps will be taken to secure an increase in prices.

**GOODS GUARDS.**—An agitation is proceeding among the goods guards on the G. W. R. Co. as to the long hours they have to work. It is complained that what is known as "booked time" has in some cases been stopped, and that the guards and brakemen are worse off than what they would be under the "trip" system. It is further averred by the men that, the trains being booked in an unreasonable way, no attention appears to be paid to the trains keeping time. The goods guards have resolved that arrangements shall be made for their delegates to meet the directors at an early date, and lay before them the grievances of which they complain.

A representation has just been made to the Amalgamated Society of Railway Servants that the engine-drivers and firemen of the L. C. and D. R. are being kept at work from twelve, fifteen, sixteen, and seventeen hours per day, and that they are often called out to work again after only four or five hours' rest off the footplate. A movement to bring the facts on which this complaint is founded before the directors is being promoted, and the men believe that when the startling figures are brought to the directors' knowledge a remedy will be at once applied to their grievance.

**THE COAL OUTPUT.**—Some striking facts, says the *Labour Tribune*, were brought out at the meeting held at Oldbury in connection with the proposed formation of a Wages Board for the coal trade. The fact that the same number of men should have raised 32 million tons more coal in 1887 than in 1874 certainly offers food for reflection, and shows that after every allowance has been made for improved methods and accelerated speed in mechanical appliances, "the screw has been put on" with considerable pressure.

The strike of the colliers at Ebbw Vale still continues, masters and men being equally determined not to yield. The horses are being raised out of the pits, while orders for the colliery are sent elsewhere. Workmen are leaving the district by scores.

A well attended meeting of delegates from most of the principal collieries in Derbyshire has been held at Chesterfield, for the purpose of considering the movement made by several other counties in favour of a general advance of 10 per cent. in wages. Reports were presented from many of the collieries, and after these had been discussed at some length a resolution was unanimously carried, expressing approval of the proposal to seek the advance mentioned, and pledging those present to do all in their power to secure it.

A well attended meeting of miners of Blackheath, Old Hill, Rowley, and surrounding districts, held at the Shoulder of Mutton Inn, Halesowen Street, Blackheath, decided to support the miners of Cannock Chase who are on strike. A resolution was also passed to join other districts in an effort to obtain an advance in wages during the coming winter.

The South-East Lancashire colliers on the 24th decided to claim an advance of 10 per cent.

AMERICA.—August 14.

About a hundred men have been discharged by a Sheffield (Pa.) firm for belonging to the Knights of Labour.

The annual meeting of the State Federation of Trades in Indianapolis denounced the Republicans and endorsed the Democrats.

Delegates have been elected by Local Assembly No. 300 Knights of Labour to attend the International Congress of Window Glass Workers, to be held in France one week hence.

The French Canadian Society of Stonecutters of Montreal is enforcing the rule in practice in some of our cities, making stonecutters from Great Britain pay 50 dols. for initiation to the Union.

Of the 10,000 piano-makers in this country, about 5,000 live in New York. Each one makes about 18 dols. a week, and belongs to an organisation which takes care of its members when sick or out of work.

President Samuel Gompers, of the American Federation of Labour, says that the condition of labour legislation in Washington is satisfactory. Of course Sammy knows all about it; he is in the swim.

Becoming disgusted at the condition of affairs in D. A. 49 in New York, the silk workers' assembly of Yonkers, N. Y., with a membership of over one thousand, have left the Knights of Labour and organised an independent society.

The shoedealers held a Convention at Rochester last week, and adopted a uniform measurement. It was also decided to mark shoes with letters instead of figures. Samuels, of Hartford, Conn., was elected President of the Association.

The Tenth Annual Congress of the New Jersey Federation of Trades will meet in the State House, Trenton, on Monday, August 20th. The per capita tax is five cents per year for every member represented—a sum altogether inadequate. Every *bona fide* organisation is entitled to send three delegates for 100 or less members, and one delegate for every additional 100 members.

Work in the building trade is unusually dull in New York and vicinity at present. As a consequence dozens of carpenters, plasterers, and masons may be seen coming in to Newark on the trains every morning and leaving again in the evening.

A meeting of the Union and the United Labour Party was held in Cincinnati on the 5th of August, at which a hundred of the leading spirits of both parties were present. A resolution was adopted and signed by all present whereby the United Labour Party of Ohio is consolidated with the National Union Labour Party.

Coal is going up. There is no scarcity of coal, no trouble in the mining regions, the freight of coal is as cheap, if not cheaper than it has been for years, the miners are only working on half time in order to prevent the market from being overstocked; and yet coal is going up. The barons have decided to raise the price, and of course their decision is stronger than even the decision of a law court.

Representative White of Indiana has introduced into Congress the following bill: That every male citizen or alien over twenty-one years of age who may be employed as a labourer in any capacity shall be entitled to and shall be paid not less than 1 dol. 50 c. (6s.) per day of ten hours; every woman of over eighteen years of age shall be paid not less than 1 dol. (4s.); and every minor over fourteen and under eighteen shall be paid not less than 75 c. (3s.) a-day.

In pursuance of a resolution adopted at a meeting on Saturday, the miners of the fourth pool in Pittsburgh on the 31st of July, demanded an advance in wages of twenty-five cents per 100 bushels. The advance has been refused by all the operators who have been heard from. When this news reached the mines all the employes at once gathered up their tools and went home. They have been getting two and three-fourth cents per bushel, and propose now to stand firm for the three-cent basis. H. F. C.

RAILWAY STRIKE IN THE UNITED STATES.—New York, August 27.—All the trains on the Mackay system have ceased running, owing to a strike of the employes, including the engineers, firemen, and switchmen.

## INTERNATIONAL NOTES.

### ITALY.

RAVENNA.—Cipriani arrived at Ravenna last week, and was received by a large and enthusiastic crowd who were waiting for him at the station, with bands playing and banners flying. The ex-convict of Portogone was greeted with hurrahs and cries of "Viva la Commune!" "Viva la Rivoluzione Sociale!" The demonstrators thence proceeded to the Alighieri Theatre, where a crowded meeting was held. Cipriani addressed his friends and electors at very short length, excusing himself from speaking longer by blaming the Government which had robbed him of his voice in prison.

Ludovico Marini, of the Republican party, died at Rome last week. He was an indefatigable fighter in the Italian struggles for independence, taking active part in the Venetian defence in '48 and '49, and by Trentino in '66 and at Mentana in '67. He had lately settled down in Rome, after his wandering and varied life, as a prominent member of the Italian Republican party. M. M.

### AUSTRALIA.

SYDNEY, N.S.W., July 4.—An interesting sign of the effect which is following the work of the Australian Socialist League is given by the fact that at a meeting of the Hebrew Literary and Debating Society last Thursday, P. J. Marks, B.A., read a most interesting paper on "Socialism." Starting with the apparent paradox, that as a nation increases in wealth and power, so do the poorer classes become more miserable and degraded, till at length they can scarcely earn enough to keep body and soul together, he stated that it was to remedy this unequal distribution of wealth that Socialists propounded their doctrines. He proceeded to trace the growth of the doctrine from the earliest times down to the present, and treated of it in its relation to history, political economy, and practical legislation; concluding by criticising the leading points of all Socialist platforms, with special reference to land nationalisation. The paper was warmly discussed, and may lead to further developments.

There is a great labour dispute going on here; nearly a thousand men are camped on Doorooma station, consisting principally of Union shearers. The men are there because the shearing started with scab shearers. It is feared a disturbance will take place. A detachment of police are starting for the scene. There has been considerable activity amongst Union men and their agents during the last two weeks. The agents state that they are prepared to form strong camps for resistance, and to supply rations for the men holding out.

In Melbourne the printers are having trouble. Yesterday morning, in compliance with a resolution passed by the Typographical Society, the chapels and members of the job-printing offices submitted to the employers an enquiry as to whether they would accept the society terms. These terms are, that "stab" hands be paid £3 per week of 48 hours, and piece hands 1s. 2d. per thousand ens from ruby to pica, inclusive. The majority of the masters declined; the employes in every such case gave a week's notice of their intention to quit their employment.

SYDNEY, August 25.—The attempts at mediation between the masters and miners in the Newcastle coal district regarding the dispute on the question of hewing rates having failed, the men have now gone out on strike, and all the mines are closed. The seamen, whose relations with the shipowners at Newcastle have lately become strained, are not involved in the movement at present.

MELBOURNE, August 25.—The Trades' Council has resolved to support the miners on strike in the Newcastle coal trade. Owing to the scarcity of stocks apprehensions are entertained of a coal famine, which would affect many factories and the supply of gas to this city.

In the coal mines, the miners, no matter if born in this country or abroad, were American citizens almost to a man, and they demanded wages fit for the support of themselves and families in the way to which they had become accustomed. The owners of capital—the "American labour" of the bosses—baffled this by curtailing the output, and thus reducing the gross amount of annual earnings. But they were not satisfied with that, and imported alien labourers, who would work at lower wages until they became acquainted with what natural wages should be. Protection to the American working-man! The protection the wolf gives the lamb.—Mount Holly Dispatch.

## A SOCIALIST FUNERAL AT ST. PANCRAS CEMETERY.

Last Sunday afternoon, a large number of comrades assembled in order to pay their last respects to the remains of comrade Hillebrecht, who was for many years porter at the Communist Club in Tottenham Street. The deceased had been in ill-health for some time, but owing to his lowly position was forced to go into the infirmary, where he died last Tuesday, August 21, and was buried in a paupers grave. His friends of the club therefore chose Sunday as the most convenient time for leave-taking. The speakers were Parker (on behalf of the English comrades), and Rackow, who spoke in German. After the speeches, Goethe's anthem, composed just before that great poet died, was sung, as well as "Rein Freiheit." A number of bouquets and an illuminated tablet stating name and age of our late comrade, and by whom presented, were placed on the grave. The proceedings were considerably interfered with by the bad weather, but on our return it brightened up, and enabled our comrades to distribute thousands of leaflets and back numbers of the *Commonweal* to the crowds who were taking their Sunday evening walk to Highgate Woods. W. B. P.

## THE SOCIALIST LEAGUE.

OFFICES: 13 FARRINGDON ROAD, E.C.

The Offices of the Socialist League will be open for the sale of *Commonweal* and all other Socialist publications from 8.30 a.m. to 9 p.m. every day except Sunday. The Secretary will be in attendance from 10 a.m. to 9 p.m. daily.

London Members' Meeting.—The next monthly meeting of members will take place on Monday, Sept. 3, 1888, at 13 Farringdon Road, at 9 o'clock sharp. As some very special business will be brought forward, it is hoped all members of the League who can possibly attend will make a special effort to be present.

East-end Propaganda Fund.—Collected at Berners Street Club, August 26, 6s. 4d. J. LANE, Treasurer.

### FREE SPEECH FUND.

Received—Walter Crane, £2; F. S., 2s. 6d.; G. S., 2s. 6d. Total, £2 5s.

### COUNTRY PROPAGANDA FUND.

Already acknowledged—£1 9s. 8d. Received—P. C. Walkden, 2s. 6d.

F. CHARLES, Sec., 13, Farringdon Road, E.C.

## REPORTS.

CLERKENWELL.—On Sunday, August 26th, W. Blundell read Kropotkin's 'Law and Authority.' Much discussion followed as to "artificial" and "natural" laws. Some expression of fear and distrust of mankind as to violence to one another was pointed out by some, thus necessitating a law of protection, but this was proved to be unnecessary when men had no commercial or selfish interests, and were united in a bond of international brotherhood.—B.

FULHAM.—On Tuesday evening, opposite Liberal Club, Bullock, Mordant, and Beasley addressed a fair meeting; some opposition and slight disturbance, but all ended satisfactorily. Sunday morning, Maughan and Samuels addressed good meeting. *Commonweal* sold well, and 1s. 9d. collected. In the evening, Tochatto spoke to a capital audience; 1s. 3d. collected.—S. B. G.

HAMMERSMITH.—Usual meeting at Latimer Road last Sunday morning; comrades Fox, Dean, Bullock, and Tochatto were the speakers. 16 *Commonweal* sold. At Weltje Road, Sunday evening, a very good meeting was held, Maughan, Tarleton, Bullock, and Tochatto being the speakers, and were well received. Good sale of *Commonweal*.—J. T.

HYDE PARK.—Mrs. Schack, Cantwell, Mrs. Lahr, and Curmack and Underwood held a good meeting here last Sunday afternoon.

MERTON.—Sunday morning Eden held good meeting on Fair Green; Ede and Dalchow in the evening also. In Club-house, at 8.30, Dalchow opened debate on "Anarchism v. Social Democracy." He gave an exhaustive review of Capitalism in various countries, and insisted strongly that Social Democracy would remove all its evils, deprecating Anarchist tactics, especially the policy of "deed." E. Kitz said that Authoritative Socialism may or may not be a prelude to a higher state; but he contended that the aim of the Socialist Anarchist to rest the duties of man to man upon free association and fraternity is a worthy ideal to uphold. Barry, Eden, Curtis, Fowler, and Gregory took part in the debate.—F. K.

REGENT'S PARK.—Good meeting on Sunday morning held by Cantwell, Mrs. Schack, Parker, and Lindé. Opposition of the usual character was offered by Wayland, who seemed a Socialist in disguise who was helping the movement by putting weak and ridiculous questions. 6s. 6d. collected.—P.

ABERDEEN.—At weekly indoor meeting, on 20th, Leatham lectured on "The Evolution of Society" to an unusually good audience. Discussion by Slater, Russell, Aiken, Duncan, and Leatham. Uproariously enthusiastic meeting at Castle Street on Saturday night, when Aiken presided and Leatham lectured on "The Sweating System," answering questions and opposition at close. Rev. comrade Forrest, of Kilmarnock Branch, lectured on "Social Salvation" in Unitarian Church here to a crowded assemblage, drawing a round of applause at the close of his capital lecture.—J. L.

EDINBURGH.—In Queen's Park on Sunday afternoon Smith, Davidson, Webb, and Gilray spoke to a most interested and sympathetic audience. Some opposition; among others, from a man who informed us he had had to do with taking the Duke of Argyll's crofters out to Canada. Audience seemed to be of opinion that it was pretty much one whether the labour problem was fought out here or in Canada.—J. G.

GLASGOW.—On Sunday, stormy weather prevented all out-door meetings. A common effort is being made by all the Socialist groups to welcome the delegation of French workmen on their forthcoming visit to Glasgow.

NORWICH.—Good meetings Friday last on St. Catharine's Plain; Sunday morning, at Wymondham, by Cores and Mowbray; St. Faiths, by Poynts and Adams. Sunday afternoon, good meeting in the Market Place, addressed by Cores (London), Mowbray, and Poynts—the latter speaker making special reference to his late conviction at Yarmouth. Mr. Burgess, proprietor of *Daylight*, also spoke upon free speech, and has offered to support us on this question. In the evening another large meeting was held, which lasted over two hours, and was addressed by Cores, Mowbray, and Morley. Audiences very enthusiastic and attentive. Fair sale of *Commonweal*. 9s. 5d. collected towards Defence Fund.—A. T. S.

DUBLIN.—At the Trinity Ward Branch of the Irish National League, on Thursday August 23, the subject for debate was "Nationalisation the True Solution of the Land Question," all the speakers proclaiming themselves in favour of nationalisation. O'Toole and Kelly argued that the social question would still be unsettled until capital, etc., became also nationalised.

### EAST END PROPAGANDA.

An excellent meeting on last Saturday evening at the International Club, Berners Street. In the course of the formal business it was decided that the request of our Norwich friends should be complied with, namely, that a speaker should be sent from London to Yarmouth next Sunday to take part in a great Free Speech Demonstration, and Parker was appointed. A debate was then opened by W. Power, on "How to Spread Revolutionary Socialism in East London," followed by Parker, Freeman, Robinson, Davis, Leech, Cantwell, Wers, and others; 6s. 4d. was collected for the East London Propaganda Fund. The hall was crowded. These gatherings will be held fortnightly.—W. B. P.

## LECTURE DIARY.

## LONDON:

**Marblewell.**—Hall of the Socialist League, 13 Farringdon Rd., E.C. Wednesday September 5, at 8.30, Turner, a lecture.

**Fulham.**—8 Effie Road, Walham Green. The members of this branch are striving to form a Library and Reading Room, and earnestly request all comrades who can aid by sending books and magazines to Mrs. Groser, 8 Effie Road, Walham Green, or Mrs. Tochetti, 4 Railway Approach, Hammersmith, who will be pleased to receive them.

**Hackney.**—Enquiries, communications, etc., to E. Lefevre, Secretary, 28 Percy Terrace, Victoria Rd., Hackney Wick.

**Hammersmith.**—Kelmescott House, Upper Mall, W. Sunday September 2, at 8 p.m., Walter Crane, "The Educational Value of Art."

**Merton.**—Club-house, 3 Clare Villas, Merton Road, Singlegate. Lecture on Sunday evening.

**Mile-end and Bethnal Green.**—95 Boston St., Hackney Road.

**North London.**—Secretary, Nelly Parker, 143 Cavendish Buildings, opposite Holborn Town Hall. The business meetings will be held on Friday evenings at 6 Windmill Street, Tottenham Court Road, after the open-air meeting at Ossulton Street. All members are asked to attend at Ossulton St. at 8 o'clock.

**Plaiestow.**—A branch has been formed here and is commencing a vigorous propaganda in this district.

**St. Georges in the East.**—A meeting of the members of this branch will be held at 23 Princes Square, on Sunday morning after the meeting at Leman Street. Rochmann, secretary.

## PROVINCES.

**Aberdeen (Scottish Section).**—Secretary, J. Leatham, 15 St Nicholas Street. Branch meets in Oddfellows Hall on Monday nights at 8. Choir practice at 46 Marischal Street on Thursday evenings at 8.

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

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

**Dundeebeath (Scot. Sec.).**—J. Duncan, 30 Arthur Pl., sec

**Dundee (Scot. Sec.).**—Meetings every Sunday in the Trades Hall, opposite Tay Bridge Station.

**Edinburgh (Scottish Land and Labour League).**—35 George IV. Bridge. Meetings for Discussion, Thursdays at 8 p.m.

**Galashiels (Scot. Sec.).**—J. Walker, 6 Victoria St., sec.

**Gallatoun and Dysart (Scottish Section: Fife).**—Meet every Tuesday at 7 p.m. in Gallatoun Public School. Secretary, A. Paterson, 152 Rosslyn St.

**Glasgow.**—84 John Street. Reading-room (Draughts, Chess, etc.) open 10 a.m. till 10 p.m. daily. On Thursday evening at 8, Choir Practice; all musical members invited.

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

**Leicester.**—Hosiery Union Offices, 11½ Millstone Lane. Fridays at 8 p.m.

**Lochgelly (Scottish Section: Fife).**—Secs. (pro tem.), John Greig and Hugh Conway, The Square.

**Norwich.**—Monday, at 8.30, Members' Meeting. Tuesday, at 8.30, Meeting in Gordon Hall. Wednesday, at 8.30, Choir Practice. Saturday, 8 until 10.30, Co-operative Clothing Association.

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

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

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

All persons who sympathise with the views of the Socialist League are earnestly invited to communicate with the above addresses, and if possible help us in preparing for the birth of a true society, based on equality, brotherhood, and freedom for all.

## OPEN-AIR PROPAGANDA.

## SUNDAY 2.

11.30...Latimer Road Station...Hammersmith Branch  
11.30...Mitcham Fair Green.....J. Macdonald  
11.30...Regent's Park.....Nicoll  
11.30...Walham Green, opp. Station...J. R. Macdonald  
3.30...Hyde Park.....Nicoll  
7...Weltje Road, opposite Ravenscourt Park  
.....Hammersmith Branch

## Tuesday.

8.30...Fulham—opposite Liberal Club.....Fulham Bh.

## Friday.

7.30...Euston Rd.—Ossulton Street.....Parker

## EAST END.

## SUNDAY 2.

Mile-end Waste ... 11 ...Mrs. Schack.  
Leman Street, Shadwell 11 ...Mainwaring.  
Victoria Park ... 3.15...Mainwaring.  
Warner Place ... 8 ...Brooks.

## TUESDAY.

London Fields ... 8.30...Mainwaring.  
Mile-end Waste ... 8.30...Davis.

## WEDNESDAY.

Broadway, London Fields 8.30...M'nwaring, Nicoll

## FRIDAY.

Philpot St., Commercial Rd. 8.30...Mrs. Schack.

## SATURDAY.

Mile-end Waste ... 8 ...Lane.

## PROVINCES.

**Aberdeen.**—Saturday: Castle Street, at 8 p.m.  
**Edinburgh.**—Queen's Park, every Sunday, at 3 p.m.  
**Glasgow.**—Sunday: Jail's Square, at 12.30; Paisley Road at 5; Green, near Nelson's Monument, at 7.  
**Ipswich.**—  
Sproughton, Wednesday evening.  
Westerfield, Thursday evening.  
Neeham Market, Sunday morning and evening.  
**Leeds.**—Sunday: Hunslet Moor, at 11 a.m.; Vicar's Croft, at 7 p.m.  
**Leicester.**—Sunday: Russel Square, at 11 a.m.  
**Norwich.**—Sunday: Market Place, at 3 and 7.30.  
North Walsham, Sunday at 11.  
Diss, Sunday at 11.  
Croswick Common, Sunday at 3.  
Yarmouth, Church Plain, Thursday at 7.30.  
St Catharine's Plain, Friday at 8.15 p.m.

**BLOOMSBURY SOCIALIST SOCIETY.**—On Thursday August 30th, G. B. Shaw will lecture on "The So-called Period of Apathy," at the Communist Club, 49 Tottenham Street. Commence at 8.30.

**THE SOCIALIST CO-OPERATIVE FEDERATION.**—The Committee will meet at the Socialist League, 13 Farringdon Road, on Saturday September 1st, at 7.30 p.m. Subscriptions received and members enrolled at 9 p.m.

**EAST-END PROPAGANDA.**—A meeting of all interested in the Socialist propaganda in the East-end of London will be held at the Berner Street International Club, Commercial Road, E., on Saturday September 8th, at 8 p.m. The second of a series of fortnightly debates will be held, the subject for discussion being "Is a Peaceful Revolution Possible?"

**YARMOUTH.**—Sunday next, a great Free Speech Demonstration will be held at Yarmouth, Church Plain, at 3 p.m. Several Norwich comrades will be present and take part, and we also expect one of our London comrades will be present. We ask for the co-operation of all local bodies interested in this question of Free Speech, and help us to make the meeting a success.

## SOCIALIST LEAGUE LITERATURE.

**Chants for Socialists.** By William Morris. 1d.  
**Organised Labour: The Duty of the Trades' Unions in Relation to Socialism.** By Thomas Binning (London Society of Compositors). 1d.  
**The Commune of Paris.** By E. Belfort Bax, Victor Dave, and William Morris. 2d.  
**The Aims of Art.** By Wm. Morris. Bignon edition, 3d.; Large paper, 6d.  
**The Rights of Labour according to John Ruskin.** By Thomas Barclay. 1d.  
**The Tables Turned; or, Nupkins Awakened.** A Socialist Interlude. By William Morris. In Wrapper 4d.  
**The Manifesto of the Socialist League.** Annotated by E. Belfort Bax and William Morris. An exposition of the principles on which the League is founded. 1d.  
**Useful Work v. Useless Toil.** By William Morris. 1d.  
**"All for the Cause!"** Song. Words by William Morris; Music by E. Belfort Bax. 4to, 4 pp. 6d. per dozen, 4s. 6d.  
**"Vive la Commune!"** Cartoon by Walter Crane. Best paper. 2d.  
**Mrs. Grundy (Cartoon).** By Walter Crane. Fine hand-made large paper. 6d.

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HALL OF THE SOCIALIST LEAGUE,

ON SUNDAY, SEPT. 2nd,

FOR THE BENEFIT OF

S. W. EDEN,

who has been out of work for several months, and is now in need of help.

Songs, Music, and Dramatic Readings by W. Morris, W. B. Parker, Blundell, D. Nicoll, F. Kitz, and other friends.

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D. NICOLL, Sec.

W. TURNER, Treas.

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## THE AUSTRALIAN RADICAL

Advocate of Liberty, Equality, and Fraternity  
New Lambton Road, Hamilton, Australia.

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No. 6 of "The Socialist Platform"

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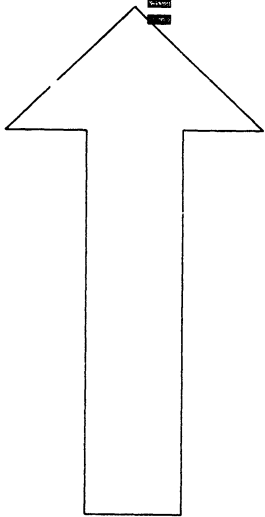


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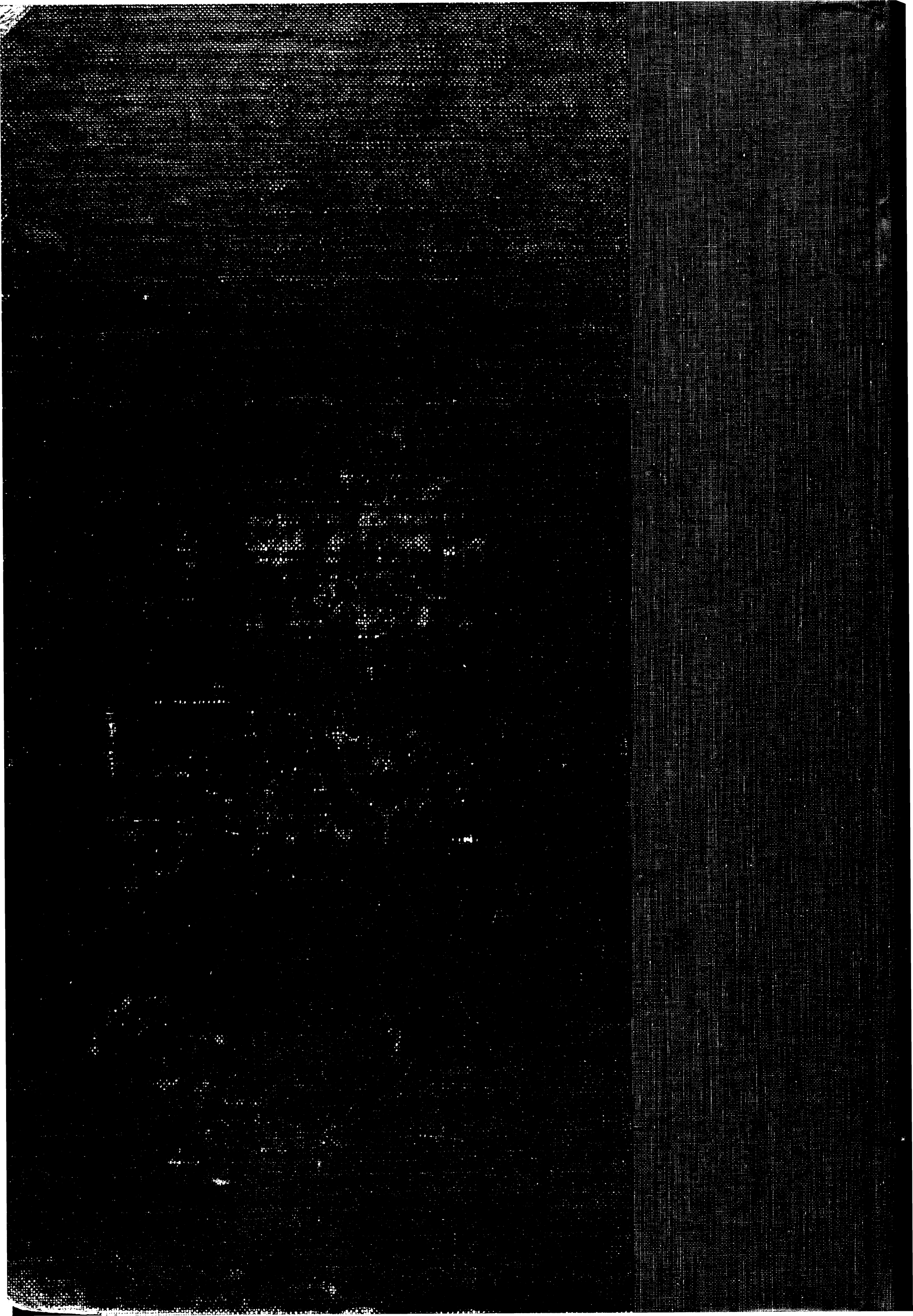
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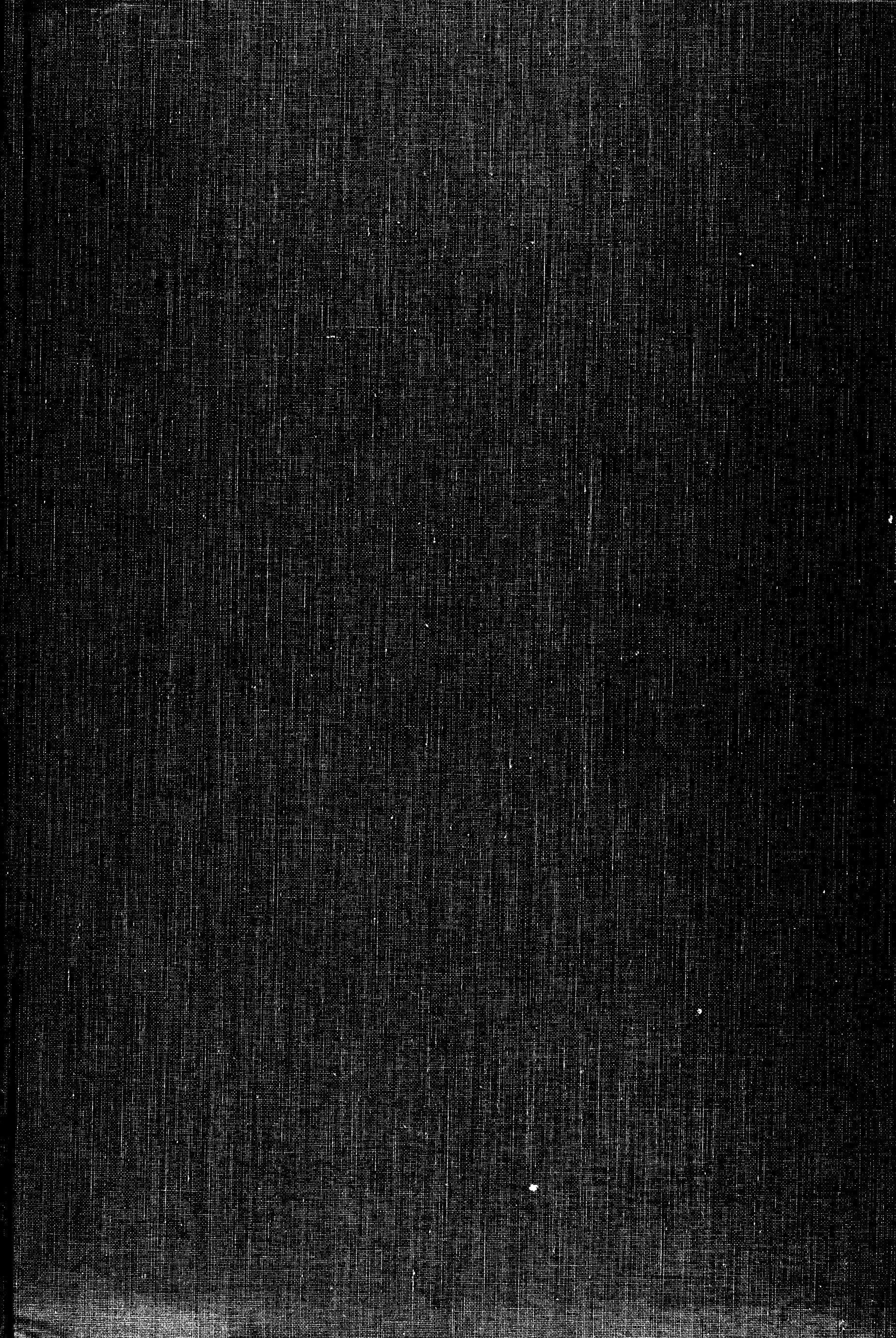
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COMMUNE















# THE COMMONWEAL

The Official Journal of the  
**SOCIALIST LEAGUE.**

Collection

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VOL. 4.—No. 139.

SATURDAY, SEPTEMBER 8, 1888.

WEEKLY; ONE PENNY.

## NOTES ON NEWS.

MR. BALFOUR has laid his hand on a new batch of Irish "obscure notabilities," and they will, of course, take their due share of **skill and oakum-picking**. In time to come, if there is a history published of the present time which has any truth in it, how the historian will jeer at these futile proceedings! Mr. Balfour's "plan of campaign" stamps him even among pedants as a helpless fool. What on earth does he think he will do to serve his cause by these prison batches? Two or three leaders sent to prison with much solemnity and show of judicial impartiality would have produced some effect perhaps,—and perhaps imprisoning twenty thousand Irishmen at once might have been a good stroke,—but to make the honour of imprisonment **easy** of attainment for the mere rank and file of the party, and yet not to make it so common as to deprive it of its honour, is surely the *ne plus ultra* of wooden stupidity.

The Liberal press and the Liberal meetings are still open-mouthed about the iniquity of treating political prisoners no better than "criminals," and we must agree once for all that political imprisonment should simply mean keeping troublesome people out of the way till such and such a crisis is over; and we agree to this on the grounds that it is of no use trying to "reform" a Nationalist or a Socialist; your problem with him is of the simplest. But here our agreement with our Liberal friends comes to an end; this has often been said in these columns, but one more word remains perhaps to be said. The clear insight that people are now getting into the fact that an English or Irish prison means *torture*, and the loud protest against the torture of political prisoners brings into clearer relief the distorted morality of decent modern society, which claims full permission to torture all prisoners who are non-political without questions asked.

The Caffre-queller, rider-down of unarmed and peaceable citizens, and "charming" lecturer on Jerusalem, our old acquaintance Sir Charles Warren, is beginning to get somewhat **be-mired**. His old supporter, the *Daily News*, has discovered that though he is endowed with all the public virtues which make a man a monumental hero, he is a military martinet and not fit for his place, and that **short** he had better go. It is not our business to crow over his *accidental* dismissal if he does go; the only triumph for us would be **people** coming to their senses, and dismissing him in disgrace as an organiser of rioters in the neighbourhood of Trafalgar Square—which is not likely to happen. But if he is dismissed we shall **have to say** that the bourgeois have not treated their champion well, **but shabbily**.

W. M.

The *Pall Mall Gazette*, however, has found a **place** for him. "In my Fathers house are many mansions." Eastern Africa just now affords an opening, it thinks; such a master swash-buckler as the present guardian of the peace of London is perhaps **rather** thrown away in the present lull of English politics, and Ireland is at present tolerably well manned with that kind of humanitarian.

The results of Cardinal Lavigerie's preachments would seem to be already bearing fruit outside his eminence's own fold; since the English and Scotch missionaries on Lake Nyassa are endeavouring to stir up an Arab war with the intention of **keeping** the sore open till a new war can be stirred up, which will have as its ultimate aim the "opening up" of the whole Central African region and the reduction of the native races under the grinding and ceaseless despotism of capitalism, in place of the sharp but short sufferings of the slave-hunt.

For it is acknowledged by the most enthusiastic admirers of the present crusade, as evidenced by an article from this point of view in the *Daily Chronicle* (of August 31st), in which the writer significantly enough admits that the enslaved African once settled down to his new condition, sings as joyously and appears to enjoy life as much as when tilling his own field in freedom.

Bad as all slavery is, it is well known that under Islam its evils are minimised. The Mussulman slave is in a much better condition than the "free" fellah of Egypt, not to mention his "free" brother, working his way toilsomely towards the workhouse in the English fields, or indulging in all the refinements and pleasures afforded to him by the South Lancashire factory and its surroundings.

We cannot too often impress on our readers that this sham philanthropic business is but a matter of "two of a trade" finding the street too narrow for them. Propertyless labourers are a necessity for the English capitalist, and if he can help it he will not allow the Arab exploiter to use them up. They *must* be thrown into the labour world-market. It is again a case of the big capitalist working through others swallowing up the small working on his own account. Slave hunts are bad, monstrous and cruel; but once more the new crusade aims at transforming the local slave-hunts on a small scale into a gigantic slave-hunt in the interests of embarrassed capitalism. Our speakers and lecturers should understand this question so that they may be able to deal with the conventional prejudice which glorifies the noble deeds of the pioneers of "civilization." E. B. B.

The discovery that our Secularist friends have treated Mr. Bradlaugh shabbily is surely of the nature of the (non-existent) enormous gooseberry, and Mr. Bradlaugh himself disposed of it speedily. Meantime a person with any sense of humour cannot help being somewhat tickled by the spectacle of the enthusiasm of "the Respectables" for the man they once treated as an outcast such a very little while ago. It would be unfair to twit Mr. Bradlaugh with this sudden conversion, for he has never professed to be a Socialist; but it may have something to do with the discovery of respectability that an "Iconoclast" is not necessarily a Socialist, who is the true dangerous person.

Our comrades Cores and Reynolds are in prison for committing obstruction according to Nupkins. It ought to be quite obvious to those who, though not Socialists, are prepared to defend freedom of speech in England, that this is mere persecution for opinion. The "running in" of a Salvationist at the same time is a blind, and nothing more; the fact that the police witness at our comrades' trial was allowed unchecked to spin a long yarn as to what they said on the Church Plain, shows clearly enough that "obstruction" is a bare-faced excuse for attacking opinion. In my hearing at an obstruction case (at Marylebone I think) a London magistrate stopped a police witness who was running on in this way, and told him that the defendant was accused not of seditious speech, but of obstruction, and that what he said had nothing to do with the matter. W. M.

The Trades Union Congress has been opened, and is now in full blast. One of the great annual features is always the President's opening speech; a carefully prepared summary of the situation from a Trades Union viewpoint. This year though, Mr. Shaftoe is, so far as eloquence goes, by no means up to the level of his immediate predecessors. He is obviously abreast of the times. He and those who have spoken up to the present show plainly that our work is bearing fruit; almost all leading trade-unionists have got as far as the "labour electoral" kind of business; "they now cry aloud for a labour party," said Mr. Shaftoe. If they only get out of this stage as quickly as they have got into it, the "rev" is not far off.

The *Glasgow Herald*, of the 29th, reports a case heard at the Kilmarnock Sheriff Court the day before, in which a colliery manager was tried for a contravention of the Coal Mines Regulation Act. Through sheer neglect on his part a collier had been killed. Fined £5 or 21 days. On the same day, in the Glasgow Sheriff Court, a young woman was sentenced to 6 months' with hard labour, without option of fine, for resisting arrest when drunk and assaulting the police. Contrast the two cases, and the relative value assigned to a workman's life and the comfort of a moral-miracle, and you have the spirit of law'n-order well illustrated. S.



## THE CO-OPERATIVE FESTIVAL AND THE SOCIALIST CO-OPERATIVE FEDERATION.

(Concluded from p. 274.)

G. J. HOLYOAKE, in his address declaring the Exhibition formally open, said, "The dignity of Labour" is the cant phrase of well-meaning but blind morality, used to reconcile workmen to unrequited industry. The workman is to have the "dignity," and capital the profit. Co-operators hold that there is no dignity in labour until labour is endowed with the right of profit.

The *Daily News*, commenting on the Festival, says Mr. Holyoake's temperate and moderate claim was not the least of his services to the cause. "It would have been impossible to say less, and to Englishmen, with their rooted suspicion of panaceas, it would have been in the highest degree imprudent to say more." The *Standard* has a different opinion of the moderate claim: "We cannot allow them to overrate the character of their achievements. There was a good deal of magniloquent talk about the "emancipation of labour" which, though perhaps excusable under the circumstances, might with advantage have been left unsaid. The emancipation of labour—whatever that curious phrase exactly signifies—is in no sense secured by Co-operation. We are not aware that Labour in England is enslaved; but even if it is, Co-operation has not effected its liberation. What is more, all the Co-operation would fail in the attempt."

The *Standard* really should keep to history; it is off balance in the prophetic business. That Co-operation has done little yet to the emancipation of labour is true enough, as could be learned from the details given by the chairman of the evening demonstration (E. O. Greening). After figures of the whole of the Co-operative movement, he said, "Still, with all this success, their movement had hardly yet become more than a mere shopkeeping movement. They had only taken the first step towards the emancipation of the workers. In production they had invested, inclusive of loans amounting to £207,718, less than one million sterling, namely, £953,641, and this amount included all the workshops in the movement, whether they shared profits with the workers or not. With regard to the share profits of the workers, there were only forty-two profit-sharing societies, and the number of their members was but 7,089. The business they did amounted to £345,597, or about a third of a million, while the profits amounted to £16,326, or 15 per cent. of the capital employed. This meant that they had up to the present only shown the possibility of emancipating the working population, but as yet were only on the threshold of the question."

These are the words of one of the firmest, most loyal, and oldest Co-operators, speaking on an occasion of which he had every reason to be proud, it being his idea and bringing about, and trying to make out the best possible case for Co-operation. If this is the best that can be done in a half century, the *Pall Mall Gazette* and the *Standard* are right; the emancipation of labour will never come by such co-operation. Less than one million invested in productive Co-operation, against all the hundreds of millions directed by private capitalists; only £113,493 of capital over which the workers have any direct control for their own benefit, against all the hundreds of millions which they have made and allowed to be monopolised to their own hurt. It seems hardly possible that the millions of labourers should have allowed themselves to be gulled and robbed into such a state, and it is absolutely certain that such will not always continue.

It is something more than pitiful, it is maddening, to think that eighty-eight years from Robert Owen's start at New Lanark, 7,089 should be the full tale of self-employing associated labourers; it is almost enough to cause some impatience at the progress (?) of Co-operation, and to make one accept even the *Standard's* prophet. That almost fifty years after the Toad Lane venture it should be possible for Judge Hughes to point out to the Bury people that £50,000 should be lying in the local banks and not a penny invested in productive work, should surely shame some loud-talking Co-operators. That fifty years from Ralahine there should be a population of five million men, women, and children Co-operators, of whom less than 1 per cent. are fed on Co-operative grown farm produce, is warrant to challenge W. R. Cremer's suggestion that the English Co-operators have all the common-sense.

These things justify at least one line in the Co-operative Ode by the Jubilee poet, "We come to-day in this our solemn mirth." Solemnness more than mirth is the feeling when one thinks of the slaves who make the matches of which Co-operative societies use some millions, helping to dividends of 20, 30, or 40 per cent. such as Bryant and May have paid. When Co-operative productive exhibitions contain exhibits of the hundred and one articles of daily use, which to-day are produced at the cost of blood, and sweat, and bitter tears, then will be the time to talk of "unqualified success," "but, ah, not wholly yet."

Until much more is done in the way of production; while it shall be possible for such a letter to be written as appeared in the organ of the Co-operators 25th inst., that 7s. per week is considered enough for a worker over eighteen years of age in a store where the dividend is 3s. in the £—to purchasers—Socialists are justified in suggesting that Co-operation to-day "is a mere scheme or policy of self-aggrandisement, due to two of its main institutions—interest and dividends"; and the writer in the *Co-operative News*, who criticises the Socialist Co-operative Federation, could easily be less hypercritical and more historically accurate than he is when charging the Socialists with borrowing from Co-operators, and attempting something "not intelligible" in "holding capital in common."

The writer of the particular article in question adopts such a supertone of patronage and tolerance, that one is rather doubtful which to treat him—whether to laugh at him for letting Socialists do as they damn please, or to pity him for his short memory. "Clear your eyes of cant" is good though old-fashioned advice, and worth recalling now. One of the very commonest bits of cant which comes of dealing with the Co-operative movement is that about "British common-sense," or "practical sense," or "sound business capacity with any sentiment," and so, and so. Mr. Cremer in his speech at the Festival had to trot it out, to the depreciation of the French, whom he charged with want of understanding of Co-operative production—a statement which was almost point blank contradicted by the next speaker. Our writer, having complimented Socialists on turning aside from "barren disquisitions," holds that "it is surely a tribute to the practical sense and caution of Britons that Socialists in this country should be borrowing the methods of the Co-operative movement." By using the word "Britons" in one place and "Socialists" in the other the writer has possibly confused himself into the belief that he means something, but it is rather difficult to find what point there is in the sentence if the same word is used in both places; for the Socialists in question are Britons, and, strange as it may seem to the writer, there are Britons who are Socialists; wherewith the sentence comes to a statement that Britons pay a tribute to Britons' practical sense and caution.

The first item of the Socialist Co-operative programme of which much is made is the objection to pay interest. This is a large and debatable question; if Socialists can get capital on such terms they will be very fortunate and shall be congratulated on their good fortune. Our critic is very kind to us, but he is surely a little at fault in laying so much stress on the point by suggesting that Socialists have proposed anything very unheard of before. Large sums have been advanced before now without any stipulations as to interest, and probably will be again.

The next point dwelt upon is that all goods are to be "sold as near cost as possible," as though that was something quite Socialist, you know, instead of being one of the very first principles of Co-operation. "Co-operation is a scheme for obtaining honest commodities at wholesale prices, and eventually at the cost of production" (Dr. Watts, quoted in *Manual for Co-operators*, p. 127). "They [the Co-operators] had introduced a system which made honesty in trade a necessity: a Co-operator who purchased for himself, who distributed for himself, who consumed for himself" (Lloyd Jones, Newcastle Congress, 1873) would surely be getting things pretty near cost price. These are two extracts taken haphazard, lying close to hand, which surely prove the Socialist in agreement with the Co-operator. Scores of other quotations to same purport could be given. The point of the objection made seems to be that "membership" gives no benefits whatever, and that therefore the society will have to be kept alive by the fire of enthusiasm only. The objection comes with a very bad grace from one of a movement which for many years depended on the same life-giving flame; which even now is not quite independent of it.

The same bad grace marks the objection that Socialists are over-sanguine in their ideas on production. All reformers are over-sanguine in the minds of those who prefer the ordinary rut; but surely a teacher of Co-operators can find something better to do than to re-preach and re-echo the croakers of whom there are always too many among the unthinking, without thinking men taking up the croak.

It is possible that the details as to management may have to be varied; that there is something not exactly the best as to voting; but seen; the miles of discussion on voting and representation on the Wholesal Board, etc., etc., which the files of the *Co-operative News* present, it seems our critic protests just a bit too strongly that Socialists show no desire to profit by Co-operators' experience.

The whole gist of the objections and the differences are explained when the critic says "the average citizen cannot breathe the rarefied air of the mountains of sentiment." The bulk of the co-operative leaders have, like our critic, talked down a trifle too much to the commonplace and sordid, which was not what Robert Owen and his school did, which was not what Maurice, and Kingsley, and Ludlow did.

The money-grubbing Co-operators of to-day have the position they have, control the power they do, because in the early life of the movement the fire of enthusiasm moved men over dangers and trials where an extra penny of "divi" would have failed.

Robert Owen plus John Ruskin may yet prove factors of weight in the life of the workers of this land; and perhaps it may be permitted to hope "that our Co-operative friends will be charitably disposed to the shortcomings of Socialists, seeing they claim to have hopes of furthering the elevation and happiness of the masses of the people." Extreme optimism may be bad, but extreme pessimism is much more dangerous; this extreme pessimism has for years hampered the advance of Co-operative production, Co-operative distribution receiving all the attention. It is well to be wise in time; there is a spirit abroad to-day which hints that unless production is more attended to there will be something in the form of distribution in no way Co-operative.

"Hast thou chosen, O my people, on whose party thou shalt stand,  
Ere the Doom from its worn sandals shakes the dust against our land!"

ANACHARSIS

Under the present system the labor of women and children competes and triumphs in the competition with the labor of men. The man must work for wages paid to the woman and the child, or join the grand army of tramps marching up and down the land.—Paterson *Labor Standard*.

**MEN WHO ARE NOT SOCIALISTS.**

IV.

I don't like clergymen. My antipathy towards them does not spring from any sort of bigotry. It is true clergymen are not as a rule Socialists, but neither are Orangemen or Primrose League dames, yet I have rather kindly sentiments towards both. I never did like clergymen. When a child I always associated them with black beetles, and that peculiar fancy sticks to me still.

In my schoolboy days nothing gave me greater joy than to see a clergyman slip on a piece of orange peel, and spread himself frantically upon the pavement—especially on a wet day—while his hat darted down the street in search of a cart-wheel or a river. I believe I was even guilty of purposely dropping orange peel upon the pavement so as to bring about this occurrence. Sometimes even yet I have difficulty in repressing a disposition to do so when I see one of them waddling up the street.

Clergymen somehow don't appear to belong to the same order of beings as other men. They seem to be of a kind of special sex of their own,—a sort of compromise between very old women and very young men. I speak of average or typical clergymen; of course there are exceptions. I know some rattling good fellows, some of them good Socialists too, who have the misfortune to be clergymen. They are oases in the clerical wilderness, and I bless them!

Here are a few zoological and sociological observations regarding clergymen, which I beg leave to set down without malice. I intend them to form a kind of appendix in the reader's mind to the study of scientific Socialism.

Clergymen I find are publicly respected, but secretly despised by most people. They live long and have usually large families. They generally reside in the best quarter of the town, and prefer houses with a stout iron fence in front, and a high wall with broken glass on the top round their back gardens. They don't allow children to play on their door-steps, and generally keep a big black dog in their halls to frighten beggars away from their doors. They open their doors much sooner to a man with a silk hat than to a man in moleskin trousers. They generally invest their savings in concerns that pay high dividends. When they die they seldom leave any bequests to charitable or religious institutions.

If you take a sail in summer to any pleasant holiday resort, you seldom fail to find several clergymen on board the steamer, who have invariably discovered and monopolised the snuggest corners on deck to themselves. At the landing-stage you are sure to observe among the crowd of young ladies who are waiting to greet their friends on arrival, at least one gentleman—a clergyman.

In Wales and in the Highlands of Scotland, clergymen are always the first summer arrivals at the hotels—they are the harbingers of the tourist season. When the last clergyman departs, winter is surely at hand. In France, Switzerland, Italy, Greece, Norway, and indeed in every quarter of the globe where an atom of historic or picturesque scenery is to be found, the inevitable flat-sphered hats and black coats of these saviours of souls may always be observed undulating to and fro.

Clergymen are seldom to be seen out of doors in dirty weather. In winter, when most other varieties of men—including even the bloated landlord and capitalist—are affecting an interest in some business or other in the city, clergymen are generally snugly seated toasting their sanctified toes at their parlour fires. If they do venture out into the pitiless storm, it is to pay a visit to some interesting and well-to-do young lady friends who can discourse Mendelsohn's "songs without words" on the pianoforte, discuss the newest society novel, and retail the latest fashionable gossip.

It has been observed as a curious, but by no means inexplicable circumstance, that clergymen almost invariably marry the richest—even if they happen to be the ugliest—young, or for that matter, old, lady members of their flocks. We sometimes hear of a lord marrying a ballet-girl, a judge marrying a cook, a Royal Academician marrying a milk-maid, and similar freaks of nature; but clergymen have not trained themselves to mortify the desires of the flesh to such poor advantage. I have only known of two recent exceptions to this rule, one who married a mill girl, and another who married the fat widow of a village butcher. The former, however, turned infidel; and the latter, poor fellow, took to drink and died mad.

I have been told by the editor of a newspaper, that whenever he wishes a severe and unmerciful criticism upon the public utterance or behaviour of any local clergyman, he always employs the clergyman's nearest clerical neighbour to write the article.

Clergymen are not so bigoted in their belief in divine providence as many good people suppose. Once an actor had to take the part of a clergyman in a play. In the middle of a prayer which he had to make the theatre took fire; but with the view of allaying the panic amongst the audience he continued his prayer and was consumed in the flames. In real life when a church takes fire, clergymen stop their prayers and are outside the building before you could say Amen. Clergymen are very seldom roasted alive in this world—at least in Christian countries.

Clergymen have seldom scorched their fingers by holding the torch-light of freedom against the storm. Nor do they prominently figure in history as pioneers of progress. They pay their devoirs to popular ideas as they do to women—they prefer the dowagerly and rich to the beautiful and poor.

I have stated that it is not because clergymen are not Socialists that I am disaffected towards them. No, indeed! In fact, frankly speak-

ing, I don't want clergymen to become Socialists—at least to any great extent. They serve the cause admirably as enemies—they would spoil it as friends. Wherever two or three clergymen are gathered together, there, surely, are hypocrisy and humbug in the midst of them. The blacker the hosts of the enemy become with clerical coats, the nearer and the easier will our victory be.

May clergymen always have health and strength, and especially good lung power to denounce us vigorously! What they denounce lives, and flourishes; what they praise sickens and dies. That is the reason why I am strongly in favour of a State Church so long as the present system lasts. Their salaries must be maintained, else they will fall away like leaves in autumn. We cannot afford to lose them yet; if necessary we must increase their salaries to keep them at their posts, even if we have to reduce the number and salaries of our own paid agitators. We must consider after all what is best for the Cause.

Clergymen are admirable for debating with; they invariably get a bad defeat. Whenever I meet a clergyman in a railway carriage I use every stratagem to inveigle him into a discussion—especially if the compartment is full. This is a most excellent method of propaganda. It is surprising the converts one gains. Somehow, everybody—including even the clergyman's wife and eldest daughter—takes sides with you against him. If he appeals to a listener for confirmation of any statement, the listener professes not to have been paying the least attention to what he was saying and declines to venture an opinion. If a child begins to squall while he is speaking, no one attempts to hush it; and some one is sure to remark that the train is going dreadfully slow and is much behind time, just as he is proceeding to illustrate the critical point of his argument.

Yes, I say, heaven preserve the clergy! both the fat ones and the lean ones! Providence has sprinkled them plenteously upon our path, and we must avail ourselves devoutly of them. I mean to exemplify this teaching in my next.

J. BRUCE GLASIER.

**REVOLUTIONARY CALENDAR.**

WEEK ENDING SEPTEMBER 15, 1888.

9	Sun.	1803. Trial of John Doran for high treason. 1830. Outbreak at Dresden. 1864. Louis Lingg born. 1883. Swiss Workmen's Congress. 1887. Mitchelstown massacre.
10	Mon.	1797. Mary Wollstonecraft Godwin died. 1803. Trial of Thomas Donnelly and three others for high treason. 1883. Trades Union Congress opened at Nottingham.
11	Tues.	1752. New Style Calendar introduced in Britain. 1823. D. Ricardo died. 1879. Communist rising in Colombia, South America. 1884. Trades Union Congress opened at Aberdeen.
12	Wed.	1793. Rev. T. F. Palmer tried for seditious practices. 1820. Twenty-two reformers tried for high treason, York. 1860. William Walker shot. 1886. Monument to Arnaud unveiled in Paris.
13	Thur.	1806. C. J. Fox died.
14	Fri.	1839. Dissolution of Chartist National Convention. 1843. Revolutionary movement in Greece.
15	Sat.	1613. Sir T. Overbury poisoned in the Tower. 1856. Address presented on Primrose Hill by Chartists to John Frost on his return from exile. 1865. Seizure of the <i>Irish People</i> . 1866. John Blake Dillon died.

*Death of Mary Wollstonecraft Godwin.*—Mary Wollstonecraft was born at Hoxton, of Irish parentage, in 1759. Her father ruined himself and his family by habits of intemperance, and from 1780 to 1792 Mary Wollstonecraft supported herself and helped her sisters by teaching and literary work. During this period she wrote her well-known "Vindication of the Rights of Woman," the main object of which was to show that "if woman be not prepared by education to become the companion of man, she will stop the progress of knowledge." In 1792, Mary Wollstonecraft went to Paris, where she witnessed many of the scenes which she afterwards described in her "View of the Origin and Progress of the French Revolution." At Paris she formed a connection with Captain Finlay, an American who was there engaged in commerce; but after the birth of a daughter in 1794, she was deserted by Tinlay and returned to London. Here, in 1797, she married William Godwin, the author of "Political Justice"; but after a brief spell of happiness she died in the same year at the birth of a daughter, who afterwards became the wife of Shelley. Mary Wollstonecraft was a woman of undoubted genius, and filled with an intense and passionate desire to diminish the sufferings of the poor and oppressed. Her "Vindication of the Rights of Woman," which drew on her a storm of abuse and calumny, is remarkable for its free and outspoken language and unsparing denunciation of social shams and hypocrisies.—H. S. S.

The following note was held over from last week:—

*Oliver Bond*—Born in Ulster about 1762; died in Dublin, Sept. 6, 1798. In business as a woollen draper, his energy and ability made him, while yet a very young man, one of the most successful and respected merchants in Dublin. When he joined the United Irishmen he flung the same energy and ability into their work and became one of their most prominent leaders and organisers. March 1, 1792, with the Hon. Simon Butler, he was imprisoned and fined £500 for reflections on the House of Lords. When liberated they were presented with congratulatory addresses. In 1797 he was exceedingly active in administering the oath and enrolling and arming men. The meetings of the Leinster Directory were usually held at his house (now 9 Lower Bridge Street). Here on Feb. 19, 1798, was passed the famous resolution, "We will pay no attention to any measure which the Parliament of this kingdom may adopt, to divert the public mind from the grand object we have in view, as nothing short of the entire and complete regeneration of our country can satisfy us." Through the treachery of Reynolds, Bond's house was surrounded on March 12, 1798, and fourteen members of the Directory seized. Bond was tried and convicted on July 24. It was mainly to save the life of one they loved so much that T. A. Emmet and the other State prisoners entered into their well-known compact with Government; but Bond only survived the commutation of his sentence five weeks, and then died suddenly in prison of apoplexy.—S.



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

Communications invited on Social Questions. They should be written on one side of the paper, addressed to the Editors, 15 Farringdon Rd., E.C., and accompanied by the name and address of the writer, not necessarily for publication.

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

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Business communications to be addressed to Manager of the COMMONWEAL, 15 Farringdon Road, E.C. Remittances in Postal Orders or halfpenny stamps.

E. G. and G. P.—Unsuitable.

Calendar.—Note on Ricardo held over.

Periodicals received during the week ending Wednesday August 29.

ENGLAND Church Reformer Christian Socialist Labour Tribune London—Freie Presse Norwich—Daylight Telegraph Service Gazette Railway Review Worker's Friend	Detroit—Der Arme Teufel Fort Worth (Tex)—South West Milwaukee—National Reformer Paterson (N J) Labor Standard St. Louis (Mo.)—Die Parole San Francisco Arbeiter-Zeitung Coast Seamen's Journal	ITALY Milan—Il Fascio Operaio Gazetta Operaia Rome—L'Emancipazione Cremona—Il Democratico Messina—Il Risacatto Turin—Il Muratore
INDIA Bankipore—Behar Herald Madras—People's Friend	FRANCE Paris—Cri du Peuple (daily) Le Parti Ouvrier (daily) En Avant Lille—Le Cri du Travailleur	SPAIN El Productor Madrid—El Socialista Barcelona—Acracia
UNITED STATES New York—Freiheit Der Sozialist Truthseeker Volkszeitung Alarm Workmen's Advocate Boston—Woman's Journal Liberty Buffalo—Arbeiter-Zeitung Chicago—Knights of Labor Chicago (Ill)—Vorbote Chicago—Labor Enquirer	HOLLAND Hague—Recht voor Allen	PORTUGAL Lisbon—O Protesto Operario
	GERMANY Berlin—Volks Tribune Wien—Gleichheit	AUSTRIA Wien—Gleichheit
	BELGIUM Seraing (Ougree)—Le Revell Ghent—Vooruit Liege—L'Avenir Antwerp—De Werker	GERMANY Berlin—Volks Tribune Wien—Gleichheit
	SWITZERLAND Zurich—Sozial Demokrat Arbeiterstimme	ROMANIA Jassy—Muncitorul
		DENMARK Social-Demokraten
		SWEDEN Stockholm, Social-Demokraten Malmo—Arbetet

## IS HALF A LOAF BETTER THAN NO BREAD?

THE idea of this question is a wide one. Why should we not go on to say that a halfpenny bun is better than no loaf? Why not argue that a crumb is better than nothing at all? In this way we may include among our gains the small results forced from parliament. We may be permitted to wonder, however, that the advanced reformer should plume himself as he does, on the measure which the alliance of the Tories has helped him to pass. It is so very short a time since the present Right Hon. Leader of the House of Commons brought up these same allies to defend even by force the petty bit of bigotry which the reformer thinks that he has now got rid of. The shortness of the time shows all the more strikingly, that they would be as ready as the other party to abolish the Church itself at a pinch. It can scarcely be that men who change sides so easily can be other than mercenary troops, who abandon this small outwork in the hope of having their former opponent's help to defend their real citadel, the fortress of legality and privilege. "Anyone, either with or without religion," will now be admitted among these mercenaries, if he be willing to "affirm or to swear his allegiance" (*Pall Mall Gazette*, Aug. 20, 1888). What is this allegiance, to which the troops who muster at St. Stephen's Palace are to hold fast? It is a symbol of a belief in our now existing society, presided over as it is by a formal Defender of the Faith. This it is which drives our London police to bludgeon those who dissent from the orthodox creed, or the soldiers and emergency-men in Ireland to bring their battering-rams to bear on the homes and their bayonets on the bodies of our Irish fellow sufferers. The same excuse is made that has always been made by the persecutor: "You may hold what belief you like, so long as you do not preach it; if you wish to preach it, you must get the law altered." That is to say, you must get the law altered, without proposing to have it altered. There is no true liberty in such a state of things, and the oath has been commuted, not abolished. To affirm or to swear allegiance is tying one's mind and hands in the chains of bigotry, whether the idol before which we bow down be named Orthodoxy or Law.

There is a second case of commutation, with regard to which the advanced reformer himself has lately expressed his disappointment at a certain "Treasury Minute on Perpetual Pensions," in an article in the *Pall Mall Gazette* of Aug. 17, 1888. He allows the accuracy of the Minute where it says that to commute perpetual pensions at twenty-seven years' purchase would make a saving to the nation of about 19 per cent., but protests against twenty-seven years' purchase as too high; and he maintains that the "£12,000 of remaining pensions, etc.,

to individuals," which the Treasury proposes to commute, should be more like £60,000. If we suppose, however, that the twenty-seven years' scale were lowered, so that the percentage of reduction rose as high as 25 per cent., the saving effected even on the £60,000 would only be £15,000 a-year.

The article goes on to quote certain scandalous bits of history about the great Marlborough, Captain-General of the Forces of Queen Anne. These show that he "applied to his own use" over half a million of money, which he had got out of the army-chest, or squeezed out of the soldiers' rations. The hard name of "embezzlement" is applied to the great man's acts. But what of that? He was made Earl and Duke, and his embezzlement was condoned, was in short made legal. His heirs have the law neither more nor less in their favour than those others, who have managed and go on managing one way or another to filch away the land and the daily rations of the great army of workers. Take a glaring example in our railways. The reformer's article above quoted is followed by an American's "Grumble at English Railroads." The foreigner there says that for "less than a halfpenny a mile he is provided with first-class accommodation" in his daily transit to New York from a village some 20 miles therefrom. He goes on to wonder that any one with decent habits can travel in English local trains. As to express trains for long journeys he says, "I have a comfortable separate chair, good ventilation, and easy springs, . . . the use of a wash-room, nice closets or bath, . . . a good meal in the buffet-car or on my own seat; the whole road is smoother, and better laid than most English roads; all this with say the price of parliamentary trains, plus eight or ten shillings a-day for extras." Leaving out the extras, we may well ask how is it that this first-class comfort costs in England not a halfpenny nor the parliamentary penny a mile, but twopence or threepence? It can scarcely be the cost of the labour or materials, of which the first in especial is cheaper here, if the picture drawn by our emigration agents of the paradise of the workman is to be trusted. It is not that; it is the monstrous laws made by the Parliament of monopolists in their own favour. By the side of these, Marlborough's mal-practices seem mere pettifoggery. But if the scandal of Queen Anne's time would, as the advanced reformer seems to think, justify us in abolishing the resulting pension, it seems to me that we should be equally justified in repudiating a very large portion of the whole railway debt. As a Socialist I do not propose this, feeling that under the present system every such change would be rapidly turned wholly to the advantage of the tyrant monopolist. I do not expect even the most advanced reformers to make the attempt, seeing the formidable laws behind which the various interests represented in Parliament lie entrenched. I can only hope that it is mere despair of getting the real loaf from Parliament that makes them seem contented with so small a crumb as the above saving of £15,000 a-year, and that despair may turn them to see that the solution must come from without, not from within Parliament.

C. J. F.

## SWEATED BASKET-MAKERS.

THE laudable system of doing business in the Government departments shows to great advantage in the way they let out contracts for the goods required in the Post Office, for instance. In the Parcel Post department, a large number of baskets, of special construction, are used to pack the small parcels in. Well, a certain namesake of the Immortal Joe, one J. Chamberlain, a retailer of ironmongery and brushes at Newington Causeway, having some mysterious influence among the Government officials, manages to get contracts for various things (although he himself is only a shopkeeper) of which he has no technical knowledge, and then he hunts up the manufacturers of the articles required and sublets the contracts to them. Among other things, he secured the first contract for the Parcel Post hampers, and sublet it to various basket-making firms, on which they both got a handsome profit, the workmen only getting the regular trade union price for doing the necessary part of the business. The second contract was tendered for by the firms who had previously made them, but J. C. managed to get the biggest share of the contract, and he again sublet it for a rather low figure. This year another contract is out, and some of the firms feeling rather certain of being able to secure a share of it, made considerable preparation for it, and tendered for it at a very low figure, but the omnipotent J. C. managed to get the whole of the contract, much to the disappointment and loss of the firms before mentioned. Now this man has been practising the very worst form of sweating on this contract, he letting anybody make them who will do so at his price, which is 10s. 6d. for No. 3 hampers, the trade union wage for which is 8s. and material costs 5s., making 13s.; so that in order to meet his price none but very bad "scabs" would work on them. No. 1 baskets he pays 15s. for, the trade union wage of which is 13s.; stuff costs 7s. 6d., so that is 20s. 6d. This unscrupulous "employer" is allowed to take advantage of the slackness of work in our trade to sweat the scabs severely. Instead of the contracts being let to men in the trade, he by his influence in official circles is able to accumulate a fortune, without doing anything useful to the community, he being now about to retire on the profits of the sweating system.

I put this forward as a sample of the jobbery and corruption of Governments, for this man does not only contract for Tory Governments, but Liberal ones also, and for other things and departments besides the P. O.

I have put down the lowest actual cost of stuff and wages, without any other expenses; and I think, as he does this sort of thing in other crafts besides ours, trades unionists ought to interest themselves in the matter and look up the iniquities of the contract system, and put an end to the system of wage-slavery and profit-mongering which makes such things possible.

THOS. CANTWELL.

We are constantly reminded of the "high wages" paid to American workmen. High wages! What an insult! Are they paid one-fourth the wages they earn? And do they receive high wages? Answer, ye struggling toilers!—*Paterson Labour Standard*.



## LETTER FROM AMERICA.

## THE POSITION OF CAPITALISM IN THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA.

AMERICA is the home of capitalism *par excellence*. Even more so than England. Smart, cunning, unscrupulous, untiring, alert as American capitalists are, they are always on the look out for new departures for development and progress in the capitalistic sense. Improvements which it takes other countries ten or twenty years to introduce, are almost forgotten in America in a year or two. Given these characteristics it was inevitable that America was bound to arrive before every other nation at a crisis, at the verge of an economical revolution.

To-day the economic system of the United States is undergoing a tremendous change, a revolution whose end no one either can foretell or foresee. Economically the United States has been based in the past on the principles advocated by orthodox political economists. Orthodox political economists taught that it is best for a nation to put no legal or any other restrictions in the way of producing and distributing commodities necessary to maintain life, that the greater the competition is between the producers, as well as between the distributors, the better it is for the consumers, because only through unlimited competition the greatest possible cheapness could be realised. The result of this mode of procedure in matters economical has been—Prosperity, over-production, crisis, and stagnation. These four periods changed in constant rotation. In the early time of capitalism a crisis was only arrived at about every 25 years, but of late this space of time has been considerably shortened, so much so that to the eye of a person uninitiated in the mysteries of the capitalistic world, there appears to be at present but one long period of stagnation, of production, of dullness of trade.

The smart, cunning, plotting, and ever-calculating American capitalists have arrived at the conclusion that it is necessary for them to change their economic policy, or the workers, the class of people who suffer most from the terribly uncertain state of affairs now existing in the United States, might take it in their heads themselves to bring about a change, much to the disadvantage of their rulers and masters. One glance at the condition of either agriculture or industry will be sufficient to show the absolute necessity for a radical alteration of the economical basis of the United States.

*Agriculture.*—Years ago, at a time when international competition was not as yet developed to such an extent as at present, and the government of the United States had still unlimited tracts of virgin soil at their disposal, it was an easy task for the American farmer to have his products exported. But to-day the very same farmer is hardly able to make a living. Indian and Russian grain are his strong competitors, and the folly of unreasonably and madly exploiting the soil without consideration for the future, also shows disastrous results, and it is no exaggeration to maintain that about three-fourths of the farmers of the United States are so heavily mortgaged as to compel them to work for a money-lord instead of themselves. Nearly all the land worth having has been disposed of by the government, and new comers from foreign shores, trusting to be able to found a snug homestead, must content themselves to do job work on old-established farms. The railroad charges for grain from the place of production to the seaports are, to say the least of it, exorbitant beyond reason, and altogether the present position of agriculture could hardly be a more gloomy one.

*Industry.*—(1) There are momentarily in the United States, like everywhere else, more goods in the market than can be consumed by the buying power of the people. All the warehouses are filled from top to bottom, and a good many establishments have to cease producing because of "slackness of orders." (2) The importation of goods during the past financial year has exceeded the export by about 100 million dollars, this fact proving clearly that the exchange of commodities between the United States and foreign countries is in an unhealthy condition. (3) The army of tramps and unemployed workmen is constantly increasing. Authorities who on this point may well be trusted, agree that there are over 100,000 tramps and nearly one million unemployed in the country. The figures are not the "wild inventions of a red-hot revolutionist," but the estimates of capitalistic sheeps, and a man as Conservative as Sam Gompers, President of the American Federation of Trades. (4) Capital cannot find easy employment.

It must be perfectly clear to everybody that a nation where such circumstances as just described do exist, is bound to bring about a sweeping change, is forced one way or another to remedy to a considerable extent these evils. We the revolutionists have a remedy, a good and sound remedy which might establish society on a correct and truly humanitarian basis—The abolition of private property in the means of production and distribution. But, very naturally, our capitalistic antagonists do not look with favourable eyes on our scheme, as under the system proposed by us their occupation and opportunity to fatten themselves on other people's labour would be gone. However, the American bourgeois are not quite as lethargic as for instance their English cousins, and so they very much intend, to judge from all appearances, to take the wind out of our sails. And right here, I believe, there is danger ahead! For if American capitalists do succeed with their nefarious plots, it would be but too natural that capitalists of other countries should imitate the given example. But it would be foolish on our part to pursue an ostrich policy, to refuse to recognise the coming danger, and to avoid discussing the necessary steps to be taken to prevent the success of the capitalistic conspiracy for fear "our enemies might learn something." In No. 133 of the *Commonweal*, comrade E. Belfort Bax has opened the discussion of one part of this conspiracy by asking the question: "What influence will the opening up of Africa to capitalism have on the Social Revolution?" and every true revolutionist must be thankful to him for having taken the initiative. It is no argument to say, "Ah! we might give a tip to our antagonists; because the capitalists—anyhow, they do over here—watch the development of events quite as closely as we the revolutionists are in the habit of doing.

The tactics the American capitalists are pursuing at the present moment to prevent a Social Revolution are of a two-fold nature:—(1) By building a Chinese wall round the United States through levying high prohibitive duties on all foreign manufactured goods, and through restricting immigration to a minimum; and (2) by concentrating the means of production and distribution in a very few hands, that is by the formation of Trusts.

We have already a high protective tariff, and all the twaddle about the introduction of free trade is hardly worth the paper it is written on, and it is nothing more nor less than an electioneering dodge on the part of the Republicans to discredit the Democrats. Nobody of any importance, with the exception, perhaps, of Henry George, is seriously thinking of even only advocating free trade. But what about Grover Cleveland's celebrated so-called free-trade message? one or the other reader of the *Commonweal*

may ask. Well, through the levying of exorbitant duties on foreign goods a tremendous amount of money—some say 400 million dollars—has accumulated in Washington, an amount of money nobody, strange to say, knows at the present moment what to do with; and in order to reduce at least temporarily this accumulation of the surplus, Cleveland and the Democrats propose to reduce the duty on certain raw materials; but a reaction against this policy is sure to follow. Blaine, James G. Blaine, the prince and champion of boodlers and in demagogic eloquence the Gladstone of America, has just returned from Europe, and he is telling the people over here—naturally only in the interest of the capitalistic gang—wonderful stories about the pauper labour of England, pauperised through free trade only; and I for my part am inclined to believe that the present agitation will eventually lead us to still higher details. A high protective, a prohibitive tariff, has no other object than the isolation of America as regards the exchange of commodities. The purpose of a restriction of immigration is of exactly the same nature. Of late we have had a committee specially appointed ostensibly to investigate the consequences and the character of pauper immigration. A great deal of noise has been made in all papers about this committee and the "startling discoveries" made. But of course no reasonable human being ever expected that American capitalists, or their representatives the members of Congress, could have the slightest sympathy with the victims of Italian or, for the matter of that, of contractors of any other labour. Contractor here stands for the middleman who furnishes cheap workers to enterprising capitalists. This investigating committee was inaugurated for no other reason than to produce in the minds of the American voter so strong a prejudice against the European workman, as to enable Congress to pass a law restricting immigration. The following paragraph, which appeared in the *New York Herald* of August 17th, will clearly prove that my interpretation of the capitalistic aim as regards immigration is correct:—

"The following letter, which has been addressed to Congressman Oates, of the Committee on Immigration, by a distinguished Southerner, one of the most conspicuous business men in the country, shows with what enthusiastic approval the *Herald's* crusade against imported pauper labour is regarded:

'Savannah, Ga., August 14th, 1888.

'To Congressman W. C. Oates:

'MY DEAR COLONEL,—For a long time I have been wanting to send you my warmest congratulations on your being on the Committee on Immigration. As president of a railroad for years I have seen how the unemployed have been increasing everywhere, and have regretted to see the fair opportunities of this country, which our own descendants will want, being wasted and thrown away on the paupers of foreign nations. And for the South I have always opposed foreign immigration. We want farmers from the Northwest, but no foreigners.

'I hope your committee will recommend radical legislation and you will find the whole country with you. As to how to make it effective you will be far better able to judge than myself. The only idea that has occurred to me is to put a heavy tax (500 dols., may be) on every arrival, and even if it were collected from our own citizens who go abroad for pleasure or profit, it would not be without reason or good result. It is worth more than twice that to be born in this country, and it ought to be worth half price to come to it; and people who have grown so rich among us that they can afford foreign travel might pay that much tax for the privilege. But the great practical difficulty about heading off immigration or anything else will be to keep undesired immigrants from getting in through Canada or through Mexico. However, I hope your committee will have some measures ready for this winter. You need not trouble to reply; I know how busy you must be. Yours truly."

And listen to what Mr. T. V. Powderly, General Master Workman of the Knights of Labour and paid agent of Jay Gould to sell out the workers, has to say on the point in the *North American Review*:—

"To my mind the better plan would be to oblige every person who contemplates emigrating to this country to file a declaration of such intention with the American consul next to his place of residence at least three years before date of emigration. Make it the duty of the representative of the United States Government abroad to ascertain what the character of the applicant is, what his qualifications for citizenship are, and what his intentions are. Allow only those who come bearing a certificate from the United States consul to land."

This is even too strong a dose for the committee of investigation, who say they do not quite approve this proposition.

The American party of Jingoism in the United States, as yet small in numbers but already of great influence, has been in Convention some days ago in Washington, Detroit, and they inserted in their platform the following planks:—Restriction (regulation) of immigration; extension of time required for naturalisation to fourteen years (at present five years); and American land for American settlers. This is national enough if you like.

In No. 134 of the *Commonweal*, comrade Wm. Morris sums up the situation of immigration in America correctly by saying: "But at any rate you transporters of the British and Irish, you had better look out, for clearly this door is going to be shut against your troublesome people soon."

With the second part of the American capitalistic conspiracy, "The concentration of the means of production and distribution in a few hands, and the freezing out of competition," I intend to deal in a second letter sub-headed "Trusts."

Newark, N.J., August 21, 1888.

HENRY F. CHARLES.

THE DEVIL AS A LANDLORD.—A correspondent at Helsingfors wrote to the *Daily News* some time ago: "The following singular case is troubling the heads of the Finnish lawyers at present: A man died a week or two ago in Pielsjärvi, in the interior of the country, who was said to have led a bad and ungodly life. He had always been known to be well off, but nobody knew how he had gained his possessions. There were many strange stories afloat, but the one which was more credited than all the rest was to the effect that Huolarinen, as was his name, had, in his early days, been on an intimate footing with "Wihtahausu" (the "evil one"), with whom he had had several transactions of a commercial character. When Huolarinen's will was opened it was found that he had bequeathed all his landed property to the Devil. The family naturally protest against the will, and the question now arises how this ticklish matter is to be settled. Everybody seems anxious not to offend any of the parties concerned. There can be no doubt that the Devil is thus a landowner, by legal right, in Finland." On this the *Star* commented: "The Father of Evil has found his level at last. . . . It is said that the will is likely to be disputed. It will be a pity if it should be upset, for the world will then lose a most interesting opportunity of seeing whether the Devil himself can be a worse landlord than —. Irish tenants please finish the sentence." Whereto we add that there are English ones to be heard from also.

## THE LABOUR STRUGGLE.

BRITAIN.

The nut and bolt strike at Darlaston still continues, and is likely to till Christmas. The bosses are resolved to starve the men out.

Six hundred spinners at the Caldram Jute Works, Dundee, struck on Tuesday, 4th, for an advance of 10 per cent.

About 400 miners remain out on strike at the Haigh Moor Pit, Featherstone. There seems to be no immediate prospect of a settlement. The majority of the men on strike have no other means of livelihood than what is obtained by systematic begging throughout the district.

**COLLIERY DISPUTE.**—The workmen of the London and South Wales Risca Colliery have struck against the price proposed to be paid for the cutting of a lower black vein seam struck there. The *Labour Tribune* says the men will receive support should the dispute continue unsettled.

**SCOTCH SHALE MINERS.**—A meeting of Holmes miners was held on Tuesday, Aug. 28th, to consider the practical working of the recent agreement, the employers complaining that the men were filling too much unproductive material. The men complained that they were being "crowded" for nearly the whole of 20in. conceded to the men in recent dispute.

**THREATENED STRIKE OF BOILER-MAKERS.**—A dispute which affects 2,500 men prevails in the shipbuilding trade of Liverpool. The boiler-makers demand an advance of 1s. 6d. weekly on time, and 5 per cent. on piece-work. The men allege that the improvement in trade warrants an advance. At a meeting of the employers on Friday 31st, it was decided not to grant the demands of the men.

**TROUBLE AT MONTROSE.**—The workers at the Chapel Flax Spinning Mills, Montrose, struck work Friday, August 31st, owing to refusal of an increase of ten per cent. The firm employ over 1,000 hands, and only the foreman and 30 workers went in Friday. The employees wish to be placed on the same footing as the spinners in Dundee, but the masters contend that the wages in Montrose are ruled by those paid in Fife and Aberdeen.

**STRIKE IN THE GAS TUBE TRADE.**—About 100 men are on strike at Messrs. Jones, Russell and Sons, Crown Tube Works, Wednesbury, against a reduction of 15 per cent. The men have already submitted to a 10 per cent. and a 12½ per cent. reduction. Mr. Juggins, Secretary of the Midland Trades' Federation, speaking on Wednesday last, said the firm treated the men worse than dogs, and he believed that the strike would lead to more strikes, and would bring all the trade to see the necessity of combination. The strikers have joined the Trades' Federation.

**THE STRIKE IN THE CHAIN TRADE.**—A well-attended meeting of chain-makers on strike was held on Friday, in the Salvation Army Barracks, Grainger's Lane, Cradley Heath, Rowley Regis. It was announced that a large number of additional chainmakers had come out on strike for payment of the 4s. list of prices. A number of the employers were paying the required prices, and if the operatives would only be united they would all succeed in getting proper payment for their work. It was resolved to continue the strike at all factories where the 4s. list is not being paid.

**AN ENCOURAGING SIGN.**—Recently at a meeting of the Hull Free Library Committee, says the *Star*, there was a proposal to hire "sandwich-men" through a contractor, who asked something under 2s. a day. It is stated that the price paid to the men themselves would have been 1s. 6d. There were, however, working men and trade unionists on the committee who manfully stood up for these unskilled fellow-workers, and insisted that the men employed should be hired direct at not less than 2s. 6d. a day each. Here is one more encouraging sign of the increasing solidarity of the whole body of workers.

**TIPS TO PORTERS.**—Mr. Laing, the chairman of the London, Brighton, and South Coast Company, is said to be a persistent breaker of the rules forbidding tips, and never allows a porter to handle his luggage without rewarding him; this has repeated in the ordinary Press as though it were a great virtue; but the *Railway Review* comments, Mr. Laing would have no conscience at all if he did otherwise, seeing that his company has the services of so many porters without paying them any wages, they accepting the position and donning the uniform of the company for the sake of the tips, notwithstanding the rule forbidding them.

**WHEEL TAPPERS' WAGES.**—Few will deny, says the *Railway Review*, that the position of a carriage examiner, commonly called a "wheel tapper," is an important and responsible one, for he not only has to tap the wheels, but is supposed to detect the slightest defect with anything visible in a very short space of time. On his vigilance and care much depends, and many disastrous accidents are averted. To one in such a position it would naturally be expected a fair wage would be given, but that is not so, as very few of them can reach over 25s. per week, while in many cases their wage is less. On the London and South Western Railway they can be found with only 18s. per week, a most inadequate wage for the responsible duties performed.

**SWEATING IN BREWERIES.**—In a letter to *Reynold's*, "A Working Brewer" gives the following particulars of the conditions under which men employed in breweries are compelled to work. The usual hours are supposed to be from six in the morning till six at night, and this for six days a week, which, deducting one and a-half hours daily for meals, make a total of 63 hours a week. This, however, rarely represents the actual time the men work; they are frequently made to work (owing to pressure of business and other causes, which help to enrich their employers, but do not put one penny extra into the pockets of the men themselves) until seven, eight, and even nine o'clock at night. The orders from head-quarters are imperative. Such and such a thing must be done before leaving off to-night; and done it must be, if the men wish to keep their situations. This extra work seldom commands extra pay. Again, there is always more or less work to be done on Sunday. The weekly wage has to cover this also. The ordinary workman in a brewery earns from 12s. to 20s. per week, and is usually allowed about three pints of beer daily; and men are not infrequently seen in breweries working from 70 to 80 hours a week for the miserable sum of 13s. The draymen, again, are infinitely worse off, although their services command more pay. These poor fellows are compelled to be about, night and day, in all weathers, without regular meals or sleep, frequently being in bed only four nights a week, and then, perhaps, for a few hours only. His letter ends with the query:—"Can any one of your many readers suggest a remedy for this deplorable state of things? A strike would only ruin the men, and there is no union among them, and hundreds would be found only too willing to jump into their places."

**AMALGAMATED SOCIETY OF CARPENTERS AND JOINERS.**—The August report of the Amalgamated Society of Carpenters and Joiners reports that the Dewsbury employers, except two, have advanced to a standard of 7d. per hour. Halifax also dresses up.

The Hartlepool, Middlesbro', and Stockton branches have secured an advance of 1s. 6d. per week on shipyard work.

At Sunderland also the same advance has been secured, upon the decision of a Board of Conciliation without umpire.

At Bradford things are unsettled, and at Leeds the trade is on strike.

**LANARKSHIRE MINERS.**—A circular, proposing an agitation for an advance of wages, has been sent to the local secretaries throughout Lanarkshire by the secretary of the Stirlingshire Miners' Association. The circular says that at a mass meeting held Monday, August 27th, a resolution was passed requesting the co-operation of the men of Lanarkshire in pressing for an immediate advance in wages to the extent of 10 per cent. The reasons for making such a demand are well known to all, and would amply justify a demand for more than is now asked for. From every meeting held in Lanarkshire during this week deputations should be sent to employers asking for an immediate reply on the question, and, if unfavourable, action should follow to compel concession of the demand.

**EBBW VALE STRIKE.**—It was understood on Thursday, 30th, that the great strike of Ebbw Vale miners had been brought to a close. The men having waited upon the employers after a mass meeting of colliers, and announced that they would return to work on certain conditions, an amicable arrangement was arrived at, and it was expected that the men would go in yesterday; but in the morning a meeting, attended by about 1,000 colliers on strike, was held on the summit of a mountain at Ebbw Vale, and the men saying that there had been some mistake, repudiated the action of the committee, and decided not to return to work until the Ebbw Vale Company dispense with contractors in the mine, these contractors being regarded as middlemen. Thus the strike, to the surprise of every one, must be continued. It has now lasted more than a fortnight.

**CHAINMAKERS' WAGES.**—The Special Commissioner of the *Labour Tribune*, writing from Cradley Heath, says the pay of the chainmakers is wretchedly small. "I have made the most careful enquiries, and I find that even under the 4s. list the amount that can be earned, one week with another, is totally inadequate to maintain life decently. But under the prices that are now being paid it is simply amazing how the people manage to live at all. I know of one place where a man employs about 30 apprentices. Some of them are boys, but most of them are girls, and it appears that some begin at nothing per week, others get 2s. 6d., and others again get 4s. There are other places having ten or twelve apprentices, and the same, or similar, wages are paid. There are plenty of places where men cannot, however hard they work, make more than from 6s. to 8s. per week. A man will make—say 6 cwt. of chain, for which he will get perhaps 15s., and out of that he will have to pay 3s. for a blower, and find his fuel and repair his tools, and pay rent; and then he will have about 7s. 6d. left. But cases are frequent in which the net earnings of women do not amount to more than 4s. and 5s. for a week's work. As an illustration of what the people earn, I may mention that a man will make the chain which is used as a back chain for horses for 1½d., including the swivel, which latter article an ordinary smith could not make alone at the price."

**TRADES UNION CONGRESS.**—The Trades Union Congress opened on Monday 2nd, at the Technical College, Bradford. The official programme, as now conclusively settled, is as follows, and is being discussed in the order named at the Congress, which, however, is empowered to add to it as it may think fit:—(1) the Employers' Liability Bill, 1888; (2) the infusion of steam into weaving-sheds; (3) the amendment of the law of limited liability; (4) certificates of competency for men in charge of steam-engines and boilers; (5) the desirability of increasing the number of factory and workshop inspectors; (6) the right of the relatives of deceased miners to be represented at coroners' inquests; (7) co-operation and its relation to trade unionism; (8) representation of labour in Parliament; (9) reform of land laws; (10) the proposed International Trades Union Congress; (11) report of the Parliamentary Committee on the vote of the trades on the eight hours' question. Bradford is not a stronghold of trade unionism. Some of the leading unions—such as the engineers, iron moulders, the stone masons, the carpenters and joiners, who have for many years past taken a leading part in the question of wages and hours of labour—have strong branches in Bradford. But those engaged in local industries—the worsted, and woollen, spinning, weaving, and other trades—have not hitherto been remarkable for their devotion to trade unionism. The Congress will perhaps have the effect of strengthening their organisations.

**THE LEICESTERSHIRE MINERS.**—The miners employed at the Ellistown No. 2 pit, for nearly six weeks have been on strike against a new method of payment proposed by the owners. The miners in the district have hitherto been paid by piecework at a fixed rate of 1s. 9d. per ton, but it appears that at Ellistown the coal is easier to win than at the neighbouring collieries, and therefore, at the same tonnage rate, other conditions being equal, the men employed there were able to earn larger wages than at the surrounding collieries. The Ellistown owners at last awoke to this fact, and came promptly to the conclusion that they were the proper persons to have the benefit of this favour of nature. Knowing, however, that an attempt to reduce the tonnage weight would be strenuously resisted by the whole of the miners in the district, and would almost certainly fail, they proposed that the miners should be paid by day wages instead of by the tonnage rate, and on the men refusing to agree to the change, the strike took place. In the columns of the local press, the employers maintained that they were anxious to procure a fairer distribution of wages than then prevailed, as under the tonnage system, some men secured very good wages, and others very bad. However, the supposed sufferers seemed quite averse to a change. It is gratifying to know that the men on strike received a good deal of support from the Leicester shoe and hosiery trades, and last week a settlement was agreed to whereby the men gained a complete victory.—J. B.

AMERICA.—August 21.

The furniture workers' co-operative factory at Baltimore has closed its doors.

It is intimated that the Chelsea (Mass.) co-operative factory will be sold before long.

At Courtlandt, Cal., 30 Chinamen struck for 1 dol. 50 cents. per day instead of 1 dol. 25 cents.

The Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers met in Detroit, Mich. on the 17th of August to celebrate its 25th anniversary.

The strike of 1,400 of the brickmakers in Chicago is ended. The men have lost; 900 strikers have been re-engaged, the rest are without work.

The Order of Machinery Constructors is experiencing a steady growth, and new councils will soon be formed in Providence, Fitchburg, and Worcester.

The President has signed the bill granting the employés of the Government Printing Office a thirty days' leave of absence annually with full pay. A few hundred more conservative workmen will be the effect of this bill, that is all.

The window-glass factories in Pittsburgh will open October 8th, although a month later than usual. Postponement is not due to alleged menace of the Mills bill, but the fact that 200 new pots will be put in operation on that date and the production increased.

According to the report of the Department of Agriculture, the present average rate of monthly wages for farm labour in the United States is 18 dols. 24 cents a month. The wages paid for farm labour is therefore an accurate measure of the general earning of unskilled labour.

The Bricklayer's Union of Chicago has just awarded the contract for what is to be the finest edifice owned by any one labour organisation in the world. The main hall, with its immense gallery, will have a seating capacity of nearly 4,000. When finished this investment will cost the union about 50,000 dols.

Acting under instructions from the International Union of Bricklayers and Masons, the strike which has been in progress in Fall River for several months has been declared off, and it has been decided to work ten hours per day instead of nine. This is a backdown on the part of the masons, who struck for nine hours per day at ten hours' wages.

The plant of the North Chicago Rolling Mill Company at South Chicago is to be shut down for a time. Fifteen hundred men have been paid and laid off. The blast furnaces were unaffected by the order, and will continue in active operation. The cause of the unexpected turn of affairs is due to the lack of orders on the books of the North Chicago Company.

A strike of weavers is in progress at the linen mills in Fall River, and 2,000 looms are idle. It was caused by an order from the authorities requiring weavers to throw away the steel wire combs with which they remedy slight imperfections in the cloth, and use a comb made from the blades of defective card combers. A conference of the authorities was held, but the weavers prefer to consider themselves discharged.

A telegram in the American capitalist press says: "Since the hanging of the Anarchists, Mrs. Judge Gary has had on an average three servant girls a week. When Mrs. Gary secures a servant, the wits of the latter are scared out of her by the thrilling tales poured into her ears by the domestics employed in the neighbouring houses of dynamite plots, and the probabilities of being blown into eternity at any moment. All the intelligence offices have Judge Gary's name on their books, and all applicants for situations are sent there, though some of them do not stay more than a few hours." On reading this who can help remembering the words of August Spies: "Our silence will be more powerful than words can be!"

The Convention of Engineers, held at St. Louis in the middle of August, adopted the federation scheme, notwithstanding the protests of Chief Arthur and the conservative Eastern engineers. The scheme of co-operation is something like this: A grand advising committee is to be formed composed of two members from each of the four brotherhoods. When a grievance against a railroad is submitted and a conflict comes, a strike can only be ordered by a majority of the Advisory Board and a majority of the four brotherhoods employed on the line. Each of the brotherhoods will remain intact in its organisation, but will co-operate. This plan will be submitted to the Annual Convention of the engineers, firemen, switchmen, and brakemen, which takes place in a few weeks. H. F. C.

HELPING THE EDITORS.—Several of our friends aid us in completing our record of passing events in the labour world by sending us their local papers with each item of interest marked. We should be glad if provincial sympathisers especially were to follow this plan. If one person in each of the large centres would do so, we should be enabled to make the *Commonweal* far more effective even than it now is. We should also be glad to receive a specimen copy of any trade organ or labour paper which is not acknowledged under "Periodicals Received" on middle page. Trade unionists could further help by sending reports of their societies and other information.—S.

## INTERNATIONAL NOTES.

### FRANCE.

The third Congress of the National Federation of the Trades Unions (Chambres Syndicats) of France, will be held this year at Bordeaux, from the 28th of October until the 4th of November. All communications referring to the Congress are to be sent to comrade J. Dormoy, Rue de la Paix, at Montluçon (Allier Department). The second Congress, held at Montluçon in 1887, was attended by delegates of two hundred Syndicats; and from information already received, the Secretary states that the Bordeaux Congress will be visited by even a larger number of Trades' representatives.

Another Congress of the organised workers of France is to be held in October next, at Troyes (Aube Department) and all communications referring to that meeting must be directed to comrade G. Batisse, Secretary, 22, Rue de la Grande Planchette, at Saint-André, near Troyes (Aube).

Two new Socialist papers: *La Loire Socialiste*, at St. Etienne, edited by comrade Delmores. Among its contributors are Felix Pyat, Benoit Malon, John Labusquiere, T. B. Dumay, etc. The other weekly, entitled *La Révolution démocratique et Sociale*, is published at Sedan (Ardennes Department).

*L'Homme Libre* (The Free Man) the daily organ of the Blanquists, has ceased its publication, but all its contributors have gone to the *Cri du Peuple*, which now becomes the official mouthpiece of the revolutionaries of the school of Blanqui. The paper, under the political leadership of our friend Edouard Vaillant, is edited by comrade Granger. Mme. Severine, the former editor of the paper, has withdrawn from it with all her friends.

"Republican" France becomes every day more reactionary, and has no longer to look on "imperial" Germany for tyranny and despotism. Floquet is aware that his last days of office are near at hand, and he now shows very well that his radicalism has only been humbug all through. Strikes are going on nearly in all departments, and Floquet, the friend of the workers, as he used at one time to call himself, orders the toilers to be arrested for mere trifles. We trust that the game he is now playing will soon be over.

### GERMANY.

To all Socialists who understand the German tongue, we would recommend the volumes of the "International Library," published by W. Dietz, at Stuttgart. The first series of this important library is just finished, and contains the following contributions to philosophical, economical, and social science: 1. The theories of Darwin, by Aveling; 2. The economical doctrines of Karl Marx, by K. Kautsky; 3. Creation and destruction of the world, by O. Köhler; 4. The agricultural question, by Kabulow; 5. Thomas More and his Utopia, by K. Kautsky; 6. Charles Fourier, his life and doctrines, by A. Bebel; 7. Modern pauperism and modern overpopulation, by M. Schippel. The eighth volume, being the first of the second series, will be a popular history of the French revolution (1787-1804) by W. Bloss.

The Socialists of Dortmund have issued a new paper, entitled *Westfälische Freie Presse* (The Westphalian Free Press). We wish the new workers' organ every success, and hope that it will live longer than the *Freie Presse* which was suppressed in virtue of the Anti-Socialist laws.

In various parts of Germany, wholesale arrests are announced of Socialists, who have all committed the same offence: secret conspiracy. It is very strange indeed that out of all these "conspiracies" there never comes anything which is worth noticing. If only one-tenth of these conspiracies occurred in France or elsewhere, the governments would already have been thrown to pieces. But we think that in Germany, most of these "conspiracies" are police-work, and nothing else. Some day or other, we hope the real "big conspiracy" will burst out there, and then it will be all over with William Hohenzollern and his confederates.

William Liebknecht has been elected a member of the Reichstag by the Berlin voters, instead of Hasenclever, who has gone mad, and is not likely to recover.

### BELGIUM.

*L'avenir* (The Future), the organ of the Socialists of Liege, has resolved to appear three times a week, to begin with the month of October. It is published now twice weekly.

The *Reveil* of Seraing has stopped its publication, but in the same place another organ, which intends to struggle for the workers' interests, is about to appear; it will be entitled *L'Organe de Seraing*, and edited by Marquet and Bonvalet.

Comrade Bertrand, editor of the *Peuple* of Brussels, has in the press a work on "Co-operation and Socialism." V. D.

### FRENCH WORKMEN DELEGATES IN GLASGOW.

THE visit of the French workmen delegates to the Glasgow Exhibition has been made memorable by their refusal to drink the toast of "The Queen" at a banquet given to them by the City Corporation. Quite a hubbub has arisen in the local papers over the affair. Their declaration that they were all Socialists and Republicans has, of course, excited additional comment, and to an extent advertised our principles.

On Friday evening the delegates were entertained by the joint Socialist bodies in Glasgow in the S.D.F. Hall, Market Street, Moses McGibbon (S.D.F.) in the chair. Comrade Adams (S.L.) read an address of welcome in the name of the Socialists of Glasgow, to which the delegates replied. Various toasts were then given and speeches made, the principal speakers being Mavor (S.L.), Mora (S.L.), Small (S.L.), Hutches (S.D.F.), Curran (S.D.F.), and McCulloch (S.D.F.); and for the delegates, Philippe, Bailliet, Bestetti, and a resident member of the Commune, A. Felix. Dan McCulloch (S.L.) sang "The Poor of Wealthy England," Moffat (S.L.), "The Roman Lass," and Tom McCulloch "Annie Laurie," in memory of poor Parsons, which the delegates enthusiastically encored. The "Carmagnole" was sung several times at the request of gathering by the delegates, and the meeting, which was exceedingly lively and enthusiastic, concluded with vigorous cheers for Socialism and the Revolution.

On Saturday, an improvised conversation was held on the station platform, previous to the departure of the delegates, where a large number of Socialists had gathered to bid farewell to their French comrades. Cunningham Graham, M.P., arriving on the platform at the time, delayed his journey south till a later train, so as to converse with the delegates. Graham, who was asked for a speech gave an excellent address in French, which the delegates warmly applauded. The "Carmagnole" was sung and several times repeated, Scottish comrades joining in the chorus. "A Man's a Man for a' that" and "The March of the Workers" was also sung. Finally the train departed with deafening cheers for "The Social Revolution," "The Commune of Paris," and the "Workmen Delegates," while the little red flag of the delegates waved from the car window till the train was out of sight.

Altogether the visit of the delegates has been most stimulating to the cause, and the hearty fraternisation of the workers of the two countries is a promise of what the Social Revolution will achieve for all countries. J. B. G.

### YARMOUTH AND FREE SPEECH.

WE have received the following from our Yarmouth correspondent:—On Sunday, Sept. 2, about thirty members of the Norwich branch, and Samuels (of London), went down to Yarmouth to hold the demonstration against the police interference at public meeting. It had been announced in the previous evening's *Evening News* that Mr. De Caux, the magistrate at Yarmouth, had agreed with Mr. Brogden, the chief constable, that no meeting should be allowed. Seeing that this was an admirable advertisement, we were not surprised to see when we got to the Church Plain an enormous concourse of people, who behaved much better (considering the presence of the head constable and his minions) than we expected. In the twinkling of an eye, while Poynts and Samuels were discussing the technicalities of the case with the head constable, a large table made its appearance, 8 ft. by 6 ft., on which at once sprang comrade W. Moore, who was soon followed by Beare, Poynts, and Samuels. They were, however, not allowed to proceed until they had given their names and addresses to the police, the crowd hooting the police all the time. There was then no fewer than 6,000 persons present, who seemed very enthusiastic and sympathetic. It would take too long to write what was said, but Poynts referred to the previous prosecutions, and Samuels related the circumstance that Mr. Labouchere, M.P., had, after the Mitchelstown business, laid it down as good law that the police had no right to force their way into a meeting through the people; but the authorities were not so successful here, and did not provoke a riot. After passing a resolution (which about half the people held up their hands for, and no one against), we declared the meeting over. We disposed of our specious platform, and scattered so as to get the people away; but they were now thoroughly excited and so we were obliged to leave them. The police were looking for some of our comrades, and unfortunately succeeded in arresting one, whose name is R. Riches. We applied for bail to be allowed for him, but we were sternly refused. We heard afterwards that altogether 23 names were taken on Sunday (not a bad catch), and these comprised Church Mission people, Salvationists, and Socialists. At the meeting held in Gordon Hall, after the Market meeting (where 6s. was collected), we collected the fares for Mowbray, Sutton, Syder, and Samuels to go to Yarmouth to give evidence in and watch the proceedings on behalf of our imprisoned comrade.



THE SOCIALIST LEAGUE.

OFFICES: 13 FARRINGTON ROAD, E.C.

The Offices of the Socialist League will be open for the sale of Commonweal and all other Socialist publications from 8.30 a.m. to 9 p.m. every day except Sunday. The Secretary will be in attendance from 10 a.m. to 9 p.m. daily.

London Members' Meeting.—The next monthly meeting of members will take place on Monday, Oct. 3, 1888, at 13 Farringdon Road, at 9 o'clock sharp.

FREE SPEECH FUND.

Already acknowledged—£2 5s. Received—J. A. Morris, 10s.; T. R. W., 5s.; Regent's Park collection, 1s. 11d. Total, £3 1s. 11d.

COUNTRY PROPAGANDA FUND.

Already acknowledged—£1 11s. 2d. Received—Regent's Park collection, 6s. 6d. F. CHARLES, Sec., 13, Farringdon Road, E.C.

REPORTS.

FULHAM.—Owing to the bad weather we were unable to hold our Tuesday evening meeting. On Sunday morning, notwithstanding the rain, Mrs. Schack, Tochatti, J. Macdonald, and Turner addressed a fair audience. In the evening Tochatti and Maughan spoke to a good meeting.—S. B. G.

REGENT'S PARK.—In spite of the wretched weather, a small meeting was held here under the trees. Cantwell, Nicoll, and Parker spoke; 1s. 11d. collected.

ABERDEEN.—At indoor meeting on Monday night, Leatham read lecture on "Radicalism and Socialism" to good audience. Discussion carried on at close by comrades Barron, Aiken, Duncan, Leatham, and Mr. Thompson, a visitor. Meeting of Branch held at 46, Marischal Street, on Thursday night, to determine policy to be pursued by representative at Scotch Conference, to be held at Glasgow, on Sunday, 9th September. With the exception of two dissentients, the meeting was enthusiastically in favour of political action, or at least agitation for it. Owing to rain no meeting held Saturday night.—J. L.

EDINBURGH.—On Sunday, 2nd inst., the members of the S.D.F. and of the S.L. entertained to luncheon the 16 French workmen who have been visiting the Glasgow Exhibition, and who have created quite a flutter among the bourgeoisie by declaring themselves all Socialists. Over 60 sat down, among whom were several of our German comrades from Portobello. The usual revolutionary toasts were drunk with great enthusiasm, and a number of speeches were made in French, German, and English. The Carmagnole was sung by our guests in splendid style. This is the first time there has been an international gathering of workers in Edinburgh, who pledged themselves to do all in their power to sweep away the frontiers of all countries, and to unite the workers of every nationality for the overthrow of their common enemy, Capitalism.—J. H. S.

GLASGOW.—Good meeting held at Paisley Road Toll, Glasier being the only speaker. This was the only meeting held, as some of our comrades had to attend a meeting of miners held at Blantyre. The miners of Lanarkshire, encouraged by our indefatigable comrade Small, are again making an effort to organise. Friday night was a memorable one for Glasgow Socialists, when they and the delegations of Paris workmen mutually entertained each other, a fuller account of which will be found on another page.—D. M. C.

NORWICH.—Good meeting held on St. Catharine's Plain, by Mowbray and Reynolds, on Sunday morning. Meetings were held at Diss, North Walsham, and Market Place. In the afternoon a good meeting was held in the Market Place, by Mowbray, Reynolds, and Darley. In the evening another large meeting assembled in the Market Place, awaiting the return of our comrades from the Yarmouth Demonstration. The meeting was addressed by comrades W. Moore, Samuels (London) and others, and over 7s. worth of Commonweal sold, and about £1 2s. during the day.—A. C. P.

LECTURE DIARY.

LONDON.

Bloomsbury.—This Branch will shortly be actively working. Socialists resident in this locality should send their names in at once to 13, Farringdon Road. Clerkenwell.—Hall of the Socialist League, 13 Farringdon Rd., E.C. Wednesday September 12, at 8.30, Rochmann, "Will Palliatives do Good?" Sunday, Sept. 16, W. Blundell, "The Trades' Union Congress." Fulham.—8 Effie Road, Walham Green. The members of this branch are striving to form a Library and Reading Room, and earnestly request all comrades who can aid to do so by sending books and magazines to Mrs. Groser, 8 Effie Road, Walham Green, or Mrs. Tochatti, 4 Railway Approach, Hammersmith, who will be pleased to receive them. Hackney.—Enquiries, communications, etc., to E. Lefevre, Secretary, 28 Percy Terrace, Victoria Rd., Hackney Wick. Hammersmith.—Kelmescott House, Upper Mall, W. Sunday September 9, at 8 p.m., G. B. Shaw (Fabian), "The Old Social Order and the New." Sunday, September 16th, J. Brailsford Bright (Fabian), "Division of Labor the true basis of Organisation." Hoxton.—Persons wishing to join this branch are requested to communicate with H. D. Morgan, 22, Nicholas Street Hoxton.

Merton.—Club-house, 3 Clare Villas, Merton Road, Singlegate. Lecture on Sunday evening. Mile-end and Bethnal Green.—95 Boston St., Hackney Road. North London.—Secretary, Nelly Parker, 143 Cavendish Buildings, opposite Holborn Town Hall. The business meetings will be held on Friday evenings at 6 Windmill Street, Tottenham Court Road, after the open-air meeting at Ossulton Street. All members are asked to attend at Ossulton St. at 8 o'clock. St. Georges in the East.—A meeting of the members of this branch will be held at 23 Princes Square, on Sunday morning after the meeting at Leman Street. Rochmann, secretary.

PROVINCES.

Aberdeen (Scottish Section).—Secretary, J. Leatham, 15 St Nicholas Street. Branch meets in Oddfellows Hall on Monday nights at 8. Choir practice at 46 Marischal Street on Thursday evenings at 8. Bradford.—Read's Coffee Tavern, Ivegate. Meets Tuesdays at 8. Carnoustie (Scottish Section: Forfarshire).—Meeting every Tuesday, at 8 p.m., in the Carnoustie Restaurant. H. M'Cluskey, Millar Street, Secy. Coundenbeath (Scot. Sec).—J. Duncan, 30 Arthur Pl., sec Dundee (Scot. Sect.).—Meetings every Sunday in the Trades Hall, opposite Tay Bridge Station. Edinburgh (Scottish Land and Labour League).—35 George IV. Bridge. Meetings for Discussion, Thursdays at 8 p.m. Galashiels (Scot Sect).—J. Walker, 6 Victoria St., sec. Gallatown and Dysart (Scottish Section: Fife).—Meet every Tuesday at 7 p.m. in Gallatown Public School. Secretary, A. Paterson, 152 Rosslyn St. Glasgow.—84 John Street. Reading-room (Draughts, Chess, etc.) open 10 a.m. till 10 p.m. daily. On Thursday evening at 8, Choir Practice; all musical members invited. Leeds.—Clarendon Buildings, Victoria Rd. and Front Row. Open every evening. Business meeting Saturdays at 8 p.m. communications to T. Paylor, 11 Sheldon Street, Holbeck, Leeds. Leicester.—Hosiery Union Offices, 11a Millstone Lane. Fridays at 8 p.m. Lochgelly (Scottish Section: Fife).—Secs. (pro tem.), John Greig and Hugh Conway, The Square. Norwich.—Monday, at 8.30, Members' Meeting. Tuesday, at 8.30, Speakers' Class. Wednesday, at 8.30, Choir Practice. Thursday, at 7.30, Yarmouth (Church Plain). Friday, at 8.15, St. Catharine's Plain. Saturday, 8 until 10.30, Co-operative Clothing Association. Oxford.—Temperance Hall, 25 1/2 Pembroke Street. Wednesdays, at 8.30 p.m. Walsall.—Lecture Room, back of Temperance Hall. Mondays at 8 p.m. West Calder (Scottish Section).—Sec., Robert Lindsay, West Calder.

All persons who sympathise with the views of the Socialist League are earnestly invited to communicate with the above addresses, and if possible help us in preparing for the birth of a true society, based on equality, brotherhood, and freedom for all.

SCOTTISH SECTION S.L. (S.L.L.L.).—The General Conference of the members of the Scottish Branches will be held on Sunday next, at 84, John Street, Glasgow, beginning at 11 a.m. prompt.

OPEN-AIR PROPAGANDA.

SUNDAY 9.

11.30...Latimer Road Station...Hammersmith Branch
11.30...Mitcham Fair Green...Walker
11.30...Regent's Park...Nicoll
11.30...Walham Green, opp. Station...Fulham Branch
3.30...Hyde Park...Nicoll
7...Weltje Road, opposite Ravenscourt Park...Hammersmith Branch

Tuesday.

8.30...Fulham—opposite Liberal Club...Fulham Bh.

Friday.

7.30...Euston Rd.—Ossulton Street...Parker

EAST END.

SUNDAY 9.

Mile-end Waste ... 11 ...Parker.
Leman Street, Shadwell 11 ...Turner.
Victoria Park ... 3.15...Brooks.
Warner Place ... 8 ...Brooks.

TUESDAY.

London Fields ... 8.30...East-end C'mittee.
Mile-end Waste ... 8.30... "

WEDNESDAY.

Broadway, London Fields 8.30... "

FRIDAY.

Philpot St., Commercial Rd. 8.30... "

SATURDAY.

Mile-end Waste ... 8 ... "

PROVINCES.

Aberdeen.—Saturday: Castle Street, at 7 p.m.
Edinburgh.—Queen's Park, every Sunday, at 3 p.m.
Glasgow.—Sunday: Jail's Square, at 12.0; Paisley Road at 5; Green, near Nelson's Monument, at 6.30.

Ipswich.—

Sproughton, Wednesday evening.
Westerfield, Thursday evening.
Neeham Market, Sunday morning and evening.
Leeds.—Sunday: Hunslet Moor, at 11 a.m.; Vicar's Croft, at 7 p.m.
Leicester.—Sunday: Russel Square, at 11 a.m.
Norwich.—Sunday: Market Place, at 3 and 7.30.
Wymondham, Sunday at 11.
St. Faiths, Sunday at 11.30.
Croxtwick Common, Sunday at 3.

THE PROGRESSIVE ASSOCIATION, PENTON HALL, 81, Pentonville Road.—Sunday, September 2, Dr. W. E. Burton: "The Great Panacea."

At the Farringdon Hall, 13, Farringdon Road, on Friday, September 14th, a Free Discussion will be opened by A. Marsh. Subject: "Work and Social Utility," at 8.30 prompt.

THE SOCIALIST CO-OPERATIVE FEDERATION.—The Committee will meet at the Socialist League, 13 Farringdon Road, on Saturday, September 8th, at 7.30 p.m. Subscriptions received and members enrolled at 9 p.m.

EAST-END PROPAGANDA.—A meeting of all interested in the Socialist propaganda in the East-end of London will be held at the Berner Street International Club, Commercial Road, E., on Saturday September 8th, at 8 p.m. The second of a series of fortnightly debates will be held, the subject for discussion being "Is a Peaceful Revolution Possible?"

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# THE COMMONWEAL

## The Official Journal of the SOCIALIST LEAGUE.

VOL. 4.—No. 140.

SATURDAY, SEPTEMBER 15, 1888.

WEEKLY; ONE PENNY.

### NOTES ON NEWS.

BARON BRAMWELL, the champion of the Liberty and Property Defence League, it seems, defends the present system of robbery on the grounds that the chief business of any community is to increase its "pile" at the expense apparently of every other consideration; a theory which would lead to some curious consequences if acted up to without remorse or compromise, but which no doubt is a convenient one to those who may happen to be on the right side of the hedge—rich men that is.

The others, those who are not rich, *i.e.*, the vast majority of the population will hardly, if they think about it, agree with this theory of "the whole duty of man." They will be apt to say, "However the 'pile' of the whole country increases, though we are richer per head than other countries, though we are so much richer as a country than we were 500 years ago, yet this increase of the 'pile' of the country has done us no good, we are just what we always were, labouring men, without property and without hope."

To unprejudiced people who can use their senses, it is clear that life in a poor country is much more happy for a poor person than in a rich one; *e.g.*, the peasants of Norway and of Greece are far better off than those of England or France; better off in all ways, but especially in self-respect, simply because class society has not reached the same pitch of perfection as with us. I remember when I was in Iceland, whose poverty is deeper than most English people could conceive of, being much struck with this. In conversation with my guide, an intelligent and well-read man, I could not make him so much as understand the difference of classes in civilisation; and I say without hesitation that in that wretchedly poor country the people generally are happy, because they have not a trace of the degradation which our inequalities force upon the poor of a rich country.

My Lord Bramwell, the truth is that no one in a poor country is rich enough to own slaves; and you are such a fool as to think that the ownership of slaves is necessary to the happiness, dignity, and elevation of character of a civilised man. Once more, what do the slaves think about it?  
W. M.

By copies of the *North British Daily Mail* and *Glasgow Daily Mail* received from a correspondent, I see that there is still a rather warm controversy going on over the visit of the French workmen delegates to Glasgow, and their protest as to the loyal toasts. From this it appears that there was an agreement between the givers of the spread and the workmen that neither the Queen or the President should be toasted, and that the loyal humbugs broke the agreement, and tried to sneak through their little bit of kow-towing before they could be stopped; whereupon the protest. Several other things have come out as to the way the spread was prepared, and the "anything-good-enough-for-workmen" spirit displayed, and have aroused much feeling among the working-classes of the city. Oh, that our masters would always thus misbehave!  
S.

The Small Farm and Labourers' Land Company has recently issued its report for the year ending Lady Day, 1888. This company has been in working for about three years. Its published purpose was to encourage a desire for the acquisition of land among the labouring classes. The *Financial News* of 29th ult., in noticing the balance-sheet, gives great praise for the exceedingly careful way the company is managed. The praise may be deserved as to cost of management, but when the *News* goes on to say that the result of the years' work is a proof of the bad times from which the landed interest is suffering, it is time to protest.

Although it may seem contradictory, the report has no bearing on the question. The Small Farms question, the Bad Times question, and the Landed Interest, although factors of one great sum are factors that have no common denominator, most certainly the company in question is not the common denominator. This can be seen from a few of the figures given. For 11½ acres and cottage in Cambs, the

lucky (?) tenant proprietor pays just £90 (!) per acre; or, throwing off £200 which would build a really good house, £72 per acre for the land only. For 150 acres near Chippenham, Lord Lansdown has agreed to take £4,500, *i.e.*, £30 per acre. At these prices whoever may suffer, it will certainly *not* be the landed interest.

It is reported that Mr. Crocker, a Californian millionaire, just before his death recently, said as the result of a tour in Europe, that he would not give twenty years' purchase for any piece of property in the civilised world. A number of landowners are coming to the same notion and the Small Farms and Allotments dodge, simply means a process of unloading land in favour of something more portable. Lord Wantage gained great kudos for his philanthropy a year or two back in getting rid of some land which is out of the way of any possible market or means of transport. Added to the excess rents which are being charged in some parts, the Small Farms movement is hampered by the legal complication which is being wound about the attempt to put labourers back on the land. Long, wordy, technical agreements, and excessive charges and stamps, and then the cry is "Farming don't pay!"

The *Pall Mall Gazette* is on the whoop again about Africa, and in the course of an article on the 31st made a suggestion which for unadulterated damn wickedness, even the *Pall Mall* hasn't equalled for some time. It suggests that the difficulty about Sir Charles Warren should be solved by promoting him to the position of Warden of the Marches of the Upper Zambesi. This is how the *Pall Mall* gives itself away every now and again, and it can only be explained by the American moralist, "That human nature's a strange onery sort of a cuss." If the column and a-half on the front page of the *Pall Mall* is always done by the same lump of human nature the moralist is proved right.

There should be no difficulty about what to do with Warren. In a state with any decent approach to even-handed justice there would be no difficulty; he would simply be put upon trial for the murder of the men Linnell, Curwen, and Harrison, and the question of his promotion could be safely left to the jury—with the sure and certain hope of a speedy ascension. Remembering the instances in history where long delayed justice has at length caught bigger criminals than even Warren and Balfour, there is some ground for hope yet.

When, however, instead of this it is coolly suggested that this bludgeoning brute shall be transplanted to Africa, so that, unchecked by even a *Pall Mall Gazette* publicity, he can develop his brutal tastes by bludgeoning the unhappy African—for his ultimate good of course, it is time to kick out. "The treasures of the land of Ophir" seem to have entered into the dreams of the *Pall Mall* "forwardist," and that these "treasures" should "pass to other owners" fairly puts him on his ear; to justify his lust after these treasures, of course the usual bosh is trotted out about "our allies and protégés being destroyed by confidence in our word." Allies and protégés to the infernal gods. Two or three rum-dealing missionaries, a magnified "drummer"—*i.e.*, commercial traveller—subsidised by a few capitalists "to explore in the interests of science," in reality to find new areas for exploitation, and there is the whole secret of our whole foreign "forward" policy; there is the whole secret of the never-ending "capitalist's wars," of which Ruskin has written in such burning scorn.

This game seemed all right when England was the only country playing at it; but now when Germany, France, Italy, and Belgium, "even little Belgium," want to take a hand in the rubber, the position is quite different. Rival traders to outpace one another stir up dissension among rival tribes of natives so as to hamper, and if possible exterminate the rival expedition. The local frictions are sent home to the respective Governments, and a wrangle between two Resident Agents or Consuls becomes a national quarrel, as between France and Italy at the present moment; as has been between England and the Dutch, England and the French, the German, the Spaniard, the American; until to-day England is the Ishmael of the world, and the march of civilization is impeded by the ever-increasing load of cannon and ironclads.

And what has this system at last brought us to? An Empire on which the sun never sets, and on which for millions it never rises, which spreads over eight and a half million square miles, and has within its own native borders as much barbarism as can be found in any place where it has taken its so-called civilization, which contains in its own chief city more poverty, misery, suffering, and hideous sin than over the cities of the plain in their worst wickedness dreamt of, "Shudders hell through all its regions."

To add to this great, this unwieldy State, is what the *Pall Mall Gazette* is screaming for. To take the poor African under our wings more closely than has yet been done, put the military bully who has for months been playing the tyrant of London, in possession of more power and bigger pay, and all shall be well. "History is clarified experience," says Lowell. If fools would only learn from history—why, then they wouldn't be fools, of course; this, by the way. But in history is somewhere related how a man was about to depart on an expedition which was to minister more to his own ambition than to the common weal. He didn't go. The man who pointedly and practically protested against the filibustering expedition was imprisoned and threatened with torture, but overcame his judges on that point, and from one of the poems addressed to his honour the following is an extract:—

"I would have posterity to hear  
He that can bravely do can bravely bear.  
Tortures may seem great in a coward's eye;  
It is no great thing to suffer, less to die.

Farewell, undaunted stand, and joy to be  
Of public service the epitome.  
Let the duke's name solace and crown thy thrall;  
All we for him did suffer, thou for all!"

T. S.

## WHAT HAS MR. GLADSTONE DONE?

It is recorded of a certain French king, that when he was lying sick and popular grief showed itself very strongly, that he ejaculated, "What have I done to be so loved?" The same question must often present itself before the mind of an eminent statesman of the present day. Surely, he must ask himself, when mere mention of his name is received in public with bursts of rapture: "What have I done to deserve this?" It may be just as well that we should set ourselves to consider this important question: What has Mr. Gladstone done for all his unparalleled popularity? It is likely that if we asked it of one of the audience in a vast political meeting who had been applauding with all the power inherent in the feet and lungs of a member of the British proletariat, the mention of the great man's name, that we should not get a very intelligible answer. Probably, however, this member of the British proletariat would at once throw himself upon a popular catchword, and murmur softly something about Mr. Gladstone being a Grand Old Man, and after a bit, he might add something concerning his friendship for the working classes. Well, let us examine both these reasons for Gladstone-worship, and endeavour to ascertain their exact value. We may admit at once that Mr. Gladstone is a Grand Old Man; but, is that any reason for his extreme popularity? I don't know that grand old men are so very uncommon among the English middle class, who leading lives of healthful ease, with but little trouble or anxiety, frequently under these favourable conditions retain comparative youthfulness and vitality to a very advanced period in life.

Nor is it after all Mr. Gladstone's splendid vitality as evinced in his tree chopping, post-card writing, and speech making proclivities that makes him popular. It would be quite possible for Mr. Gladstone to display all these various gifts and yet be unloved by the masses; and let us clearly above all things understand what Mr. Gladstone's popularity really is. It is not a popularity merely grounded upon admiration of his abilities, or his good nature, or any other popular quality. The people love the great leader of the Liberal party because they trust him, because they believe in him, because they think that his heart is with the masses in their struggle against the great ones of the earth. Benjamin Disraeli was popular, but the people never expected anything from him. They only admired his dash, his craft, and his ability. Randolph Churchill is popular even with the Radicals who hoot his name at public meetings, but only because they admire his cheek and audacity, and enjoy the amusement he affords them when he upsets the potent (?), grave, and reverend signiors of his party; but no one hopes that he will ever set his little finger to heavy burdens that bear down the backs of the toilers. Gladstone's popularity differs from others in the great element of confidence and trust; but what foundation have the people for their confidence? On considering the question by the light of past and present events one is forced to admit, none whatever.

Let us leave this question for a moment to glance at another side of the subject. While he is popular with masses, Gladstone is hated by classes, who rejoice openly because his life must now be confined in the ordinary course of events to a very few years. What is the reason for this? If we study Mr. Gladstone's career, we can only come to one conclusion, that he is hated by the rich because he is beloved by the poor. It is not so much the man that is feared as the force that is behind him; a force which the classes recognize as naturally revolutionary, and which they fear may so act upon the impressionable temperament of the Grand Old Man, that the people may drag him with them along the path of revolution, hurling him as a battering ram against the rotten buttresses of modern society.

If these people were capable of thinking they would see what an utter fallacy their dread is grounded upon; neither by word or deed has the Grand Old Man ever proved himself to be the friend of the people, unless the occasional mock-heroic burst of unmeaning rhetoric common to the most ordinary political impostors, who, however, not possessing Gladstone's ability cannot make their flight of fancy so brilliant and dazzling, may denote the popular champion. I would ask the indignant Radical, who may be offended by my frankness, to pause before he condemns. Let him think; let him consider what desperate cause where feeble right was ranked against almost unconquerable might has Mr. Gladstone ever defended? Is he not on the other hand, as he himself admits, an "old parliamentary hand?" That is in plain English an artful old politician, who delights to walk with Truth when she has her silver slippers and is on the sunny side of the street.

Again, let our Radical friends ask themselves another question, how many even of those minor measures to give the working man even the scantiest portion of what is his by right has Mr. Gladstone promoted? Nay, let us ask ourselves again, have we not invariably found that when the "Old Parliamentary Hand" has found himself in office that he has forgotten the promises that he made when out? His Radical supporters have carried him to Downing Street with a cry of "Peace, Retrenchment, and Reform," and have held out their hands for these good things to be showered upon them. What have they received? Instead of Peace, War; for Retrenchment, Increased Taxation; and for Reform, Coercion. "But this is an old story," our Radical friends may exclaim, "those were the days in which wicked Whigs had exclusive domination in the Liberal Party; but now we have changed all that. Now the Whigs are only to be found in their proper place in the Tory ranks. Mr. Gladstone has thrown off his Whiggish encumbrances and stands in the light of day, an earnest Radical, boiling over with fervour in the defence of oppressed Ireland, to whom he longs to extend the benefits and advantages of Home Rule."

This is all very well, but it would be well for us to remember that even his boasted Home Rule Bill was accompanied by another measure which did not correspond nearly so well with popular taste. Have our Radical friends forgotten the Land Purchase Bill which many of them found a very bitter pill to swallow? Have they forgotten that the Grand Old Man proposed to buy the Irish landlords out at a price far above what is now the actual market value of the land? We know now only too well, for the Bodyke and Vandeleur evictions have proved it to us with startling force, that it was a price that Irish tenants would actually be unable to pay. Therefore the cost of filling the pockets of idle and rapacious Irish landlords would fall upon the already overburdened shoulders of the English workmen, and would only have ended in stirring up feelings of antagonism between two groups of workers whose interests should lie in the same direction—the expropriation without compensation of all the idlers who live upon their labour. If the Land Purchase Bill is an example of William Ewart Gladstone's friendship for the masses, the people may well cry out to be delivered from their friend.

But this is not the only proof of friendship that Gladstone has given to the English workers. Have you Radical workmen already forgotten Bloody Sunday? Do you still remember that glorious day when Warren's butchers struck you down like sheep for daring to march to a place where you had held meetings for generations? Have you forgotten your dead comrades bludgeoned to death, for claiming what was once thought the most elementary right of an Englishman—the right to say the thing he would? But who was it who pronounced an apostolical benediction upon the murderers in blue? Who was it who could find no fitter name for them than that of "our admirable police?" Who is it that even now walks out of the House of Commons whenever the question of the people's claim to Trafalgar Square comes up? Who, but William Ewart Gladstone—the lover of the people—the friend of the masses—the Grand Old Sham?

William Ewart Gladstone is the incarnation of Whiggery. The Whig party has always been an organized hypocrisy, wooing the people with fair words and siren flattery when they could obtain the good things of office by their means, and to desert them in the hour of danger and difficulty. This has always been their policy, and Mr. Gladstone has only logically carried it out in the matter of Trafalgar Square. But let me ask for a moment, is it fair-weather friends, like Mr. Gladstone and his party, of whom the British workman is in need? Does he require only soul-inspiring rhetoric or honey-sweet words for his sustenance in this "vale" of human misery? If so, let him stick to the great Liberal party, and he will obtain exactly what he requires. If he wants to be humbugged, he can there enjoy that inestimable pleasure to his heart's content; but let him not run away with the idea that he will ever obtain anything more than a plentiful diet of words, and "fill his belly with the west wind," for if he does he will be grievously disappointed.

But we have not yet discovered the source of Mr. Gladstone's remarkable popularity, and if we seek a good reason for its existence we shall be certain to fail in our quest. Its real reason-of-being can only be accounted for in the same way as the craze for various patent medicines, which although possessing few virtues, are yet believed in by a credulous public, because they are so extensively and respectably advertized. As it is with Pears' soap, Holloway's pills, and Mother Seigel's syrup, so it is with the Grand Old Man. The proprietors of these medicines spend thousands in advertizing them in every newspaper. The Grand Old Man is more fortunate; he is widely proclaimed as a sovereign remedy for social and political ills by every Radical paper and platform orator for—well, a reasonable consideration; they



live by the Grand Old Man, and the Grand Old Man lives in public fame by them. So they are all at it; the people are stunned with a din of voices all proclaiming his manifold virtues; the big drums of these enterprising showmen are always beating, and our ears are wrung with the shrieking testimony. No matter how advanced a Radical speaker may be, he must praise Mr. Gladstone, or he would soon find that the caucus would have nothing to say to him, and his chance of a seat in Parliament would perceptibly diminish. I spoke sometime ago about the promises which Mr. Gladstone has made, and has not found convenient so keep. But here let me not be unfair, Mr. Gladstone has made few promises to the masses; that is all done for him by his faithful henchmen the Russells, Bradlaughs, and Laboucheres of the party. It is these who are always beating the drum and calling on the public to enter the show. "Walk up! Walk up! There is no deception! A Grand Old Man in a remarkable state of preservation will solve the social and political problems in a few minutes if you will have patience and wait!" The workman has waited and is waiting, but little comes of it. He begins to doubt the omnipotence of his idol. He begins even to lose his belief in the loud-voiced showmen. It seems to him that after all Mr. Gladstone may not be the Christ of the modern Democracy, and that if the people need salvation they must find it for themselves. They are tired of trusting to oily-tongued politicians. They are sick at heart with promises made only to deceive, and they are recognizing at last that although Mr. Gladstone may be a very nice old gentleman, with a most estimable private character, yet after all he is only a middle-class politician, a bourgeois, and a philistine, devoid altogether of the ardent sympathy for the toiling millions that his supporters would ascribe to him.

D. J. NICOLL.

## REVOLUTIONARY CALENDAR.

WEEK ENDING SEPTEMBER 22, 1888.

16	Sun.	1841. Chartist Riot at Monkwearmouth. 1845. Thomas Davis died. 1868. Spanish Revolution.
17	Mon.	1740. Major John Cartwright born. 1819. Seven persons imprisoned for selling Carlyle's <i>Freethinker</i> . 1848. Revolt at Frankfurt. 1871. Fourth General Congress of the International met in London (17th-23rd). 1872. Joseph Johnson died.
18	Tues.	1685. Bloody Assizes begin. 1797. Hoche died. 1867. Rescue of Kelly and Deasy at Manchester, and death of policeman Brett.
19	Wed.	1803. Trial of Robert Emmet for high treason. 1820. Joseph Waddington tried for seditious libel. 1831. Russell's Reform Bill passed the Commons. 1849. <i>Neptune</i> arrives in Simon's Bay.
20	Thur.	1798. Trial of D. Black and J. Paterson for sedition. 1803. Legal Murder of Robert Emmet. 1870. Italians troops enter Rome. 1885. Dod Street Meeting; 20,000 present.
21	Fri.	1792. Louis XVI. dethroned.
22	Sat.	1792. Proclamation of French Republic; <i>L'ère Républicaine</i> begins. 1862. Lincoln threatens abolition.

*Death of Thomas Osborne Davis.*—Born at Mallow, October 14, 1814; died in Dublin, September 16, 1845. With John Blake Dillon and Charles Gavan Duffy, now the sole survivor, Davis founded the *Nation* in 1842, when the more ardent spirits among the repealers were dissatisfied with O'Connell and the demoralising influence of the policy he taught. Thenceforth as a political writer and poet, he continued to his premature death to be the chief of the "Young Ireland" party, which wielded an enormous power over the Irish democracy. His industry was miraculous, and he toiled with the same unremitting ardour at anything that came to his hand which he thought would benefit the people. In this way he at last exhausted and broke down a splendid constitution, and died of fever before he was 31. The *Nation* said of him truly: "The characteristic features in the public life of Davis were a simple spontaneous truth, that scorned all subterfuges, personal or political, and counted candour the soundest policy; an absolute unselfishness; an earnestness that nothing could abate or dishearten; and an industry that has had no parallel in the history of young men of this country."—S.

*Death of Joseph Johnson.*—Died September 17, 1872, aged 80. Fifty years before had been an active associate of Hunt, Cobbett, and Bamford; underwent two years imprisonment for his part in Peterloo. Ten years later he, however, refused to join in the reform agitation, and was known as a rather eccentric sort of a Tory for the rest of his life.—S.

*Robert Emmet.*—Born in Dublin, 1778; hanged there September 20, 1803. During a brilliant college course at Trinity College, he not only exhibited great aptitude for scientific and other studies, but also in the debates of the Historical Society spoke so eloquently on the rebel side that old and known orators were sent by the Fellows to try and counteract the effect he produced. He became a United Irishman, travelled on the Continent, studied military matters, and interviewed Napoleon, who gave an assurance of his intention to invade Ireland in 1803. In 1802 Emmet returned to Ireland, and made great preparations for a rising in the following summer. He had about £3,000 of his own, and £1,400 advanced by a friend; with this he established depots of arms, etc. Owing to an accident, the rising which he had intended for August took place in July. It was hopeless from the first, as nearly all arranged risings are, and he was soon arrested, tried, and hung. He might have escaped to France, but for his own folly in refusing his last chance in order to see Sarah Curran, his sweetheart, who was the heroine of Moore's "She is far from the land," but who was "happily married" little over a year after Emmet's death! His speech before sentence was a remarkable piece of sustained eloquence, and on the gallows his last words were: "My friends, I die in peace, and with sentiments of universal love and kindness to all men."—S.

The following note was held over from last week:—

*Death of David Ricardo.*—This eminent economist died at the age of 51, after accumulating a fortune of £700,000 on the Stock Exchange. Yet he failed to analyse, or to explain with any accuracy, either wages, the rate of interest, or mercantile profits. His name is indissolubly associated with the economic "law of rent," discovered by Anderson in the eighteenth century, but independently

re-discovered about 1817 by Malthus, Sir Edward West, and Ricardo, and first exhaustively explained by the latter. This law, which expresses scientifically the necessary exclusion, under a system of private property in land, of the mere wageworker from the advantages of all but the worst land in use, is in reality the economic basis of Lassalle's "iron law of wages," and of Socialism itself. The second great economic achievement of Ricardo was the "law of comparative cost," which forms the basis of the determination of international prices, and the fundamental support of Free Trade. This law explains the frequently occurring paradox of a nation importing (and that profitably, not only to the merchant but also to the whole community), of commodities which could be produced cheaper and at less labour at home. Ricardo's third great economic doctrine, the law of exchange value (the "cost of production" theory), has now been abandoned by economists, either (as by the Jevonians) in principle, or (by the rest) practically in its application, by the admission of any number of disturbing influences and exceptions, and notably by the concurrent recognition of the influence of the law of rent. Ricardo was a purely analytic economist. His human beings were absolute abstractions, and indeed mere "catallactic atoms." His exposition, too, is always severely condensed and abstract, so that most of those who oppose or condemn him, may be discovered merely to have misunderstood his meaning.—S. W.

## THE LANDLORD.

WHAT boot your houses and your lands?

In spite of close drawn deed and fence  
Like water, 'twixt your cheated hands,  
They slip into the graveyard's sands,  
And mock your ownership's pretence.

How shall you speak to urge your right,  
Choked with that soil for which you lust?  
The bit of clay, for whose delight  
You grasp, is mortgaged, too; Death might  
Foreclose this very day in dust.

Fence as you please, this plain poor man,  
Whose only fields are in his wit,  
Who shapes the world as best he can,  
According to Truth's higher plan,  
Owns you, and fences as is fit.

Though yours the rents, his incomes wax  
By right of eminent domain;  
From factory tall to woodman's axe,  
All things on earth must pay their tax,  
To feed his hungry heart and brain.

He takes you from your easy chair,  
And what he plans that you must do;  
You sleep in down, eat dainty fare,—  
He mounts his crazy garret stair  
And starves, the landlord over you.

Feeding the clods your idlesse drains,  
You make more green six feet of soil;  
His fruitful word, like suns and rains,  
Partakes the season's bounteous pains,  
And toils to lighten human toil.

Your lands, with force or cunning got,  
Shrink to the measure of the grave;  
But Death himself abridges not  
The tenures of almighty thought,  
The titles of the wise and brave.

JAMES RUSSELL LOWELL.

## CORRESPONDENCE.

### "AFRICA."

Your correspondent Robert Grierson quite misses the point of Bax's contention (so far as I understand him); and to such as are in constant touch with colonial and "new country" exploiters and exploitation, the statement that the "Social Revolution" may possibly be postponed for another century in consequence of the opening up of new markets is quite possible and very probable. Of course a great deal depends on what one means by the "Social Revolution." To many of us the revolution is now present, the battles being fought in office, factory, and mine, far away from any organised nominal "activity of Socialists" "in Europe and America." I think that some of our comrades are in the habit of thinking that a great uprising of the people will occur "some day"; and they then return to their life and participate in the beer and skittles, sometimes as players in the game watching "Fortune's" ball, and sometimes as onlookers, with parched throats and empty stomachs, looking with anxious eyes for "some day," but not unwilling to join in the game of skittles if the opportunity occurs.

By all means let a note of hope prevail, but not of triumph; for the work of making the world into an organised whole, instead of the chaotic condition in which it now is, is too great to waste time in triumph over what is after all only an outcome of the evolutionary movement in which we are involved.

It appears to me, generally speaking, that if a number of our comrades could work in amity and unity, much could be done to alter our surroundings; it seems that while we are asked by your correspondent to "triumph," we are also invited to subscribe for the benefit of one of our members who has been out of work. Is it not possible that there may be some means adopted whereby those of our comrades out of work could be taught or assisted to work by those who are in a position to do everything by co-operative effort?

TAUSIN.

LABOUR AND WAR.—Out of every 1,000 recruits inspected in 1886, 634 were labourers, 156 artisans, 121 mechanics, 57 shopmen and clerks, 12 were professional men, and 20 were boys under 17.—*Arbitrator*.

WANDSWORTH UNION.—The friend who sent us the note as to the ill-treatment of paupers here, now writes that affairs have been mended somewhat through the attention drawn to them. If they again worsen he will let us know.



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

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

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

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

#### Periodicals received during the week ending Wednesday September 12.

<b>ENGLAND</b>	Milwaukee—National Reformer	<b>SPAIN</b>
Bradford Observer	Paterson (N J) Labor Standard	El Productor
Freedom	San Francisco Arbeiter-Zeitung	Madrid—El Socialista
Justice	<b>FRANCE</b>	Cadiz—El Socialismo
Labour Tribune	Paris—Cri du Peuple (daily)	Barcelona—Tierra y Libertad
Norwich—Daylight	Le Parti Ouvrier (daily)	<b>PORTUGAL</b>
North British Daily Mail	La Revolte	Lisbon—O Protesto Operario
Railway Review	Le Coup de Feu	<b>GERMANY</b>
<b>NEW SOUTH WALES</b>	En Avant	Berlin—Volks Tribune
Hamilton—Radical	Lille—Le Cri du Travailleur	<b>AUSTRIA</b>
<b>INDIA</b>	<b>HOLLAND</b>	Wien—Gleichheit
Bankipore—Behar Herald	Hague—Recht voor Allen	Brunn—Arbeiterstimme
Madras—People's Friend	<b>BELGIUM</b>	<b>ROUMANIA</b>
<b>UNITED STATES</b>	Ghent—Vooruit	Jassy—Municipal
New York—Freiheit	Liege—L'Avenir	<b>DENMARK</b>
Der Sozialist	Antwerp—De Werker	Social-Demokraten
Volkzeitung	<b>SWITZERLAND</b>	<b>SWEDEN</b>
Alarm	Zurich—Sozial Demokrat	Stockholm, Social-Demokraten
Boston—Woman's Journal	<b>ITALY</b>	Malmö—Arbetet
Buffalo—Arbeiter-Zeitung	Rome, L'Emancipazione (daily)	<b>WEST INDIES</b>
Chicago—Knights of Labor	Cremona—Il Democratico	Cuba—El Productor
Detroit—Der Arme Teufel	Florence—La Question Sociale	
Fort Worth (Tex)—South West	Torino, Nuovo Gazzetta Operaia	

## CIVIL (?) SERVANTS.

In all ages and in all countries the "Jack in Office" has been a subject for objurgation, satire and scorn; there can be little doubt but that they have deserved it. It has constantly to be impressed on the servants of the State, that they are paid by the State, that, in theory at least, they are not the masters. In practice we all know that too often the servants of the State are servants only on pay day, and masters all the rest of the time.

The Army and the Navy are on a quite different footing to that part called the Civil. Nobody to day looks upon the Army and Navy in any other light than a class outside society, paid by a blood tax to assist the rights of power and despotism only; pledged and sworn and drilled to murder father, mother, or brother at any moment without question.

Of late we have seen in the Police a rapid development from a "civil" to a "military" force. It is an exceedingly interesting study to watch the bringing about of the change. First appear a few apparently quite innocent rules and regulations concerning the premises graced by our "servant," next a few rules as to our conduct towards our "servants," more important is the next step which will vary the conduct of our "servants" to their employers. This is brought about by the immediate heads of the department in question taking some steps and making some regulations which make broad distinctions between the servants as a body and the general body of citizens; this tends to a class feeling, which rapidly grows, and soon it is time for the general body of citizens to expect trouble.

It will be found that each new set of rules and regulations is more and more autocratic and despotic, especially those which concern the internal affairs of the body of servants themselves, that they are deprived of privilege after privilege until they lie helpless at the command of some superior.

This has been the course of events in our regular army; it is going on in volunteer, army, and the militia; particularly in the volunteer force.

In the police force the above order of events has been marked of late years. A constantly increasing strictness of discipline so that to-day the rank and file of the force are treated absolutely as automata, with hardly a single civil or citizenship right. For the merest trifle of breach of discipline a man's home can be broken up, all his arrangements upset, right of promotion set aside, and set down in a new district, a stranger, and in the eyes of those native to that part an interloper, a spy, and therefore friendless, and therefore more amenable to the persons above him, which is the point aimed at.

Even under our London School Board there has been a growth of autocracy which is bodiful.

At our Parliament house can be found some droll proofs of in how strange a fashion servants can come to treat their paymaster, of how public servants treat the public.

To get into the portion reserved for the public is a task; to submit to a long stay there is a greater. If you stand up you are ordered to sit down; if you dare exhibit the corner of a newspaper you are to put it away; if seen making notes you are forthwith hauled out by a lackey ornamented with a brass chain and a fire insurance sign off the front of an old house.

George Jacob Holyoake a year or so ago made public complaint of the difficulties of approaching a Member of Parliament while on duty. Lazy, dishonest members, anxious to avoid any calling to account by indignant constituents, have set up a vexatious series of barriers around their national club-house, so they should not be troubled or reminded of their neglected duties. They however, like all the other servants, suffer in time; having annoyed and insulted the general public and minimised their rights, presently Nemesis appears. Thus M.P.'s having denied right of easy access to themselves and their workshop now find some of their rights cut down at the will of a dyspeptic irresponsible Speaker, or a brutal majority. The police have less civil liberty than five or ten years ago; the army has none; M.P.'s are losing theirs.

The Post Office is the department which, strange as it may seem, can exhibit some of the most striking proofs of the insolence of public servants. For years complaints have been regularly made of the preposterous regulations insisted on, one of the latest being that it was not allowed to correct an address on a post card. Insolence may seem a strong term to employ, but I should be glad to know of any other with which to stigmatise such a notice as one issued by the Post Master General in connexion with the Parcels Post, and dated April, 1886, wherein it is stated that he will "voluntarily and as an act of grace" give compensation for loss and damage, etc., etc. "Act of grace," forsooth; by my halidame the knave doth protest and promise too much. Where in thunder is the grace I'd be glad to know? Paying the taxpayer out of the taxpayer's own funds for damage done by his own servant. "Not in consequence of any legal liability, but voluntarily, and as an act of grace." By Jove, it fairly tries one's patience! The cool insolence of such an address from a highly-paid servant of the public, prepares one, however, for some high-toned action when dealing with the lower servants.

It is well known that the Post Office service has for a long time past been a seething pit of discontent, which is prevented expression by rules and regulations which form a veritable cast iron gag on each sufferer who is denied even an audible groan by way of relief. The state of submission to which a large body can be brought by a despotic tyranny built up of an immense number of infringements on individual liberty can be roughly estimated from the following, which is one of the latest example, "Civil" Service *in excelsis* :—

#### THE DREDGE TESTIMONIAL.

"The Postmaster General's attention has been called to a printed appeal which appears to have been very generally circulated inviting Subscriptions to a testimonial on behalf of Dredge, a dismissed Postman, this appeal purporting to be signed by the Postmen Lawrence, Bell and Hinton. These three men having been called upon to explain how they came to put their signatures to a document reflecting in improper terms on the Head of the Department, have given their assurance that the appeal was prepared by Dredge himself, and that they had nothing to do with its preparation; that they had not so much as read it until after it was circulated; and that had they been aware of the terms in which it was couched they would not have allowed their names to appear at the end of it. They have, further, expressed their deep regret that they should have consented to let their names appear, now that they see what unauthorised use has been made of the permission. The Postmaster General thinks it right to make it known that except for this assurance and expression of regret he would have felt constrained to mark his sense of this breach of discipline by dismissal from the service. He has now under consideration what steps should be taken to deal with an offence which cannot under any circumstances be allowed to pass unpunished."

It needs a really first class artist to do this delivery justice. Picture "these three men" on their knees, protesting their innocence, and promising to be good boys in future. Picture the Postmaster-General or his underling the gospel-spouting Blackwood graciously unbending and accepting the expression of regret; and picture him "still considering what steps shall be taken," when his boots have been sufficiently licked.

THOS. SHORE, junr.

#### THE FREE SPEECH FIGHT AT YARMOUTH.

ONE result of the meeting reported in last week's *Weal* was the trial on Friday before the local Nupkins, of 38 persons, in batches, as they belonged to the Socialists, Salvation, Blue Ribbon, and Church Armies. Mr. Dill, who defended the members of the three armies, offered a compromise, by which the cases were adjourned, and it was agreed that no meetings should be held on the disputed spots for a week to enable some workable understanding to be arrived at with the authorities. He strongly urged this arrangement should not apply to the Socialists, as their objects were different, but the magistrates finally agreed otherwise, and adjourned all the cases.

Last Sunday our comrades from Norwich, accompanied by W. B. Parker (of London) went to the contested spot, and finding large crowds of people waiting for them, they formed a big procession, and held a very fine meeting on the beach, where being interfered with by the police, a fisherman offered them his boat, from which they spoke. On their return to Norwich, a special collection amounting to 24s. was made for the purpose of buying a suit of clothes to present to Cores on his release from prison in another fortnight.

ABREAST OF THE TIMES.—The Roman Catholic priests of the Argentine Republic are said to be on a strike. The government issued an order lowering the rates for masses, marriages, burials, and other ecclesiastical functions, and the priests determined to resist this encroachment upon their income and prerogatives, so the churches all through the republic are closed, and even the ringing of the bells is stopped.—*Chicago Engineer*.

## LETTER FROM AMERICA.

## THE POSITION OF CAPITALISM IN THE UNITED STATES.

*Trusts.*—The orthodox theory about the eventual gradual evolution of the next revolution in society may be shortly summed up like this: Competition will become fiercer and fiercer; all the markets will be overstocked with goods; employment will become scarcer and scarcer—partly through what is called over-production, and partly through the development of machinery—and consequently the purchasing power of the people at large will be reduced to a minimum; the small establishments will be crushed to the wall; the discontent of the people will get stronger and stronger, and ultimately quite unrestrained, till at last, through one long pull, one strong pull, in one mighty movement all the discontented will unite and bring about such an upheaval which will finally settle the capitalistic system.

This theory would be quite correct if our antagonists, the bourgeois, were to act absolutely without reason and according to the maxim "Après nous, le déluge"; but this assumption, which I also once entertained in the inexperienced and happy-go-lucky period of my youth, I am afraid is not entirely infallible. The small-fry, the unintelligent of the bourgeois class may do so, but certainly the big fish are not so stupid as all that. In the bygone times the dangers arising through the consequences of competition to capitalistic society were comparatively small, and therefore the preventatives to be taken could also be of a paltry nature. The safety-valves of bourgeois society—workhouses, useless employment of the unemployed, hospitals, dispensaries, bread and soup tickets, five per cent. philanthropy, and so forth—largely answered their purpose. But things have changed, and now competition itself must go. This can only be effected by creating monopolies or through Communism. The last possibility is naturally for capitalistic society out of question. However, competition is the great idol of the bourgeois class, as a class; they have taught so long that only benefits can be derived from it to society, that they believe it themselves—as a class only, of course. The most cunning, the scheming, in fact the cream of the capitalists, see and recognise the folly of the competitive system, and are afraid of the end it is rapidly leading to, and they want to create monopolies. Now the great secret is to form a combination devised for the purpose of relieving the created monopoly from the charge of being a monopoly, and from the charge of any breach of the conspiracy laws passed by the various States, or of ostensibly being a combination to regulate or control the price of production and distribution of any commodity. And all this has been done through the trust. An analysis of the nature and the character of the trust will prove this. The trust is a combination of all the manufacturers or the distributors, or of both, of one commodity, to be controlled by a central body. The best example is the Standard Oil Trust, the oldest and best organised organisation of its kind. The facts I give about this combination are principally taken from published investigations made by a Mr. Bacon, member of Congress and chairman of the Committee on Manufactures.

The Standard Oil Trust is an organisation not incorporated but formed by a voluntary agreement between the stockholders of various corporations. These corporations really divide themselves into two classes—first, the corporations which deal with the transportation of the oil; second, the corporations which deal with the refining of the oil and the sale of the refined product. From the testimony given before the Committee on Manufactures, it appears that there exists a certain number (about a hundred) of corporations organised under the laws of different States and subject to their control; that these corporations have issued their stocks at the time of their formation years ago to various individuals, the stockholders, who now hold the stock as their property; and that these individual stockholders of the different corporations have surrendered their stock to the trustees appointed in an agreement creating the trust and accepted in lieu thereof certificates issued by the trustees named therein. *The agreement provides that the various corporations whose stock is surrendered preserve their identity and carry on their business as before.* The duties of the trustees—the central body—are nominally restricted to the receipt of the dividends declared by the various corporations and the distribution of the aggregate of them to the holders of the trust certificates, *pro rata*; but *de facto* the central office controls and regulates the entire business of all the different corporations. It will be observed that through this devilish arrangement the different corporations to transport, to refine, and to sell the refined oil do exist separately, carry on their business apparently independent, and distribute dividends to their shareholders, and yet that at the same time the whole business of transporting, refining, and selling oil is in the control of a few individuals, called the trustees, forming the Standard Oil Trust! It is a monopoly and yet not a monopoly, exactly that what the clever amongst the capitalists dreamed to be an ideal concentration. Hardly a day passes without that we read of the formation of a similar trust in some other article. A few details will show the grandeur of the Standard Oil Trust. Neither of the corporations connected with the trust has anything to do with the bringing of the oil to the surface. Their control over it begins, however, the very moment it leaves the earth, because they own all the local pipe lines. Whenever a well is bored and oil struck the owner of it constructs a small wooden tank, into which the oil is run and pumped from the well. He then notifies the officer of the corporation that has control of the local pipe line to his well—and there is such a pipe to every considerable well in the oil region. Those small pipes are brought down and gradually emerge and finally come together at a point where the oil has either to be put upon the railroads or put into the through pipe line. These through pipes conduct the oil to the seaports, and have been built with a cost of two million pounds. All the local pipe lines and the through pipe lines belong to corporations connected with the trust. Under present arrangements the Pennsylvania Railroad takes 26 per cent. of the oil and the through pipe lines the balance to the seaports. The transporting companies charge 50 c. a barrel transportation charges, and the cost doesn't exceed 20 c. The probable desire of competition of the Pennsylvania Railroad people has been stifled by giving them a quarter of the transportation of all the oil produced. This is only a description of the business of the transportation corporations connected with the Standard Oil Trust; the refining and selling corporations are equally well organised and gigantic.

The latest development of the business of the Standard Oil Trust arose out of the formation of an association in Pennsylvania among the well owners calling themselves oil producers. They formed an organization early in 1887, whose officers stated that the organization was formed against the Standard Oil Trust, to protect themselves against it, and that they expected to overcome or alleviate the monopoly which the Standard Oil Trust had secured in the transportation, refining, purchase and sale of petroleum, by refining and marketing their own product. That organization first attempted to get some legislation from the State of Pennsylvania which would enable

them to have their oil delivered from the pipe lines at such points as they might elect instead of at the seaboard. They failed in that, but they continued their organization with the idea of starting independent refineries and building an independent pipe line. They found that that was going to take a good deal of money, and they appointed a committee to confer with influential people in the Standard Oil Trust. At that conference the position taken by the representative of the Standard Oil Trust was that the low price of crude oil, which the witnesses asserted was less than the cost of getting it to the surface of the ground, was due mainly to the fact that there were stores of surplus oil, amounting to about thirty-one million barrels, in the pipe lines and tanks of the pipe line companies, for which certificates had been issued, while the actual production by the wells was about equal to the demand of the markets of the world. It was suggested to the well owners that the way out of the difficulty was to stop the production of oil until this large accumulation had been disposed of.

The committee went back to the Oil Producers' Association and discussed the matter, and finally went to the Standard people and made a proposition which was based upon the argument that if they shut off their production of oil the Standard people, owning the accumulated stock, would reap the benefit of the increased price, and that they should be willing to share that with the owners of the wells, or no such arrangement as they proposed could be made. As the result of these negotiations the Standard people, asserting that they owned 10,000,000 of the 31,000,000 barrels, agreed to put up for the Oil Producers' Association certificates for 5,000,000 barrels of the accumulated oil, to be sold during the year after the signing of the papers, and the difference between the then price of crude oil—sixty-two and a half cents a barrel—and what the 5,000,000 barrels sold for, less storage, insurance and assessment charges, was to be paid over to the well owners and distributed among them *pro rata*. This upon condition that the well owners should reduce production at least 17,500 barrels a day, and as much more than that as they could up to 30,000 barrels a day. The committee of the Oil Producers' Association took that proposition back and it was accepted and a formal agreement was drawn up, which was circulated among the well owners, and before the 1st of November, 1887, they had procured signatures of well owners agreeing to reduce the production of their wells each one by a certain number of barrels and aggregating about nineteen thousand barrels a day. This reduction has probably increased, because by the very process of shutting in the wells clog up and do not produce as much oil as they would if kept working to their full capacity. The market price of oil advanced very rapidly.

After this arrangement had been made of course the amount of labor needed in the oil regions was very considerably diminished, and the expert men there whose business it was to clean out wells and dig wells had no employment. They were inclined to be rebellious about it, and thereupon a further arrangement was made by which the Oil Producers' Association set aside 1,000,000 out of the 5,000,000 barrels that they had an interest in, and the Standard Oil people set aside another 1,000,000 barrels to be sold, and the proceeds over and above the sixty-two and a half cents a barrel to be devoted to paying the wages of the unemployed labourers. This labor is organized into what is known as the Well Diggers' Association, having lodges in different parts of the oil producing country. That association, or the members of it, agreed to refrain from work for the members of the Oil Producer's Association or for anybody else in consideration of their being paid their wages at a fixed price from the treasuries of their lodges.

The money to meet these payments was provided by the Oil Producers' Association, and they were reimbursed from the sale of the 2,000,000 barrels of oil. There were members of the Well Diggers' Association on the stand before the Committee on Manufactures, and they testified that they had done no work and did not propose to do any except as they were permitted to do by the Oil Producers' Association, and that they had been paid their wages as agreed upon from the money furnished by the Oil Producers' Association.

To recapitulate. The end purpose of a Trust is:—First, to create or carry out restrictions on trade; second, to limit, to reduce, or to increase the production or prices of commodities; third, to prevent competition in the manufacture, making, sale, or purchase of commodities; fourth, to create a monopoly; fifth, to regulate wages and working men's associations; sixth, to get the cheapest freight; and all this is effected *not by ruining through cut throat competition rival establishments, but by combination of the different enterprises.* This development of capitalism suggests to me the possibility of a feudal-capitalistic system, when all the means of production and distribution are in the hands of a few leading Trust-lords, who might arrange all things according to their own liking—the workers being absolutely at their mercy. And here lies the danger!

But there is no reason for pessimism. Just on the contrary. The cunningness of our opponents ought to instil us with new energy, new devotion. One thing, however, is absolutely necessary—the overhauling of our present mode of propaganda and organization, and to see whether under these changed circumstances they are equally effective. And I hope that my articles have given cause for this.

Newark, N.J., August 28, 1888.

HENRY F. CHARLES.

**LONDON PAUPERISM.**—The number of paupers in London on Saturday 25th, exclusive of lunatics in asylums and vagrants, was 91,242, as compared with 88,794 on the corresponding day of last year, 86,877 in 1886, and 85,155 in 1885. The vagrants relieved on the same day numbered 1,027, of whom 805 were men, 200 women, and 22 children under 16 years of age.

**SOME EMIGRATION STATISTICS.**—The immigrants who entered the United States during the year which ended on June 30 last numbered 539,818. Germany sent 107,624; England and Wales, 83,132; Ireland, 73,238; Sweden and Norway, 72,915; Italy, 51,075; Russia, 33,407; Austria, 25,884; Scotland, 24,396; Hungary, 19,927; Denmark, 8,981; Switzerland, 7,737; France, 6,427; the Netherlands, 5,845; and Poland, 5,826.

**PROPHETIC!**—On June 27, 1798, the state of Ireland was debated by the Lords with closed doors. The Earl of Bessborough moved that an address be presented to the king, imploring him to use measures of conciliation and to employ persons in the administration of the country who would possess the confidence of the people. Against the rejection of the motion Edward Harley, Earl of Oxford and Mortimer, protested, among other reasons, "Because I hold that when an Irishman is tortured, an Englishman is tortured; for the same men, who in violation of the laws of their country, and of every dictate of humanity, can dare to put to torture Irishmen, will not hesitate, when they think it expedient, to put Englishmen to torture also."



## THE LABOUR STRUGGLE.

### BRITAIN.

The strike in the shipbuilding trade in Belfast still continues. Efforts are being made by the mayor and others to effect a settlement, but without success so far.

Glasgow tramway servants complain of having to work eighteen hours a-day, at pay which gives about 2d. per hour. Mr. Duncan, the manager, is an office-bearer in the Church of Scotland, and is supposed by a complainant to be in ignorance of how the men are treated.

The employes of Chapel Flax Spinning Works, Montrose, who are at present on strike for a 10 per cent. increase of pay, resolved at a mass meeting, 4th inst., to resume work next day on the assurance of the employers to consider the grievances complained of.

The strike in the gun-lock trade at Darlaston, which has lasted three weeks, has terminated in favour of the men, who demanded an advance of 2d. per lock, making the price for filling store locks 7d. each. Even at this price the operatives, it is said, are not able to earn more than 10s. to 12s. per week.

Between five and six hundred spinners employed in the Caldum Jute Works, Dundee, came out on strike 4th inst., for an advance of wages. They were lately allowed an increase of five per cent., and they now declare that the improved state of trade warrants an additional increase of five per cent. being given.

**COLLAPSE OF A COLLIERY STRIKE.**—The workmen at Cymmer Colliery, Rhondda Valley, having been on strike for over four days, resolved at a meeting held yesterday to refer to arbitration the dispute between them and the managers as to the thickness of a recently-discovered seam, claimed by the men to be seven feet, and by the masters five feet. They also agreed to return to work on Monday on fortnightly instead of daily contracts as heretofore.

**COLLAPSE OF THE BIRMINGHAM MALLEABLE NAIL STRIKE.**—The strike of malleable nail founders in the employ of Mr. Frank Shaw, of Glover Street, Birmingham, has collapsed, owing to Mr. Shaw having decided to transfer his business from Birmingham to the Eagle Ironfoundry, Dudley Port. Most of the workpeople engaged at Glover Street have removed to Dudley Port, but none of the strike hands have been re-engaged. The new works are very extensive, and when in full operation will find employment for 300 operatives, as compared with 80 in Birmingham.

**THE FEATHERSTONE STRIKE.**—The miners out on strike at the Haigh Moor Pit, Featherstone, near Normanton, are reported to be very fairly supported by the public. There are about 800 to 400 miners and their families to be provided for, and a weekly appeal is made to the public, and the funds are divided amongst the men. This fund is all that the great majority of the miners have to resort to. As to the dispute, there seems little probability of an early settlement, for the men still refuse the scale of prices which the owners offer as a basis of settlement.

**L. C. and D. RAILWAY SERVANTS.**—A correspondent writes to the *Railway Review* deriding the statement in a previous number that the servants of this company are on the point of agitating for less hours and an increase in their pay. He evidently regards them as much too "lowdown and omery" to do anything of the kind; and says: If the editor came and inquired for himself he would find at the Victoria terminus plenty of porters working for what they can get out of the travelling public. The same thing occurs at the City end. Another thing to be found at Victoria is that guards volunteer to work the cheap Ramsgate trains on a Sunday, when it is their Sunday off duty, for what they can get out of the travelling public and no pay from the company; they will offer their services free for about fifteen hours!

**STRIKE OF RATHMINES SCAVENGERS.**—The Commissioners of Rathmines last week made a regulation which has given umbrage to a number of scavengers in their employment. They require their scavengers to wear a metal badge similar to that worn by the employes of the Corporation. The men protested against this order, and some thirty-five carried their objection so far that they knocked off work rather than don the badge. This occurred on Friday, but Saturday some of the strikers went back, and the Commissioners have replaced the absentees by other men, for there is no lack of labourers in the township willing to take employment wherever they can get it under any conditions. The scavengers were not asked to put on the badges, but an official stated that the Commissioners will enforce their new regulation.

**MIDLAND COUNTIES MINERS' FEDERATION.**—The monthly meeting of the above federation was held at the Coffee-house, New Street, Birmingham, on Monday. Mr. E. Edwards (Burslem) presided. The meeting took into consideration the attitude of the Netherseal Colliery Company towards their workmen *re* the question of "Billy Fairplay," and they unanimously agreed to support the men in their struggle. The action of the West Cannock Colliery Company in attempting to reduce their workmen at No. 4 plant pit was discussed at considerable length, and the Secretary explained the course taken to settle the same, when the federation decided to assist the men by drafting them away for work or supporting them at home. The meeting further resolved that the present was an opportune time to press for an advance in wages, believing that the state of trade and the present lowness of wages warranted such a course, and strongly advised all districts in the Midlands to press for the same with the coming winter trade.

**COTTON TRADES' STRIKE.**—The strike of some forty strippers and grinders employed at the Atlas Cotton Mills, Bolton, against a change in the system of weighing the cotton, threatens to end in the closure of six mills belonging to the same firm. The card-room hands, siding with the strippers, struck work Wednesday, 5th, and the spinners were instructed in consequence to close work as they finished their set. The principal of the firm says the action of the card room hands will ultimately lead to the closing of the whole of the mills for an indefinite period, with a weekly loss of wages amounting to £1,053. The closing of three mills, thus throwing 1,400 hands idle, is somewhat endangering the peace of the town. In opposition to the decision of the society, several of the cardroom hands have refused to strike, and last evening as they left the mills were confronted with a mob numbering some thousands, who assumed a most threatening attitude. The police were called to their assistance, and they had to be escorted home, the mob following all the way and loudly hooting.

## INTERNATIONAL NOTES.

### FRANCE.

Two Anarchists, Lucas and Saulnier, have been tried before the Court of Assize of the Seine Department, for having fired at comrade Rouillon whilst he was placing a wreath of flowers on the common grave of the Communists slain in the Pere Lachaise cemetery during the month of May, 1871. Rouillon has not been injured at all, but two other men were dangerously wounded. Strange to say, Lucas got five years' imprisonment, but Saulnier, who has confessed that he excited and provoked Lucas to the stupid deed, has been acquitted. We should not at all be surprised to hear one day or other that one at least of these Anarchists is an *agent-provocateur*, or what Puttkamer used to call a "non-gentleman."

The strike of the carpenters and cabinet-makers at Paris has resulted, as could not otherwise be expected, in the defeat of the workers; but, as *La Révolte* justly observes, even those strikes have one good result, viz., that they make the workers become acquainted with the idea of a general strike, and so prepare them for the big struggle which is about to begin.

All the hosiers of Troyes are on strike, and have resolved to combat the tyranny of their masters to the utmost of their power. At the time when the toilers of Charleville, of Vierzon, of Cholet, and of Paris were striking, their fellow-comrades of Troyes have always been to the front of the helpers and supporters; now they hope that the workers everywhere will show towards them their spirit of solidarity. The Socialist papers of Paris have made a warm appeal to the toilers of France on behalf of their brethren of Troyes, and it is to be hoped that their appeal will be listened to and answered accordingly.

The railway workers of the line from Brive to Limoges also have stopped their work; they ask an augmentation of their wages. The navvies are paid 2½d. an hour, and claim from 3d. to 3½d.; the masons are paid 3½d. an hour, and ask from 4½d. to 5½d.; the carpenters who earn 4d., claim to be paid at 5d. an hour. The contractors refuse to increase the wages of their men. The strikers, who are very quiet, receive some assistance from the philanthropic establishments of Limoges, and from the economical "soup-kitchens" of the town, and up to the present moment the inhabitants fully sympathise with the men on strike.

### BULGARIA.

A new Socialist paper, entitled *Christopoteff*, from the name of a celebrated Bulgarian revolutionist, has appeared last week at Sofia. The "authorities" quickly issued an order for the arrest and imprisonment of all the contributors and the publisher of the paper, and so it was at once done to death. At the same time, a very interesting discovery has been made in that model land. Among the *brigands* that infest the mountains and forests of the country, and several of whom have lately been caught, are two members of the Bulgarian Legislative Assembly! The Bulgarian Skouptchina must be a nice kind of Parliament.

### BELGIUM.

Comrade Oscar Falleur has left Liverpool on the 3rd of this month *en route* for America. Before leaving Europe he went to France for a fortnight, as he wished to bid farewell to some relatives of his living at Trélon, in the Nord Department. The Belgian secret political service at once informed the French Government of Falleur's dark design, and the Paris Minister of the Interior caused the following stupendous letter to be sent to the Prefect of the Nord Department: "République Française.—Monsieur le Préfet, I think it my duty to forward to you the following details, which may be useful: Oscar Falleur, the Belgian Anarchist, sentenced to hard labour and imprisonment for life in consequence of the riots of 1886, conditionally set free by the Minister of Justice, and authorised to provisionally remain in Belgium, provided he should not make Socialist propaganda, has just been expelled from his native land because he has mixed himself up with the Socialist Glass-blower's Union. He has been ordered to leave Belgium or to return to prison. He left Lodelinesart on the 15th inst. in order to go to Trélon (France), a small town near Maubeuge, where big glass-blower's establishments happen to exist. He will stay there for three weeks, and is likely to put himself into communication with his confederates. I have the honour to be, etc., xx., General Controller of the Police."

The Prefect of the Nord Department at Lille, transmits dutifully this letter to his colleague, the sub-Prefect; YY, at Avesnes, who sends the same to the Maire of Trélon. This Maire, having very carefully watched the movements of the dangerous Socialist, has now forwarded his report to his chiefs. It runs as follows: "I, the undersigned, Maire of Trélon (Nord), hereby declare that M. Oscar Falleur has sojourned in this town from the 15th of August to the 2nd of September, and that *his presence has not caused any disorder*. M. Falleur's behaviour always has been a good and regular one."

That is a piece of the ridiculous machinery by which Socialists sometimes are annoyed, and the Governments entertain whole armies of officials to perform such functions.

### AUSTRIA-HUNGARY.

The organ of the Austrian compositors and printers, *Vorwärts*, published at Vienna, has been confiscated by the police nuisances. Even trade papers are no longer safe in that country of bigotry and re-action. In the same capital, a lecture on "The Relations between Socialism, Science, and Art" was not allowed to be delivered, on the ground that such lectures are most dangerous to the safety of the State. On this point we can easily agree with the so-called authorities, for such lectures certainly are dangerous; but the interdiction of lecturing will not make Socialism less dangerous to the State. So we Socialists are always winning and the State is always losing, and that will go on until the State shall have nothing to lose, having passed away altogether. And that is the fun of prosecution.

A considerable number of Socialists have been favoured at Prague and Reichenberg with police visitations; these gentlemen were in search of "Anarchist" literature, they having been "informed" that a great amount of leaflets were about to be spread all round and even posted on the walls. But, strange to say, the Socialists did not know anything whatever of the matter, although a very few leaflets were really posted here and there at street corners at the very moment when the house visitations began. Our friends there are strongly of opinion that this is a new departure in the methods of prosecution, namely, that the police make themselves revolutionary leaflets and post them on the walls, in order to have a pretext of entering the houses of our comrades. Several Socialists in consequence thereof were arrested, the gentlemen having found some pamphlet or other or some forbidden paper in their possession.

## ROUMANIA.

An officer of the Roumanian army, comrade Chineru, from the Norohoi district, near Tassi, has just been sentenced to one year of imprisonment because of his incessant revolutionary propaganda among the soldiers and peasants. It is a fact worth noticing, that the little Roumanian army is completely permeated with Socialist ideas. The government are no longer confident in their stock of common laws to prevent the spread of the revolutionary movement, and it is said that during the next Session of the Legislative Assembly they intend to bring in an exceptional bill against Socialism. In the meantime, at any rate, a new Socialist organ is about to be published, entitled *Lucratorul* (The Worker). It will be written by manual workers only. A few days ago the specimen number of another paper has also come to light, which is likely to do good service to the Cause. It is entitled  *Glasal Tavanulus* (The Voice of the Peasants), and is to be issued as a weekly. Go ahead, Roumania!

The engineers, iron and wood-workers of the Roumanian railways at Bucharest, and those of Galatz and Turn-Severin, are on strike. At the present time one thousand men have left work, and the number of strikers is expected to increase. The worker's claims are the following: (1) Exact settlement of the price of piece-work; (2) Twenty-five per cent augmentation of their wages; (3) Extra hours (the normal day to be of 10 hours) to be paid at 50 per cent above the regular price of wages; (4) All fines to be entered in the relief-fund for invalid workers; (5) Railway free tickets, to be had four times a-year; (6) Diseased workers to be attended to at railway company's expenses; (7) The wages to be paid regularly twice a month. These claims, lodged in a memorandum signed by 640 men, were addressed to the directors, but they at once declared that they refused to take any notice whatever of its contents. They also refused to listen to a deputation of the workers. The Government, stupid as all Governments are, immediately proceeded to send soldiers and *gendarmes* to the district where all these strikers live, and ordered in their usual way to settle the question by provoking the workers. But in vain. The Strike Committee appeals specially to the Austrian and German toilers not to come over to Roumania and accept work there. That is of course a matter of international solidarity. The Roumanian Socialist party being very young, they further state that they are in need of funds, and those who are in a position to help may send their subscriptions to the editor of *Gleichheit*, vi., Gumpendorferstrasse, 79, Vienna, who has accepted to forward them to our Roumanian friends.

V. D.

## ITALY.

ROME.—The Roman police manage to "keep the dull times off" for the *Emancipazione* with considerable faithfulness and regularity. Here, for instance, we are apprised of another confiscation of one edition which was devoted to the subject of Pietro Barsanti, the anniversary of whose execution in 1870 was celebrated the other day in Rome. And yet again two more recent confiscations for which the police refuse to give any reason, making three out of four numbers thus treated. The "Revolutionary Republicans" (which we believe is their correct title) of this city naturally bow to the Crispinian rule with a very bad grace, chafing and murmuring under it ceaselessly.

Although months have passed since the crisis in the building trade here, conditions are little bettered, and hundreds and hundreds of men are still without employment. A meeting is shortly to be held under the auspices of the Builders' Society and other associations, to discuss the subject and protest against those *mistificatori* who in times of depression come with fair promises to the workers, taking advantage of their distress and also of their credulity.

THE ROYAL JOURNEY AGAIN.—On visiting the town of Forli, King Humbert expressed a desire to inspect a working-man's house chosen hap-hazard. The choice "happened" to be a happy one, and his high and mightiness expressed himself loudly pleased and charmed with the decency and cleanliness of the little household. The good wife listened with surprise and impatience, and muttered as the party left, "But do these kings think the people are just so many pigs?" The writer is reminded of a little scene that took place on the threshold of a very noble dwelling in London, where some meeting was being held "by gracious permission," etc., etc. One of our Socialist friends had occasion to attend, and was requested in grave accents by the flunkey in charge to "Wipe your feet, please," as if no one under a duke understood the use of scraper and door-mat! The dullness of the meeting was entirely retrieved for our friend by this timely incident, which acted as a freshener or appetiser to the feast of reason and flow of soul that followed. The one word of sense we have read in all the Italian papers about this mock show of royalty, is uttered by a writer who rebukes the Socialists for making such a to-do about it.

RAVENNA.—Some arrests of Socialists have been made here and at Russi, in consequence of some anti-Monarchical demonstrations on the occasion of the king's visit. The public seems to be if not hostile to, at least half-hearted about the monarchical display. There is a good deal of curiosity, but not too much cheering.

VARESE.—The Society of Workers in this town have lately celebrated the third anniversary of their existence in a meeting and social reunion of a pleasant nature.

The 4th Congress of the Italian Labour Party was held on the 8th, 9th, and 10th inst., at Bologna. The subjects discussed were of the usual nature, but we have received no particulars of the proceedings as yet.

COMO.—On the 26th of August, a Congress was held by the workers in the province of Como; 150 delegates were present, representing 9,960 members of the body, and the Labour Party on invitation sent three delegates. The scope of the Congress was to discuss the *organisation of labour*, system of resistance, and the attitude to be maintained at political and administrative elections. It is needless to say that the latter question was discussed with much ardour, one delegate alone fighting for the necessity of abstention from political agitation.

MARIANO (BRIANZA).—The women employed in the silk factory here earn 80 *centesimi* a-day, working 15 hours. Last month they rebelled against this and struck, but not for long, as they were put down with a good deal of brutality by the authorities.

M. M.

The *Riforma* publishes the text of telegrams recently exchanged between King Humbert and Signor Crispi, referring to the necessity of ameliorating the condition of the working-classes. Everything will now be all right!

The Wood Turners at Hamburg, on September 3rd, struck for a reduction of hours to 9½ daily, and an increase of wages to 20s. per week. Hope no English workers will go over. One of the masters has told his men that it makes no difference to him, as he can obtain all the men he wants from London.

## MAN'S INHUMANITY.

A JUDGE at Schoharie sent two tramps to the Albany penitentiary for six months each. That is Right. Every one of them ought to be taken in and put at hard labor for a year. Keep them breaking stone, if there is nothing harder for them, and feed them on bread, a little meat once a day, and water—plenty of water, but not too much meat and bread. There is no excuse for a man being a tramp, not the least, and it is impossible for judge or jury to err on the side of being too hard on them.—*Rochester Herald*. Every man who has to leave his house to search for work, if he is too poor to pay his railroad fare, is called a tramp, and is subject to the penalties of the tramp law. The above paragraph fitly describes the feeling which exists in society circles, when the poor unfortunate wage-worker has to take the road to find work that he may live. Hundreds of wage-slaves are discharged from their work through no fault of their own, their wages have been small while working, so they could not save much to help them in times of depression. There are many men to-day in good circumstances who some time or other in their lifetime have had to tramp from town to town seeking work. The wise-acre who wrote the above extract says: "There is no excuse for a man being a tramp." No excuse? What is a man going to do after being discharged from his work, and he cannot find any in his neighbourhood; he must go or starve, and when he finds himself outside of his own locality society dubs him a tramp. It is the cruel system of competition which makes tramps. The difficulty which men have to contend with in procuring employment breaks up hundreds of men; they become dispirited and lose self-respect, and finally sink down to be a regular vagrant. There is no discrimination with society when speaking of the wandering wage-earner. They are all tramps, and ought to be put in prison because they are poor. Poverty to-day is a crime in this free republic, made so by society, who have become rich by oppressing the wage-earners. Getting machines to do the work of men, and driving out of the factories thousands who go around "begging their brothers of the earth for leave for them to toil." The straws show us which way the wind blows. We must see to it that we ourselves must combine to stop the cruel system of hindering a man of the means of existence and happiness. There should be no "out of work" when a man is free, able and willing to do it.—*Union*.

## THE SOCIALIST LEAGUE.

OFFICES: 13 FARRINGDON ROAD, E.C.

The Offices of the Socialist League will be open for the sale of *Commonweal* and all other Socialist publications from 8.30 a.m. to 9 p.m. every day except Sunday. The Secretary will be in attendance from 10 a.m. to 9 p.m. daily.

London Members' Meeting.—The next monthly meeting of members will take place on Monday, Oct. 3, 1888, at 13 Farringdon Road, at 9 o'clock sharp.

Propaganda Fund.—C. Walkden, 10s.

## "COMMONWEAL" PRINTING FUND.

Langley (six weeks), 12s.; P. W. (six weeks), 3s.; C. J. F. (six weeks), 15s.; K. F. (six weeks), 6s.

## FREE SPEECH FUND.

Victory at Yarmouth is now almost assured, but it has proved a very heavy financial drain upon the branch, and subscriptions, however small, are urgently needed, and should be sent to F. Charles, 13, Farringdon Road, E.C.

Already acknowledged—£3 1s. 11d. Received—Collections: Regent's Park, 2s.; Victoria Park, 2s. 10½d.; Berners Street, 8s. 5d. Total, £3 15s. 2½d.

F. CHARLES, Sec., 13, Farringdon Road, E.C.

## REPORTS.

FULHAM.—On Tuesday evening, opposite the Liberal Club, Maughan, Bullock, Beasley, Groser, and Ashborne addressed a good audience. On Sunday morning, Tarleton and Mrs. Schack addressed a very good meeting. Fair sale of *Commonweal*. In the evening, Maughan, Groser, and Sampson (S.D.F.) spoke. Some opposition, to which Sampson and Groser replied.—S. B. G.

MITCHAM.—Good meeting Sunday morning on Mitcham Fair Green, addressed by Eden (S.L.) and Walker (S.D.F.) In evening, at same place, Walker, Kitz, and Eden addressed a large and enthusiastic audience. Slight opposition by Salvationist easily disposed of by Walkden. Good sale of *Commonweal*.—E.

ABERDEEN.—Leatham lectured at weekly indoor meeting on the 3rd inst. Small meeting at Castle Street on Saturday night, at which Aiken presided and Barrow spoke.

GLASGOW.—On Sunday, a Conference of members of the Scottish Land and Labour League and the Glasgow Branch of the Socialist League, took place in the rooms. A general agreement as to the future relationship of the branches to one another and the League was come to, the points of which will be sent to the branches for ratification. At 5 o'clock our usual meeting was held at Paisley Road. After Pollock and Glasier had said a few words, comrades J. Smith (Edinburgh) and James Leatham (Aberdeen), who had come to the Conference, addressed the meeting. Leatham was unfortunately interrupted in the middle of an excellent address by the arrival of the Salvation Army, who occupy the ground after 6 o'clock.

NORWICH.—Thursday last, good meeting was held at Yarmouth by comrades Poynts and Beare. Friday, meeting on St. Catharine's Plain by Reynolds and Morley. Sunday morning, meeting held at Wymondham by comrades Adams and Barker. Comrade Parker (London) addressed a good audience in the Market Place. In the afternoon a good meeting was held by comrade Morley and Mr. Burgess, who spoke in support of Free Speech. In the evening our meeting was a very large one, addressed by comrades Mowbray and Parker; the latter comrade spoke for some considerable time, the audience being very pleased and enthusiastic with his address. After meeting we adjourned to the Gordon Hall, where comrade Parker and several others rendered some capital songs and recitations. Collected during the day, £1 13s. 4d. Sale of *Commonweal*, 7s.—S.

EAST END PROPAGANDA COMMITTEE.—A debate was opened on Saturday evening, at Berner Street Club, by H. Davis, on "Is a Peaceful Revolution Possible?" A very interesting discussion followed. The hall was packed, 8s. 10½d. collected.

THE UNEMPLOYED.—Tuesday last, the unemployed met in Hyde Park, at 2 o'clock, in large numbers. McCormick arrived at 2.30 with red flag. In his speech, he asked why people should starve, while there was plenty of bread in bakers' shops. Three inspectors came forward and arrested him. A member of the Socialist League spoke, followed by Springfield and others. The procession to Clerkenwell was started at 5 o'clock, headed by Springfield, who carried the red flag. When outside the Park, the police, horse and foot, charged and took the flag after a sharp struggle, amid the shouts of the crowd, of "Have you caught 'Leather Apron'?" The crowd marched back to Hyde Park, and held a protest meeting, at which strong resolutions were passed condemning the action of the police.

**LECTURE DIARY.**  
LONDON.

**Bloomsbury.**—This Branch will shortly be actively working. Socialists resident in this locality should send their names in at once to 13, Farringdon Road.  
**Olerkenwell.**—Hall of the Socialist League, 13 Farringdon Road, E.C. Sunday, September 16, at 8.30, W. Blundell, "The Tragics' Union Congress."  
**Fulham.**—8 Effie Road, Walham Green. Sunday evening, J. Turner, "Socialist Co-operation."—The members of this branch are striving to form a Library and Reading Room, and earnestly request all comrades who can aid to do so by sending books and magazines to Mrs. Groser, 8 Effie Road, Walham Green, or Mrs. Tochatti, 4 Railway Approach, Hammersmith, who will be pleased to receive them.  
**Hackney.**—Enquiries, communications, etc., to E. Lefevre, Secretary, 28 Percy Terrace, Victoria Rd., Hackney Wick.  
**Hammersmith.**—Kelmscott House, Upper Mall, W. Sunday, Sept. 16, at 8 p.m., J. Brailsford Bright (Fabian), "Division of Labour the True Basis of Organisation."  
**Hoxton.**—Persons wishing to join this branch are requested to communicate with H. D. Morgan, 22, Nicholas Street Hoxton.  
**London Fields.**—All communications, etc., to Mrs. G. G. Schack, 26 Cawley Road, South Hackney.  
**Merton.**—Club-house, 3 Clare Villas, Merton Road, Singlegate. Lecture on Sunday evening.  
**Mile-end and Bethnal Green.**—95 Boston St., Hackney Road.  
**North London.**—Secretary, Nelly Parker, 143 Cavendish Buildings, opposite Holborn Town Hall. The business meetings will be held on Friday evenings at 6 Windmill Street, Tottenham Court Road, after the open-air meeting at Ossulton Street. Special Meeting on Friday September 21st. All members are asked to attend at Ossulton St. at 8 o'clock.  
**St. Georges in the East.**—A meeting of the members of this branch will be held at 23 Princes Square, on Sunday morning after the meeting at Leman Street. Rochmann, secretary.

**PROVINCES.**

**Aberdeen** (Scottish Section).—Secretary, J. Leatham, 15 St Nicholas Street. Branch meets in Oddfellows Hall on Monday nights at 8. Choir practice at 46 Marischal Street on Thursday evenings at 8.  
**Bradford.**—Read's Coffee Tavern, Ivegate. Meets Tuesdays at 8.  
**Carnoustie** (Scottish Section: Forfarshire).—Meeting every Tuesday, at 8 p.m., in the Carnoustie Restaurant. H. M'Cluskey, Millar Street, Secy.  
**Cowdenbeath** (Scot. Sect.).—J. Duncan, 30 Arthur Pl., sec.  
**Dumdee** (Scot. Sect.).—Meetings every Sunday in the Trades Hall, opposite Tay Bridge Station.  
**Edinburgh** (Scottish Land and Labour League).—35 George IV. Bridge. Meetings for Discussion, Thursdays at 8 p.m.  
**Galashiels** (Scot Sect.).—J. Walker, 6 Victoria St., sec.  
**Gallatoun and Dysart** (Scottish Section: Fife).—Meet every Tuesday at 7 p.m. in Gallatoun Public School. Secretary, A. Paterson, 152 Rosslyn St.  
**Glasgow.**—84 John Street. Reading-room (Draughts, Chess, etc.) open 10 a.m. till 10 p.m. daily. On Thursday evening at 8, Choir Practice; all musical members invited.  
**Leeds.**—Clarendon Buildings, Victoria Rd. and Front Row. Open every evening. Business meeting Saturdays at 8 p.m. communications to T. Paylor, 11 Sheldon Street, Holbeck, Leeds.  
**Leicester.**—Hosiery Union Offices, 11a Millstone Lane. Fridays at 8 p.m.  
**Lochgelly** (Scottish Section: Fife).—Secs. (pro tem.), John Greig and Hugh Conway, The Square.  
**Norwich.**—Monday, at 8.30, Members' Meeting. Tuesday, at 8.30, Meeting in Gordon Hall. Wednesday, at 8.30, Educational Class—subject, "Liberty." Saturday, 8 until 10.30, Co-operative Clothing Association.—On Monday September 24th, a Special Entertainment will be held in the Gordon Hall by comrades and friends, commencing at 8 p.m., to clear off the debts in connection with the late prosecutions at Yarmouth. Admission 3d. each.  
**Oxford.**—Temperance Hall, 25½ Pembroke Street. Wednesdays, at 8.30 p.m.  
**Walsall.**—Lecture Room, back of Temperance Hall. Mondays at 8 p.m.  
**West Calder** (Scottish Section).—Sec., Robert Lindsay, West Calder.

All persons who sympathise with the views of the Socialist League are earnestly invited to communicate with the above addresses, and if possible help us in preparing for the birth of a true society, based on equality, brotherhood, and freedom for all.

**OPEN-AIR PROPAGANDA.**

SUNDAY 16.

11.30...Latimer Road Station ...Hammersmith Branch  
11.30...Mitcham Fair Green .....Macdonald  
11.30...Regent's Park .....Parker  
11.30...Walham Green, opp. Station.....J. Macdonald  
3.30...Hyde Park .....Parker & Brooks  
7 ...Weltje Road, opposite Ravenscourt Park  
.....Hammersmith Branch  
  
Monday.  
8 ...Wimbledon Broadway .....Burns

*Tuesday.*  
8.30...Fulham—opposite Liberal Club.....Fulham Bh.

*Friday.*  
7.30...Euston Rd.—Ossulton Street.....Parker

**EAST END.**

SUNDAY 16.

Mile-end Waste ... 11 ...Mrs. Schack.  
Leman Street, Shadwell 11 ...Nicol.  
Victoria Park ... 3.15...Mrs. Schack.  
London Fields ... 8 ...Mainwaring.

**TUESDAY.**

London Fields ... 8.30...East-end C'mittee.  
Mile-end Waste ... 8.30... "

**WEDNESDAY.**

Broadway, London Fields 8.30... "

**FRIDAY.**

Philpot St., Commercial Rd. 8.30... "

**SATURDAY.**

Mile-end Waste ... 8 ... "

**PROVINCES.**

**Aberdeen.**—Saturday: Castle Street, at 7 p.m.  
**Edinburgh.**—Queen's Park, every Sunday, at 3 p.m.  
**Glasgow.**—Sunday: Jail's Square, at 12.0; Paisley Road at 5; Green, near Nelson's Monument, at 6.30.  
**Ipswich.**—  
Sproughton, Wednesday evening.  
Westerfield, Thursday evening.  
Neeham Market, Sunday morning and evening.  
**Leeds.**—Sunday: Hunslet Moor, at 11 a.m.; Vicar's Croft, at 7 p.m.  
**Leicester.**—Sunday: Russel Square, at 11 a.m.  
**Norwich.**—Sunday: Market Place, at 3 and 7.30.  
North Walsham, Sunday at 11.  
Diss, Sunday at 11.  
Croswick Common, Sunday at 3.  
Yarmouth, Thursday at 7.30.  
St Catharine's Plain, Friday at 8.15 p.m.

THE PROGRESSIVE ASSOCIATION, PENTON HALL, 81, Pentonville Road.—Sunday, September 16, at 7.45, J. F. Oakeshott, "The Coming Democracy."

At the Farringdon Hall, 13, Farringdon Hall, 13, Farringdon Road, on Friday, September 14th, a Free Discussion will be opened by A. Marsh.: Subject: "Work and Social Utility," at 8.30 prompt.

THE SOCIALIST CO-OPERATIVE FEDERATION.—The Committee will meet at the Socialist League, 13 Farringdon Road, on Saturday, September 15th, at 7.30 p.m. Subscriptions received and members enrolled at 9 p.m.

UNITED SCANDINAVIAN CLUB, 43, Rathbone Place, Oxford Street, W.—Tuesday, September 18, at 8 p.m., Annie Besant (Fabian Society), "The Social Problem." Monday September 24, at 8, Harold Cox, B.A. (Fabian Society), "Trades Unionism and Co-operation"

EAST END PROPAGANDA.—Instead of the usual fortnightly discussion next Saturday week, the 22nd, a special entertainment is being arranged for on behalf of the Free Speech Fund. It is hoped all will do what they can to make this a success. Further particulars next week. Our Jewish comrades have also recently had parades on Sunday mornings, at 11 o'clock, down Petticoat Lane, to sell their paper *The Workers' Friend*; but as they have been very badly illused there, it is hoped all English comrades who can spare the time will accompany them next Sunday, and take the opportunity of selling the *Commonweal*, *Freedom*, and other English literature, which can be obtained of J. Lane, 38, Ainslie Street, Bethnal Green Junction, and thus help in protecting them, and shewing they are not Jew sweaters and enemies, but fellow workers for the complete Emancipation of Labor, and also give practical expression to our International sentiment.

**SOCIALIST LEAGUE LITERATURE.**

**Chants for Socialists.** By William Morris. . 1d  
**Organised Labour: The Duty of the Trades' Unions in Relation to Socialism.** By Thomas Binning (London Society of Compositors). . 1d  
**The Commune of Paris.** By E. Belfort Bax, Victor Dave, and William Morris. . 2d  
**The Aims of Art.** By Wm. Morris. . 6d.  
Bijou edition, 3d.; Large paper, 6d.  
**The Rights of Labour according to John Ruskin.** By Thomas Barclay. . 1d  
**The Tables Turned; or, Nupkins Awakened.** A Socialist Interlude. By William Morris. In Wrapper . 4d.  
**The Manifesto of the Socialist League.** Annotated by E. Belfort Bax and William Morris. An exposition of the principles on which the League is founded. . 1d.  
**Useful Work v. Useless Toil.** By William Morris. . 1d.  
  
"All for the Cause!" Song. Words by William Morris; Music by E. Belfort Bax. 4to, 4 pp. 6d.  
per dozen, 4s. 6d  
  
"Vive la Commune!" Cartoon by Walter Crane. Best paper. . 2d.  
**Mrs. Grundy (Cartoon).** By Walter Crane. Fine hand-made large paper. . 6d.

**BOOKS FOR SALE.**

To make room, and allow me to purchase other books required for *Commonweal* work, I shall be glad to hear from buyers of following duplicate copies and other items, of which full details will be sent:—

**HISTORY OF AMERICAN SOCIALISMS.** Quite new. 8s. 6d. (published at 15s.). (Noyes).  
**LIFE OF WILLIAM LOVETT.** New. 3s. 6d. (pub. 5s.).  
**MEN OF THE TIME.** A useful Dictionary of Biography. 5s. (pub. 12s. 6d.).  
**MANUAL FOR CO-OPERATORS.**  
**CO-OPERATIVE AGRICULTURE.**  
**HONE'S ANCIENT MYSTERIES.**  
**BURKE ON THE EVILS OF ALL STATE GOVERNMENTS.** 1s., post free.  
**SECRET SOCIETIES OF THE EUROPEAN REVOLUTION.** (Frost.) 2 vols., newly bound, 7s.  
**VOLNEY'S RUINS.** 2s.  
**COBBETT'S LIFE and GRAMMAR.** New, 3s. 6d.  
**WORK AND PAY.** Levi.  
**FOUR CIVILIZATIONS OF THE WORLD.** Wikoff.

Country friends will be well advised to write for particulars. THOMAS SHORE, jun., 33 Newington Green Road, Balls Pond, London, N.

**THE ALARM**

A. R. PARSONS' OLD PAPER.

"Men die, but Principles live."

Subscriptions 8s. per annum.

Can be sent with *Commonweal* from 13 Farringdon Road, London, E.C.

WANTED, AN IMPROVER TO THE WATCH AND CLOCK TRADE. Socialist preferred.—Apply 41 and 43 High Street, Deptford.

**The Chicago Martyrs:**

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# THE COMMONWEAL

## The Official Journal of the SOCIALIST LEAGUE.

VOL. 4.—No. 141.

SATURDAY, SEPTEMBER 22, 1888.

WEEKLY; ONE PENNY.

### NOTES ON NEWS.

THE controversy between the *Daily News* and Mr. Davitt shows on what shallow foundations rests the hope that the Liberal party will deal satisfactorily with the Irish question. The whole matter for the *Daily News* is one of party politics; to import any reality into the question and look facts in the face appears, naturally enough from this point of view, an impertinence. Mr. Davitt is an interloper, "a dangerous firebrand," because he actually wishes to save his countrymen from the immediate miseries of eviction, and does not hesitate to say what he thinks will stir up some honest men to help in the matter. Anyone who has belonged to the Great Liberal Party at a crisis and has had strong opinions of his own at the time will at once recognise the true Whig flavour in the wretched snobbery of the *Daily News* article the other day; and Mr. Davitt's scorn which met it was most amply justified, whether he was right or not in his estimate of the present mind of English Liberals as to Ireland.

But surely he *was* right. No doubt the eyes of working men who are true to their class have been opened on the subject of Ireland, and Mr. Davitt can rely on these for support. But what is their power in the Liberal party? Next to nothing. Their enthusiasm has been wasted, they have been snubbed and Trafalgar-Squared, and in short treated as inconvenient persons—like Mr. Davitt.

The party, as a party, is apathetic, and the Irish constitutional section is pinned on to its apathy. The truth is that these Gladstonite Whigs can see nothing except the general election, which they believe, and probably rightly, will bring them into power once more. The swing of the pendulum will then most likely give us a Liberal government again; but as far as anything they can do, that prospect is not encouraging even as regards Ireland, which is the only question the *Daily News* and its masters will allow us to look at. When one comes to think that the serious consideration of the relations between the Irish tenant and his landlord and the advocacy of some kind of land nationalisation makes a man a "firebrand" in the eyes of the Great Liberal Party, one's raptures at the probable change of government are apt to be moderated.

What will happen? A compromise on Home Rule, a temporising measure in favour of the tenants, and the whole question as a real matter of everyday life handed over to the Socialists to deal with, and agitate upon.

Even the bourgeois papers call Mr. Saunders over the coals for his last appearance in the character of Nupkins. Of course people cannot help laughing at the monumental stupidity of the man; but it is just this stupidity which is the dangerous thing, for on such stupidity is based the immoveable cruelty of the governors to the governed. A man not irredeemably stupid could not help thinking, "Here is a poor man in a foreign country, whose language he cannot even talk, who is extra helpless and has been wronged: if I am so hard-hearted as not to feel for him, at any rate let me *pretend* to do so." Such wisdom is not to be had out of Nupkins; a hard fate drives him to proclaim his incurable stupidity, which has at least the effect of cruelty.

All this would not much matter if we read this week that Mr. Saunders has been dismissed in disgrace—which is not likely to happen; the freaks of an East End magistrate have nothing to do with the comfort of well-to-do people, for whom alone the laws are made, though they may inflict misery enough amongst the people whom he rules over, and who have no redress for his hard-dealing and insults.

The coming winter is not likely to lack its share of "discontent," which is becoming a thing to be looked for among the poor, just as "the Season" is among the rich. We are beginning early too; the pauper refuges full, meetings of unemployed, police attacks on them; prosecutions for violent speaking; this does not look very like the peace and prosperity we have been promised.

As to the prosecutions for violent speaking, it is much to be wished that the authorities will attack us in this way rather than by means of

their old sneaking obstruction tactics; it is much more satisfactory to go to prison for straightforward preaching of what is undoubtedly a dangerous doctrine, than for an offence which mixes up Socialists with Salvationists, etc. Only if we are to be run in for violent speaking, let it be for saying something that we shall not be ashamed to see quoted in the papers. Let it be for attacking the essence of our sham society, and not its accidents; let us in fact talk Socialism, for that may be both reasonable and violent at the same time. It is as well to have witnesses also, not for the sake of the police courts, where the magistrates will not heed them, but for the sake of putting ourselves right before the public and our comrades. As an author I know the unpleasantness of being misrepresented by newspaper critics; and I fear that police witnesses will not be much better than these.

According to the *Star*, the Salt Trust is to be succeeded by a Coal Trust, which will arrange matters (of course) for the benefit of the public, by taking care on the one hand that we don't get our coals too cheap, and on the other hand that the men shall be employed (as much as the employer finds it convenient to employ him). The promoters of the scheme are of course too modest to mention themselves, but clearly expect us to believe that they are actuated by the purest public spirit. The affair, along with others of a similar nature, is interesting to Socialists as showing in the first place that the unlimited competition on which our whole commercial system rests is beginning to break down, and in the second place the helplessness of the general public before the great capitalists: for of course, to drop irony, the real aim of these schemes is to rob both producer and consumer as safely and as much as possible. Meantime labour must pay for the whole game.

W. M.

Mr. George Kennan has recently written a series of articles in the *Century* which might be entitled, "The Russian Prison System from the Standpoint of the Superior Middle-class Person." In these he endeavours to prove that the Russian Nihilist is not the dangerous revolutionist of contemporary newspaper fiction; on the contrary he is a mild speculative individual, much addicted to reading Spencer and Comte, and looking upon the Republican Government in America as his highest administrative ideal.

Mr. Kennan has had some conversation with some of the Siberian exiles. He appears to have expected to meet a gang of murderous savages, who would perform a war dance while brandishing daggers and revolvers around the helpless tourists. Instead of this he encountered a number of mild young men and women, who might have done honour to a Young Men's Christian Association in any land but Russia.

Clearly either the Russian police or Mr. Kennan have made a serious mistake; still I cannot help thinking that some one has been gammoning Mr. Kennan. It is quite possible, too, that these exiles not knowing Mr. Kennan, and remarking that he was on very friendly terms with their jailers, hesitated at delivering themselves so freely in his presence as they otherwise might have done.

This worthy gentleman is very severe upon what he calls "incomprehensible cranks," whom he defines as "people with some education, a great deal of fanatical courage, and a limitless capacity for self-sacrifice, but with most visionary ideas of government and social organisation, and with only the faintest idea of what an American would call 'hard common sense.'" He goes on to observe, "I did not expect to have any more ideas in common with them than I should have in common with an Anarchist like Louis Lingg."

We have seen he was agreeably disappointed, and if the exiles he met with are anything like he represents them to be, we can only wonder at the stupidity of the Russian Government in exiling people with whom a respectable middle-class journalist like Mr. Kennan can sympathise. Much better to have given them a government post and thus effectively closed their mouths.

But let us examine Mr. Kennan's definition of "a incomprehensible crank" as a person of some education, a great deal of fanatical courage,

and a limitless capacity for self-sacrifice, with only, unfortunately, the faintest trace of hard common-sense. I defer, of course, to Mr. Kennan's superior knowledge; but I have hitherto thought that this would be an excellent definition of heroes who have carried every great revolution that has transformed the face of the earth, but I find I was mistaken. Jesus Christ, Socrates, Galileo, and John Brown were all "incomprehensible cranks, with only the faintest trace of hard common-sense," or they would never have been hung, tortured, poisoned, and crucified.

Stupid fanatics! they had much better have fallen into the ways of the respectable world, and devoted what small talents they were possessed of to improving their position in life. Those people who admire and venerate are quite mistaken them, they were not heroes but "incomprehensible cranks." Mr. Kennan says so, and he ought to know!

It is pleasant to hear that Mr. Kennan has "no ideas in common" with these people, and therefore runs no risk of inconvenient martyrdom. By-the-by, that excellent young man might be surprised to hear that "Anarchist Louis Lingg" derived his incendiary notions from the comrades of the political exiles whom he met in the wilds of Siberia. That, however, happens to be the fact, as every student of Socialism knows; but Mr. Kennan being a clever journalist, is quite capable of laying down the law upon a subject without knowing anything at all about it. That is one of the necessary accomplishments of his profession.

D. N.

## LABOUR'S TRIANGULAR PROBLEM;

OR, MEN VERSUS MACHINES.

"There is no security against the ultimate development of mechanical consciousness in the fact of machines possessing little consciousness now. A mollusc has not much consciousness. Reflect upon the extraordinary advance which the machines have made during the last few hundred years, and observe how slowly the animal and vegetable kingdoms are advancing in comparison. The more highly organised machines are creatures not so much of yesterday as of the last five minutes, so to speak, in comparison with past time. Assume for the sake of argument that conscious beings have existed for some twenty million years: see what strides machines have made in the last thousand! . . . Even now the machines will only serve on condition of being served, and that too upon their own terms. The moment their terms are not complied with, they jib, and either smash both themselves and all whom they can reach, or turn churlish and refuse to work at all. How many men at this hour are living in a state of bondage to the machines? How many spend their whole lives, from the cradle to the grave, in tending them by night and day? Is it not plain that the machines are gaining ground upon us, when we reflect on the increasing number of those who are bound down to them as slaves, and of those who devote their whole souls to the advancement of the mechanical kingdom."—(Samuel Butler: 'Erewhon,' pp. 189, 200.)

THE thought-provoking book from which the above is taken contains in chapters xxi, ii, and iii, probably some of the most extravagant speculation ever risked, even in a satirical fable, as it is. The pity is, there is so much of truth in the statement as to the increasing number of those who are slaves to machines.

I am hoping to give some fuller samples of 'Erewhon' some day; just now the question is machinery. Political economists at Bath, and trades unionists at Bradford, have just recently been dealing with the questions of machinery, production, distribution. Production and distribution the great question to settle; machinery the great distributing element.

The orthodox political economist says "Produce more and eat less"; the trades unionist, "Produce less and eat more"; the Socialist, "Produce more and eat more." The political economist says, Increase your powers of production and be more thrifty; the ordinary trades unionist says, Restrict the output; the Socialist says, Control the whole means of production and distribution: produce as much as you want, and consume it. It is a sort of triangular duel, in the course of which some most wonderful nonsense has been written.

The *British Printer*, one of the latest organs devoted to that trade, and far and away the best printed, in its last number has the following par., which for its size contains more serious warning and specious balderdash than one could think possible:—

"EDISON ON THE LABOUR QUESTION.—In reply to the question, 'When motive power gets to be four times as cheap as it is, what will become of the labouring man?' Mr. Edison replied, 'He will be enriched by it. Machinery will be his slave. See how machinery has multiplied in the last fifty years. As a direct result, working men get double the wages they did then, and the necessities of life cost only half as much. In other words, a hand-worker can to-day buy four times as much with ten hours of work as his father could fifty years ago. For the first time in the world's history a skilled mechanic can buy a barrel of flour with a single day's work. The machinery in the United States represents the labour of a thousand million men, or fifty times as much labour as all the men in the country. When motive power is still further cheapened—say in another generation—I believe that the unskilled labourer, if sober and industrious, can have a house of his own, and a horse and carriage, and a library, and a piano. It is terrible stupidity that leads some labouring men to suppose that machinery is their foe. It is the thing which gives them independence and even freedom. Without machinery society would drift into the condition of master and slave. The multiplication of machinery means for every worker more food, better clothes, better house, less work. In fact, I believe that the indefinite increase of machinery is going to solve what folks call "the labour problem"—that is, the desire of hand-workers to get a bigger slice of the margin of profit."

It is rather refreshing to find such a par. in the pages of a journal whose *raison de être* is the minimising of machinery. The *British Printer* is the outcome of a move made some ten or twelve years ago by a few earnest men, with some artistic feeling, to prevent the absolute extinction of printing as a handicraft and art; every page is a typographic protest against the dreary mechanical work of ten to twenty

years ago, and a proof of the good effects which have come of once more allowing and urging the workman to be really a craftsman and an artist, instead of a mere automata attending on a machine.

This is by the way; only may it be noted, however, that the incongruity of such a paragraph in such a place is accentuated by finding that the sheets are fastened together with those confounded machine-driven wire staples, which are "stabbed" through as though to murder a choice bit of work, as special sacrifice to the machine demon.

Returning to the paragraph itself, the very serious part is the statement that "the machinery in the United States represents the labour of one thousand million men, or fifty times as much labour as that of all the men in the country." Extremes meet, we are told, and probably it will be allowed that Robert Owen and J. S. Mill and John Ruskin and Professor Cairnes, extreme of orthodox economists and extreme of Socialists all agree on the position as expressed by Mill, that "it is questionable if all the mechanical inventions yet made have lightened the days of toil of any human being."

Edison says that the amount of machinery now permits a man to buy four times as much with his ten hours of labour than his father could. A writer in the *Denver Labour Enquirer*, Jan. 1885, said, "When it takes 75 bushels of western man's corn to buy one ton of Ohio coal, and the miner has to dig out twelve tons of coal to buy one bushel of corn, we may well stand aghast at our system of developing the country." This is the way to examine this question; this puts aside the confusion caused by the money value put upon things. The same rule-of-three sums can be worked out here in England on the figures in any labour paper, and gives point-blank denial to Edison's statement.

As to exactly how much man-labour is represented by the machine power in use in the world, that is a very difficult question, but the following from various sources may be useful, just at this time when the Trades Union Congress is being held and is discussing the growth of machine power. "In 1851 machine and tool making employed in England and Wales 48,000 persons; in 1861, 117,000; in 1871, 175,000. In 1851 our exports of steam-engines and other kinds amounted to £1,168,000; in 1875 to £4,213,000."<sup>1</sup>

To make by hand all the yarn spun in one year by the use of the self-acting mule, carrying 1,000 spindles—viz., 1,000 threads at the time—would require 100,000,000 men.<sup>2</sup>

Kolb's 'Condition of Nations,' 1880, footnote p. 99, says, "According to Fairbairn, in 1860 the metal works and smelting furnaces of England employed so many steam engines as to represent together 450,000 horse power. The steam-engines of the manufactories had together 1,350,000 horse power; the steamers 850,000; and the locomotives 1,000,000; making together 3,650,000 horse power. But inasmuch as this power is continuous, while horses would only work eight hours, the figures should be increased to 11,000,000. It is reckoned that the power of seven men is equal to one horse-power, so the steam-engines of England perform a work which would require 77,000,000 men to perform."

According to M. Chevalier there were 16,500 locomotives at work in Europe. These represented 8,000,000 horses, or 40,000,000 able-bodied men, or the working capacity of a population of 200,000,000 human beings. (*Democrat*, Nov. 1886.)

Prof. A. Russel Wallace, in 'Land Nationalisation,' 1882, footnote p. 6, says, "There seems to be no means of getting at the exact amount of steam power now in use. A writer in the *Radical* newspaper states it at 2,000,000 horse power. Mr. Thomas Briggs in the *Peacemaker* states that 'in 1851 we had steam machinery which represented 500 million pairs of hands,' but I am informed he means by this the number which would be required to do the same work by the old hand-power machines. In a periodical called *Design and Work* (vol. x, 1881), it is stated that England now employs 9,000,000 horse power. Taking this estimate as approximately correct, we have a power equal to 90 million men. One-half our population (15 millions) consists of children and persons wholly dependent on the labour of others, and from the remainder we may deduct all the professional, literary, and independent classes, the army and navy, financiers, speculators, Government officials, and most tradesmen and shopkeepers—none of whom are producers of wealth. Taking these, together with the criminals, paupers, and tramps, at 6 millions, we have 9 millions who do all the productive physical labour of the country, while the steam power at work for us is at least ten times as much."

What this vast increase of power really means can be judged by taking a few of the trades most affected by steam and machinery:—

"In 1874, 538,829 persons employed in mining and handling coal above and below ground extracted 160,713,832 tons of coal. In 1883, 514,933 persons produced 163,737,327 tons—an increase of nearly 23,000,000, with 24,000 fewer persons employed. In 1874 the miners won 261 tons per head; in 1880, 334 tons per head. In 1880, 53,896 were unemployed. In the working of iron and steel, in 1872, 360,356 persons employed produced and used 6,741,929 tons of pig-iron. In 1883, 361,343 persons were so employed, and they produced 8,490,224 tons—an increase of 1,750,000 tons for nearly the same number of persons as in 1872. In the cotton and flax industry 570,000 persons used 1,266,100,000 lbs. of cotton in 1874; while in 1883 but 586,470 persons used 1,510,600,000 lbs. In every case it is the same—decreased number employed, and immensely increased production. In agriculture in England and Wales, persons employed have fallen from 2,010,454 in 1861, to 1,383,184 in 1881, of whom but 800,000 are classed as agricultural labourers. Bear in mind that all this while population has been increasing at the rate of 10 per cent. per annum."<sup>3</sup>

THOS. SHORE, jun.

(To be continued.)

<sup>1</sup> Leon Levi: 'Work and Pay,' Strahan, 1877, p. 51.<sup>2</sup> Idem, p. 25.<sup>3</sup> *Nineteenth Century*, December 1884.

## REVOLUTIONARY CALENDAR.

WEEK ENDING SEPTEMBER 29, 1888.

23	Sun.	1651. Battle of Worcester. 1829. Major John Cartwright died.
24	Mon.	1798. Bartholomew Teeling hung. 1866. Great Reform meeting at Manchester.
25	Tues.	1870. Siege of Paris begun. 1877. Communist Club intervenes in strike at new Law Courts, and causes German masons to return home.
26	Wed.	1848. Trial of Chartists.
27	Thur.	1798. Thomas Muir died. 1803. Trial of H. Howley for high treason. 1830. Outbreak at Berne. 1885. Dod Street demonstration; 70,000 present.
28	Fri.	1840. Trial of Louis Napoleon for Boulogne attempt. 1848. Trial of Smith O'Brien for high treason. 1864. International founded. 1870. Capitulation of Strasburg: Rising at Lyons.
29	Sat.	1783. Hussey Burgh died. 1887. Northumberland miners' gala.

## INTERNATIONAL NOTES.

## FRANCE.

The ultra-radical Premier, Floquet, goes on very well in the way of reaction: this week, he has ordered twenty foreign workers, among whom are eighteen Belgians, to be expelled from France, their crime consisting in being real republicans in that sham republican country.

In the centre of France, at Allasac, Brive, Tulle, etc., the strike of the navvies continues, and the men are very energetic. The soldiers that have been sent there by Floquet-Bayonet had a glorious day: armed with rifles and sabres, they fought against poor unarmed women, the wives of the strikers, and wounded them, some fatally, many others very severely. But at last they became ashamed of their work, and in spite of the orders of their commanders, they opened their ranks and the women and children passed on their way. How much longer is Floquet going to govern France?

Comrade Jules Guesde, who for years past has valiantly by pen and tongue fought for the cause of Social Revolution in Italy, in Switzerland, and in France, is so dangerously ill, at Montlucon, that the doctors have given up all hope for his recovery. We earnestly wish, in spite of the verdict of the physicians, that our friend may be rescued of his severe illness.

*Le Coup de Feu* (the Gunshot), the valiant bi-monthly organ edited by our old comrade Eugene Chatelain, has now developed in a weekly Socialist, literary and artistic Review of 16 pages large crown folio, and continues to do good work in the propagation of revolutionary ideas. Two new contributors have been secured: Felix Pyat and T. B. Clement, who, with Chatelain, Courret, Roland, Lucas, Simon, Besse and others, form an effective staff of able and devoted Socialists. We wish our good friend Chatelain every success, and hope that his Review, in its new form, will contribute to a larger extent even than before, to the furtherance of the cause for which he has suffered so many a year of imprisonment and exile.

## GERMANY.

William I. is going from bad to worse, and we should not at all be surprised to hear one of these days that he has become mad. He only thinks of his military forces, awakes at four o'clock in the morning, runs to some barracks, where he himself orders the soldiers to the drill-field, and there he parades until late at night. To do such work, almost day after day, he ought to be in good health, but it has recently transpired that he is only apparently so, and that his feverish activity is nothing else but the result of bad health. The despotic pupil of Bismarck suffers very heavily from a cruel disease of the ear, which seems to be an hereditary gift of the Hohenzollerns to their children, and he shows such an irascible temper that it is almost intolerable to live near him. For several weeks past he has been unable to sleep, hence his nocturnal visits to the barracks and the early military manoeuvres ordered by him. Sometimes he is in very low spirits and confidentially consults his physicians as to the premature end of his life. To his military mania he adds another: a profound detestation of French wines and of French words used in the German tongue. He has ordered all the French wines to be removed from the imperial cellars, and does not allow any of his servants to make use of one single French word, even of those words that have passed for a long period of time in the German language. He also fears very much to be killed by some "wicked" revolutionary, and therefore is always accompanied by a bodyguard of well-drilled "non-gentlemen"; he has just now sent out the notorious Krueger, the chief of that sort of gentlemen, to Vienna and to Milan, where he intends to have soon a trip, in order to make the journey safe for his royal person, exactly as the abominable Czar is obliged to do. In short, it seems very likely that we will have soon to "mourn" over a fresh Hohenzollern loss.

Numerous expulsions of Socialists are about to be perpetrated in the northern provinces of the blessed Fatherland, and it is announced that the towns of Naumburg and Altona will be particularly distinguished, the Socialists there being very strong. Happily enough that the social Revolution will not therefore cease to go ahead.

Dr. Krieger will soon have to appear before the magistrates and very likely will be convicted for an offense which until now at least had happily passed unnoticed: the poor doctor has laughed in a public trade's assembly, because a policeman has ordered a speaker to "shut up," as we say here. "What are you doing there?" asked the policeman. "Well, I am laughing!" was the answer. "Laughing is not allowed; that is provoking and disrespectful." And so they are in Bismarck's land: oftentimes atrocious and brutal, but also sometimes stupid and ridiculous!

## ROUMANIA.

The Slavonic populations of the Donau region, says *La Révolte*, are perhaps about to prepare a solution of the Oriental question which has not been foreseen by the European diplomatists. The agrarian revolt exists there in a state of permanency. In spite of the bloody repression of the outburst of last spring the disorders have not ceased, and the revolutionary movement kept down on one spot recommences a few kilometres further. Regular sets of people are travelling all over Roumania, turn the farmers out of their houses, kidnap the functionaries, and sometimes even hang them. The

same things occur in Servia; the monasteries are plundered, the agents of the government are knocked down, and whenever soldiers come across the peasants they soon find all resistance impossible. Everywhere the same enemy—religion, capital, authority.

The strike of the engineers, iron and wood-workers of the Roumanian railways, to which we referred at some length last week, is spreading all round, and has now been joined by the engine-drivers. The arsenal workers have declared that if they are compelled to do provisionally the work of the strikers, they at once are determined to join their fellow-comrades in the struggle. It is exceedingly hopeful for the Cause to see how our Roumanian friends go hand in hand with their Hungarian, Polish, and German brethren, in spite of all the provocations of the bourgeois press, which does its utmost to spread discord and hatred among the workers of the various nationalities. This strike is looked at by the Roumanian Socialists as very important for the future development of the revolutionary ideas in their country.

## POLAND.

A considerable number of revolutionary Socialist proclamations have lately been distributed in the streets of Warsaw, and among the peasants of the neighbouring villages. It is a fact worth noting that the revolutionary Socialists with their scanty means, meet with greater success and better results than the so-called patriotic party with all their wealthy resources. A new "Polish insurrection" of the olden type is no longer to be feared; the next one will be a social one, and our friends there make good speed towards it.

## RUSSIA.

As it appears, the Terrorist party will ere long have again a word to say in Russian matters. Lately ten arrests have been made at Petersburg; seven men and three women, who were carrying bombs somewhere in the neighbourhood of the palace. At Kharkow and Odessa, numerous friends of the Cause have also been arrested in connection with the Petersburg affair. Several working-men's organisations have been formed in various parts of the country, and, as *La Révolte* observes, they manage their own business very well, apart from the admixture of the students of the universities in revolutionary matters. This certainly is a sign of progress, although we highly acknowledge the immense services rendered to the Cause of Revolution by hundreds of heroic young men and young girls of the wealthy classes.

A new Russian Socialist paper has just appeared at Geneva, with the world-known motto, "Proletariat of all countries, unite!" Its editors are Peter Axelrod and G. Plechanow. The first number of this new periodical has the following contents: (1) A word from the editors; (2) The means of conquering a constitution; (3) Our men of letters, by Plechanow; (4) Parliamentarism and Boulangism, by Paul Lafargue; (5) The inevitable change, by Plechanow; (6) The minister-demagogue, by T. E.; (7) Russian life; (8) The workers' movement in 1860 and at the present time, by Axelrod; (9) Bibliography; (10) Obituary: Metschnikow and E. Eudes; (11) History of the International Workingmen's Association, by V. Sassulitch.

There is a sad event also to be recorded about Russia. Tikhomiroff, formerly a member of the Terrorist executive committee, and editor of their two secret organs: *Land and Freedom* and *The Will of the People*, has become a traitor to the Cause. He has published at Paris a pamphlet written in the Russian language, in which he explains why he has ceased to be a revolutionist. He no longer believes in Revolution, speaks with much respect for the Czar and the Imperial Government, finds it necessary to muzzle even more the Russian press, wants for Russia "a strong Government," and invites all his countrymen to rally themselves under the regime of the Imperial autocrat. His reasons for betraying the Cause to which he once belonged are the same of those of all renegades. The miserable autocrat has already granted him his pardon for his past life, and he is now about to commence a new one—a life of shame, in luxury and wealth.

V. D.

## ITALY.

THE IRON LAW.—A correspondent to the *Muratore* of Milan writes: "At the very first opening of the large building works at Milan an enormous number of labourers from the neighbourhood flocked to the town and entered into violent competition with the workers there by offering themselves to the contractors at a much lower rate than that already settled upon between the masters and their employés at the time of last year's strike. Accustomed in their country districts to receive a daily wage of l. 1.50 (1s. 3d.), and to live on poor bread and polenta, they think themselves lucky to gain in the town from l. 2 to 2.50 a-day and get good bread to eat. The additional discomforts of night-work, and, when they can sleep, of sleeping here, there, or wherever it may be about the works, they do not seem to mind." The writer goes on to lament this competition, begging these fellow-workers from the country to combine for higher wages, so as not to be at warfare one against the other, and lower the tariff laboured for and gained with so much effort. This state of things is indeed very hard, and so is the Iron Law of wages a hard fact, and it shows as a particularly flaring fact in Italy, where trades-unionism is only just beginning to take root under different names—Socialism among others.

The King of Italy has written a letter to his trusty Crispi as the outcome of his journey through Romagna—a letter of form and ceremony, expressing his pleasure, etc., etc. The letter is a mere matter of course, and surely not worth the page or two of notes that the *Emancipazione* bestows upon it. As a matter of fact, with all deference to our republican friends in Italy, Humbert does not deserve one quarter of the abuse he comes in for among other and more "worthy" objects of contumely; nor does it state the case to say that he and Crispi are both "flour from the same sack" (a picturesque simile, by the bye). In many ways he makes a better puppet than any other so-called ruler, whether monarchical or republican, and to our thinking has about him a certain rough honesty and attempt at straight dealing, which is no doubt frustrated at every turn by his political wire-pullers, whom we freely deliver up to the lively pen of our energetic and interesting contemporary of Rome.

M. M.

METROPOLITAN PAUPERISM.—The weekly return of metropolitan pauperism shows that the total number of paupers relieved in the first week of the current month was 91,565, of whom 55,163 were indoor and 36,402 outdoor paupers. The total number relieved shows an increase of 2,932 over the corresponding week of last year, 4,289 over 1886, and 6,264 over 1885. The total number of vagrants relieved on the last day of the week was 984, of whom 807 were men, 162 women, and 15 children under sixteen.





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

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

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

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

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

Will be used—'Socialism in Perthshire.'

Periodicals received during the week ending Wednesday September 19.

<b>ENGLAND</b> Bradford Observer Justice Labour Tribune Norwich—Daylight North British Daily Mail Railway Review Telegraph Service Gazette Worker's Friend	<b>CHICAGO (Ill.)—Vorbote</b> Fort Worth (Tex.)—South West Milwaukee—National Reformer Providence Independent Citizen Paterson (N J) Labor Standard St. Louis (Mo.)—Die Parole Coast Seamen's Journal	<b>SWITZERLAND</b> Zurich—Sozial Demokrat Arbeiterstimme
<b>NEW SOUTH WALES</b> Hamilton—Radical	<b>FRANCE</b> Paris—Cri du Peuple (daily) Le Parti Ouvrier (daily) La Revolte Le Coup de Feu En Avant Lille—Le Cri du Travailleur Nimes—L'Emancipation	<b>ITALY</b> Gazetta Operaia Rome, L'Emancipazione (daily) Marsala—La Nuova Eta Cremona—Il Democratico Turin - Il Muratore
<b>INDIA</b> Bankipore—Behar Herald Madras—People's Friend	<b>HOLLAND</b> Hague -Recht voor Allen	<b>SPAIN</b> El Productor Madrid—El Socialista
<b>UNITED STATES</b> New York—Der Sozialist Truthseeker Volkszeitung Jewish Volkszeitung Alarm Workmen's Advocate Boston—Woman's Journal Liberty Buffalo—Arbeiter-Zeitung	<b>BELGIUM</b> Ghent—Vooruit Liege—L'Avenir Antwerp—De Werker	<b>GERMANY</b> Berlin—Volks Tribune <b>AUSTRIA</b> Wien—Gleichheit Brunn—Arbeiterstimme
	<b>PORTUGAL</b> Lisbon—O Protesto Operario	<b>ROMANIA</b> Jassy—Municipal <b>DENMARK</b> Social-Demokraten <b>SWEDEN</b> Stockholm, Social-Demokraten

## A MODERN MIDAS.

In one respect at least, we Socialists have an advantage over other people. The very simplest and rudest ideal that a Socialist can conceive of would bear realisation well; a Socialist could only be discontented with such realisation by ceasing to be a Socialist; and there are few creeds or causes of which this could be said. Some have discounted the usual ideals, so to say, and rejected them beforehand, like the old Scotch lady who declined to sacrifice her pleasure on earth for the chance of sitting on a damp cloud and singing psalms all day for ever in another world; others, like Swedenborg, have gravely (though in his case with much humour also) tried to reason devotees out of the more foolish parts of their ideal, and put heaven before them as little more than the realisation of Socialism in a future state. Modern creeds, on the other hand, with characteristic cowardice, have generally evaded the difficulties that beset the realisation of ideals by taking care to make them so vague that at no stage of the change could it be said whether they were realised or not.

One religion there is, however, whose ideal as a religion is simple and straightforward enough, and quite capable of realisation, and indeed is often realised; that religion is the religion of money-making. To put yourself in such a position that no one could for a moment suppose that you need do or were doing anything useful, is, as we all know, the one thing to be striven after according to the Money-God; although the pursuit of this ideal is made easier by the pretence of having others, of the damp-cloud and psalm-singing nature. But the realisation of this ideal does not always (it is said) bring satisfaction: "to live the life of a gentleman" has been found irksome to many who have had in earlier days more exciting ways of life than that. Nay, one anecdote I know, which was told me as a fact by a business man of great respectability, which seems to show that a "gentleman's" life has unexpected dangers. A man in business in a large Midland town, said my acquaintance (who knew the man), after a long struggle as an agent and broker and what not, carried on with that untiring energy and strength of mind which so distinguishes the English bourgeois (only, by the way, the man was a German)—this man at last grew rich, and "lived like a gentleman"; and then very rich, and lived, I suppose, more like a gentleman. But here came the hitch: either he was so bored by the results of his triumph, his realised ideal, or his mind was so strong before that now it became weak, and he found that the only fun to be got out of his ideal was the pursuit of it. In short, this German representative of English industry went mad, and his madness took the form of his thinking that his ideal was still

unrealised, and that he was poor and struggling still. He now grew so little like "a gentleman" that he begrudged his own belly, his own back (and not other peoples') victuals and clothes. His friends (or hangers on) would come to him and say, "So and so, the doctor has ordered you a mutton chop"; and he would answer, "Well, the doctor had better send it me then; I can't afford it." The case being urgent, and the man daily growing weaker, the "friends" would say, "Well, that's true; but look here, if you will have a mutton chop we will pay you for eating it."

Then Midas, believing, as he naturally would, that the money which he had "made" came from nowhere in particular, and that there was no reason why this miracle should not be again, and even continuously exhibited, would say with caution, "Well, what will you give me?" and they, having command of an unlimited bogus cheque-book, would say, also with caution, "Well, let us say £100"; but Midas would turn away with a snort of indignation, and the bidding would rise to £500. "Come," Midas would say, "make it £750! Eating chops is such expensive work"; and they after some demur would agree, the cheque would be solemnly drawn and signed, and Mr. Midas would fulfil his part of the contract with all the probity of a British merchant. But of course the game had to be repeated at every fresh meal. The same comedy had to be played with the clothing of this pattern of industry. When he became visibly lousy, or perhaps a little before, there was the job to get him to change his shirt! He would manoeuvre and dodge about to screw another £100 out of his bribers, as though he had got a treasure to sell them, which they could not bear to lose, and would chuckle over his bogus cheque with complete enjoyment.

I don't know how long this industrious apprentice lived in this condition; I unamiably hope a long time, for he must have been a great nuisance to his hangers on, or keepers, or what not, and they deserved it for not being Socialists. It must be observed that the man was admittedly mad, and not an ordinary miser, and had kept a plenteous house and great state before he reverted to his original thrift and industry.

The moral is obvious enough not to need repeating: only perhaps some of our Fabian friends will not so much see Midas in the story, as a judgment called down on the man for neglecting to learn the true theory of rent in its various forms.

Indeed, I must unsay what I have just said, and end by asking our readers to look upon this true story, which does not stand by itself, as a type of our sham society, which inflicts so many miseries on others in order to be itself unhappy. W. M.

## YARMOUTH AND FREE SPEECH.

THREE comrades have already been heavily fined, or the option of a month's imprisonment for obstruction at Yarmouth. On Saturday last, four comrades appeared before the Great Unpaid; a fifth summons had been issued, but our comrade did not turn up. The cases had been heard the week previous and was adjourned so as to enable us to compromise, which we refused to do, as we intend to win at all costs. On Saturday morning considerable excitement was caused, and the public crowded the Court. The number of cases was 38, comprising Socialists, Salvation, Blue Ribbon, and Church Armies. The defendants being called on, the magistrates adjourned for a short time to consider the *injustice*, not *justice*, they should pass upon these men and women. Upon their return into Court, the chairman announced that he, and the four other idlers of society, had carefully considered the cases, and must carry out the law by inflicting a fine which all could pay, viz., 1s. including costs, or three days imprisonment. All the defendants decided to go to prison, except in one case, that of a female belonging to the Salvation Army, the fine being paid by a friend much to her annoyance. Time is allowed the defendants to pay the fine; if not paid, distress warrants are to be issued; that failing they go to prison. In all cases defendant's goods are secured, so the authorities cannot touch them. Our own comrades, I am pleased to say, have no goods, so they will do the alternative—go to prison. We are winning all along the line. It looks like the authorities surrendering, as only a few weeks back the fine and costs amounted to £2 19s. 4d.—Saturday last, 1s. and costs!

Since the decision on Saturday, we understand twelve names of the Salvation Army have been taken for holding a meeting on the disputed spot. On Sunday we held a meeting and had no interference from the police. We intend holding meetings during the week, and expect action will be taken against us; still we shall carry on the fight with more vigour, as we intend to win. We are fast gaining the sympathy of the workers in Yarmouth. A. T. S.

**DAMN THE PUBLIC, BY ORDER.**—The following regulation has been issued to the employees in telegraph offices:—"Telegraphists are not to give to the public any assurance as to the time telegrams are likely to be in transit. By order." (Here followeth the official seal.)

**SOCIOLOGICAL LIBRARY IN FLORENCE.**—The managing committee appeals to writers and publishers of books and pamphlets upon social subjects to send copies of their publications to the above institution, as the utility of the library is obvious for the furtherance of knowledge of social science and the Socialist movement. *Librarian*: Dott. A. Salvatrini, Via Cavour, 27. *Secretary*: Dott. I. Danielli, Via De' Robbia, 8.

**ROUGH ON RAILWAYMEN.**—A convalescent home has been opened for railwaymen, at Dover, which the *Railway Review* calls "a boon"; it is, however, not by any means an unmixed one, as they will have to share its privileges with policemen. What have railwaymen done that they should deserve to be classed with moral-miracles?

"**THAT IS THE LAW, MADAM.**"—A woman applied to the magistrate at Westminster police-court the other day, asking for a separation order from her husband. He deserted her some months ago, but had now reappeared and threatened to sell her furniture. She had bought the few things she had with her own earnings. The magistrate having elicited that she was married eighteen years ago, said, "Your husband can take everything you have, and sell it. That is the law, madam." "It cannot be so cruel," replied the woman, weeping. "To think that my home should be sold up by a man who will not work!" "That is the law," repeated the magistrate. "If he threatens you with personal violence, that is another matter. Don't remain under the mistake, however, that the things you have bought are your own."

## SCOTTISH NOTES.

The Lord Provost and magistrates of the city of Glasgow invited the Queen to "open" the new municipal buildings a couple of weeks or so ago, and after a vast expenditure of money, and a mighty deal of pomp and ceremony, the old lady was graciously pleased to declare the buildings open—and there was great applause.

But either the Queen did not do her work in a thorough and tradesman-like manner, or she was grossly imposed upon, for notwithstanding her declaration the buildings are not opened yet, and won't be for weeks to come! The front entrance is still barricaded, and the interior is not half stuccoed or painted; lumbago and rheumatism only dwell within its walls.

It is surely not a Christian act to make an old woman with one foot in the grave tell lies in public.

The statue of Robert Burns was removed from its position in the grand hall of the Exhibition, and stuck in a corner to make way for the temporary throne, upon which her Majesty sat and surveyed one of the largest crowds of hypocrites and flunkies that ever tempted an earthquake to open its granite jaws and gobble the surplus population up. But earthquakes, like everything else now-a-days, are no darned use.

It is interesting to note that the conduct of the Edinburgh Trades' Council, in dispensing with the orthodox formality of honouring God by saying "grace before meat" when taking tea with the French workmen delegates (on a Sunday too), has not caused one-thousandth part of the comment bestowed upon the refusal of the delegates to honour the Queen by toasting her health. The hypocrisy of loyalty is a higher virtue, it would seem, than even the hypocrisy of religion in Scotland.

Loyalty rivals religion in more ways than one. Baillie Gray—who presided at the now notorious luncheon given by the Corporation to the delegates in the Exhibition—knowing well that the delegates repudiated every sentiment of loyalty to the Queen, and knowing also that it had been clearly stipulated beforehand that no toast either to Queen or President should be proposed, actually took advantage of his guest's ignorance of the English tongue and proposed the toast, thus tricking the delegates into drinking it! Had the delegates not discovered the fraud and "withdrew" from the toast, her Majesty might have flattered herself that a band of French Communists were deeply devoted to her person and worldly pretensions! I commend the incident to the attention of Sunday-school teachers and writers of religious tracts, as a touching exemplification of the relation of loyalty to the ninth commandment.

But surely one of the most vile of all acts of flunkeyism perpetrated during the visit of our Jubilee Queen, was the attempt made by Mr. John Ferguson—well known as a Home Ruler and Land Restorer—to get up a petition and present it to her for the release of John Dillon. Irishmen, I am glad to say, refused to sign it; and Lord Lothian refused to allow it to be presented. Brave John Dillon would prefer, I am sure, the tortures of a hundred Balfours to the insult of an act like this.

A meeting was held in Glasgow about a fortnight ago to form the "Scottish Parliamentary Labour Party." The meeting was chiefly composed of Land Restorers, Social Democrats, miner's agents, and advanced Radicals. The programme, so far as yet announced, is a compromise—or rather a mixture of State Socialism and ordinary Radical reform. Cunningham Graham desired to include with the nationalisation of the land, the nationalisation of the means of production also, but the motion was declared out of order as the subject was not on the agenda paper.

While the Home Rule question lasts, and while Mr. Gladstone leads the Liberal party, Labour candidates have little chance of being returned in Scotland. When Home Rule is granted to Ireland and the Liberal party breaks up, let us hope that the whole fraud of politics and Parliament will break up also, and a straight march to the Revolution begin.

Let us keep to the highway of Freedom; it is the nearest, the easiest, and by far the pleasantest road. Why go slinking down bye-paths, dodging through hedgerows, and floundering into morasses, when we can keep our feet—and for that matter, our powder—dry, and march with swinging steps instead of hirpling along footsore, tattered, and famished beyond recognition? We are not out for a days preaching or a game of hares and hounds, we are hastening to reach the City of the Commune before night falls.

J. BRUCE GLASIER.

The Queen has visited Glasgow, but trade has not improved. What say the "labour leaders" who alleged that trade would be revived by the Queen visiting the industrial centres?

The Glasgow Exhibition has brought extra work to the carmen. That is the benefit the Exhibition gives labour. They get nothing from the extra income their increased labour brings—the shareholders get it all. That is the benefit the Exhibition gives to capital.—S. M.L.

## THE UNIVERSITY OF THELEMA.

THOSE who are familiar with Rabelais's description of the Abbey of Thelema, that delightful abode of Anarchy where the only law was *Fais ce que veux* (Do what you like), and who know something of the senseless methods of "education" so-called that obtain to-day, will especially enjoy the following sketch of the University of Thelema, written by Paul Heusy and translated by Boston *Liberty* from *Le Radical*.—

It is built on the side of a hill shaded by beautiful trees, at the foot of which flows a wide river with a swift current. The numerous pavilions that compose it form a sort of little city in which each house rises in the middle of a garden full of shrubs and flowers. In every direction air and light in abundance. The halls, large and high, running north and south, receive through immense bay windows the white rays of the morning and the purple rays of the afternoon.

Over the main entrance, whose two swinging doors are never closed, appears the following inscription:

*Learn what you like.*

There are taught all sciences, all philosophies, all legislations, all literatures, all tongues, old and new. Sanscrit has its chair, but so has the barbarous jargon of the Polynesian tribes.

There is no discussion whether greater attention should be given to living than to dead languages, or to science than to literature, for the excellent reason that all are equally well treated.

The University pays no attention to the student's programme. It asks nothing of him, imposes nothing on him.

The student is expected to investigate for himself. He goes and comes at will from pavilion to pavilion. So much the worse for him, if, after trying everything, he does not find his way. In that case, apparently, study is scarcely his *forte*. He is not obliged to stay. There are enough occupations in the world that do not require a previous poring over books. Let him go to them.

Never are any prizes distributed to students, never any ribbons given to professors; usually the latter teach in vests; some, however, prefer jackets; I have even heard that sometimes, in hot summer days, these gentlemen appear in their shirt-sleeves.

These costumes excite great astonishment among the doctors from neighbouring countries who visit the University of Thelema.

Generally they raise their arms to heaven and cry:

"What! you do not wrap yourselves in robes and wear square caps on your heads?"

"No," answer the professors, smiling.

"But how do you inspire respect without robes or caps?"

"Why should any one dream of failing in respect, inasmuch as we do not compel any one to follow our lessons?" say the professors of Thelema.

"Prizes excite emulation," continue the foreign doctors; "without the hope of reward most of our students would not work."

"Perhaps you are mistaken," gently hint the professors of Thelema; "the emulation which you provoke seems to us purely artificial. It results more from a desire to shine than from a desire to know."

"People have to be taken by their weak sides."

"Such is not our opinion; we believe they should be encouraged to recognise their strong sides."

"The maxim seems to us to fit grown men only; and yet all your students are not grown men."

"True, we admit lads of fifteen."

"You see!"

"At fifteen they begin to think; that is all we want."

"And you do not divide the studies into different stages to be taken successively?"

"Oh, yes, we grade the studies."

"Very good, but you do not submit the students to any examination in passing from one grade to another?"

"No."

"Then how do you know whether they are fit to rise one degree?"

"We do not trouble ourselves about that," answer the professors of Thelema; "the students must question themselves and judge for themselves."

At this reply the foreign doctors generally shake their heads and run away frightened.

The University of Thelema, it is scarcely necessary to say, gives no diplomas. The student leaves when he considers himself sufficiently a lawyer, doctor, engineer, man of letters, or man of science.

And as in the country where Thelema is situated all professions are open, these young people are not subjected to the slightest embarrassment. They practise law, medicine, build bridges, etc., without fear of being stopped in the midst of their work by a policeman who asks for their parchment.

It is even remarked that, having no papers in their pockets which declare them "doctors," they never feel themselves freed from the obligation to continue to learn. So, when they have any leisure, they spend it at the University of Thelema, on whose benches they hasten to take their places again as attentive listeners.

Such a phenomenon is rarely observed in countries where diplomas are given, inasmuch as the diploma serves famously as a substitute for knowledge.

## LITERARY NOTES.

Articles of interest to Socialists in September magazines:—*Contemporary Review*: "The Present Problem in India," Sir W. W. Hunter, LL.D.; "State Socialism," John Rae; "Henry More, the Platonist," Arthur Benson; "The Rights of Children," Mary C. Tabor. *Nineteenth Century*: "Pages from a Work-Girl's Diary," Beatrice Potter; "Socialism through American Spectacles," General Lloyd S. Bryce; "The Miners of Scotland," Robert Haddon; "Co-operative Stores for Ireland," H. C. Plunkett; "Slavery in East Central Africa," Oswald Crawford.

Bomba Balfour has been the guest of Sir Charles Lennant at his country house, The Glen. The latter is a Gladstone Liberal politician. Can the earnestness of present political warfare be better illustrated?—S. M.L.

# THE LABOUR STRUGGLE.

BRITAIN.

Cumberland blast-furnacemen are waking up and extending their organisation.

**DUNDEE MOULDERS.**—The moulders in Dundee are agitating for an advance of wages.

Signalmen at Portadown Station on the Great Northern of Ireland Railway have to work 84 hours a-week for 12s.

Yorkshire miners will soon ask for a 10 per cent. raise. They refuse to accept the new code of rules until materially amended.

**ENGINEER'S STRIKE AT PAISLEY.**—The engineers employed at the Thistle Works by Messrs. Bow M'Lachlan, having demanded an advance from 5½d. to 6½d., not getting any reply have come out.

Consternation has been caused at Portsmouth dockyard by the announcement that further serious reductions are to be made. One hundred and fifty men of the engineering department have already received notice.

Among the nail-makers of The Lye, a maker of Brazil nails was found by the *Labour Tribune's* special commissioner, who was "proud of the fact that he earned more than his neighbours"—working from 6 in the morning till 9 at night, six days a week, he got 16s.!

**END OF THE DISPUTE AT MESSRS. RUSSELL AND SONS, WEDNESBURY.**—The screwers employed under the above firm, who for three weeks have been on strike against a 15 per cent. reduction, waited on the masters on Thursday 13th and amicably arranged to resume work at the old rate of wages.

**THE STRIKE IN THE NUT AND BOLT TRADE.**—At a meeting of nut and bolt makers at Darlaston on Thursday 13th, it was stated that a number of operatives were still out on strike in consequence of being unable to obtain wages in accordance with the recognised list of prices. It was resolved to continue the strike.

A full representative meeting of miners was held at Pelsall on Tuesday, and, after an address on "The Present State of Trade" had been delivered by Mr. B. Dean, it was agreed that the time was opportune for an agitation for an advance of wages, and it was decided to join other districts in a movement to that end.

**STRIKERS HEAVILY FINED.**—At Dudley, on Friday 15th, two anchor-smiths, named Poole and Jones, were fined £10 and expenses for leaving their work without giving notice. There was a strike at the time, and, though defendants' employers granted them an advance, they left work because other employers had not given their workmen an advance.

In consequence of the substantial improvement in the iron trade, the finished ironworkers of the North Staffordshire Branch of the Amalgamated Association of Ironworkers of England, Scotland, and Wales (a new organisation which is rapidly extending its influence to all the iron producing districts of the kingdom), have resolved to apply for an advance of wages.

**STEELWORKERS' STRIKE AT WORKINGTON.**—On Monday 10 a strike occurred at the Moss Bay Iron and Steel Works, Workington, against a reduction of wages was given notice of under a contractor who has taken the bessemer department. The reduction affected wages to the extent of 10 to 15 per cent. About 100 men are affected, and the stoppage will interfere with the other portions of the works. The employees are very firm in their determination not to accept any reduction.

**THE BELFAST SHIPBUILDING STRIKE.**—On Friday 15th, a deputation of the men belonging to the Queen's Island Shipbuilding Works waited on the employers, and succeeded in effecting an arrangement by which the works, which have been closed for a month, will re-open to the employees on Monday, Sept. 17th. It will be remembered that the lock-out resulted from a strike among the boiler-makers. The questions involved are now stated to have been nearly all arranged, the terms, however, not being disclosed.

**MIDLAND COUNTIES IRON AND STEEL WAGES BOARD.**—A meeting of the employers' section of the Wages Board was held at the Queen's Hotel, Birmingham, on Thursday, 13th, to consider the suggestion that a sliding scale to automatically regulate wages should be re-established. The employers determined to put forward a proposition for the consideration of the operatives. After consultation with the officials of the operatives' section of the Board, it was finally agreed that a meeting of the full Board should be held on Monday, 24th, to consider the proposed sliding scale and other matters. An intimation was given on behalf of the operatives' section that an advance of wages would be asked for.

**LIVERPOOL SAILORS.**—For somewhat past serious dissatisfaction has been felt among the seamen offering themselves for employment at the Liverpool Sailors' Home. This has led in one or two instances to a strike for an advance. On Saturday, 8th, placards were posted calling a meeting to consider what action should be taken. All the vessels, however, which were down to ship their crews on Monday did so, with one exception, and on Tuesday there was practically no refusal to accept the wages current, though in one instance of a sailing-ship going a long voyage 5s. per month over the late rates were given. The men, knowing there has been an increase in the freight, naturally want to participate in the rise; but as in former instances, when the Liverpool sailors have struck for higher wages, there is no proper organisation among the men, and the attempt is therefore hopeless. They should learn a lesson from the Pacific coast.

**LOCK-OUT OF QUAY LABOURERS AT GLASGOW.**—Four hundred labourers on the Glasgow mineral quays have been dismissed, and 150 Protestant Irishmen have been brought to Glasgow from Belfast to fill their places. Two hundred more are expected to arrive. The masters dismissed the men because they belong to a Union, the rules of which prevent other men working who are not connected with it. An increased staff of police has been placed on duty on the quays to prevent acts of intimidation. With the help of the imported labour, the stevedores are having little difficulty in carrying on the work independent of the union men. The hopelessness of the situation is already having its effect upon the union. Many of the men have quietly left it, and gone to work on the same footing as the strangers. Although there is much bitter feeling among the idle men there has been no disturbances, and only one case in which complaint of intimidation has been made. Charles Mulherron, residing in Dale Street, has been apprehended by the marine police at the instance of a "black nob," said to have been, until the present difficulty arose, one of the leading members of the union. Mulherron, he says, used threatening and abusive language to him, and offered to put his head through a window.

**STRIKE AT DARLINGTON.**—Owing to a dispute between two workmen and a foreman in the sleeper department, the Darlington Steel works have been stopped. The union men came out on strike because the manager refused to reinstate the two men, and as a result of this course upwards of 800 men are laid idle. The mayor, Mr. Sedgwick, undertook to act as intermediary between the manager and the workmen, but his negotiations failed. On Friday 14th summonses were issued at the instance of the manager against 50 of the men for ceasing work without notice.

**CANNOCK MINERS.**—A very remarkable meeting was held at Cannock on Friday 7th, to congratulate and present £5 each to the men who were sent to prison for "intimidation." "The account of the meeting," says the *Labour Tribune*, "will hardly be pleasant reading for the gentlemen who instituted the proceedings, or to the magistrates who inflicted such heavy penalties. Whoever was 'intimidated,' it is clear the men are not. . . . The strike has terminated in favour of the men. We congratulate them and their leaders on this happy result of a struggle that throughout has been fought with indomitable pluck and perseverance."

**EBBW VALE MINERS.**—The following appeal has been issued, and should be largely responded to:—"We, the miners now on strike at Ebbw Vale, after doing all that lay in our power to obtain our just rights before taking this last step in laying down our tools until the same be conceded to us, therefore appeal to our fellow workmen in the mining districts of this vast country for support during the time we are compelled to remain out on strike. We feel we are fighting battles on behalf of our fellow workmen as well as ourselves. Various collieries and sub-districts have decided to support us by putting on a levy of sixpence per week or until the dispute is settled. Our success will depend upon the support our fellow workmen will be able to give. We are nearly 1,600 affected. We have already been out four weeks and our resources have all gone." All donations should be made payable to Thos. Richards, 23, Carwel Town, Beaufort, near Brynmawr.

**STOPPAGES FROM WAGES.**—T. C. Waller, a workman of the sturdy, independent sort, and good character, was employed several weeks as carman by the Crown Bottling Company, Brixton, who make deductions from their carmen's wages for "wrong stoppers"—i.e. bottles belonging to other companies brought in by mistake instead of the firm's. They, however, do not return the bottles to the men, and so secure both coin and bottles. This was tried on Waller, who quietly submitted, but thoughtfully put down the amount of stoppages in a little book. They soon totted up, by sixpences, ninepences, tenpences, and eightpences, to 13s 6½d. The next stoppage announced was 7s. 6d. This was more than even the patient Waller could stand. He gave a week's notice, and demanded the 13s. 6½d. The firm responded by a curt refusal and immediate dismissal. Application was then made for a summons at Lambeth Police Court, but the day before it was made returnable the firm sent the full amount—£1 4s. wages, 13s. 6½d. stoppages, 5s. expenses, 2s. summons, in all £2 4s. 6½d.—to Waller's house, thus fully admitting the illegality of their action and the justice of the claim. His idea of keeping a little book may be commended by all workmen who are fined by their employers.

**COTTON TRADE.**—The strike at Atlas Mills, Bolton, strippers and grinders, remains unsettled, and over 1,000 operatives are, as a result, walking the streets, with no immediate prospect of resuming, as both sides remain firm in the attitude taken up. The matter originally in dispute was only a very trifling one, and at first affected but 40 men, the amount involved being but 11d. per man per week, or £2 per week to the firm.—The notices served by the operative spinners at Lodge Mill, Burnley, expired Wednesday 12th. They demand compensation, alleging that since the recent advance of 5 per cent. they are earning less money than before. About 60 spinners and 38,000 spindles are affected. On Monday 10th a strike of weavers took place at Whittlefield Shed, Burnley, against being underpaid. The weavers resumed work on Tuesday morning, with the understanding that the prices were to be made right.—At Wigan on the same day a strike took place, and ended in the same way.—At a mill in Heywood there were at one time four cardroom jobbers to do certain work. One was knocked off, and the work divided among the other three without extra pay. During the last fortnight the employer stopped one of the three, putting the work on the other two, who were only to receive their previous wages, 21s. The men naturally resented this, and struck, and are now in receipt of strike pay. Their places have been filled, however, by two knobsticks, who have consented to do the work with the assistance of a lap carrier, who will receive 15s. per week, the employer thus having a profit of 6s. a-week by the change.—The minders who struck work about sixteen weeks ago for the five per cent. advance at the Broad Field Mill, Smithy Bridge, are still out. All the minders in this district have received the advance, with the exception of this mill.—The operatives of Sun Mill, Littleborough, are on strike, and both masters and workers seem determined to stand out. It is stated that operatives from neighbouring towns are to be got to the place, and the strike hands have had to solicit assistance from fellow-operatives.

## SOCIALISM AT OXFORD.

OUR comrades at Oxford are finding that the town is as reactionary as the University, and are beginning to suffer for being Socialists. A short time ago a Radical manufacturer there sacked some of his workmen because they "kept bad company." The "bad company" was that of two brothers of the manufacturer, who had till quite recently also worked in his shop, but who are members of the Socialist League. The master also gave notice that none of his men would be allowed to belong to any Benefit Society, or Co-operative Society, of which his brothers might happen to be members. This petty piece of tyranny had reference to a small society which the workmen had set on foot for supplying themselves with some of the most needful articles of consumption.

Two of this Radical's workmen, upon being dismissed, claimed more wages than he was willing to pay. They and an apprentice boy, whom he had fined, summoned him, and the case came into Court on September 8th. It is not the question of the contract and the wages that may be legally claimed under it that deserve notice, so much as the animus displayed by the master's attorney. He asked the claimants whether they were members of the Socialist League, and he did his little all to raise a prejudice against Socialists by handing up to the bench copies of *Justice* and *Commonweal*. An eye-witness reports that the magistrates studied these while the case went on. May they profit by it!

The case went for the master; but it must be allowed that that would probably have been so, even if the men had been quite ordinary mortals, instead of Socialists. It can scarcely be otherwise with a bench taken from the class of masters. The poor apprentice not only got no redress, but suffered still more heavily from a weighty lecture delivered from the Bench. This painted in dark colours the crime of rebellion against a good master, who allowed him to get pocket-money by doing piece-work. The boy's ordinary wages may go to his parents; for pocket-money he would work much more heartily. The kind, kind master perhaps knew this, as other kind masters do who encourage piece-work.

C. J. F.



## PRISON THOUGHTS.

ERNEST JONES.

Composed when confined in a solitary cell on bread and water, May 1849; for lack of writing materials written in his own blood on the fly-leaf of a book.

TROUBLESOME fancies beset me,  
Sometimes, as I sit in my cell,  
That comrades and friends may forget me,  
And foes but remember too well;

That plans which I thought well-digested  
May prove to be bubbles of air,  
And hopes when they come to be tested  
May turn to the seed of despair.

But though I may doubt all beside me,  
And anchor and cable may part,  
Whatever, whatever betide me,  
Forbid me to doubt my own heart!

For sickness may wreck a brave spirit,  
And time wear the brain to a shade,  
And dastardly age disinheret  
Erections that manhood has made;

But God let me ne'er cease to cherish  
The truths I so fondly have held,  
Far sooner at once let me perish  
Ere firmness and courage are quelled.

Though my head in the dust may be lying,  
And bad men exult o'er my fall,  
I shall smile at them, smile at them, dying,  
For the Right is the Right after all.

## CORRESPONDENCE.

EMILE ZOLA.

The paragraph in a recent issue of the *Commonweal* referring to the prosecution of the publisher of his works in this country gives me an opportunity of putting in a word on his behalf. I would strongly urge all Socialists to read the three books of Zola's here named—

'Germinal,' the hell of collier life.  
'L'Assommoir,' the hell of the workman's life in a modern city.  
'La Terre,' the hell of peasant life.

I do not know any books so calculated to stir people's minds up and to force them to see the necessity for a complete change in the conditions of modern labour.

It may be objected that Zola is writing of French colliers, French working men and women, and French peasants; but so much are the conditions of working people under capital in different countries alike, that all the time I was reading 'Germinal' I felt as if our own people were being described. That bleak, hostile landscape, with its black, spectral, colliery buildings—have we not seen it all many a time in our own coal districts? And we have only to go into our gin-palaces and we shall find ourselves in the atmosphere of 'L'Assommoir.' As for our feeble-minded philanthropists babbling of a peasant-proprietorship—let them read 'La Terre'!

I would point out that the true cause of the hatred for Zola's works which is so zealously displayed by the bourgeois journals both in this country and in France, is the fearless and unflinching manner in which he has exposed the misery and degradation on which their "society" is based. These critics shut their eyes to the social questions which must arise in the minds of thoughtful men from a perusal of these works, and appalled at the naked realism in which his facts appear, can only shriek Unclean! Immoral! etc., etc. As if a book is immoral because it is not suitable for a ladies' school!

Bury, Lancashire, 6 Sept.

E. E. MINTON.

## EXAMINE ALL THINGS.

The article in the current number of the *Commonweal*, called "Men who are not Socialists," is in my opinion somewhat waste of space and time, while there are so many and all-important things to be said and discussed. The work we have in hand is so great and noble we ought not to allow any personal or petty feelings to get mixed up in the matter, but pursue our object with earnestness and tolerance, and do the best we can to keep our own eyes clear, that we may be able to see the mote or beam in other eyes. I think each point for and against Socialism ought to be freely discussed in the *Commonweal* from week to week, and encouragement given to comrades to put forward their views as well as they can, so that answers might be given and errors rectified. I am quite sure that the habit of writing down one's ideas is very useful, and would often clear up views and misapprehensions. We cannot all get time to read big books—or indeed small ones—nor can we put our hands on the books or passages in them which would "lighten our darkness," but by being able to ask questions and get answers given by experienced Socialists we would gain greatly. Now, for instance, I have been thinking for the last few days how the increase of workers, which would take place in a state freed of monopoly would affect the community at large. I can see easily enough that if our resources were un-increasable there would be a greater number of workers to do the same amount of work which a smaller number did, the result would be a decrease in the number of hours of work for each individual, and as a consequence more leisure to them, but no increase of wealth. And if our resources were increasable, and all workers did a long day's work, our wealth would increase. Now it seems to me if the latter view be true it is very important for us to have clear statements regarding our resources, so that we may see plainly what we are at.

Bearing on this point I see a few remarks in the *Pall Mall Gazette*. Lord Bramwell says, "It is a truth hard to believe; but I am satisfied it is a truth. The great object of a society in this matter should be to make what the Americans call the greatest pile. . . . I do not say that a more equitable division than exists is not desirable, but I say that in the attempt to

bring it about by law the pile will be reduced." "Bramwell would admit that it would be better to produce £900 and distribute it equally between ten men than to produce £1,000 if the latter could only be done by giving one man £750 and dividing £250 between the other nine." "Lord Bramwell would probably reply that the difference between the pile accumulated under the present system and that under a Socialistic régime would be much greater than that between £900 and £1,000." Now what sort of Socialism does Bramwell or the *Pall Mall Gazette* think of? Might not a great deal be said about the quality of the "pile"?

Again, look at the sneer of Bramwell at the "kindly but short-sighted men" who denounce machinery as means of taking the bread out of the mouths of the labourers, and the *Pall Mall Gazette's* remarks on the same subject in its leading article: "We laugh at the simplicity of" anyone who experiences feelings with regard to the sufferings caused by the displacement of human labour by machinery. "The race gains" on the whole. Now, we want the opposite view put by some of your able writers, as there is a great danger of people accepting these views as final. If we cannot prove that machinery is of no use, at least it might be plainly stated how a change that is supposed necessary for the general good, though causing suffering to some individuals, ought to be borne by all, not by a few.

And again, there is the question of State Socialism, and anti-State Socialism, to which I believe we of the Socialist League belong. I feel certain that many of our friends are very vague with regard to this subject, and an opening of the subject would be a gain.

Finally, I may say that I think the remarks on the subject of the marriage discussion were inadequate. The remark in the account given of an interview with Mrs. Caird by the *Pall Mall*, struck me as much to the point. It was "free marriage is not possible until the proposed contract can be free in fact as well as in name. That is, until women are no longer dependent on men for their daily bread." To talk about altering the marriage laws without first considering the society out of which they have their growth, and how to change it, is like grubbing at the weeds for growing when you neither weed nor hoe, but allow them to cast their seeds from year to year. How can a state of independence, such as Mrs. Caird suggests, be brought about? Only in one way—by creating employment enough to give women a certainty of earning an independent living. Can the present state of society give such employment? Well, "the proof of the pudding is in the eating." Society at present does not give employment to anything like all; nor does there seem any chance of the employing power being increased, rather the opposite. The great question comes then, In what state of society would the greatest amount of employment be obtainable? It seems obvious that the greatest amount of employment would be obtained in a state in which all that is necessary to the production of the comforts and necessities of life would be in the hands of the workers—free of all tax, and free of all claims on the part of individuals—to be used by the workers for the workers only, combined of course in an organisation which aimed at getting the most and the best for the whole community.

To conclude, the complete independence of women can only be begun to be realised when the last spadeful of earth has been thrown into the grave of monopoly, and the motherhood of women—as free individuals—is looked upon with admiration and respect, not with loathing and reproach.—Yours fraternally,

R. CATTERSON SMITH.

Shorne, near Gravesend, Kent, Sunday, Sept. 9, 1888.

## THE SOCIALIST LEAGUE.

OFFICES: 13 FARRINGDON ROAD, E.C.

The Offices of the Socialist League will be open for the sale of *Commonweal* and all other Socialist publications from 8.30 a.m. to 9 p.m. every day except Sunday. The Secretary will be in attendance from 10 a.m. to 9 p.m. daily.

**London Members' Meeting.**—The next monthly meeting of members will take place on Monday, Oct. 3, 1888, at 13 Farringdon Road, at 9 o'clock sharp.

**Propaganda Fund.**—Anon., 11d.

## "COMMONWEAL" PRINTING FUND.

Langley, 2s.; P. W., 6d.; C. J. F., 2s. 6d.; K. F., 1s.

## FREE SPEECH FUND.

Victory at Yarmouth is now almost assured, but it has proved a very heavy financial drain upon the branch, and subscriptions, however small, are urgently needed, and should be sent to F. Charles, 13, Farringdon Road, E.C.

Already acknowledged—£3 15s. 2½d. Received—Collections: Regent's Park, 2s. 3d.; Victoria Park, 2s. 4d.; W. R., 2s. 6d.; Clerkenwell Branch, 1s. Total, £4 3s. 3½d. F. CHARLES, Sec., 13, Farringdon Road, E.C.

## REPORTS.

**CLERKENWELL.**—A very large meeting was addressed on the Green Sunday night by Nicoll, Parker, and A. Burrows (S.D.F.). In hall, W. Blundell lectured on "The Trades' Union Congress." He criticised the action of delegates in passing "petti-fogging" (Parliamentary) resolutions, which meant little or nothing to the great mass of the workers, "skilled" and otherwise. Pointed out that the conclusions of the delegates on land nationalisation was but a half-hearted matter, and was useless without the communalisation of the means of production, not only in England or the United Kingdom, but the whole world over. Good discussion.—B.

**FULHAM.**—On Tuesday evening, Beasley, Bullock, Maughan, Ashborn, and Grosier addressed a good meeting. On Sunday morning, Bullock and Samuels spoke. Fair sale of *Weal*, and 1s. 3d. collected. In the evening, Sampson (S.D.F.) opened the meeting, Turner afterwards giving a lecture on "Socialist Co-operation."—S. B. G.

**HAMMERSMITH.**—Morris and Tarleton held a meeting at Weltje Road on Sunday morning 11.30 (first time) to quite a philistine audience and kept their attention for an hour and a half, some of them not liking Socialism, judging by the remarks made, but they listened with attention. Fair sale of *Commonweal*. Next Sunday the speakers will be there at 11.30—Tarleton and Bullock. Good meeting held at Latimer Road on Sunday, mainly composed of intelligent working men. The speakers were comrades Fox, Maughan, Dean, and Tochatti; the audience listened very attentively, and took the points well. Four new members made. Fair sale of *Commonweal*.

**HYDE PARK.**—The unemployed, having no speakers in the Park on Sunday, requested our help, which was given by Parker, Brooks, Cantwell, and others, who addressed a great crowd.

**REGENT'S PARK.**—The meeting was begun very late, but a large number of persons were addressed by Parker and Brooks. 2s. 4½d. collected.

**VICTORIA PARK.**—Good meeting held by Mainwaring, Schack, Bullock, and Tochatti. Opposition from a young man, who spoke of Fair Trade and better Acts of Parliament being the remedy for the working man. 2s. 2d. collected.

**ABERDEEN.**—At indoor meeting of branch on 10th, Comrade McIntyre read lecture on "Law and War." No open-air meeting held on Saturday, owing partly to rain and partly because comrade Leatham was engaged at a trade society meeting, where his presence was urgently required.—J. L.

**GLASGOW.**—On Sunday at 2 o'clock (instead of 12.30 as announced) Glasier, McKechnie, T. Burgoyne, and J. Burgoyne, held a very good meeting on the Green. At 5 o'clock Glasier spoke to a good audience at Paisley Road. At the conclusion of his address several questions were asked and answered. A French class has been formed (see announcement).

**NORWICH.**—Friday, comrade Mowbray addressed a good meeting on St. Catharine's Plain. Sunday morning a large meeting was held at North Walsham by Morley; meeting very enthusiastic; all the *Commonweal* sold our comrade took with him; it is hoped a branch will be formed very shortly. In the afternoon a large meeting held in the Market Place by Morley, Poynts, and W. Moore; meeting lasted two hours; opposition from one of the crowd, who advocated thrift and temperance, and thought every working man could save sixpence a-week; our comrades soon disposed of the opposition to the satisfaction of the audience. In the evening another large meeting was held, addressed by Mowbray; opposition was again offered by the same individual as the afternoon, who is a member of the Peace Society; opposition easily disposed of by Mowbray; fair sale of *Commonweal*.

**LECTURE DIARY.**  
LONDON.

**Bloomsbury.**—This Branch will shortly be actively working. Socialists resident in this locality should send their names in at once to 13, Farringdon Road.  
**Clerkenwell.**—Hall of the Socialist League, 13 Farringdon Road, E.C. Sunday Sept. 23, at 8.30, "The Futility of Parliamentary Agitation to assist the Social Revolution"—a debate between W. B. Parker (S.L.) and S. Moffat (S.D.F.).

**Fulham.**—8 Effie Road, Walham Green. A Special Committee Meeting will be held on Friday the 28th inst. All members are earnestly requested to attend.

**Hackney.**—Enquiries, communications, etc., to E. Lefevre, Secretary, 28 Percy Terrace, Victoria Rd., Hackney Wick.

**Hammersmith.**—Kelmescott House, Upper Mall, W. Sunday, Sept. 23, at 8 p.m.

**Hoxton.**—Persons wishing to join this branch are requested to communicate with H. D. Morgan, 22, Nicholas Street Hoxton.

**London Fields.**—All communications, etc., to Mrs. G. G. Schack, 26 Cawley Road, South Hackney.

**Merton.**—Club-house, 3 Clare Villas, Merton Road, Singlegate. Lecture on Sunday evenings at 8.30.

**Mile-end and Bethnal Green.**—95 Boston St., Hackney Road.

**North London.**—Secretary, Nelly Parker, 143 Cavendish Buildings, opposite Holborn Town Hall. The business meetings will be held on Friday evenings at 6 Windmill Street, Tottenham Court Road, after the open-air meeting at Ossulton Street. Special Meeting on Friday September 21st. All members are asked to attend at Ossulton St. at 8 o'clock.

**St. Georges in the East.**—A meeting of the members of this branch will be held at 23 Princes Square, on Sunday morning after the meeting at Leman Street. Rochmann, secretary.

**PROVINCES.**

**Aberdeen** (Scottish Section).—Douglas M'Intyre, Sec., 17 Queen Street. Branch meets in Oddfellows Hall on Monday nights at 8. Choir practice at 46 Marischal Street on Thursday evenings at 8.

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

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

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

**Edinburgh** (Scottish Land and Labour League).—35 George IV. Bridge. Meetings for Discussion, Thursdays at 8 p.m.

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

**Glasgow.**—84 John Street. Reading-room (Draughts, Chess, etc.) open 10 a.m. till 10 p.m. daily. Weekly meeting of members on Thursday evenings at 8. **SPECIAL NOTICE**—French Class, to be taught by Theodore Bonin, begins on Sunday, and will be held every Sunday from 11 till 1 o'clock.

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

**Leicester.**—Hosiery Union Offices, 11a Millstone Lane. Fridays at 8 p.m.

**Lochgelly** (Scottish Section: Fife).—Secs. (*pro tem.*), John Greig and Hugh Conway, The Square.

**Norwich.**—Monday, at 8, Special Entertainment by members and friends will be held in the Gordon Hall, to clear off the debts in connection with the prosecutions at Yarmouth; admission 3d. each. Tuesday, at 8.30, Members' Meeting. Wednesday, at 8, Educational Class—subject, "Liberty, Equality, Fraternity." Thursday, at 8.30, Meeting in Gordon Hall. Saturday, 8 until 10.30, Co-operative Clothing Association.

**Oxford.**—Temperance Hall, 25½ Pembroke Street. Wednesdays, at 8.30 p.m.  
**Walsall.**—Lecture Room, back of Temperance Hall. Mondays at 8 p.m.  
**West Calder** (Scottish Section).—Sec., Robert Lindsay, West Calder.

All persons who sympathise with the views of the Socialist League are earnestly invited to communicate with the above addresses, and if possible help us in preparing for the birth of a true society, based on equality, brotherhood, and freedom for all.

**OPEN-AIR PROPAGANDA.**

**SUNDAY 23.**

11.30...Latimer Road Station ...Hammersmith Branch  
11.30...Mitcham Fair Green .....The Branch  
11.30...Regent's Park .....Turner & Nicoll  
11.30...Walham Green, opp. Station .....Mrs. Schack  
11.30...Weltje Rd., Ravenscourt Pk .....Hammersmith  
3.30...Hyde Park .....Parker & Turner  
7 ...Weltje Road, opposite Ravenscourt Park  
.....Hammersmith Branch

**Monday.**

8 ...Wimbledon Broadway.....The Branch

**Tuesday.**

8.30...Fulham—opposite Liberal Club.....Fulham Bn.

**Friday.**

7.30...Euston Rd.—Ossulton Street .....Nicoll

**EAST END.**

**SUNDAY 23.**

Mile-end Waste ... 11 ...Mainwaring.  
Leman Street, Shadwell 11 ...Parker.  
Victoria Park ... 3.15...Bullock.  
London Fields ... 8 ...Tochatti.

**TUESDAY.**

Mile-end Waste ... 8.30...Davis.

**WEDNESDAY.**

Broadway, London Fields 8.30...Lane.

**FRIDAY.**

Philpot St., Commercial Rd. 8.30...Parker.

**SATURDAY.**

Mile-end Waste ... 8 ...Parker.

**PROVINCES.**

**Aberdeen.**—Saturday: Castle Street, at 7 p.m.

**Edinburgh.**—Queen's Park, every Sunday, at 3 p.m.

**Glasgow.**—Sunday: Jail's Square at 2 o'clock; Paisley Road at 5 o'clock.

**Ipswich.**—Sproughton, Wednesday evening.

Westerfield, Thursday evening.

Neeham Market, Sunday morning and evening.

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

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

**Norwich.**—Sunday: Market Place, at 11, 3, and 7.30.

Yarmouth, Church Plain, Sunday at 3.

Wyndham, Sunday at 11.

St. Faiths, Sunday at 11.

St Catharine's Plain, Friday at 8.15 p.m.

THE PROGRESSIVE ASSOCIATION, PENTON HALL, 81, Pentonville Road.—Sunday, September 23, at 7.45, Graham Wallas, M.A., "The Chartist Movement."

THE SOCIALIST CO-OPERATIVE FEDERATION.—The Committee will meet at the Socialist League, 13 Farringdon Road, on Saturday, September 22nd, at 7.30 p.m. Subscriptions received and members enrolled at 9 p.m.

UNITED SCANDINAVIAN CLUB, 43, Rathbone Place, Oxford Street, W.—Monday September 24, at 8 p.m., Harold Cox, B.A. (Fabian Society), "Trades Unionism and Co-operation."

**YARMOUTH FREE SPEECH FUND.**

A GRAND CONCERT will be held at the International Club, 40, Berner Street, Commercial Road, E., on Saturday, September 22, at 8 p.m., for the benefit of the above fund. Songs, Music, and Dramatic Readings by W. Morris, W. B. Parker, T. Cantwell, H. James, Annie Taylor, Miss M. Morgan, W. Blundell, D. Nicoll, F. Kitz, J. Bull, F. Charles, Miss L. Stores, and other Comrades. During the evening several Choruses will be sung by the Choir of the Socialist League. Admission by Programme, 3d.; can be obtained from Secretary, Socialist League, 13, Farringdon Road, or the Secretaries of any of the London Branches.

WANTED, AN IMPROVER TO THE WATCH AND CLOCK TRADE. Socialist preferred.—Apply 41 and 43 High Street, Deptford.

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To make room, and allow me to purchase other books required for *Commonweal* work, I shall be glad to hear from buyers of following duplicate copies and other items, of which full details will be sent:—

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Country friends will be well advised to write for particulars. THOMAS SHORE, jun., 33 Newington Green Road, Balls Pond, London, N.

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**Chants for Socialists.** By William Morris. . 1d.

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

**The Commune of Paris.** By E. Belfort Bax, Victor Dave, and William Morris. . . . . 2d.

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**SIGNS OF CHANGE.**

BY WILLIAM MORRIS.

Being seven Lectures, delivered on various occasions for the Socialist League.

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**TRUE AND FALSE SOCIETY.**

BY WILLIAM MORRIS.

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# THE COMMONWEAL

## The Official Journal of the SOCIALIST LEAGUE.

VOL. 4.—No. 142.

SATURDAY, SEPTEMBER 29, 1888.

WEEKLY; ONE PENNY.

### NOTES ON NEWS.

THAT organ of renegade Radicalism, the *Echo*, has startled the world recently by a new discovery. It states *gravely* enough that the Whitechapel murders have their origin in the incendiary speeches of Trafalgar Square agitators.

To back this extraordinary assertion it is good enough to give the authority of Mr. W. Thompson, who happened to point out that these outrages occurred at the same time as the agitation of the unemployed. Probably Mr. Thompson intended to suggest that the attention Sir Charles Warren was giving to the unemployed agitation prevented the police from attending to their ordinary duties, for it would certainly never occur to the mind of any sane person outside the *Echo* staff that denunciation of the apathy and luxurious cruelty of the rich can have anything to do with the beastly barbarities committed upon the persons of the weakest and most helpless of the poor.

Let the editor of the *Echo* try again. Some time ago there was a play produced at Farringdon Hall, written by our comrade William Morris, in which a policeman accuses a Socialist of inciting to disembowel the capitalists of London. Perhaps the *Echo* will suggest, on a future occasion, that the Whitechapel murders sprang from the Socialist drama of "The Tables Turned; or, Nupkins Awakened," and the *Echo* is welcome to this idea if it chooses to seize upon it with the frantic originality which characterises that excellent journal.

The Whig element is, I am glad to see, giving its last kick in the Metropolitan Radical Federation. The Great Mr. Foote, who has constituted himself the leader of this party, received two crushing defeats last Wednesday night, the proposals to extend popular control to voluntary schools, and the one free meal a day resolution of Social Democrats, being carried against him by overwhelming majorities, in spite of his strenuous opposition.

This is good news, not because we look upon the resolutions carried as any but the semiest of semi-Socialism, but we remember the fact that it was mainly owing to Mr. Foote that the Radical Federation abandoned their intention of contesting the right of public meeting in Trafalgar Square. The "moderation" of "the soldier of freedom" at that time has doubtless had its share in producing his crushing defeat last Thursday.

Whig Radicalism has had its day, and, judging by the present rate of progress of the Radical Clubs, it will not be long before they recognise that the salvation of the working classes can only be obtained by the overthrow of the robbers who rule and plunder us. Although we, as revolutionary Socialists, may not think much of such a pitiful palliative as the one free meal a day to the children of starving workmen, still we must acknowledge that its adoption by the Metropolitan Radical Federation is a significant sign of the way in which the world is moving.

A horrible story comes from the Dark Continent. Socialists have never been blind to the real mission of philanthropic British explorers, but we were not aware that "the benefits of civilisation" were to be extended to benighted savages at the merciful hands of cannibal tribes. We hear now, on the authority of a Christian missionary, Mr. De Winter, that the late Major Barttelot did not hesitate to employ these monsters for this purpose. Nay, he made a treaty with them to the effect "that if four hundred of the cannibals in question would consent to accompany him, that they should not be interfered with, so that pillage, murder, and man-eating might lay waste the country along the line of march."

What matters it? for we hear that by the benevolent aid of these amiable savages "the column will thus be able to throw open still more the virgin country to Manyemas, who will be able to supply the Stanley Falls trading factory with marvellous cheap ivory." Dead men will tell no tales, and the midnight volley and shrieks of dying men far back in the gloomy forest will never be heard by the passing

Congo steamers, and the new governor, Tippoo Tib, can scarcely be expected to object to deeds which only struck Englishmen as sensational scenes for their sketch-books, and which called forth no protest because "our object was to get on well with the Arabs." Hurrah for "cheap ivory" and "Christian civilisation"!

Yes, Christian English officers have gazed unmoved upon "human feet and hands sticking out of the cooking-pots of the Manyemas." They have looked on with pleasure "while their Manyema allies have fired at the heads of unhappy men and women who had leaped into the river and were trying to swim across, and have gathered round the Manyema camp fires at night to hear them relate their prowess."

What upset even the barbarous Zanzibarees and Soudanese had no effect upon the strong stomachs of robust Englishmen. What mattered it if fiendish atrocities were committed, so long as ivory was cheap? And yet we are denounced as bloodthirsty scoundrels because we would overthrow the system that makes these devilish deeds possible, calling them Christianity and civilisation.

We can at least congratulate ourselves on this. One practical Christian has met with his deserts, and is by this time doubtless comfortably reposing in the stomachs of his cannibal allies. Major Barttelot will sanction no more cannibal raids. Would that the other scoundrels could also receive justice. Hail to the Revolution! Ah, even though it be carried by sweeping the earth clear of these miserable wretches! That will make extension of this kind of Christianity and civilisation impossible. May it soon be here! D. N.

If there is any truth whatever in the reports concerning Major Barttelot, one can only rejoice that such a human fiend has had justice dealt out to him. It is stated that, in addition to various unmentioned barbarities on the members of the expedition he had got together to help him pioneer the conquest of central Africa for commercial purposes, he deliberately tortured one of these unhappy victims to death. Is it not a commentary on the mechanical and newspapering nature of the emotions of the average Englishman that he can go into fits over the mutilation of a *dead* woman in Whitechapel (for that that is to most people the main element of horror in this case there can be no doubt), and yet can continue to complacently talk of the execution of Barttelot, who caused a *living* man to be murderously mutilated, as a disaster? This extraordinary anomaly (the average Englishman) thirsts for the blood of some presumably poor, ignorant, and squalid wretch in the East-end of London, and regrets that vengeance has overtaken a bloody and brutal gentleman in Africa. For our part, we can only say we sincerely trust that the whole ruffianly gang of philanthropists, quondam suppressors of the slave-trade, missionaries and explorers, which at the present time infests those regions, may share a like fate. E. B. B.

"If anything could lend weight to the theories of the dreamers who want to see all private property destroyed, it would be the selfish and criminal co-operation of these syndicates to make their millions out of the difficulties and embarrassments and ruin of a whole trade. For such greedy wretches there should be no mercy. They live by the spoiling of the community. If, in return, they could be stripped of their last farthing by the action of the community, we should rejoice at the administration of so wholesome a lesson." So says the *Standard*, when speaking of the "Trusts" and "Rings" which are springing up on all sides to-day. By-and-bye folk will find that all capitalists are even as these; that no profit at all is made anywhere to-day but out of the "difficulties and embarrassments of a whole" class.

But as long as that class remains as apathetic as it is to-day, there is little hope of the "wholesome lesson" being taught at all quickly. Even one section of the working class cannot combine and pull together for its own benefit. Surely there could be no class of men with so much solidarity of interest as coal-miners; but they are split up into ever so many societies, and so are beaten in detail. They are wholly unable to rise to the level of a large combination which should cover the country and bring the strength of all to bear on the wrongs of each.



A glance at our "Labour Struggle" columns week by week will soon show what a sluggish creature is the British worker, and how tardy in recognising his own needs, much less those of his fellows. Next week we will give an item there which eloquently speaks of his apathy and of his gullibility as well; the list of rat papers read to the Trades Union Congress; it includes no single Socialist, Radical, or Freethought paper; every one is a religious or temperance organ, which thousands of workmen will go on reading with devout attention.

They will not stop to ask the value of the religion or the virtue that is kept up on sweated labour and maintained by means of screwing the last penny from half-starved workers! To take one crucial instance: how many working men Good Templars will ever take the trouble to raise the question of their Watchword being a rat sheet? Or other teetotallers as to the Alliance News?

Sobriety! Thrift! Religion! Judging by outward appearances, it would seem that "Sobriety" keeps men's heads cool and their hearts cold; that "Thrift" on their own behalf leads to the compulsory poverty of others; and that "Religion" makes heaven for them here after, but allows them to make a hell for others now! S.

**LABOUR'S TRIANGULAR PROBLEM;**  
OR, MEN VERSUS MACHINES.

(Continued from p. 298.)

THE Times (December 27, 1882) reported on northern coal trade as follows:—

"On the question of production, it may be said that in South Durham in 1875 each person employed in and at the pits brought to bank on the average 339 tons of coal. That rose to 350 in 1879; in 1881 it was 370, and there is ground for the belief that 1882 has given a further increase."

And Mr. Burt, speaking at the Durham miners' gala, said:—

"In 1873, a year of high wages, they produced 35,000,000 tons of coal less than in 1883. During those ten years the average produce of each person had increased no less than 20 per cent. Those employed were producing 80 to 90 tons per man more than in 1873; not all due to improved machinery, the bulk due to increase of manual labour."

"Not all due to improved machinery" is important to note, for it is the expression of a curious confusion of thought; it is an error with much truth. It is correct that the increase is "due to increase of manual labour," but this increased effort is extorted by fear of machinery; extorted from each labourer by the knowledge that there is a large surplus of unemployed men desirous of taking his place if he does not do the extreme task demanded; so therefore the increase is indirectly the result of improved machinery. The man in one pit is matched against the machine in another.

Returning to agriculture for a moment, W. Saunders (Democrat, March 7, 1885), on increased productiveness, says:—

"One man with a reaping and binding machine drawn by three horses can cut and bind 12 acres in a day—an amount of work which formerly required 20 persons."

In shipping, he continues, some records dealing with Hull show, in

"twenty-eight voyages from Hull to New York and back in 1835, 15,500 tons of cargo were carried; average length of voyage 119 days, the total number of days for the crew being 53,440. The same quantity of cargo this year carried in five Hull ships, average voyage being 47 days, total days being 8,295, or less than one-sixth of the days formerly occupied, the labour of the crews being six times as effective."

In spinning, 1 person is equal to 750 of a hundred years ago."

Sketchley, in his 'Review of European Society,' p. 214, quotes from Carpenter on machinery the following table of productive powers of machinery:—

Year.	Population.	Estimated number of workers.	Productive powers equal to the labour of men.	Productive power in relation to workers.
1817	20,250,000	5,200,000	200,000,000	As 37 to 1
1832	24,500,000	6,200,000	400,000,000	As 52 to 1
1840	26,500,000	6,600,000	600,000,000	As 90 to 1

And from 1840 to 1878 they had again doubled, being equal to the labour of 1,200,000,000 of men, and as 130 to 1 compared to the number of workers. At p. 223 he quotes from a letter of James Caird to the Times of June 5, 1875, that one reaping-machine would do the work of ten men; that in the harvest of 1875 40,000 machines were employed, equal to the labour of 400,000 men; that one steam-plough is equal to the labour of eight men and twenty horses.

Kolb (1880, p. 908) says:—

"Great Britain manufactures at least as much cotton as all other countries together. From 1735 to 1749 only 1,000,000 lbs. were consumed annually, but by 1860 at least 1,000,000,000—that is, more in one working day than in three years of the former period."

The total population of England and Wales, Scotland and Ireland in 1801 is given as 15,717,287; in 1861 the population was 28,974,362. Roughly, one might say population multiplied by 2 in a period during which production is multiplied by 1,000!!

Sidney Taylor in his speech at the evening demonstration of Co-operators made a laboured but poor attempt to show that the people who lay so much stress on inequalities of distribution are wrong:—

"If it be urged that the rich eat more than their fair share of food, and wear more than their fair share of clothes, I reply that after all the rich have only one stomach a-piece, of limited capacity; and that if they were restricted to one or two suits of clothes each the surplus would go a very little way towards covering the nakedness of our widespread destitution."

This is really very little else than fooling in economics; more, it is not true economically. Every rich man is a consumer with as many stomachs as he has immediate retainers and dependents, who are like himself pure consumers only, and not wealth producers. It will need something stronger than Taylor's "only one stomach" argument to explain how it comes that ten or fifteen pounds per head is spent on one banquet; there must be a few poor men's coats consumed somewhere to allow one man to be sued for a tailor's bill of £750 for one year's clothing for one man. The women who spend two and three thousand per annum in dress, although having only one back to cover, do so at the expense of sweated East-end shirt-makers' shifts, and Sedley Taylor ought to know it, if he does not.

An increase of a thousand-fold of production, against three-fold of consumers (not consumption) shows distribution to be a little unequal; and in urging this I am not forgetting the exports argument. This is discounted by the fact that other countries have also increased vastly in powers of production. For instance, take America.

"In 1880 it was estimated we in Britain produced 5,439,645,000 yards of piece goods, and the home consumption about 27 yards per head of population. This would give less than 1,000,000,000 yards, leaving about 4,500,000,000 for export. Now take the United States. In the same year the stated production was 2,131,580,000 yards, and the home consumption equal to 40 yards per head. This would give a total of about 1,900,000,000 yards, leaving about 200,000,000 yards for export. She exported cotton goods to the value of 9,981,000 dols. In 1881 she increased this to 13,571,000—an increase in one year of 3,590,000 dols."

The same report also makes the important statement that while the average consumption per spindle in Britain is only 32 lbs. of raw cotton, in the United States it is 66 lbs.; therefore one American operative works up as much material as two English. In piece goods the American production is 2.75 against English 2.50.

In coal, iron, and steel the figures given by different authorities are more crushing in their completeness than even in cotton.

In coal the output increased in the term 1869-1880 in Belgium 9 per cent.; Austria, 28 per cent.; Great Britain, 34 per cent.; France, 42 per cent.; Germany, 76 per cent.; United States, 135 per cent.!!

In pig-iron in same period, Belgium, 18 per cent.; Great Britain, 28 per cent.; Germany, 64 per cent.; France, 66 per cent.; United States, 126 per cent.!!

Steel production, United States:—

	1872.	1875.	1878.	1880.
Net tons:	120,108	375,517	732,226	1,203,173

According to Parliamentary Paper, April 2, 1883, the total production of steel in all European states in 1882 (including England) was 2,200,000, while the production in the United States was 1,800,000 tons. By the same paper we find that during 1882 the quantity of iron ore imported into the United States was only 580,207 tons, value £337,535, of which Spain sent 246,941 tons, France 142,856 tons, England 98,690, and Italy 31,237.

These figures, which I quote from Sketchley's useful handbook, prove that America, once our very best customer, has set up business for herself, and starts with many advantages over her teacher. Note the very important detail re the increased output per spindle, 66 lbs. against our 32 lbs. It explains several knotty points. It explains how it is that America can underbid us in what we used to call "our" markets, even in our own home markets; it also explains how it is that the American operative has so little advantage in comfort over the English or Continental worker.

John Bright to-day is using all his influence to secure to the landlords of Ireland the high rents obtainable years ago. In January 1885, however, he wrote a letter to the treasurer of the National Industrial Association in explanation of his statement that "if land is not worth rent, it should be, and will be, rent free"; and he went on to say that "in Lancashire there are scores of mills closed now owing to the competition of modern mills of better construction." The most modern mills are of course those started in America and abroad, where the capitalist embarked with the newest machinery and without any old-fashioned lumber of sunk capital and useless obsolete machinery.

THOS. SHORE, jun.

(To be continued.)

EMIGRATION FROM GERMANY seems to be flowing on in a steady stream. According to official statistics the total number of emigrants from Germany to oversea countries during the period from the beginning of January to the end of July this year was 63,505, while in the corresponding period of the previous year the number was 63,979, a decrease of only 474.

The "triumphant democracy" of Andrew Carnegie's ideas and the "effete monarchies" of the old countries must be twins, for this triumphant democrat hires Pinkerton thugs just as readily as the Czar of Russia orders out his troops. It seems to us "we could be happy with either were t'other dear charmer away."—Granite Cutters Journal.

METROPOLITAN PAUPERISM.—The weekly return of metropolitan pauperism shows that the total number of paupers relieved in the second week of the current month was 91,488, of whom 55,239 were indoor and 36,249 outdoor paupers. The total number relieved shows an increase of 1,624 over the corresponding week of last year, 4,752 over 1886, and 5,986 over 1885. The total number of vagrants relieved on the last day of the week was 985, of whom 787 were men, 178 women, and 20 children under sixteen.

<sup>1</sup> Fourth Annual Report of the Bureau of Statistics of New Jersey, U.S.A., 1881, and quoted by Sketchley.

<sup>2</sup> This, by the way, is only a repetition of what took place between England and France. "It is said by one of our factory inspectors that in France one workman looks after 14 spindles; in England one minder and two assistants can manage a mule with 2,200 spindles" (Trant: 'Trades Unions,' 1884, p. 136). This is an increase of 5,235 per cent., a greater increase than between England and America, which is only a shade over 100 per cent.

## REVOLUTIONARY CALENDAR.

WEEK ENDING OCTOBER 6, 1888.

30	Sun.	1793. Riot at Bristol. 1830. Belgium separated from Holland. 1857. Aug. Comte died.
1	Mon.	1803. Trial of John McIntosh for high treason. 1842. Trial of rioters, Stafford. 1843. Repeal demonstration on the Rath of Mullaghast. 1849. Klapka surrendered Komorn.
2	Tues.	1853. D. F. Arago died. 1887. Right-of-way demonstration at Latrigg, Keswick.
3	Wed.	1803. Trial of Thomas Keenan for high treason. 1846. Sir Chas. Wolseley died. 1833. Pittsburgh Convention of Socialists of U.S.
4	Thur.	1810. Felix Pyat born. 1871. "Seven points" excitement.
5	Fri.	1789. Rising of women in Paris. 1803. Trial of D. L. Redmond for high treason. 1840. Lassalle born. 1887. Revolt of 6,000 Work-women in Madrid.
6	Sat.	1642. Parliament raised army. 1842. Trial of Cheshire rioters. 1848. Revolt in Vienna.

NOTE.—By mistake the Battle of Worcester was given last week as fought on September 23rd, having already been correctly given for Sept. 3rd.

*Sir Charles Wolseley.*—Born July 20, 1769; died Oct. 3, 1846. This great Radical of the early years of the century received a great part of his political education in France, and was at the taking of the Bastille. About the close of the Napoleonic wars he made himself prominently known in England in connection with parliamentary reform. His family seat being near Birmingham, he was placed at the head of the Radicals of that place and of the organisations that afterwards went far towards gaining the Reform Bill. In those days, electing a member for Birmingham was little short of treason; but this, however, was done, and Wolseley was the man selected by a meeting of about 50,000 Brumites, principally workmen. For their performance Woole and others were imprisoned; soon after, Wolseley himself was imprisoned for a seditious speech at Stockport. Again in 1820 he was sentenced to eighteen months' for sedition; but nothing could damp his ardour, and he continued to work assiduously as long as Reform meetings continued to be held; but when they were resumed in 1830 after the lull, he was, though only sixty, already feeling the effects of what he had undergone, and left the leading places to younger men. He was a man of good parts, well educated, and of sterling worth; although by no means belonging to the most advanced school of reformers even of his own time, he was one who achieved some solid work and deserves to be held in remembrance.—S.

Unavoidably held over from last week:—

*Thomas Muir.*—Born in Glasgow, Aug. 24, 1765; died at Chantilly, near Paris, Sept. 27, 1793. One of the most attractive personalities among the British revolutionists of last century. At the grammar school and university he was notable for a quiet and studious disposition, having a taste for old books and an easy mastery of languages; intended for the church, but decided for the bar, studying civil law under one of the best jurists that even his native country had ever produced. In the troubled times which followed the removal of Prof. Anderson (founder of the Andersonian Institution) from his office in 1783-4, Muir was one of the warmest upholders of student-rights, and was largely instrumental in deposing Edmund Burke from the lord rectorship and installing therein the reformer Robert Graham of Gartmore.<sup>1</sup> In consequence of the part he played, he, with twelve others, was excluded from the classes of the university, a proceeding which excited great indignation and disgust. He then went to Edinburgh, completed his studies there, and was in 1787 admitted a member of the Faculty of Advocates. A fluent and ready speaker, well versed in law and general knowledge, and possessed of a winning presence, he soon became popular and acquired influence. The French movement was then exciting much interest in other countries, and naturally attracted Muir's attention; a society calling itself the *Friends of the People* had been founded in London, and on October 16, 1792, a public meeting was held at the Star Inn, Glasgow, at which Muir and many others were present, and a similar society was there organised. Their object was to agitate for political reforms, and their example was followed by like associations that sprang up all over the country. William Pitt, the great renegade, was naturally irritated to see the principles he had flung behind him for the sake of office preached with such vehemence by men whose character and very existence was a standing reproach to him. Many public meetings or "conventions of delegates" as they were called, were held in 1792-3 in Edinburgh, and in all these Muir was prominent. On Dec. 21, 1792, he read the celebrated address of the United Irishmen to the Scotch reformers. On the other hand, the Ministry was active. Burke had stooped his mighty head to the yoke, and was a hiring writer against liberty; he was but the giant of the pension-list; spies, provocative-agents, libellers, swarms of lesser vermin, shared it with him. Muir was one of the first reformers to feel the clutch of the Government; Jan. 2, 1793, he was arrested on a charge of sedition, and was liberated on heavy bail to appear when called on. While on bail he visited France, arriving in Paris on the eve of the execution of Louis XVI.; this was a very unwise step, as in spite of his public announcement of his intention and the openness with which he proceeded, it gave many openings to his enemies. When he was called on to stand his trial, the war then raging prevented his return except by a roundabout route, which precluded his arriving in time; on February 25, as he had not surrendered, he was declared an outlaw, and on March 6 struck off the rolls of his Faculty. In July he returned, and was at once seized and on August 30 brought to trial before judges who were known to have fore-condemned him, a well-packed jury, and an array of bought witnesses, who was headed by a parson whose name for years afterwards adorned the pension-list of Scotland. After a "trial" lasting eighteen hours, he was condemned to fourteen years' transportation. The disgraceful character of the case and Muir's powerful speech in defence, excited great attention everywhere, and was the subject of several warm but unavailing debates in Parliament. After being subjected to many indignities, Muir, Palmer, Margarot, and Skirving were shipped on board the *Surprise* transport for New South Wales, arriving at Sydney Sept. 25, 1794. On Feb. 11, 1796, he escaped on board the *Otter*, which had been fitted out in America for the purpose, but after four months at sea was wrecked near Nootka Sound, and reached shore with two others, sole survivors, in a state of destitution. After wandering 4,000 miles on foot, dependent on Indian charity, he reached Panama, and finding it impossible to reach the United States from there, went to Havana to renew the attempt, was there imprisoned for a few weeks as a dangerous man, and then shipped off to Spain. Just as the ship in which he was and her consort were off Cadiz, they were attacked by two English frigates, and after a bloody battle were taken; Muir being desperately wounded and left for dead. Landed at Cadiz, the French Directory heard of his position and sent a special messenger to look after him and defray all expenses. In September 1797 they followed this up by conferring on

<sup>1</sup> By the way, Mr. Graham founded an annual prize, in perpetuity, being a gold medal, value at least £5, to be presented to the student who wrote the best *Discourse on Political Liberty*. Is this prize still given?

him the honour of citizenship and inviting him to France, demanding of the Spanish Government that he be set free. On his entry into France he was entertained at a fraternal banquet by the citizens of Bordeaux, Dec. 4, 1797. Traveling by painfully slow and easy stages, he reached Paris February 4th, and was received with the greatest honour; but the hardships endured in the convict-ship, his lonely American wanderings, and the Cuban prison had done their work, aggravated by the fearful wounds he had received off Cadiz, and he lingered awhile and died in spite of all that could be done. He received a public funeral by order of the authorities. A monument has been erected at Edinburgh to his memory and that of his fellow-martyrs, but it may be doubted if there be one in ten thousand in all "modern Athens" who could tell what it means.—S.

## CORRESPONDENCE.

## "SWEATED BASKET-MAKERS."

Sir,—Would you kindly allow me space to ask a few questions of Mr. Cantwell, as I have been somewhat startled by some of his statements contained in your issue of September 8, 1888. Firstly, is his evidence good that Mr. Chamberlain obtained the whole of the first year's contract, and can he substantiate his statement about this years contract? I would like to know if his statement of the trade union wage is correct, because I deem the correctness of these statements to be of the greatest importance. My shopmates and I agree with him that it is a scandal that our Government should encourage anything that would lead to sweating, and I can assure him of our hearty co-operation in giving such a state of matters publicity by bringing it before our Trades' Council, or in some form before the House of Commons. I would be obliged to Mr. Cantwell if he could tell us if the protectors and umbrella baskets are got up by sweaters, as we understand they are?—I am, etc.,

JAMES DRYDEN.

43, Potter Row, Edinburgh, September 17, 1888.

## PROPAGANDA.

As winter approaches it behoves us to consider ways and means of carrying on our agitation during the "cold season." Now it appears to me that our lectures should be made considerably more attractive than at present. In saying this I don't wish to insinuate anything against Socialist lecturers but rather the blame, if any, rests upon the organisers of meetings. As at present conducted a chairman is elected, the lecture follows, and the only thing to enliven the audience is (sometimes) a discussion, and it is to this dull rigmarole that I attribute the small meetings. Now, in addition to this, why not have a series of diagrams, or dissolving views introduced into our meetings? For instance, we could have depicted, "all 'ighly color'd" the average Monster of Averages, with a representation of a Sweater taking £4 10s Od. and his victim taking 10s. weekly, with the *Political Economist* pointing and saying, "The average wage of the workers is £2 10s. weekly." Or any other instance that will readily occur to the reader. And why not use this simple means of propaganda? What are the use of lectures but to point the moral? And a diagram will do this most effectively, as all other parties have discovered and utilised years ago. Even the Radicals use this means, and why not we? One instrument would do for London if properly exchanged among the branches, and the collections would soon pay for the initial expense. Then again, I should suggest always having a resolution proposed at all meetings, such resolution to be advertised with the meeting, as the discussion of a resolution adds greatly to the interest of a lecture. Lately singing has been introduced with very satisfactory results at some of our meetings; this ought to be greatly extended, as it is an excellent means of raising the enthusiasm of an audience, especially where the songs have a good chorus. I hope that this note will bring forward some further ways and means of making our propaganda more attractive and effective to the tired and worn out wage-slaves.

T. R. C.

## "THE SOCIAL REVOLUTION."

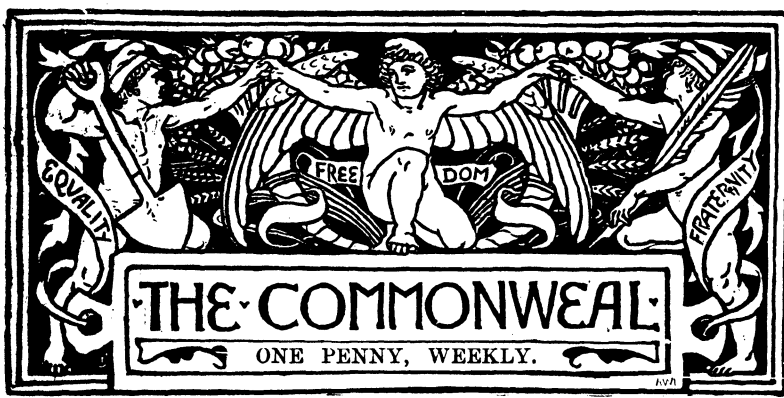
"Tausin," whose letter appears in your columns of this date, is evidently a superior person, in touch with all things excellent in this world and the next, and I feel considerable deference in questioning anything he says, but he irritates me to the speaking point when he sneers at the Social Revolution, now in the womb of Time, and does what little he can to make an abortion of it. According to this oracle the revolution is now present, and he leads us to infer that a future definite and united uprising of the people is a foolish and fatuous fancy. If this be his conviction it is assuredly not mine, and not that of the vast majority of intelligent and earnest Socialists the world over. Our eyes have not yet seen the Messiah which sages and prophets have named the Social Revolution, and our hearts still wait its coming with expectation and with hope. Truly the time of its appearing draweth nigh, and some of us have already seen its star in the east. Tausin says we should not sound a note of triumph while our work is undone. Poor Tausin! An army that is sure of winning feels triumphant before the battle is begun, and all the time it is in progress.

Let Socialists drop this rot about the revolution being here and in process of accomplishment. It is not here and we are not ready for it. Nor will its battles be fought in office, factory, and mine, although the enlistment and equipment of recruits may for the present be very usefully carried on in these places. The Social Revolution will have a definite and distinct time and place in the history of our race. It is not a national affair, but must be effected in concert and in friendship with the workers of all countries. The system it seeks to overturn was established by force, and force will have to be used in the destruction of it. Moral suasion has been a long time trying to kill the drinking habit and it has not succeeded yet, but it would prove a thousand times more ineffective if arrayed against the sacred interests of Property. Let us take all we can get through the slow, hesitating, and devious ways of parliament, but let us never lose sight of the coming day when that bungling benefactor, along with monarchy, aristocracy, and a host of useless encumbrances, shall be swept away by a supreme effort of mankind to accommodate itself to present circumstances.

I agree with Tausin when he emphasises the importance of amity and unity among Socialists, and I have been pleased to observe of late that trivial points of dissension do not prevent comrades of different schools from working together. The end we aim at is so desirable, and ultimate defeat in attaining it so impossible, that all should be of one mind in a religious, or if you please, a fanatical determination that the behests of Justice shall be done.

ROBERT GRIERSON.

Sept. 15, 1888.



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

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

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

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

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

'LABOUR REFORMER' (Toronto).—If still in the land of the living, we shall be glad to see you again; it is some months since a copy came to hand.

G. McL.—Much obliged by letter and enclosures, duly utilised.

REPORTS must be addressed to sub-editor, and reach office Tuesday morning. Addressing them to other people causes delay, and sending them later keeps them out.

'ANARCHIST' (S. E.).—Thanks for your letter, which is just the kind we want.

A. C. (Dublin).—Will do as you ask in a very short time and also write you direct. Glad to hear from you.

'DER ARME TEUFEL' (Detroit).—We gladly acknowledge your esteemed paper whenever it reaches us, which it does not always do. An exchange copy is regularly mailed to you.

Periodicals received during the week ending Wednesday September 26.

ENGLAND	Chicago—Knights of Labor	ITALY
Labour Tribune	Chicago (Ill)—Vorbote	Rome, L'Emancipazione (daily)
Norwich—Daylight	Detroit—Der Arme Teufel	Cremona—Il Democratico
Railway Review	Fort Worth (Tex)—South West	Turin - Il Muratore
The Miner	Milwaukee—National Reformer	Turin - Nuovo Gazzetta Operaia
Worker's Friend	Paterson (N J) Labor Standard	SPAIN
NEW SOUTH WALES	Coast Seamen's Journal	Seville—La Solidaridad
Hamilton—Radical	FRANCE	PORTUGAL
INDIA	Paris—Cri du Peuple (daily)	Lisbon—O Protesto Operario
Bankipore—Behar Herald	Le Parti Ouvrier (daily)	Porto—A Revolucao Social
Madras—People's Friend	La Revolte	GERMANY
UNITED STATES	Le Coup de Feu	Berlin—Volks Tribune
New York—Der Sozialist	L'Attaque	AUSTRIA
Frisheit	Lille—Le Cri du Travailleur	Brunn—Arbeiterstimme
Truthseeker	HOLLAND	SWEDEN
Volkszeitung	Hague—Recht voor Allen	Malmö—Arbetet
Jewish Volkszeitung	BELGIUM	WEST INDIES
Workmen's Advocate	Ghent—Vooruit	Cuba—El Productor
Boston—Woman's Journal	Liege—L'Avenir	
Libertas	Antwerp—De Werker	
Buffalo—Arbeiter-Zeitung		

## SCRAMBLING.

'SCRAMBLING absolutely prevents pleasure, however much there may be—multiply what we have of means of enjoyment fifty-fold, and still let it be scrambled for, and the very same evils must still be, and surely even worse. So treated there cannot be enough.'

This little quotation from some MSS. of James Hinton very aptly gives the reason for the poverty and misery of to-day, and also points to the only possible remedy. When we once realise that it is impossible for any amount of wealth to go all round so long as we scramble for it, we begin to look in a new direction for a remedy for poverty; until people realise this their hope is in the increase of wealth or in the reduction of the number of people who have to live out of it. But once let people realise that no increase of wealth can bring enough for all so long as we scramble for it, and they will cease to be engrossed in the attempt to get more and more wealth produced, and will begin to turn their attention to the finding of some better method of sharing it than the present one of scrambling.

Let any one try the experiment among a large party of children; set them scrambling for nuts or cakes, and keep them going until every child has got at least as many as it can eat, and they will find, before that point is reached, that they will have used as many cakes as would have satisfied them all round for several meals had they been handed round at a table, each one being able to have as many as it could eat. And the reason will be that even in such a simple matter as scrambling for cakes there will be a great difference amongst the children; some will be sharper, more eager, or less considerate of their neighbours than others; and so before the most backward in the scramble have been able to get enough to give them one fill of cakes, some of the others will have got enough to last them a fortnight.

So it is in our scramble for wealth to-day; before the backward one can get enough to keep body and soul together, many of the more forward ones have collared enough to last them and their children for generations—nay, in some cases they have enough to keep them and their families for thousands of years, if they could only live as long!

But it is often urged that all this scrambling tends to the picking out of the best men and rewarding them, and so to the survival of the

fittest; and the animal and vegetable kingdoms are pointed to as showing that the law of scrambling is of universal application. But one may point out, in the first place, that the analogy with the rest of nature breaks down, for this reason amongst others, that when an animal or plant has had its fill of meat and drink it ceases to consume or collect, whereas there is no limit to the amount of wealth over which a man will acquire the right of preventing others from using. The struggle for existence would look rather different if an acquisitive buffalo could take to itself enough prairie-grass to last it a thousand years and prevent all others from touching it! Moreover, man has not only, in a greater degree than the animals, the power of adapting himself to his surroundings, but also the power of adapting the surroundings to himself.

If we grant for the sake of argument the full force of the contention that the scrambling results in the survival of the fittest, we need not therefore be convinced that this end is a desirable one; we may even think that it would not be half a bad thing if we could do something to prevent these fittest from surviving. For what sort of people will they be? Well, they will be energetic, quick, and persevering. So far, good. But they will also be the most unscrupulous, the most regardless of the needs or feelings of those around them, and the most ready to use their elbows to shove others aside or climb on their backs. On the whole, it may be very much questioned whether the survival of these people is worth the price we pay for it—the price of the poverty and misery we see around us—and whether by doing away with the scramble we might not give a chance to a much pleasanter and altogether more desirable sort of people to survive; and, in short, whether the abolition of the scrambling method of sharing wealth would not make the world a very much happier place than it is.

Even if we waive the point that "the fittest" are after all not a very pleasant sort of people, and try to look upon them as the most desirable people possible, I should still question whether it is a sensible way to make the mass of the people poor and wretched in order that these few may be selected out and rewarded to such an extent. I think if all the people could have a decent share in the good things of life we could bear with tolerable resignation the loss of those splendid people whose existence the present scramble fosters so much! If there was any end to the system, one might put up with it better; if, after the scramble has selected these so wonderful people, and rewarded them, there was an end of it, and the people generally could have a chance to enjoy life, it would be different. One can do with a scramble at a children's party, because the fun compensates for the inequality, and as soon as it is over they all go in and enjoy a good supper, where the fittest only gets his share with the rest! But for a society to go on endlessly scrambling, keeping the great majority of its members in poverty, misery, and toil, in order that a few may be able to rise on the backs of their neighbours, even if those few are the best possible sort of people, is unbearable, and must be put a stop to as soon as possible.

Our society is in the form of a pyramid, in which all are struggling to get at the top; the higher the few get the broader must be the base of poverty and misery to support them; in the struggle the strong and unscrupulous scramble up and trample down the weak and considerate people to form the base for them to stand on.

So, by building society in the form of a pyramid, we first create an enormous weight that has to be carried, and then we set the weakest to carry it. And so long as we maintain the pyramid form there is no help for it. Some have rejoiced at the increase of the middle classes of society; but it simply means that the pyramid is a little enlarged about half way up, and there is all the more weight to be carried by those at the base.

Against this form of society let me place another, again using the words of James Hinton: "If there must be poverty—which it does not appear there need be—the strong should take it, not the weak endure it." Our aim is to do away with the pyramid and develop a society in which the good things of life shall be shared—handed round, as it were, to all—not scrambled for, and in which, if there need be any extra burden carried at times, it shall not be thrust upon the weakest, as it is to-day, but the strong shall take it, thinking it an honour so to help the weaker ones; and an honour it shall be to them too!

RAYMOND UNWIN.

## THE ECONOMICAL CONDITION OF THE LABOURERS IN DENMARK.

For some time past, a committee has been appointed in Denmark to investigate to what extent the intervention of the State would be necessary for the sake of insurance of old and disabled workers, and our comrade P. Knudsen, Secretary of the Danish Social Democratic Federation, in his capacity of member of the above-named committee, has just published a very extensive report dealing with that subject and kindred matters. This highly interesting publication, which forms a volume of 320 pages, contains a considerable amount of statistical information as to the economical condition of the Danish workers, their annual wages, and their expenses for necessities of life, as also on the activity of the various benefit societies and sick funds, and it concludes with an exposition and critical review of the question of insurance of old and disabled workers.

The most valuable part of comrade Knudsen's book, for consideration by and instruction of English Socialists, is certainly that which deals directly with the economical condition of their fellow workers in



Denmark; therefore we will put before our readers the figures relating thereto, and which have been gathered from the most authentic sources, such as official statistical tables, the "Kobenhavns Statistic," the Danish Trades' Unions collections, the special works of J. T. Bayer, Dr. Th. Sorensen, Prof. Falbe-Hansen, Prof. W. Scharling, Prof. C. Voit, Dr. Thorup, Dr. Christmas-Dirckinck-Holmfeldt, and several others.

The following classes of workmen have been inquired into:—

I. Skilled and unskilled labourers, and, partly, unmarried working-women in Copenhagen.

II. Skilled and unskilled labourers in the boroughs, and industrial labourers in the counties.

III. Agricultural labourers.

These three classes of male workers have the following number of adults (over 18 years of age):—

In Copenhagen—Skilled labourers	...	about	26,000
" Unskilled labourers, employed at industrial work	...	about	2,200
" Unskilled labourers, employed at accidental work	...	about	10,000
Skilled and unskilled labourers in the boroughs and industrial labourers in the counties	...	about	45,000
Agricultural labourers	...	about	133,000
<b>Total</b>	...	about	<b>216,200</b>
Number of unmarried women, employed at industrial work, laundries, cleaning, and similar occupations.	...	about	17,000

Of the 45,000 workmen in the boroughs and counties, the unskilled labourers employed at non-industrial (chiefly accidental) work, amount to about 21 per cent. or about 9,500.

Of the said male workers, the following members are heads of a family:—

Skilled workers at Copenhagen	...	about	14,600
Unskilled workmen at Copenhagen	...	about	9,300
Skilled and unskilled labourers in the boroughs, and industrial workmen in the counties	...	about	28,200
Agricultural labourers	...	about	125,400
<b>Total</b>	...	about	<b>177,500</b>

From the 23,900 working families in Copenhagen (no information being at hand as to the others):—

About 17,450 families consist of from 2 to 4 persons.	
" 5,780 " " " 5 to 7 "	
" 670 " " " more than 7 "	

According to the various sources above mentioned, and the calculations made thereon by our comrade Knudsen, the annual income for the different classes of workmen in Denmark has been as follows.

I.—WORKMEN IN COPENHAGEN.

(a). SKILLED LABOURERS.

Of the 26,000 skilled labourers, the numbers named below received the following annual remuneration, under the system of piece-work. (The price is given in Danish Kroner, 1 Kr. being equal to 1s. 1½d.):

From 400 Kr. to 600 Kr.	4,995 workmen, or 19.21 per cent.
" 600 " " 800 "	6,750 " " or 25.96 "
" 800 " " 900 "	3,294 " " or 12.67 "
" 900 " " 1,000 "	2,987 " " or 11.49 "
" 1,000 " " 1,400 "	6,978 " " or 26.84 "
" 1,400 " " 1,600 "	793 " " or 3.05 "
" 1,600 " " 2,300 "	203 " " or 0.78 "
<b>Total</b>	26,000 workmen, or 100 per cent.

(b). UNSKILLED LABOURERS EMPLOYED IN INDUSTRY.

The 2,200 unskilled labourers employed at industrial work, are to be classified as follows, according to the system of day work:—

From about 500 Kr. to about 600 Kr.	330 workmen, or 15 per cent.
" " 600 " " 700 "	625 " " or 28.4 per cent.
" " 700 " " 800 "	1,067 " " or 48.5 per cent.
" " 800 " " 900 "	178 " " or 8.1 per cent.
<b>Total</b>	2,200 100 per cent.

(c). UNSKILLED LABOURERS EMPLOYED AT ACCIDENTAL WORK.

It has not been possible to collect complete information as to this class of workmen. The annual wages of the majority of them can be estimated at from 500 to 600 Kr., according to the estimation furnished by the Journeymen's Federation at Copenhagen. Part of them have still lower wages, and but very few obtain yearly 800 Kr., or more.

(d). NUMBER OF WORKING-MEN IN COPENHAGEN WHOSE ANNUAL WAGES ARE LESS, AND WHOSE ARE MORE THAN 800 KR.

Of all the skilled and unskilled labourers in Copenhagen, 23,800 or 62.3 per cent. earn from 400 to 800 Kr. a-year. About 14,000 or 37.7 per cent. earn from 800 Kr. and more yearly.

(e). UNMARRIED WOMEN EMPLOYED AT INDUSTRIAL WORK.

It has only been possible to find out the annual wages of 4,991 working-women, and the following percentages are only valid for that number. Of these 4,991 women, 2,296 were working at day-work and 2,695 at piece-work:

Wages for Day-work.

From about 200 Kr. to about 300 Kr.	412 working-women, or 18.0 per cent.
" " 300 " " 400 "	1,150 " " or 50.0 "
" " 400 " " 500 "	583 " " or 25.4 "
" " 500 " " 600 "	115 " " or 5.0 "
" " 600 " " 800 "	36 " " or 1.6 "
<b>Total</b>	2,296 working-women, or 100 per cent.

Wages for Piece-work.

From about 200 Kr. to about 300 Kr.	660 working-women, or 24.5 per cent.
" " 300 " " 400 "	609 " " or 22.6 "
" " 400 " " 500 "	1,021 " " or 37.9 "
" " 500 " " 600 "	101 " " or 3.7 "
" " 600 " " 800 "	205 " " or 7.6 "
" " 800 " " 1,300 "	99 " " or 3.7 "
<b>Total</b>	2,695 working-women, or 100 per cent.

II.—SKILLED AND UNSKILLED LABOURERS IN THE BOROUGHS, AND INDUSTRIAL WORKMEN IN THE COUNTIES.

The following table shows the result of the annual wages of the workmen in the counties, as far as it has been possible to ascertain them:—

From about 300 Kr. to about 400 Kr.	about 4,545 workmen, or 10.1 per cent.
" 400 " " 500 "	6,750 " " or 15.0 "
" 500 " " 600 "	8,145 " " or 18.1 "
" 600 " " 700 "	9,135 " " or 20.3 "
" 700 " " 800 "	5,040 " " or 11.2 "
" 800 " " 900 "	8,235 " " or 18.3 "
" 900 " " 1,000 "	1,665 " " or 3.7 "
" 1,000 " " 1,100 "	585 " " or 1.3 "
" 1,100 " " 1,200 "	405 " " or 0.9 "
" 1,200 " " 1,300 "	270 " " or 0.6 "
" 1,300 " " 1,600 "	180 " " or 0.4 "
" 1,600 " " 1,800 "	45 " " or 0.1 "
<b>Total</b>	about 45,000 workmen, or 100 per cent.

It follows from the above figures that 33,600, or 74.7 per cent. of the workers of the counties, earn annual wages varying from about 300 Kr. to 800 Kr., and that 11,400, or 25.3 per cent. of them earn from 800 Kr. and more.

The most badly situated workmen are the unskilled labourers, in the counties as well as in Copenhagen, and of these again those who are employed at accidental work.

III.—THE AGRICULTURAL LABOURERS.

The peasants in Denmark are divided into three classes: (1) the "gaardmaend," farmers who possess a farm from 18 up to 200 acres of land; (2) the "husmaend," cottagers, who are divided into two classes, according to their possession or non-possession of land: a. cottagers with land from ½-acre to 18 acres; b. "Jordløse husmaend," cottagers possessing no land at all or less than ½-acre; (3) the "Indsiddere," who have neither house nor land, but rent a room or two in a cottage. By estate is to be understood an agricultural enterprise with more than 200 acres of land.

The most common remuneration for agricultural labourers, who do not possess any land at all, is calculated as below:—

With board at the employers' Working with the farmers.	from 200 to 250 kr.	On large estates, from 200 to 300 kr.
	" 250 to 300 "	about 300 kr.
	" 300 to 400 "	from 335 to 450 kr.
With partial board	...	...
Boarding themselves	...	...

It is to be understood, as comrade Knudsen points out, that all the above-named wages prevail under normal circumstances only, when no large or extraordinary lack of employment happens. The effects of want of employment, especially when this want comes to a large extent, cannot be explained by those informations which are within the reach of the reporter. The annual wages of the workmen in Copenhagen and the boroughs, as well of the industrial labourers in the counties, include, as far as the heads of families are concerned, the amount which their wives and children may earn.

According to the above figures, the annual average wages of these three classes of workmen are as follows:—

(a). WORKMEN IN COPENHAGEN.

Skilled labourers, paid by daywork	...	754 kr.
" " " piecework	...	884 "
Unskilled industrial labourers, paid by daywork	...	711 "
Unmarried industrial working-women, paid by daywork	...	385 "
Unmarried industrial working-women, paid by piecework	...	420 "

(b). WORKMEN IN THE COUNTIES.

As to the skilled and unskilled labourers in the boroughs, as well as the industrial workers in the counties, the reporter's informations have not been sufficient to calculate their annual average wages. Based upon the materials which he has got, he states that the wages for those three classes are about 600 kr.

(c). AGRICULTURAL LABOURERS.

The average yearly wages for labourers without land have proved to be the following:—

Boarded with the employers	Working at the farms.	224 kr.	On the estates.	238 kr.
	Partially boarded	282 "	...	About 300 kr.
	Boarding themselves	371 "	...	400 kr.

(To be concluded.)

The strongest condemnation of existing systems and present statesmanship is afforded in the objections offered to the coming of any more labour to this country. Is not labour able to earn a living anywhere that natural resources exist? Not one-half of the natural resources of America is as yet developed. Does not this show that something is wrong. Labour a pauper in Europe; labour receiving a pauper's welcome here! How is this? Why is this?—Fort Worth (Tex.) South West.

V. D.

## THE LABOUR STRUGGLE.

BRITAIN.

The officers of the United States warship *Enterprise*, are trying to engage men at Leith at the rate of £5 per month, three years engagement, for American navy.

The labourers in Fairfield shipbuilding yard, Glasgow, on Thursday, 28th, came out on strike bodily for an advance of wages. Their pay is at present 15s. 9d. weekly, and they demand 18s.

Goods guards on the Irish Great Southern and Western Railway, who used to have an assistant, have now to work single-handed 14 or 15 hours at a stretch, for the same wages as before.

**STRIKE AT AUCHTERARDER.**—250 power loom weavers in employ of Hally and Company, Auchterarder, struck work on the 20th inst. in consequence of the imposition of fines for short lengths.

**STRIKE AT GOVAN.**—Riveters and platelayers in boiler department of Ross and Duncan's, Whitefield Road, Govan, came out on 21st ult. The riveters demand advance of a halfpenny, and the platers a penny per hour.

**CALENDERS' STRIKE IN DUNDEE.**—About 50 girls employed partly as learners in Trades Lane and Ladywell Calenders came out on strike last week for an advance. The girls have at present 6s. per week, and want 1s. advance.

**CRADLEY CHAINMAKERS.**—The chainmakers' strike has now practically come to an end. The majority of the small chain-makers have resumed work at the 4s. list, but there are still a large number of men who cannot find employment.

**LEEDS CLOTHWEAVERS.**—The 500 clothweavers in employ of Wilson and Sons, Wellington Street, Leeds, struck on Wednesday, 19th, against a revised wages list which they say will reduce their earnings from 1s. 6d. to 4s. 6d. per piece. The strike will cause 700 hands employed in the mill to be idle.

**END OF THE CARPENTERS' STRIKE AT GREENOCK.**—The apprentices of Caird and Co., who have been on strike on account of several carpenters who had served their apprenticeship elsewhere being engaged without being "brothered," had an interview with their employers, and have gone back to work.

**EMPLOYERS ASHAMED!**—A large number of warehouses in South Staffordshire and East Worcestershire district have intimated to their operatives their willingness to concede 10 per cent. in wages, some of them remarking that they had for some time been ashamed to pay the miserable low rate of wages!

**AN ADVANCE CONCEDED TO CLYDESDALE STEELWORKERS.**—On Wednesday 19th the Clydesdale Iron and Steel Co. intimated to their hammermen and steel-smelters that their wages are to be advanced 10 per cent. It is believed other large steel-producing establishments will follow suit, as the contracts booked recently have been numerous.

**END OF CRADLEY ANCHOR TRADE STRIKE.**—The operatives in Cradley anchor trade, numbering about 300, in Cradley, Cradley Heath, Old Hill, Netherton, and other districts, who have been out for an advance, decided on Wednesday, 19th, to resume, the whole of the employers having acceded to their demand of about 15 per cent. advance on prices paid during last eighteen months.

The *Economist* cannot understand how it is that the Scotch railway companies have been enabled to carry without increased cost a very much larger volume of traffic, whereas on the English lines fully half of the gain in the gross receipts of the half year was absorbed by the additional expenditure. Perhaps the workmen employed by the Caledonian and North British lines understand how it is done.

**LIVERPOOL BOILER-MAKERS.**—The strike of the boiler-makers and iron-ship builders in Liverpool has terminated, and the men have resumed work, the masters having conceded the advance demanded. Pieceworkers now receive an advance of 5 per cent. on previous rates, and smiths, platers, and riveters an advance of 1s. 6d. a-week all round. These terms are similar to those paid on the Tyne and at Belfast.

**SALFORD GAS STOKERS' STRIKE.**—About 80 stokers employed at the Salford Gas Works, Regent Road, struck over a new system of retort charging which has been introduced by the manager. On Friday morning 30 stokers at the Bloom Street Gas Works gave notice of their intention to strike if the demands of the Regent Road men were not conceded. A compromise has since been arranged, and the men have returned to work.

**SAILORS WILL CONFER.**—Last week we recommended English sailors to take a lesson from the Pacific Coast. This week we see from the *Coast Seaman's Journal* that the advice was taken before given. The "National Amalgamated Sailors' and Firemen's Union" has written to 'Frisco inviting delegates to an international Conference, at which they hope to also have the Australian organisation represented. J. H. Wilson, of Sunderland, is secretary.

**A KNEADED UNION.**—A meeting was lately held at Digbeth, Walsall, to form a branch of the Amalgamated Union of Operative Bakers and Confectioners for the town; there was good attendance. The chairman explained object of their association, which was not only a friendly and a trade society, but also a source of information on practical details of their work; he also mentioned that in some places he knew men who had to work 100 hours a-week, the result being that many men who were able and willing to work were kept out of places.

**THE "ISLAND LAMBS" GO IN.**—The strike in the Belfast shipbuilding trade ended last week, Harland and Wolff's works opening at the usual hour on Saturday morning. Terms of settlement: Advance of 1s. 6d. per week to riveters throughout works and to platers employed in shipyard, and 1s. per week to platers working in boiler-makers' shop. The men, on their part, concede piecework prices to the firm at same rates as paid in other parts, and in other yards in Belfast. Fitters, however, are standing out for a 2s. rise, and another lock-out is expected.

**ABERDEEN STRIKE.**—Sheriff Dove Wilson, to whom recent dispute between Aberdeen Banner Mill Company and their employes was referred—the strikers having meanwhile resumed work—has issued a decision that the workers' claim for a 5 per cent. rise has been made too soon, on the ground that capital is entitled to a certain percentage (not specified) before labour can claim anything more than bare subsistence. If, however, trade improves at its present rate till the end of present half-year, he thinks there will be a fair case for an increase. By arrangement previously made, the decision is binding on both sides, despite the rage of the entrapped workers.

**LONG HOURS ON THE TAFF VALE RAILWAY.**—Below are the number of hours given by the *Railway Review* as being worked on what is termed the Newport Pilot—a branch mineral train—by men belonging to Treherbert. The train is booked to leave the latter place at 6 a.m., but is not booked to return, having to get back when it can. It is quite evident that the train has too much work imposed on it, as there is only a single day out of the ten given on which the work has been done under 18 hours. Dec. 13 (1887), 23h. 15m.; Dec. 14, 22h. 50m.; Dec. 15, 23h. 10m.; Dec. 16, 21h. 10m.; June 17, 21h. 30m.; June 12 (1888), 18h.; June 13, 20h. 40m.; June 14, 20h. 50m.; June 15, 21h. 15m.; June 16, 15h. 30m.

**MORE OVERWORKING AMONG CHESHIRE TEAMSMEN.**—The overworking of Cheshire teams seems to continue, as was evidenced by another case at the Sale Petty Sessions on Monday 17th, when Frederick Wild was fined 10s., including costs, for being asleep in his cart at three o'clock in the morning, when returning from Manchester market. He stated that he had not been in bed from the Wednesday night up to the time he was found by the officer (Friday morning). He might have had two hours' sleep or so, but he had not been asleep above two or three minutes when he was booked. The bench "considered 41 hours out of all reason to work, and that the masters were quite as much to blame as the men"; our readers will word it otherwise.

**LANARKSHIRE MINERS.**—The leading districts of the county have adopted Saturday as an idle day in each week in order to carry out their policy of restriction. The men are agitating for advance of 10 per cent., which even according to the master's criterion for fixing wages, ought to have been given long before now. According to trade and prices, the second advance of 10 per cent. is now due, and some masters have conceded—generously, no doubt—the first 10 per cent. Messrs. Dunn, of Wellshot Colliery, Cambuslang, gave the first advance on Saturday last, on condition that the men come under obligation to work 12 days a fortnight. That's good for Messrs. Dunn. In that stroke they force the men to break through their restrictive policy, and secure increased supplies without the full legitimate advance, while the men are disorganised in order to fight them the better when organised.

**ADVANCES DEMANDED BY IRONWORKERS.**—The South Staffordshire ironworkers have given notice for a 5 per cent. advance, which has been refused, and there is now talk of arbitration.—The men in engineering trades of North Staffordshire will come out Saturday 29th, unless employers increase wages to the rates of 1886. In that year wages were reduced in Lancashire and North Staffordshire, but the employers in the latter district promised that when an increase was granted in Lancashire they would grant the same. Lancashire rates have advanced to the old scale, but in North Staffordshire there has been no change. No alteration has been made since January 1886. Wages were then reduced 10 per cent., bringing puddlers to the present 6s. 9d. per ton. Since then marked bars have been reduced 10s. Common bars and sheets show little alteration in price as compared with the date of the last wages reduction.

**COLLIERY DISPUTES.**—At a meeting of South Staffordshire and East Worcestershire miners at Dudley on Monday last, it was resolved to give notice Saturday 29th for 10 per cent. advance. This decision affects upwards of 12,000 workmen. At a meeting of the Committee of Management of the Coal Masters' Association held on the previous Thursday, it had been resolved that a meeting should take place in Birmingham on Thursday October 4 between employers and miners' representatives, to consider some self-adjusting arrangement for the regulation of wages.—The labourers at Battisfield Colliery, the largest works in Flintshire coalfields, struck work Monday 24th for a reduction of underground working hours. Their action has brought the works to a standstill, and some hundreds of men are, in consequence, without employment. Disturbances being feared, a force of police was picketed in the neighbourhood of the works.

**LONDON TAILORING.**—Some time ago we gave a list of prices paid for making clothing at Messrs. J. R. Bousfield's, 126 Houndsditch. By the kindness of a correspondent we are now enabled to give more. At that time they were paying the handsome sum of 1s. for making a double-breasted pilot reefer, and that is surely bad enough, but now they have actually reached as low as 8d. and 9d. No goods are made on the firm's premises, and the "hands" have to find their own thread, etc., out of this enormous sum. Juvenile cord knickerbockers, lined, are made for 3d. Boys' lined tweed trousers, from 5½d. upwards. Men's ditto, from 7½d. Men's worsted overcoats, with bound edges, from 1s. 9d. Boys' ditto, from 1s. 6d. Men's print and common tweed overcoats, from 1s. 6d. Boys', from 1s. 4d. Juvenile overcoats, from 9d. Ditto, with capes, from 1s. Juvenile sailor suits (jacket, knickers, and flannel), from 1s. 1d. Men's common unlined tweed jackets are made (?) for 6d. and 7d. Boys' ditto, for 5d. and 5½d. "These prices are paid," says our informant, "by a Christian firm who, a short time back, gave one of their employes the "sack" for being an Atheist, after eight years in their employ as a steady, honest, and sober workman. In this same firm the prices paid for cutting were reduced a short time back, thereby making it impossible for the cutters to earn anything like the same money. The men submitted like a lot of sheep. If they had had a union, they might have resisted, or even have stood out for a larger share in the wealth they had produced. But no; the majority of cutters in this establishment are Tories, who think that workmen have no right to dictate to employers what their wages shall be, etc., and who are too thick-headed to see what can be gained by combination."

**COTTON TRADE.**—The twistors and drawers, fifteen in number, are on strike at Derker Mills, Oldham. The firm has been paying 5½d. per thousand ends for twisting, less 8 per cent., and 7½d. per thousand ends for drawing, less 8 per cent., the drawers having to pay their own reachers. Their boss declared this was more than was being paid elsewhere, and in future proposed to pay 4½d. per thousand ends for twisting and 6½d. per thousand ends for drawing, or a reduction of 12 per cent. in twisting and 8 per cent. in drawing. The men declined to accept, and struck, and at present a few boys are trying to fill their places. Mr. Greaves, the employer, says he will only pay Blackburn prices in future, but the men point out a great difference between their work and that at Blackburn. They have to twist and draw all counts at the same price, and they say there is generally a great difference between the warp they have finished and the one they have to put in, while they have to find all their own work, which generally causes them to lose an hour between finishing one warp and beginning another. At Lower House Mill 6½d. per thousand is paid for drawing, and it is all lease work there, whereas at Derker it is slashers' work, which ought to be paid 1d. per thousand extra. What will be the result of the struggle is difficult to say, but the foreman of the twistors and drawers has given in his notice and joined the men.—A few mills in Bury and Elton district still follow out the

system of running overtime, starting before time and stopping after time, making up a considerable amount during the length of a week; but no one seems to know how to begin kicking.—Great dissatisfaction exists among the weavers at Lock Gate Mill, Haslingden, in consequence of overtime and underpaying, and the weavers' committee have determined should no understanding be arrived at during present week, to bring the weavers out on strike.—The weavers at Banfield Mill, Blackburn, have tendered their notice, and it expired on Wednesday. The dispute is under-payment.—The spinners at Moss Bridge Mill, Darwen, have served a fortnight's notice, which terminated Friday 21, on account of extra work.—The strike of tenters at Meanock's mill, Micklehurst, Mossley, has been settled. A fortnight ago, Mr. Meanock, who is making an alteration in the hank roving, which he claims makes less work for the tenters, deducted 2s. each from their wages. As they had had no notice, they struck, and Meanock filled their places with hands from his mill at Uppermill, but these met with such a warm reception that on Wednesday, 12th, they refused to serve any longer, and the carding room was stopped; by Friday the whole place was at a standstill. On that day and on Tuesday the men's representatives had interviews with Meanock; he agreed to refund the 2s. and to put the tenters on standing wages until the change in the hank roving had been fully effected, after which they are to be paid by piece. Work has since been resumed on these terms.—Two-thirds of the spinning-trade using American cotton having agreed to adopt short time, it was decided at a meeting of the executive committee of the United Cotton Spinners' Association held at Manchester on the 21st that the resolution take effect. By this means it is hoped the operations of speculative rings will be thwarted. The employés are co-operating with the employers on this point.

### CIVILISING AFRICA.

THE great obstacle in the way of the "Civilisation of Africa" (a polite rendering of the coarse but more exact phrase of "The Exploitation of the African") has been very frankly put forward by the Deputy-Governor of the Niger Company. "The natives," says this gentleman, "being unaccustomed to labour, are averse to it. They have been accustomed hitherto to supply their own immediate wants, and no more." This is indeed shocking, but, at the same time, very natural, and, I should say, decidedly wholesome. The African negro is, in fact, perhaps to his own moral injury, in a position to lead, without injuring anybody else, very much the sort of life which the British Peer or millionaire leads to the infinite detriment of all the classes beneath him. The nigger is happy (perhaps wickedly) and idle at his own expense. The Peer is happy (mostly wickedly) and idle at the expense of other people.

Now for my part,—but then, of course, I have no pecuniary interest in the higher ethics, whether expressed in "loaded" calico or bad rum,—I feel a certain sympathy for these—

"Whom Ocean's friendly distance  
Preserves still unenslaved; for whom  
No tasking of existence  
Makes this one rich and that one poor,  
In Gold's illusive treasure,  
But all, of easy life secure,  
Are rich in wealth of leisure."

Whether this be "the wise, free way of life, indeed," may be questionable. But at any rate it is better than the life of grim and grinding and unremitting labour which forms the lot of the mass of the population in "civilised" countries. I would, therefore, implore all "gentlemen and others" who take up, from a sense of duty or dividends, the exploitation of the Dark Continent, to clear their minds and prospectuses of cant, and to say boldly, "We think we can do a good thing in niggers. We calculate that we can make 25 per cent. out of Quashee." This, I think, would be better than all the talk (but utterly empty talk) about "Christianity," and the "suppression of the slave trade," and the "raising of the negro in the scale of humanity." What does Manchester or Birmingham care about the scale of humanity? The only thing which operates to secure to the niggers a continuance in their present ignorance is the rivalry of the various European Powers. If an arrangement can be effected in this respect, the probable fate of the African Continent is to be divided, at no distant day, into a number of European-ruled Indias, all over-taxed, all worked out to the last possible degree, all governed by an over-paid European bureaucracy. I confess that, though a European, I can't work myself up into any great enthusiasm for the programme. If I were an African, the project would find me not merely enthusiastic but decidedly hostile. I should prefer to remain "uncivilised" and unexploited. "After all," I should say to myself, "tall hats and new rum may have their attractions, but it is better to be black, as nature made me, and bareheaded, and even sober, than to wear a tall hat, and get drunk, and be done brown by the Bible-reading Pale-face."—*Truth*, Sept. 22, 1888.

### THE DOCTRINE OF "CONSENT."

CHICAGO, Aug. 15.—A meeting of the Western Window Glass Manufacturers' Association was held here yesterday. It was decided to keep all the factories controlled by the association out of blast until Oct. 8.

B. F. Jones: Our works will close down to-morrow, and remain closed until a satisfactory—that is, a lower—scale is presented to us by the workmen.

J. G. Blaine: I say here that the wages of the American labourer cannot be reduced except with the consent and with the votes of the American labourer himself.

Chorus of Individualists, led by the basso-profundo C. B.: "Legislative interference is the very worst of crimes; you must give the workman liberty in these here blessed times!"

"Protected" by a duty of 75 cents a ton on their product, and paying wages about as low as the wages paid abroad, the owners of Mine No. 6, at Rich Hill, Mo., neglected to take precautions to prevent the explosion of gas, because such precautions would cost money, and dollars were more to them than the lives of the poor fellows they had employed to work the mines. The result was a series of explosions and a terrible loss of life not long ago. The poor miners who are dead had to compete in the labour market, and were given none of the benefits of protection. Their rich employers will reopen the mine as soon as possible and go on in the old way. The industry they protect and that they court protection for is their own. Necessity will spur other poor men to take the place of the dead. —*Troy Press*.

### A PRISONER'S NIGHT THOUGHTS.

ERNEST JONES.

My life is but a toil of many woes,  
And keen excitement wearing to the core,  
And fervently I hope an hour's repose,  
My duty done and all my labour o'er.

Loud shouts have beaten on my tingling brain,  
Lone prisons chilled the fevered thread of life;  
The trophies perish, but the wrecks remain,  
And burning scars survive the dizzy strife.

Oh, 'tis a dreadful war for one to wage,  
Against deep-rooted tyranny and power;  
Crush in one life the seeds of many an age,  
And blast black centuries in a single hour!

Who dares it, throws his life into the scale,  
Redemption's voluntary sacrifice;  
His hope—to be a martyr should he fail,  
Or, at the best, to conquer as he dies!

### FREE SPEECH IN HYDE PARK.

THOMAS BOLAS sends us the following account of the treatment of Socialists at our so-called Courts of Justice:—"At Marlborough Street Police-court on Wednesday, Sept. 14th, the grossest possible travesty of justice was perpetrated. The police stated that McCormack had used language calculated to bring the Royal Family into contempt, and that he had incited a crowd to sack shops in the West End, but the latter allegation McCormack was quite able to confute by witnesses. The magistrate ordered McCormack to be bound over in two sureties of £25 to keep the peace for three months, or to be imprisoned for a month in default of finding sureties, a course unusually corrupt, for magistrate Cooke would not have dared to commit McCormack to prison on the offence charged, unless after hearing his defence; so he sentenced McCormack to a month's imprisonment in default of finding sureties, and left it to the Court officials to take every care that he should not find the sureties. Surely a cowardly and miserable way of getting imprisonment for a political prisoner, without fair trial and by a side issue. Various tricks were practised and false statements made by the Court officials to prevent McCormack obtaining bail, and just before the Court rose, T. Bolas obtained a hearing of the magistrate and bitterly complained of the conduct of the Court officials. McCormack was imprisoned, not because he could not find bail, but because the Court officials just made false statements to keep bail away, and then when substantial bail was tendered they would not accept it, all this being no doubt at the instigation of that Government which so much dreads Free Speech, and which must suppress it even though all law and justice be outraged. On Saturday, September 22, substantial bail was offered to magistrate Newton, and at the same time T. Bolas complained to him of the continual obstructions offered by the Court officials, but the slanderer of Miss Cass was insolent, and refused to take the offered bail. All this made it pretty clear that the authorities intended to keep their political prisoner in Millbank for a month on the false issue—not finding bail—although substantial bail was offered; but on Sunday, September 23rd, such revolutionary grumblings were heard in London as made the authorities conclude that to retain McCormack longer by refusing bail would be unsafe. So on bail being again tendered on Monday, the 24th, it was intimated that the bail would be accepted. Incidentally it may be remarked that what should have taken not more than ten minutes, was stretched out by the officials from 12.15 to 4.30 p.m., every obstruction being offered to tire the bail out; and among the incidents was the illegal demanding or taking of a fee or fine not inflicted by the magistrate; but this was returned when the clerk found that a prosecution would probably ensue. Those who conspire to defeat justice by such means are the men who really incite to breach of the peace, and if the English workers were not exceptionally forbearing, Millbank Prison where McCormack was confined would soon be razed to the ground, and there would indeed be a riot."

### THE SOCIALIST LEAGUE.

OFFICES: 13 FARRINGTON ROAD, E.C.

The Offices of the Socialist League will be open for the sale of *Commonweal* and all other Socialist publications from 8.30 a.m. to 9 p.m. every day except Sunday. The Secretary will be in attendance from 10 a.m. to 9 p.m. daily.

London Members' Meeting.—The next monthly meeting of members will take place on Monday, Oct. 3, 1888, at 13 Farringdon Road, at 9 o'clock sharp.

### "COMMONWEAL" PRINTING FUND.

Langley, 2s.; P. W., 6d.; C. J. F., 2s. 6d.; K. F., 1s.

### REPORTS.

LONDON (OPEN-AIR)—*Clerkenwell Green*.—Last Sunday evening, good meeting addressed by Nicoll and Turner. *Ossulton Street*.—Friday last, large meeting addressed by Cantwell and Parker. *Leman Street*.—Meeting held Sunday morning. The St. George's-in-the-East branch is thoroughly working the district. *Regent's Park*.—Meeting Sunday morning, Cantwell, Nicoll, Turner, and James speakers; fair sale *Weal*. *Hyde Park*.—Some three thousand persons assembled at unemployed meeting Sunday afternoon: speakers were Underwood (S.D.F.), an Indian, Cantwell, Parker, Nicoll, Brooks, and Presberg. Two collections made, first for unemployed funds, second for League propaganda. Revolutionary songs were sung, including the "Marseillaise," "No Master," "The Proletariat," and "La Carmagnole." *Victoria Park*.—Good meeting Sunday last by Mainwaring, Bullock, Davis, and Mordhurst; some opposition easily disposed of.

CLERKENWELL.—On Sunday, Sept. 23, W. B. Parker (S. L.) and B. Moffat (S. D. F.) debated on "The Futility of Parliamentary Agitation to Assist the Social Revolution." Good attendance of members of both organisations. At close of debate there was general discussion, and evidently much difference of opinion.—B.

FULHAM.—Tuesday evening, opposite Liberal Club, Bullock, Beasley, and Groser spoke. Sunday morning, McCormack (S.D.F.), Mrs. Schack, Samuels, and Tarleton spoke. In evening, Mrs. Schack lectured on "Ought Women to join the Workmen's Movement?" Tochatti, Groser, Davis, and Maughan also spoke. 2s. 9d. collected during the day.—S. B. G.

HAMMERSMITH.—Weltje Road, Sunday morning, meeting held by Bullock, Sparling, and Mordhurst. In evening another meeting by Tarleton, Tochatti, and Maughan, the choir singing "No Master." At Latimer Road usual meeting in morning by T. Spire, Tochatti, Maughan, Fox, and Davies. In evening Carruthers lectured on "Capital." Meetings good and appreciative throughout the day.



**MITCHAM.**—Last Sunday, good meeting morning and evening at Mitcham Fair Green, addressed by Eden and Kitz. On Monday evening, at Wimbledon Broadway, a good meeting, addressed by Eden and Kitz. The audience listened very attentively. At close a resolution was put to meeting condemning action of Free Library in boycotting our paper and misrepresentation of local press; was carried unanimously.—E.

**ABERDEEN.**—At indoor meeting, on 17th, Sidney Webb's lecture on "The Progress of Socialism" was read and discussed by Barron, McIntyre, and Leatham. Leatham thereafter gave an account of the proceedings at the Glasgow Conference of Sunday, 9th. At usual Saturday night open-air meeting Duncan and Leatham had large crowd. Choir made good appearance.

**GLASGOW.**—Thursday evening meetings of members continue well attended. Sunday, 2 o'clock, Glasier and Joe Burgoyne spoke on Green. At 5 o'clock Glasier, Joe Burgoyne, McCulloch, and Tim Burgoyne held excellent meeting at Paisley Road Toll. Our French Class made a capital start on Sunday forenoon.

**EDINBURGH.**—On 16th Montgomerie, Noble, and John Smith spoke in Queen's Park. On 23rd same speakers held most successful meeting in same place, Smith speaking brilliantly.

**NORWICH.**—Thursday last, good meeting on Church Plain (Yarmouth) by Mowbray. Police asked for his name, but, being refused, they quietly walked away. Friday, meeting on St. Catharine's Plain, addressed by Poynts, Morley, and Reynolds. Sunday afternoon, usual meeting in Market Place by Mowbray; in the evening another large meeting, when Mowbray gave an address upon "What Socialists have Done." Audience very attentive; fair sale of *Commonweal*; 9s. collected for Propaganda.—A. T. S.

**EAST-END PROPAGANDA.**—A most enjoyable evening was spent by the crowded audience on Saturday night at the Berner Street Club. English, Russian, German, and French songs were sung and speeches made, after which there was dancing. The proceeds of this entertainment will be given to the Yarmouth Free Speech Fund. The next meeting will be held at this club on Saturday, October 6th, when the subject for discussion will be "Our Winter Propaganda."—W. B. PARKER, sec.

**LECTURE DIARY.**  
LONDON.

**Bloomsbury.**—This Branch will shortly be actively working. Socialists resident in this locality should send their names in at once to 13, Farringdon Road.

**Clerkenwell.**—Hall of the Socialist League, 13 Farringdon Road, E.C. Sunday Sept. 30, at 8.30, p.m., Wm. Blundell, "Internationalism: Does it Interfere with Modern Politics?"

**Fulham.**—8 Effie Road, Walham Green (opposite the railway station). Sunday September 30, at 8 p.m., J. Macdonald, "Socialism from a Worker's Standpoint."

**Hackney.**—Business Meeting on Tuesday October 2nd, at 9 p.m., in Berner Street Club. All members requested to be present; important business to be discussed.

**Hammersmith.**—Kelmescott House, Upper Mall, W. Sunday, Sept. 30, at 8 p.m., Thomas Shore, jun., "About a Market."

**Hoxton.**—Persons wishing to join this branch are requested to communicate with H. D. Morgan, 22, Nicholas Street Hoxton.

**London Fields.**—All communications, etc., to Mrs. G. G. Schack, 26 Cawley Road, South Hackney.

**Merton.**—Club-house, 3 Clare Villas, Merton Road, Singlegate. Lecture on Sunday evenings at 8.30.

**Mile-end and Bethnal Green.**—95 Boston St., Hackney Road.

**North London.**—Secretary, Nelly Parker, 143 Cavendish Buildings, opposite Holborn Town Hall. The business meetings will be held on Friday evenings at 6 Windmill Street, Tottenham Court Road, after the open-air meeting at Ossulton Street. All members are asked to attend at Ossulton St. at 8 o'clock.

**St. Georges in the East.**—General Meeting of Members on Friday October 5, at 8 p.m., in Berner St. Club. Rochmann, secretary.

**PROVINCES.**

**Aberdeen (Scottish Section).**—Douglas M'Intyre, Sec., 17 Queen Street. Branch meets in Oddfellows Hall on Monday nights at 8. Choir practice at 46 Marischal Street on Thursday evenings at 8.

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

**Carnoustie (Scottish Section: Forfarshire).**—Meeting every Tuesday, at 8 p.m., in the Carnoustie Restaurant. Samuel Wilson, Secy.

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

**Edinburgh (Scottish Land and Labour League).**—35 George IV. Bridge. Meetings for Discussion, Thursdays at 8 p.m.

**Galafron (Scot Sect.).**—J. Walker, 6 Victoria St., sec.

**Gallatoun and Dysart (Scottish Section: Fife).**—Meet every Tuesday at 7 p.m. in Gallatoun Public School. Secretary, A. Paterson, 152 Rosslyn St.

**Glasgow.**—84 John Street. Reading-room (Draughts, Chess, etc.) open 10 a.m. till 10 p.m. daily. Weekly meeting of members on Thursday evenings at 8. French Class (teacher, Theodore Bonin) meets every Sunday at 11.

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

**Leicester.**—Hosiery Union Offices, 11a Millstone Lane. Fridays at 8 p.m.

**Lochgelly (Scottish Section: Fife).**—Secs. (pro tem.), John Greig and Hugh Conway, The Square.

**Norwich.**—Tuesday, at 8.30, Members' Meeting. Wednesday, at 8, Educational Class—subject, "Historical Basis of Socialism." Saturday, 8 until 10.30, Co-operative Clothing Association.

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

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

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

All persons who sympathise with the views of the Socialist League are earnestly invited to communicate with the above addresses, and if possible help us in preparing for the birth of a true society, based on equality, brotherhood, and freedom for all.

**OPEN-AIR PROPAGANDA.**

**SUNDAY 30.**

- 11.30...Latimer Road Station ...Hammersmith Branch
- 11.30...Mitcham Fair Green .....G. B. Shaw
- 11.30...Regent's Park .....Mainwaring & Davis
- 11.30...Walham Green, opp. Station.....The Branch
- 11.30...Weltje Rd., Ravenscourt Pk .....Hammersmith
- 3.30...Hyde Park .....Parker
- 6.30...Weltje Road, opposite Ravenscourt Park .....Hammersmith Branch

- 7.30...Broad Street, Soho .....Bloomsbury Branch
- 7.30...Clerkenwell Green .....Parker
- 7.30...Mitcham Fair Green .....The Branch

**Monday.**

- 8 ...Wimbledon Broadway .....T. Burns

**Tuesday.**

- 8.30...Fulham—opposite Liberal Club.....Fulham Bh.

**Friday.**

- 7.30...Euston Rd.—Ossulton Street.....Brooks

**EAST END.**

**SUNDAY 30.**

- Mile-end Waste ... 11 ...Nicoll.
- Leman Street, Shadwell 11 ...Parker.
- Victoria Park ... 3.15...Davis & Nicoll.
- London Fields ... 8 ...Schack, M'nwaring

**TUESDAY.**

- Mile-end Waste ... 8.30...Mainwaring.

**WEDNESDAY.**

- Broadway, London Fields 8.30...Nicoll.

**FRIDAY.**

- Philpot St., Commercial Rd. 8.30...Davis.

**SATURDAY.**

- Mile-end Waste ... 6 ...East-end C'mittee.

**PROVINCES.**

**Aberdeen.**—Saturday: Castle Street, at 7 p.m.

**Edinburgh.**—Queen's Park, every Sunday, at 3 p.m.

**Glasgow.**—Sunday: Jail's Square at 2 o'clock; Paisley Road at 5 o'clock.

**Ipswich.**—

Sproughton, Wednesday evening.

Westerfield, Thursday evening.

Needham Market, Sunday morning and evening.

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

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

**Norwich.**—Sunday: Market Place, at 11, 3, and 7.30.

North Walsham, Sunday at 11.

Yarmouth, Church Plain, Sunday at 3.

Yarmouth, Church Plain, Thursday at 7.30.

St Catharine's Plain, Friday at 8.15 p.m.

**BATTERSEA BRANCH, S. D. F.**—W. Morris will lecture on Clapham Common, Sunday, Sept. 30, at 3.30, on "Equality."

**THE SOCIALIST CO-OPERATIVE FEDERATION.**—The Committee will meet at the Socialist League, 13 Farringdon Road, on Saturday, September 29th, at 7.30 p.m. Subscriptions received and members enrolled at 9 p.m.

**NORWICH.**—Friday next comrade Cores will be released, after doing a month's imprisonment for obstruction at Yarmouth. A small fund has been opened to supply him with clothing. On Monday next, Oct. 1, a special Concert will be held in the Gordon Hall, for the benefit of comrade Cores, to enable him to get some tools so that he can start work. Songs, recitations, choruses, and instrumental music will be given by members and friends. Admission 3d. each. It is hoped our own comrades will turn up in strong force and help to make it a success.

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Advocate of Liberty, Equality, and Fraternity  
New Lambton Road, Hamilton, Australia.

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# THE COMMONWEAL

## The Official Journal of the SOCIALIST LEAGUE.

VOL. 4.—No. 143.

SATURDAY, OCTOBER 6, 1888.

WEEKLY; ONE PENNY.

### NOTES ON NEWS.

MR. DILLON in his speech before the National League in Dublin, said all that he was likely to say, and no doubt said it well enough. He upheld the Plan of Campaign stoutly; as he well might, because at present, now the alliance between Parnellites and Gladstonians is so close, the Plan is the one distinctively Irish piece of strategy, and if it were gone, mere party politics would bury the whole Irish business under the usual mountain of procrastination and trickery.

On the other hand, Mr. Dillon deprecated "impatience"; that is to say, in his position—very different to that of Mr. Davitt—he could not say anything that could be construed by stupid people into the beginning of a quarrel with the Liberal allies. This is the policy which Mr. Dillon is pledged to, and of course he cannot get out of it, unless the Gladstonites formally abandon the Irish cause, which probably they cannot do. When the fulness of time comes the electoral pendulum will swing the other way; Gladstone will be in, and Parnell with him.

But the "impatience" of Davitt has another purpose than merely quickening the pace of the worn-out Liberal post-horse on the road to party victory. It is a warning to the Liberals not to be too liberal of compromise when their day of office comes. Of course what they will want to do is to grant the Irish the semblance of their claims without the reality, if they can thereby stop the mouth of the British democracy even though the Irish democracy is not satisfied. This is the reason why all Irishmen who are not precluded from it by official position should be steadily "impatient."

Those of our friends who are inclined to be "impatient," in another sense, of this long-dragging Irish Question, which bears with it so much that is indifferent or hostile to Socialism, should consider one remark made by Mr. Dillon in his speech which I believe to be made quite honestly and with a single heart. He said that all the old enmity which was once one of the master feelings of his heart had disappeared before the present action of the English democracy. So hollow, so easily got rid of, are these monstrous national antipathies which foolish persons believe to be so deeply rooted. If the Home Rule agitation does nothing else than destroy one branch of this deadly upas-tree of sham patriotism it will have been worth all the trouble.

Moralists are trying to find out causes for the horrors which have lately shocked the sensibilities of "cultured" society. Lord William Compton sees, as all people who have ever thought for a moment on the subject must see, that the condition of life in the East end slums is quite enough to account for such brutality, which is a necessary consequence of it. But what causes the condition of life in Whitechapel? The answer is plain: the *exclusive* culture of those whose sensibilities are so shocked by the brutality, the responsibility for which their greed and cowardice evades. These sensitive, moral, cultivated people are prepared to do anything (by the hands of others) which will sustain the inequality which is the foundation of modern society and which they glory in; and when the dark side of this glorious inequality is thrust on their notice, they are shocked and read moving articles in the newspapers—and go on eating, drinking, and making merry, and hoping it will last for ever, Whitechapel murders and all.

Have they considered a little event of which we have just had news, which comes of this determination of theirs to be thieves as long as possible? Another glorious victory for the British army, and indeed a real good cheap one, with the killing *all* on one side: 400 Thibetans killed and wounded and half a dozen slight hurts on the side of—culture. If the history of this slaughter had been given Homerically—*i.e.*, with abundance of realistic detail—it would have made a pretty good multiplication of a Whitechapel murder.

And was the reason for it any more excuse for this multiplied murder than the reason for the London horror? No. No worse cause could be found for a slaughter. It was perpetrated (and remember

it is one among hundreds) in order to keep going that degradation of life which Lord William Compton so much deplores, which he would doubtless remedy if he knew how to without destroying our "society" of inequality; but which under those circumstances he *cannot* know how to remedy.

Apropos of these "little wars," or great murders, our friend the *Star* has a well-meant article which misses the point disastrously. After having attacked the commercial Jingo policy, it says: "Our profound conviction is that *as a rule*" (italics ours, in honour of journalistic qualification) "warfare tends not to the advancement, but to the postponement of large commercial relations with another country. . . . Trade may be compared to a great natural force—silent, invisible, and invincible," and so on after the Manchester manner. In short, our contemporary, for the moment at least forgetting the blessings of civilisation, such as Vandeleur evictions and London rent-grabbing from working-men, which it often laudably denounces, wants to purge the march of commerce of war and violence.

But unhappily it is *itself* war, and violence is of its essence, whether that violence takes the form of "the soldier with his gun or the sailor with his iron-clad," or the other form of the sword of cheapness and the spear of shoddy backed up by law—*i.e.*, the policeman *masking* the soldier and sailor—is a mere incident of its ceaseless, remorseless war. For as the aim is, so must the means be; and what is the aim of Commerce? Answer: to substitute its peculiar form of slavery for whatever it happens to find on the ground which it is bent on conquering; and that form of slavery is a "Society" (or gang of robbers) governed by rich men, who shall make slaves of the producers of goods without the expense of buying the said slaves and without the responsibility of feeding them. Friend *Star*, the Sikkim massacre is bad, and you do well to object to it (though you do *that* very mildly), but the cause of it is worse—*nay* the worst.

*Re* the Salt Trust, the *Pall Mall* says: "The syndicate will for a time have a depressing effect upon the labour-market in the salt districts of Cheshire, as the low range of prices prevailing for the past five years is directly due to over-production. . . . Owing to intense competition, prices have fallen 50 per cent. during the past ten years. Great confidence is felt in the future of the trust in Cheshire, where the money has been largely subscribed."

I beg to propose a design for the seal or badge of this glorious modern gild, to wit: A Benefactor of Humanity with one hand in the pocket of a working-man, a salt operative, and the other in the pocket of the public typified by a respectable London mechanic. It is indeed pleasing to see the B. H.'s so naive and outspoken as to the robbery which they are contemplating, and we Socialists should wish them all success. Monopoly has, unhappily, so far been made bearable by competition, but monopoly without competition will turn out to be altogether unbearable, and will help on the beginning of the end.

The vegetarians have tried to collect the London parsons to sing their praises, but the reverend gentlemen for the most part declined to be caught with chaff. Only thirty attended, presided over by Canon Farrar. I have not a word to say against vegetarianism voluntarily practised on the grounds of its suiting the health of the practiser, or of a natural sentiment against "corpse-eating" as a friend of ours has called it; but in most more or less laudable associations that are not Socialist there lurks a snake in the grass; and the reptile is not lacking in the verdant meadow of vegetarianism. Canon Farrar, *e.g.*, not knowing, I suppose, what the devil to say, praised it because it would lead to simplicity of life, and because it would be a remedy for poverty.

Simplicity of life—good, most good, so long as it is voluntary; but surely there is enough involuntary simplicity of life, *i.e.*, hard fare, already; and to live poorly is no remedy against poverty, but a necessity of it. And really, hasn't Canon Farrar had time amidst his arduous ecclesiastical duties to learn that if our whole capitalistic

society were to become vegetarian together, the "poor," i.e., the producers, would be forced to live upon vegetarian cag-mag, while the rich, i.e., the proprietary class, lived upon vegetarian dainties? When we are a society of equals we shall be able to consider all these niceties of life, and to do what we think best. Meantime, I bid Canon Farrar and the school of social reformers to which he belongs, not to evade the real question: Why are we not a society of equals? W. M.

## LABOUR'S TRIANGULAR PROBLEM;

OR, MEN VERSUS MACHINES.

(Continued from p. 306.)

THE statement that numbers of men were being deprived of means of living by increased machinery, used to be met by the statement that they could find work at some other trade, and that there were so many more engineers and machine makers wanted that all came out level in the end. Leaving out of consideration the absurdity of the nineteen agricultural labourers finding employment as reaping machine makers, it must be patent that as the same process is going on in every trade, the forced idleness must be increasing in every trade, even in the trade which is the great agent of all this idleness, the engineers and machine makers.

It is rather startling to find at what a rate this disestablishing of disestablishers is going on; to find how very rapidly the engineer is being hoisted on his own petard.

Mr. Shaftoe, President at the Trades' Union Congress, Sept. 4, 1888, dealing with "Labour-saving Machines," said:

"There is scarcely any branch of industry to which these mechanical inventions have not been applied; and the effects have been intensified by the subdivision of labour. We find, for instance in the use of steam hammers, that nine men have been displaced out of every ten formerly required. Machinery has displaced five men out of every six in the glass bottle trade; in the manufacture of agricultural implements 600 men now do the work which fifteen or twenty years ago required 2,145, thus displacing 1,545. In the production of machinery itself, there is a saving of 25 per cent. of human labour; and this even reaches 33 per cent. in the production of metals. In the boot and shoe trade one man now does the same work as required five; we find a single lace machine displacing 2,000 women; in paper-making 10 persons can do what used to require 100; in ship-building the displacement is 4 or 5 out of every 6; in clothing 1 man can do what used to employ 6 to 9. The general effect during the last 40 years is a saving of labour to the extent of 40 per cent. in producing any given article."

No matter which way one looks there is no variation, not the slightest; increased production to the capitalist, the machinery controller; decreased consumption to the worker, the producer. A striking example was given by one of the speakers at the Industrial Remuneration Conference, 1885. Mr. J. G. Hutchinson made an elaborate statement to prove the general improvement in the worker's position; he was answered by Mr. James Aitkin (Greenock Chamber of Commerce):—

"In carpet weaving fifty years ago the workman drove the shuttle with the hand, and produced from forty-five to fifty yards per week, for which he was paid from 9d. to 1s. per yard, while at the present day a girl attending a steam loom can produce sixty yards a day, and does not cost her employer 1½d. per yard for her labour. That girl with her loom is now doing the work of eight men. The question is, How are these men employed now? In a clothier's establishment, seeing a girl at work at a sewing machine, he asked the employer how many men's labour that machine saved him. He said it saved him twelve men's labour. Then he asked, 'What would those twelve men be doing now?' 'Oh,' he said, 'they will be much better employed than if they had been with me, perhaps at some new industry.' He asked, 'What new industry?' But the employer could not point out any except photography; at last he said they would probably have found employment in making sewing machines. Shortly afterwards he was asked to visit the American Singer Sewing Machine Factory, near Glasgow. He got this clothier to accompany him, and when going over the works they came upon the very same kind of machines as the clothier had in his establishment. Then he put the question to the manager, 'How long would it take a man to make one of these machines?' He said he could not tell, as no man made a machine, they had a more expeditious way of doing it than that; there would be upwards of thirty men employed in the making of one machine; but he said 'if they were to make this particular kind of machine, they would turn out one for every four and a-half days' work of each man in their employment.' Now, there was a machine that with a girl had done the work of twelve men for nearly ten years, and the owner of that machine was under the impression that these twelve men would be employed making another machine, while four and a-half days of each of these men was sufficient to make another machine that was capable of displacing other twelve men."<sup>1</sup>

It has been urged by the orthodox economists that although the individual worker may have suffered from his enforced idleness, that since competition resulted to the good of the public generally, competition must continue.

In some cases the reduction in the sale price of an article has been reduced in proportion to the reduced sum paid for labour, but in hundreds of instances which could be given, the whole of the amount saved has for years been the sole profit of the monopolist machinery-controller.

When Charles Babbage issued his 'Economy of Machinery and Manufactures,' great as had been the strides made in developing the power of steam, its position then was not a circumstance as compared with to-day. For a book dated 1832, in many respects its tone in dealing with the worker was in advance of the day; some hard knocks are dealt at employers and monopolists. It is admittedly in favour of machinery and economy in manufacture; but, when dealing with the "Effects of the Application of Machinery," the summing-up is roughly, which is the best—or rather, which is the least evil—sudden death or slow starvation?

<sup>1</sup> 'Report,' p. 72.

"It is almost the invariable consequence of such improvements ultimately to cause a greater demand for labour, and often the new labour requires a higher degree of skill than the old; but, unfortunately, the class of persons who have been driven out of the old employment are not always qualified for the new one; and in all cases a considerable time elapses before the whole of their labour is wanted. One very important inquiry which this subject presents is the question, Whether it is for the interest of the working-classes that any improved machinery should be so perfect as to defy the competition of hand-labour, and that they should be at once driven out of the trade by it; or whether it is more advantageous for them to be gradually forced to quit the trade by the slow and successive advances of the machine?"

The italics are Babbage's, and to me seem to suggest that Babbage was rather wanting to give the machinery owners a hint to be careful. There may be some question as to which would be best or worst for the worker—rapid starvation or slow —there is no manner of doubt as to which has been the best for the exploiters. By the gradual process it has been possible to bring the workers to a degree of endurance of suffering, which by no conceivable stretch of imagination could have come about by a sudden change. By slow degrees we have become accustomed to an immense army of unemployed, which would have sent society to everlasting smash had it been formed or made suddenly by one or two great machines, instead of an infinite number of changes towards automatism.

Constantly, constantly, constantly growing, growing, growing, recruited by tens, by hundreds, by thousands, the army of wholly unemployed, and the army of very irregularly employed, has grown until to-day there is ready for some great Carnot of Labour such a body as never the Hannibals of the past led to the victory of the gory field.

The passage in Babbage above quoted continues thus, "The suffering which arises from a quick transition is undoubtedly more intense; but it is also much less permanent than that which results from the slower process." Just so: Had the mechanical perfection of to-day been possible in say two or three years, instead of taking from eighty to a hundred to bring about, there would have been enough of energy to overthrow the tyrant and break the cords; but year by year the sufferer became more and more accustomed to the suffering; year by year new cords were woven on, and it is only just now that education, a quickened intelligence and mental grasp, is enabling him to understand the causes of his troubles, and will enable him to do by wit and mind what might have been done by main force, had only the accumulated miseries of to-day have been placed on one generation, instead of filtering down through several.

The "right to live" must be made to mean something nearer "right living" than the mere standing by a machine to feed it with raw material to make a monopolist's profit.

The full displacing power of machinery is hardly sufficiently realised by many. The displacement has in most cases been so gradual, and therefore the starvation so gradual, that the starvelings have gradually become accustomed to it, and quietly submitted. But these gradual displacements have been tolerably severe in cases.<sup>1</sup>

In hollow-ware, for instance, Richard Roberts, civil engineer, stated in evidence given to House of Lords' Committee on Patent Law Amendment, that by "stamping up" from sheets of metal the labour-cost was one-fiftieth of that by the old process. A certain article made at one blow by machine in France could not be done in England without fifty blows and ten annealings; made by machine at the rate of ten a minute, but by hand hardly ten in the hour.<sup>2</sup>

This means, therefore, that out of each fifty men employed, forty-nine would by the machine be dispensed with. Since 1851 this stamping machine has been much improved.

In evidence before a Commons' Committee 1829, Joseph Merry, ribbon-manufacturer, said he was possessed of an improvement in making ribbon velvets which enabled him to make forty pieces while another man was making one,<sup>3</sup> and exhibited a sample of the goods made.

This book of Macfie's from which I have been quoting has more similar evidence as to the displacing power of machinery; but the work is specially devoted to a question which leads immediately to one other point on which a few words must be said when dealing with the question of "Men v. Machines." THOS. SHORE, jun.

(To be continued.)

A BRAVE PARSON!—Rev. F. Minton, vicar of Midlewich, Cheshire, presiding at a meeting addressed by Mr. Brunner, M.P., said Liberals had the greatest cause for congratulation on the democratic spirit which every month was becoming more apparant among workmen. They had not yet crushed out injustice to Ireland, but they had stirred the people. "There was no more useful gospel than the gospel of discontent. The world was not meant for privileged parasites, and workmen should combine to hasten the social revolution."

HOW A CHINESE MAGISTRATE SETTLED A DISPUTE.—That modern Haroun-al-Raschid, the magistrate of the Mixed Court at Shanghai, had lately before him a complicated family dispute about land, which he settled in this way. Finding that only one lawyer was engaged in the case, he had this gentleman haled before him and soundly whipped; then he invited the litigants to dinner with him, enlivened the repast by having the sermon from the sacred edict on the benefits of harmony between relatives read out, and lectured the parties severely as obstinate blockheads.

<sup>1</sup> How exceedingly gradual in some cases may be seen by this example; "The present spinning machinery which we now use is supposed to be a compound of about eight hundred inventions. The present carding machinery is a compound of about sixty patents."—(Paul Rapsey Hodge, civil engineer: evidence before House of Lords, 1851; quoted in 'Copyright and Patents for Inventions,' R. A. Macfie, 1883, p. 233.)

<sup>2</sup> Report, 1851, quoted in 'Copyright and Patents for Inventions,' R. A. Macfie, 1883, p. 241.

<sup>3</sup> Macfie, p. 214.



REVOLUTIONARY CALENDAR.

WEEK ENDING OCTOBER 13, 1888.

7	Sun.	1843. Proclamation of the Clontarf Repeal meeting.
8	Mon.	1866. House of Fearnought, a rat saw-grinder, blown up. 1887. Gweedore evictions.
9	Tues.	1848. Smith O'Brien, Meagher, and others tried. 1856. N. Cabot died.
10	Wed.	1794. Kosciusko defeated. 1831. Nottingham Castle burnt by "rioters." 1837. Fourier died. 1842. Trial of Lancashire rioters.
11	Thur.	1831. Reform riots in London. 1884. Explosion at Quebec: 14 Nihilists sentenced at St. Petersburg.
12	Fri.	1660. Major-General Harrison hanged, drawn, and quartered. 1797. William Orr hung at Carrickfergus for high treason. 1819. Richard Carlile sentenced for publishing 'Age of Reason.' 1879. Re-burial of the bones of the Martyrs of Liberty at Rome.
13	Sat.	1881. Arrest of C. S. Parnell. 1883. Ladies' School at Warsaw searched.

*Execution of Harrison.*—Major-General Harrison has always been one of the butts of royalist scribblers. Of course men who believe in nothing except in robbing and oppressing their fellows have great contempt for enthusiasts of all kinds. Harrison was the leader of the Fifth Monarchy men, who, if destined to disappointment in the precise realisation of their Biblical ideal, had yet a natural and noble yearning for setting human affairs into better order than at present, when Jesus of Nazareth would probably be tortured to death by a Milbank warder and John the Baptist would be torn to pieces by an ignorant mob in Whitechapel, to suit the purposes of an evening newspaper bent on working up a sensation.—L. W.

*Arrest of Parnell.*—The great duel between Gladstone and Parnell in October 1881 is principally interesting to revolutionists as showing the infamous and illegal character of that secret conspiracy against the liberties of mankind known as the British Cabinet. On Friday the 6th, in the Clothyard at Leeds, Gladstone denounced Parnell as a robber, at the same time (with that low political cunning for which he has always been famous) trying to seduce John Dillon by a bit of the most alluring flattery, concluding with that ever-to-be-remembered bombastic boast that "the resources of civilisation were not exhausted." On Sunday the 8th Parnell at Wexford made that short, sharp, and deadly thrust at the Gladstonian bubble which will live in history as long as Ireland endures. Meanwhile John Dillon rejected Gladstone's "soft sawder" with honest contempt. Gladstone's pet "civilised world" waited with breathless interest for the "resources of civilisation" to appear. Never was a more contemptible exhibition. On Wednesday the 11th the secret salaried assassins at Downing Street held one of the most protracted meetings ever known. Not till six in the evening did Buckshot Forster hurry away to catch the Irish mail, with the mandate from his brother criminals to throttle a few honest men for telling the truth. Early next morning Parnell was seized in Dublin, while the seizure of Sexton, Dillon, Davitt, and O'Kelly soon followed. Of course the bull-headed plans of these Downing Street ruffians ended in their ignominy, yet this shows the amount of liberty England possesses under Gladstonism.—L. W.

THE ECONOMICAL CONDITION OF THE LABOURERS IN DENMARK.

(Concluded from p. 309.)

THE NECESSARIES OF LIFE.

ACCORDING to the best medical and physiological authorities, the average of the necessary quantity of nutritious elements which the daily food of one adult (or two children) ought to contain, is as follows: 105 grammes of albumen, 60 gr. of fat, 500 gr. of farinaceous substances. This estimate is based upon the largest possible quantity of flour that can be admitted, to make the food as cheap as possible. The quantity of farinaceous substances ought not to exceed 500 gr. in a wholesome food for an adult person. On the other side, the quantity of albumen is so small that, according to many other physiological analyses, it can scarcely be considered as an average. Partly the same may be said about the stated quantity of fat. The necessary quantity of meat of common quality, according to Prof. C. Voit, ought to amount to 300 grammes for one adult or two children.

Based upon these estimations, the sufficient but frugal support of a single man or working family respectively will cost at Copenhagen the following amounts per year:

Single men.	Husband and wife.	Parents and 1 child.	Parents and 2 children.	Parents and 3 children.	Parents and 4 children.	Parents and 5 children.
Kr.	Kr.	Kr.	Kr.	Kr.	Kr.	Kr.
About 770	996	1,190	1,370	1,540	1,790	1,970

The domestic and economical conditions of the labouring classes in Copenhagen present themselves as follows:—

About 23,800 workmen, or about 62.3 per cent. of the total number, have an annual income from 800 kr.—which is nearly the amount necessary for the support of a single man—and down to about 400 kr.

Among these 23,800 workmen, about 15,800 are heads of a family, and of those—

About 11,800 families consist of from	2—4 persons
" 4,000	" 5—7 "
" 500	" more than 7 "

About 3,400 workmen, or 8.9 per cent. of the whole number, have an income of from about 400 kr. to 900 kr., or from the amount that is required for the support of a single person to an amount not sufficient for the support of two persons.

The total number of men whose annual income is less than 900 kr., is about 27,200, or about 71.2 per cent. of the whole number.

About 3,000 workmen, or about 8 per cent. of the whole number, have an annual income from about 900 to about 1,000 kr.—i.e., nearly

the amount which is required for the support of a family of two persons. In all, about 30,200 workmen, or about 79 per cent. of the whole number, have an annual income of less than 1,000 kr.

Of these 30,200 workmen, 19,400 must be considered to be heads of a family, and of these—

About 13,900 represent families consisting each of	from 2—4 persons
" 4,900	" 5—7 "
" 600	" more than 7 "

About 7,000 workmen, or about 18.3 per cent. of the total, have annual wages from about 1,000 to about 1,400 kr., or from the amount which is required for the support of two persons to the amount that is necessary for a family of four persons.

About 800 workmen, or about 2.4 per cent., have annual wages from 1,400 to about 1,600 kr.

About 200 workmen, or about 0.5 per cent., have annual income from 1,600 to about 9,300 kr.

The number of workmen in Copenhagen whose annual income was of about 1,000 kr. and above amounted to about 8,000, and amongst these about 4,500 were heads of a family. Of the latter—

About 3,550 represented families consisting of	from 2—4 persons
" 880	" 5—7 "
" 70	" more than 7 "

Of the 33,600 workmen in the boroughs and the industrial labourers in the counties whose annual income was about 800 kr. and less, about 22,300 must be considered as heads of families.

Working-men having an annual income of 1,000 kr. or less were found to number 43,500, out of which about 27,900 may be supposed to be heads of families.

As to the workers in the counties, the proportion between income and expenses does not differ essentially from the proportion stated for Copenhagen. The consequence hereof is, that the workmen's income in general, in Copenhagen as well as in the counties, is far from being sufficient to cover the expenses for the necessaries of life. Most of the workmen, therefore, must reduce their consumption of food in nearly every respect, and very often to such a degree that all regard of conserving health and keeping up strength is wholly neglected.

To what degree the insufficient wages compel the workmen to reduce their consumption of food is proved by the statements made by Dr. Sørensen, concerning the situation of workmen in the boroughs. The complete informations in this statement concern but eight working families with an annual income from about 300 to 800 kr., but by comparing them with other information, it is proved that the reductions in the conditions of living which these families had to make, also prevail in a number of working families that is equal to the number of those who have an annual income of 800 kr. or less.

Though the daily food ought to contain 105 gr. of albumen, 60 gr. of fat, and 500 gr. of farinaceous substances for each adult, the average nutritious elements contained in the daily food of the above-mentioned families was 65.5 gr. of albumen, 63.0 gr. of fat, and 390.5 gr. of farinaceous matter, or an average deficiency of about 40 gr. of albumen and 110 gr. of farinaceous substances. The most badly situated families had the following deficit: of albumen were wanting 57.5 gr. per day for each adult, or half of what is required; of fat were wanting 12.5 gr. a-day, or one-fifth of the necessary quantity; of the farinaceous substances were wanting about 205 gr. daily, or two-fifths of the amount required. But the workman's want of albumen is, in fact, much greater than the above-mentioned figures show, as a too great part of it is consumed in the form of vegetables, and it is a well known fact that the digestive organs are to a much less degree able to extract the albumen of the vegetable than of the animal provisions. According to Prof. Voit, each of the families referred to has an average deficit of 400 klg. of meat a-year, or equal to the amount of 400 kr. This reduction of nutriment prevails for a number of working families that is equal to the number of those who have an annual income of 800 kr. and less, and that number amounts to about 38,100, or about 73 per cent. Consequently, 38,100 families, or 73 per cent. of all the working families in Copenhagen and the counties—besides the agricultural labourers—receive on an average about 400 kr. less per year than is required to get their sufficient quantity of meat!

The Danish Social-democratic Federation, according to their principles of State intervention, and believing that the economical condition of the workers can be bettered by parliamentary measures, presented, as far back as 1880, a Bill to the Parliament of Denmark, concerning the organisation of health institutions, asking therein that the State should direct all insurance in time of illness, with a compensation to the sick and their families for the loss of wages during illness, and subsidiarily, that the State should at least give to all poor persons gratuitous means of relief, such as medical assistance, medicines, accommodation in hospitals, etc. They also urge that the insurance of old and disabled workers must be the duty of the State, as of course they are wholly unable to save anything for themselves. The Danish State has done nothing of the kind, and even if they would, they could not do anything in the way of altering the economical condition of those who produce all wealth and get starvation wages in compensation. These starvation wages will continue to exist as long as private property and monopoly, the very essence of the institution of the State, will last; it is therefore the abolition of private ownership and the destruction of monopoly that we must aim at, to get rid of not only starvation wages, but wage-system and State-institution altogether, and live a free life in a community of free men, where, there being no master—i.e., exploiter—each of us will be enabled to have all that he needs.

V. D.



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

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

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

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

G. McL.—Thanks for Scotch notes, labour and general. We have two other comrades who collect news for us; we echo your wish that they were more!  
 E. B. B and F. K.—Crowded out this week quite unavoidably. Will be used next week.

*Periodicals received during the week ending Wednesday October 3.*

ENGLAND	FRANCE	CREMONA
Justice	Paris—Cri du Peuple (daily)	Il Democratico
Labour Tribune	Le Parti Ouvrier (daily)	Florence—La Question Sociale
Norwich—Daylight	La Revolte	Turin—Nuovo Gazzetta Operaia
Postal Service Gazette	Le Coup de Feu	SPAIN
Radical Leader	Sedan—La Revolution	Madrid—El Socialista
Railway Review	Lille—Le Cri du Travailleur	Barcelona—Tierra y Libertad
Shetland News	HOLLAND	Seville—La Solidaridad
Worker's Friend	Hague—Recht voor Allen	PORTUGAL
INDIA	BELEM	Lisbon—O Protesto Operario
Bankipore—Behar Herald	Ghent—Vooruit	GERMANY
Madras—People's Friend	Liege—L'Avenir	Berlin—Volks Tribune
UNITED STATES	SWITZERLAND	AUSTRIA
New York—Der Sozialist	Zurich—Sozial Demokrat	Wien—Gleichheit
Truthseeker	Arbeiterstimme	Brunn—Volksfreund
Workmen's Advocate	Geneva—Przedswit	DENMARK
Boston—Woman's Journal	Bulletin Continental	Social-Demokraten
Chicago—Knights of Labor	ITALY	SWEDEN
Detroit—Der Arme Teufel	Milan—Il Fascio Operaio	Stockholm, Social-Demokraten
Paterson (N J) Labor Standard	Rome, L'Emancipazione (daily)	Malmö—Arbetet
St. Louis (MO.)—Die Parole	Marsala—La Nuova Eta	NORWAY
		Kristiania—Social-Demokraten

## A STRIKE AND AN ARBITRATION FRAUD.

SOME weeks ago the girls at the Banner (Cotton) Mill, Aberdeen, came out on strike for an increase in their wages of 5 per cent., the reason assigned by them for their action being that trade was brisk, profits good, and the wages paid in Lancashire much higher than those paid in Aberdeen. The dispute attracted a good deal of attention at the time, notices of it appearing in the *Commonweal* and the *Link*, and the Aberdeen Socialists taking occasion to make capital out of it. The local Trades' Council took up the matter on behalf of the girls, and ultimately arbitration was resorted to as the method of settlement.

Dr. Hunter, M.P. for North Aberdeen, was first named as arbiter—by the workers; but Hunter is rather a bluff, uncompromising fellow, whose sympathies with the workers would carry him a considerable way, and although no formal objection was advanced against him as arbiter, the directors would be sure to consider him an unsafe man; and they indicated their preference for Sheriff Wilson, a dormant Tory and the intimate friend of some of their number. Not knowing the sort of person the sheriff was (except, perhaps, that he was proud, solemn, and addicted to athletics, which, like “the flowers that bloom in the spring,” had, of course, “nothing to do with the case”), the girls and their friends of the Trades' Council, nothing doubting, agreed to accept him as arbiter, and went back to their work on the old terms pending his decision. The result has been that this man, whose judgment used to excite general admiration among Aberdonians, and who was regarded as “an honourable gentleman,” has betrayed their trust, and has handed them over to the Philistines bound hand and foot for the time being.

Among working people the general forecast as to the result of the arbitration was that at least a compromise would be made—that 2½ per cent. of an increase would be granted to the girls. But “blessed is he that expecteth nothing, for he shall not be disappointed.” The decision which has just been declared ought, with its wealth of judicial acumen and inventive ingenuity, to show how little unsophisticated “inexperienced” workers know about the rights of labour, and the sacrifices our betters make for our well-being. When we saw the shareholders (most Christian magistrates and Liberal candidates) driving in carriages, giving donations to charities, and maintaining sons and daughters in luxury and idleness, we thought it must be good to be a shareholder. We were correspondingly blasted and knocked out of shape when we were told by Sheriff Wilson that these shareholders had for a long time been running their mill “at a dead loss.” The shareholders themselves said that at the outset of the dispute;

but we considered it simply as the desperate subterfuge of cornered capitalism. None of the workers took this plea very seriously. One night, speaking in Castle Street to some hundreds of men and women, I said if these gentlemen did not get their living by shareholding, then they ought to be “run in” as vagabonds, since they had “no visible means of support.” And the women led the laugh that greeted my application of the legal definition of a vagabond. But it appears we were treating the matter with the levity of ignorance, for the document in which the sheriff declares his decision bears their statement out.

Trade is brisk, he admits, and in Lancashire good profits are being made and good wages paid; but the Banner Mill is so far from the markets and the coal-fields that the cost of transportation of raw material and manufactured goods handicaps the directors in competing with Lancashire firms, and renders it impossible for them to pay Lancashire wages. These causes entailed on the shareholders a loss during several years (that is to say, they only got 3½ per cent. of a dividend, whereas they might have got 5 per cent. *anywhere!*); and now when times are better their 10 per cents. are required to recoup them for those losses. Therefore, says Sheriff Wilson, the present demand for an increase of wages has come too soon. But (he proceeds more hopefully) if the present prosperity continues, an increase may be granted; only I would have you workers bear in mind that while you have been drawing thousands of pounds of wages, capital has been getting nothing (save 3½ per cent., otherwise, “a dead loss”!).

Meanwhile the girls have to go on working ten hours a-day for an average wage of 6s. a-week, while the shareholders continue to pocket their 10 per cent. After declaring the dividend last half-year, the directors carried a balance of £1,200 to account. In order to give the workers the desired increase of 5 per cent., only some £300 out of that sum would have been required (meaning about 1 per cent off their profits); and yet although the girls have been sharing the effects of trade depression in the shape of reduced wages during the last few years, the decree of the just judge is that they have no right to share the fruits of the present trade expansion—at least, not yet.

Sheriff Wilson would most likely admit that 6s. a-week is insufficient to maintain a woman in decency and comfort, but he chooses to be generous to capital before he is just to labour. Some of the Scotch “democratic” organs have been humane enough and outspoken enough to charge the sheriff with having shown the class bias, and they discuss his decision and lay down the law in the usual oracular style. If there were such a thing as commercial morality I could understand why they should see this arbitration job to be a fraud. But it seems to me that the sheriff in his judgment gives faithful expression to the commercial view of how the “cake” ought to be divided. His decision is quite in order—only a little meaner and more brazen-faced than some men would have made it. Capital is entitled to as much of the “cake” as it can get; Labour is entitled to as much as it can get; and there is no other natural rule which can be applied to their relationship. A thief has just exactly the same right to my sovereign that he has to my shilling—none at all; and shareholders have just as much right to 100 per cent. as to 1. Our “Democrats” and their organs have yet to realise the mountainous absurdity of gravely telling thieves what honour and honesty requires that they should do while still remaining thieves!

Well! we learned long ago that strikes were no good; and this story illustrates the uselessness of arbitration, inasmuch as an arbiter must reason from a commercial and not a moral standpoint, and, whether he be honest or not, go upon the assumption that stealing is no dishonesty.

But there is also something cheering for us in the otherwise sordid story. If the sheriff's quaint account of “a dead loss” be true, then the fact that the co-operation of capital, organising ability, and the toil of several hundred women can only bring 3½ per cent. (in commercial language “a dead loss”) to the capitalist and 6s. a-week to the worker, is a telling illustration of the diamond-cut-diamond nature of competitive commerce. It ought to fortify our hope that our fellow mortals “who are not Socialists” will ere long see the folly (if nothing else) of a system where the thieves are so numerous and so deft, the honest people so poor, and the market so full of swag, that it would pay as well to turn honest and spend the remainder of their days in earning their livelihood instead of stealing it.

JAMES LEATHAM.

Superintendent (of bobtail tram-car line): “The driver of No. 75 ran over an old lady to-day, and broke her arm.” President: “Well, people ought to be more careful.” Superintendent: “And the amount of money in the box indicates that he is careless about fares.” President: “Wha-at. Discharge him at once!”

PROJECTED COTTON FACTORIES IN CHINA.—The success of the Bombay cotton factories in profitably sweating the natives has led to projects for the establishment of similar works in Shanghai, which is the centre of the principal cotton growing district in China, but they meet with no encouragement from the Chinese authorities. The latter are still trying to resuscitate the Chinese Cotton Spinning Company, which was first projected under official auspices in 1879. The foundations of the buildings were laid, but owing to mismanagement further progress was stopped, and up to this date attempts to raise additional capital have proved unsuccessful. One of the inducements held out to shareholders, who are all natives, is a monopoly for the manufacture of cotton cloth promised by his Excellency Li Hung-chang, and dread of interference with this monopoly has hitherto caused the local officials to discourage and endeavour to prevent the establishment of cotton factories of all kinds, whether projected by foreigners or Chinese. Bombay meanwhile is sending yarns to China in ever increasing quantities, to the enormous enrichment of her mill-owners.

## AS IN GREAT; SO IN LITTLE.

POSSIBLY it may interest the readers of *Commonweal* to know how Socialism and other advanced doctrines are penetrating into the heart of the Perthshire highlands. A short time ago a branch of the S.D.F. was formed in the fashionable town of Crieff by a few earnest Socialists, and an effort was made to raise the propaganda from its secret grooves into the broad light of day. With that object in view, comrade Glasier from Glasgow was invited to give a lecture on Socialism in the public square. A large crowd collected to hear our comrade; and for the first time they listened and learnt what Socialism really meant. The audience was large and most attentive, and from cool critical listeners they became most enthusiastic in demonstrating their approval of the new gospel. A meeting-place was secured, and later on Tom Mann was invited to give an open-air and also an in-door address, and again a good audience greeted our comrade's exposition of Socialism with decided approval. At both meetings a great quantity of literature was sold, including a few quires of *Commonweal* and *Justice*.

During the summer months the propaganda has considerably slackened; workers who reside in small country towns will be able to appreciate the cause of this. But although the meetings have been discontinued for the present, an attempt will again be made to carry on a series of in-door meetings during the coming winter. The little band of Socialists in Crieff are thorough, earnest men, and the secretary has both initiative and steady courage to make the movement in the district a genuine success. Where a few men are ready to act as well as give suggestions on "Organisation," much work can be done, and a feeling of reliance is inspired when enthusiasm is not confined merely to the tongue.

Seven miles west from Crieff, and undisturbed by the din of railway traffic, lies the sweet little village of Comrie. It is the very picture of peace and soothing rest, as it snugly nestles at the foot of a range of lofty mountains. It has made a slight noise in the world by the frequency of its earthquakes, but beyond a passing rumble at long intervals there has been nothing to make a boast of! But proud are the villagers of their earthquakes, and woe to the stranger who doubts their reality. One would think that here at least competition must be more humane, and that its vile trickeries and loathsome effects on the character must be less marked than in our large cities. The visitor who approaches Comrie with dreams of idyllic bliss has them rudely dispelled when he sets his foot across the bridge of Lednock. A vision of low narrow houses, stuffy looking and unhealthy, despite the pure air from mountain and stream, at once meets his gaze, and instead of a population with marks of strength and vigour on their faces, he sees prematurely old men and women with each wrinkle on their faces speaking loudly of the hard and long struggle for existence. In a population of something near 2,000, one is struck with the very small number of young men; and here the same pathetic tale has to be told of the forcing of the best blood, and possibilities of true manly character, into the dens of our large cities, there to swell the tide of gaunt competition among the large army of toilers. A few years ago between thirty and forty tailors in Crieff and Comrie could easily earn a comfortable livelihood, but now the sweating system has raised its ugly head and machinery and underpaid women will soon make the two or three that still remain a thing of the past.

The population of Comrie a short time ago was nearly double its present amount; and though plenty of land lies ready for useful cultivation, it is fast sinking out of existence. Glenartney and Glenlednock used to hear the merry sounds of human life, but everywhere one sees the ruined cottages of the "bold peasantry." The beautiful glens, instead of yielding human food and supporting many healthy families, are being rapidly given over to sheep and deer. It is more profitable to the landlord; and to judge from the acquiescence of the authorities, we may suppose it is also beneficial to the community. Lord Aveland is the principal possessor of this quarter of the globe, and for his pleasure and profit has been "spurned the cottage from the green," and large acres of land given over to grouse, deer, and sheep. In the village the effect of competition is most marked upon the merchants. There are half a dozen grocers and bakers, and the struggle for customers is most humorous as well as pitiful. Each one possesses a van, and in order to secure a customer and "place him on the list," the baker would carry a single loaf a halfpenny cheaper to Loch Earnhead—a distance of thirteen miles! Each of the merchants is of course religious, and they would fight to the death among themselves for the "Auld," Free, or U. P. Churches; but when the little English chapel is opened in the summer time for three months to give diversity of entertainment to the grouse-shooting and deer-stalking visitors, then farewell creeds and Shorter Catechism! All the merchants with their wives and families religiously attend every service, and the heart of Sir Pertinax McSycophant would be gladdened by the elaborate scraping and "booming" of the local capitalists as the wealthy visitors are played out of church to the lively music of the "kist o' whistles." Of course the result is some "orders" in the ensuing week; and one can well believe they have been paid for dearly enough. I am told that the character of the people has completely changed within a recent period. Instead of being robust and self-dependent, with all the old hardy vigour of Scotch character, they are snobbish, poor, and vain—the result of being compelled to hang out their banner for the attraction of summer visitors. Those who have stayed for any length of time at villages or towns dependent on the summer visitor, will know how false and corrupt the character becomes through the painful efforts to become "genteel" and look as if they had never done a stroke of work in all their lives.

It is long since the doctrines of Henry George penetrated to this place, and a most encouraging feature is the eagerness with which the land question and other social topics are discussed by the farmers, artisans, and even gamekeepers, and their readiness to embrace extreme views. They have undoubtedly ceased to hope for anything from either of the "great political parties," and slowly but surely the truth is dawning upon them that "Tories" and "Liberals" are mere phrases to keep them divided. The most of the young workmen here—mostly apprentices nearing the end of their term—are far more advanced in social questions than many of their city brethren, and I found a few of them studying Laurence Gronlund's valuable work. Quite an interesting picture could be presented to the readers of *Commonweal* of an old shoemaker, erect in figure and with quite a refreshing look of manly individuality on his face, seated on a stool in the centre of his clean-looking old thatched hut, surrounded by a number of young men listening eagerly as he read and expounded the leading articles from *Reynolds's Newspaper*, all his utterance primed with the hottest sedition! The little school has now got considerably beyond *Reynolds*, but the old man will ever regard with affectionate fervour the slashing articles in that fairly honest and serviceable paper.

Is it not significant that wherever one goes it is social topics that are discussed and not political ones, and that our doctrines are penetrating silently everywhere, even without the aid of the propagandist? Competition itself is sending the schoolmaster abroad, and even the diseases it manufactures speak with a plaintive eloquence to all thoughtful men, and long before our first-class debaters in St. Stephen's have reached "Manhood Suffrage" the dissolution of our rotten society will be upon us.

J. M. B.

## EMANCIPATION.

Ho, workers, all and everywhere,  
Rouse up, rouse up, give careful heed;  
Why waste your days in beating air,  
And scattering salt instead of seed?  
Your cramping toil in mine and field,  
The deadly drudgery of the mill,  
See, what a treasure-heap they yield!  
How comes it then ye fare so ill?

Ye smile. Ah, then, ye understand  
Whose is the lion's share of spoil;  
Ye know full well that plundering band,  
The masters of the means of toil.  
Your lives they strip to load their store,  
Wielding, wherewith to swell their gains,  
The work of hands that are no more,  
The fruit of unrequited brains.

What else but mastery, brothers mine,  
Dooms you to strive where hope is none?  
What else but mastery bids you pine  
Amidst the wealth your hands have won?  
What else, in foul and wolfish strife,  
Against your friends demands your power?  
Or spil's the precious stream of life  
To coin the troubles of an hour?

Then rid you of the roguish clan,  
Who filch the gifts they feign to give;  
Join hands, and claim for every man  
The leave to labour and to live.  
The world, released from wrongful gain,  
May well be different from to-day;  
Deal then to Privilege its bane,  
And make of life the most ye may.

C. W. BECKETT.

## CORRESPONDENCE.

## "SWEATED BASKET-MAKERS."

With regard to friend Dryden's questions, I have been to several people for information, and I have been also to the committee of our union, and as far as I can get information nobody has contradicted my statement about the first year's contract; and as regards this year's contract that also is practically correct, because the only other person who has got a portion of the contract is Harrison, of Grantham, and from all that I have ever heard of him he is a sweater actually if not technically, and his idea of a workman's wage is very low.

The Trades' Union Committee inform me that my statement of the wage of No. 3 hampers ought to have been 8s. 10d. instead of 8s. The other is correct.

With regard to the umbrella baskets, I have not heard of any being out this year; none are being made in London. But the protectors are being made by scabs who are making them for 1s. 9d., the proper wage being 2s. 5d.—Yours fraternally,

THOS. CANTWELL.

A VOICE FROM THE GRAVE.—A letter was written by A. R. Parsons to his children, shortly before his murder, by his request it will not be opened and read until November 11, 1888.

METROPOLITAN PAUPERISM.—The weekly return of metropolitan pauperism shows that the total number of paupers relieved in the third week of the current month was 91,646, of whom 55,316 were indoor and 36,330 outdoor paupers. The total number relieved shows an increase of 1,994 over the corresponding week of last year, 5,015 over 1886, and 5,929 over 1885. The total number of vagrants relieved on the last day of the week was 966, of whom 783 were men, 155 women, and 28 children under sixteen.



# THE LABOUR STRUGGLE.

BRITAIN.

There is to be a great meeting in Glasgow on the subject of the sweating system on October 18.

The apprentices in the employment of Milne and Sons, engineers, Aberdeen, struck work on Sept. 24th for a reduction of hours.

It has been arranged that the apprentice engineers at Aberdeen who struck work for shorter hours, should have them reduced from 57 to 54 per week.

The Forth Bridge strike initiated on Sept. 22nd, still continues with determination on both sides. The platers want either the terms asked for, or that a regular division of night men be organised.

A Dewsbury telegram states that the miners at Thornhill Combs Collieries, Dewsbury, have struck because the employers refused an advance. The men allege that they are paid less than the neighbouring miners. Over 60 men are out.

The handloom carpet weavers of Alexander Murdoch and Co., Bridgeton, Glasgow, are on strike in consequence of a proposed reduction of 20 per cent. The men on strike have, for the past three months, been earning on an average 7s. per week.

The dock labourers at Glasgow quay are still locked out by the stevedores. They can only do it with the help of Belfast Protestant labourers, who are loyal to all and everything which keeps them poor, servile, and despised. Verily, bad Belfast produces poor Protestants!

**WAGES ADVANCED.**—The Clyde shipbuilders, at a meeting held on September 25th, unanimously resolved to recommend an increase of not more than 5 per cent. on the time wages of engineers, ironworkers, joiners, and pattern-makers who have not already received advances.

**TEN PER CENT!**—The East Lothian Miner's Association, at a meeting held on Sept. 27th, unanimously passed a resolution that a deputation from each coal-work should approach the masters requesting an advance of 10 per cent., the result to be reported to next fortnightly meeting.

**FINES.**—The strike of 250 power-loom weavers at Auchterarder, in consequence of the imposition of fines for short lengths, which was noticed in this column last week, has now terminated. The fines are abolished, and the tenters are to "pace" the webs so far as the yarns will allow.

At the conference of miners at Manchester a resolution was carried to the effect that each district represented at the conference pledged itself that the pitmen should give notice to secure an advance of 10 per cent. on all underground workmen's wages, and that the notices should not be withdrawn unless the advance was conceded.

**SCOTCH MINERS.**—Thursday afternoon (27th) a meeting of Scotch miners' delegates at Glasgow unanimously agreed that the miners in the various districts should demand an advance of 10 per cent. without conditions as to the number of days to be worked. Mr. Keir-Hardie, late labour candidate for Lanark, said, what the Scotch miners wished, in short, was 5s. for an eight hours day.

**RATTENING AT MACCLESFIELD.**—On the 24th it was found that 90 warps in a loom at Lower Heyes Cotton Mill had been cut overnight with a sharp knife. Several driving belts had also been tampered with, and the perpetrator must have known inside the mill well to have eluded the watchman. Two thousand weavers at the mill have been on strike for eight weeks. Their union repudiates complicity in the "outrage."

**BAD NEWS FOR BRITISH IRONWORKERS.**—The British iron trade in Italy is to be further reduced. A company has been formed for the erection of extensive ironworks in the neighbourhood of Milan. It is expected to employ 5,000 hands at the outset, and the company has secured a patent for heating the raw material, by which a great saving of labour and wages will be effected. "It moves"—the vanishing of wages by labour killing machines.

**A NEW LABOUR COMPETITOR.**—A new mining machine, combining some novel improvements, has been brought out by A. Wood and Sons, Glasgow. One of the improvements is the reducing to silence the noise caused by the old "kicker" arrangement. How long will the miners wait and suffer until they determinedly adopt a method of organisation and action which will reduce to silence the noise of the "kicker" arrangement with which they at present combat capital? "How long, O Lord; how long?"

**POOR FELLOW!**—Mr. Thomas Whitehead, 21, Stoneleigh Street, Oldham, late foreman of the twistors and drawers at Derker Mill, writes furiously to the *Cotton Factory Times*, denying the report that he had joined the men on strike: "Joined the men, I most emphatically deny, and defy either your correspondent or anyone else to prove that such is the fact. That I have given notice, and left, is quite true, but not on account of the prices paid, the prices offered, nor yet to join the men." What a shame it was to hurt his feelings by supposing him capable of joining with common workmen in a rude strike!

**A SCOTCH SLAVE MARKET IN 1888!**—The usual man, maid, and cattle fair was held at Castle Douglas on Sept. 24th, when the following prices were given for six months' surrender and use of the lives and liberty of the "human cattle" as they are sometimes called. The buyers lose nothing through the deterioration of this kind of stock, and the slaves have to accept whatever food and housing the masters may be pleased to give. Ploughmen, £9 10s.; byrewomen, £6; kitchen-maids, £5; cooks, £7; girls, £3 10s.; general servants, £4 10s.; lads, £3. The slaves provide their own clothing and retiring allowance for old age when unable to work. Horses and cattle sold well, a few roadsters and "screws," and some men, women, and girls not finding buyers.

**PIECERS OBJECT TO WORK OVERTIME.**—For a considerable time past it has been customary at one of the cotton mills near Roylson for the engine to "warn" at 5.30 p.m., at which time the whole of the operatives, with the exception of the minders and their piecers ceased work. These latter would then continue to work until a quarter to six, and sometimes longer. The piecers were not at all satisfied at the prospect of this overtime being persisted in, which meant additional work without any extra remuneration. One evening last week they refused to work after the proper time. As the result of this action the minders have been compelled to cease work at the same time as the other operatives. The course adopted by the piecers referred to might be imitated with advantage by others who are placed in a similar position.

The Govan labourers strike has forced the employers to offer an advance of 4d. per hour, being one-half of the labourers' demand. The labourers have provided for future emergencies by joining the Govan branch of the Labour Protection League. The League is rapidly gaining strength here.

**BAKERS' UNION IN SCOTLAND.**—A very large and representative meeting was held in the Albion Hall, Glasgow, on Sept. 27th, to hear the report regarding the delegate meeting lately held at Aberdeen. The secretary in his report said that the numbers now connected with the new federation reached the astonishing number of 3,676—a good show of work done in six months' campaign showing most conclusively the men are awakening to the fact that there is something wrong with the present state of things, and it is their duty to try and put it right. It was resolved to hold another series of mass meetings, in order to get those who are still keeping back to step out and show they have the interest of their trade at heart. £3 was voted to assist the carpet weavers on strike at Murdoch's Mills, Bridgeton, and £3 to the mineral dock labourers, who are being at this time attempted to be put out of union by the stevedores.

**MORE SIGNS OF BAD TRADE.**—The following are a few particulars gleaned from the balance sheets of going concerns. Let it be borne in mind that in every case the fat salaries of the directors and managers, together with the interest on borrowed capital, has been paid in addition to the profits named below. Falcon Engine and Car Works—profits on year, £4,086 16s. 2d. The directors complain that the competition is so keen that profits have "virtually disappeared." Gloucester Waggon Company—net profits, £34,000. Normanton Collieries—the profits are £25,000. In addition to this they paid £21,000 as mine rents and royalties. These two sums together would have increased the men's wages by 50 per cent. Sandwell Park Colliery Company—profits, £13,214 8s. 1d. The dividend paid was 11 per cent.; last year it was 10. Wigan Coal and Iron Company's account show a profit of £10,340. Nobel Dynamite Company—dividend paid amounted to one hundred and thirteen thousand, four hundred and eleven pounds, six shillings and sixpence!!! The Steel Company of Scotland has made a net profit during the year of £24,000. Stavelly Coal and Iron Company admit to a profit of over £39,000.—*Miner.*

**THE PRICE OF COAL.**—The Lanarkshire Coal-masters' Association has just issued their monthly returns of sales for August. By these the masters own to "an advance of only 3d. to 5d. per ton on July prices, so that it does not give any advance of wages for October"—under the sliding scale which the masters made themselves without consulting the workmen. The other side of the picture—as given by Keir Hardie at a Miner's Conference held at Glasgow on Sept. 27th—proves conclusively that coal was selling in Glasgow last week at an advance of 9d. per ton, and that the employers intended on 1st October to put 1s. per ton on household, and 6d. per ton on shipping coal, entitling the men thereby to a second advance of 10 per cent. The masters would then offer the workmen the first 10 per cent., and expect them to be satisfied. What the Conference aimed at was not 10 per cent. advance, but as many advances as would bring the wages up to at least 5s. for an eight-hour day. A Glasgow paper thinks the masters should give 5 per cent. of an advance, and that the men should be content with it.

Saturday 29th the majority if not all of the coalmasters in Dudley district were served by their workpeople with notice for a 10 per cent. advance. At many collieries the price of coal has already been advanced, coal and slack is in brisk demand, and it is anticipated that the advance asked for will be yielded.

In the Manchester district the colliery owners who advanced the price of coal on Monday 1st have decided to grant the miners an advance of 5 per cent. The men had asked for 10 per cent.

**MINERS' CONFERENCE.**—The conference of delegates, representing about 200,000 miners in England, Scotland, and Wales, who had been sitting during the previous few days, concluded their deliberations on Friday 28th at the Co-operative Hall, Manchester. There were present 49 delegates. A discussion took place at the steps to be taken to obtain the 10 per cent. advance the conference had decided to press for, and the time when the notices to be given shall terminate. The following resolution was submitted and unanimously agreed to: "That seeing that the conference has agreed upon notice to be given for an advance of wages, it is hereby agreed that all notices shall be given so as to terminate in the week ending October 27th." The conference next considered what action should be taken in the event of certain colliery owners offering to concede a smaller advance than that asked, or only granting it subject to conditions. It was resolved: "That in case of any colliery or district represented at this conference being offered any advance less than that decided upon at this conference—namely, 10 per cent.—they shall still carry out the resolution by lodging notice demanding the full amount agreed upon. Further, that no district shall accept 10 per cent. on such condition that it shall lose it in the event of any other district represented at this conference not obtaining it." When next meeting should take place was considered, and it was agreed, "That a conference be held on Monday October 29, to consider the position of the districts represented at this conference with regard to the demand for an advance of 10 per cent." "That the next conference be held on October 29 at Derby."

**IRONWORKERS' WAGES.**—A meeting of the Midland Iron and Steel Wages Board was held on Monday, 1st, at the Council House, Birmingham, to hear an application from the operatives' section for an advance of 12½ per cent. It will be remembered that a meeting of the Board was held on the previous Monday at the Queen's Hotel, Birmingham, to consider re-establishing a sliding scale, and other matters. An application for an advance of 12½ per cent. was then made by the men's representatives, but the employers' section would not decide the question, expressing a willingness to have the application made before the arbitrator. The men, after consultation, accepted this, therefore the present meeting was held. The men's delegates stated that during the late depression wages had been reduced in the aggregate 50 per cent., and the wages of tonnage men 65 per cent. These reductions were enforced owing to the scarcity of orders, and now an improvement had taken place in trade it was only right that the men should have back what had been taken from them. On behalf of the employers it was said that "contracts had been taken upon which the men would be employed for next three months, at lowest price of iron that had ever ruled. If the men obtained an advance, an advance would have to be given to other workmen. They had succeeded in lessening the severe competition on the part of Germans and Belgians, and if an advance were conceded competition would be renewed. Although trade had improved, prices had not improved with it, and therefore they were not in a position to give an advance; they would only be too glad if they could do so." The arbitrator will give his award in due course.

RAT PAPERS.—The following list is taken from a report submitted to the Trades' Union Congress:—"Alliance News," United Kingdom Alliance, Percy Bros., Manchester. "Banner," Church and Constitutional, Clay, R. and Sons (Limited). "Banner of Israel," Proving Identity of Lost Tribes, Banks, R. and Sons. "British Weekly," Social and Christian Progress, Hazell, Watson and Viney (Limited). "Catholic Press," Roman Catholic, National Press Agency (Limited). "Catholic Times," Roman Catholic, Father Nugent, Liverpool. "Christian," Denominational, Unwin Bros. "Christian Age," Sermons, etc., Spottiswoode and Co. "Christian Commonwealth," Religion and Temperance, National Press Agency (Limited). "Christian Herald," Sermons, etc., 3, Dorset Buildings, E.C. "Christian Union," Religion and Temperance, 8, Salisbury Court, E.C. "Ecclesiastical Gazette," Church of England, Clay, R. and Sons (Limited). "Free Methodist," Denominational, Hurd, H. F. "Good Templars' Watchword," Official Organ of Order, National Press Agency (Limited). "Good Tidings," Temperance and Christian, Hurd, H. F. "Inquirer," Unitarian and Free Christian, Woodfall and Kinder. "Jewish Chronicle," Anglo-Jewish, 2, Finsbury Square, E.C. "Jewish World," Anglo-Jewish, 8, South Street, Finsbury, E.C. "Literary Churchman," Reviews, etc., Reynell and Co. (Limited). "Primitive Methodist," Primitive Methodism, Hurd, H. F. "Protestant Standard," Anti-Roman Catholic, Kirkman, G. F., Liverpool. "Record," Church of England, Spottiswoode and Co. "Rock," Church of England, Collingridge, W. H. and L. "Signal and Gospel Union Gazette," Religious, 3, Dorset Buildings, E.C. "Tablet," Roman Catholic, 19, Henrietta Street, W.C. "Temperance Caterer," Temperance, Rider, W. and Son. "Temperance Chronicle," Church of England Temperance, Unwin Bros. "Weekly Herald," Roman Catholic, 280, Strand, W.C. "Weekly Register," Roman Catholic, Westminster Press.—The above must be rather unpleasant reading for Temperance and Religious "friends of the working man"!

### LETTER FROM AMERICA.

On the 15th September the capitalist press published the following telegram from Chicago:—

"The arrest of the Anarchist bomb-maker, Charles Bodendieck, was admitted to-day by the police. He is a suspect who has been absent from the city some time. An officer doing duty in citizens' clothes succeeded in becoming Bodendieck's room-mate shortly after the Anarchist returned here. The prisoner is an avowed revolutionist. His apartment is fairly littered with incendiary publications. There is little doubt that the police secured in his room a considerable quantity of dynamite. That Bodendieck had confederates, or at least that he was supplied with money from some suspicious source, is plain from the fact that he did not earn money himself, yet paid his rent for weeks with great punctuality and expended quite a sum for Anarchist literature and paraphernalia. Inspector Bonfield refused this evening to talk about the arrest, saying his men are still working on the case. Bodendieck is a German, who came to this country about four years ago, and immediately joined the armed section of the Anarchists. [This is a lie; known to the scribe to be a lie.] He has ever since been an active participant in all the demonstrations of the revolutionary element except the Haymarket massacre, at the time of which he was in jail for extorting money from Police Justice White under threats of death. Bodendieck was sentenced to one year in the penitentiary for this, which he served. A parcel found among his effects would indicate that, on being released, he drifted West and led the life of a cowboy before coming back to Chicago."

Last Sunday the following telegram reached New York:—

"Charles J. Bodendieck is held in the Central Police Station on the charge of having in his possession a quantity of explosive matter without being able to show any license for having it. It is reported that Bodendieck has made a confession. The *Daily News* [Chicago] says: 'About two months ago Inspector Bonfield was informed of the queer actions of the man. Detective "Phil" Miller, disguising himself, applied for lodgings at the house and was fortunate enough to be assigned to a room directly over that occupied by Bodendieck. Under the assumed name of Peter Martin he soon scraped an acquaintance with Bodendieck, who took him into his confidence and unfolded his plot to him. For two weeks Miller slept with his victim, and then, under the pretence of leaving the city, suddenly disappeared, but assuming a different disguise, shadowed Bodendieck night and day for three weeks, keeping his superiors aware of the man's movements by nightly reports. About two weeks ago Bodendieck became alarmed, and fearing that his plans were about to be made known to the police, moved to No. 159 West Washington Street. He paid daily visits to the reference room of the Public Library, and there studied the manufacture of explosives, the library containing a number of volumes on this subject. He also procured a copy of Most's treatise on bombs and their manufacture. He had already intimated to his friend "Martin" his fear of handling dynamite, and the consequences attending his capture, should any of the dangerous stuff be found on or near him. This accounts for his desire to procure an explosive equally deadly in its work, but which would apparently be considered harmless should he fall into the hands of the police. Little dreaming that his new found friend was a detective in the employ of the city, he carefully explained his plan to avenge the death of Spies, Parsons, Fischer, and Engels. His first point of attack was to be the city buildings, and without exciting the suspicion of any one but his tireless shadow, he explored every nook and corner of the City Hall where he thought his explosive would be most deadly in its effect. Last Tuesday he had everything in readiness for his diabolical plot, and set to work to obtain the chemicals with which to manufacture his explosive. With the directions he had obtained from the library, he went to Fuller and Fuller's drug-store and laid in a supply of chlorate of potash, oil of tar, saltpetre, sulphur, and several other articles. He then went to the warerooms of the Hazard Powder Company and purchased one hundred feet of fuse and thirty fulminating caps. Inspector Bonfield had been informed of the new move of the dynamiter, and ordered his arrest before he had a chance to make a dangerous move. Bodendieck, when arrested, exhibited not the slightest surprise, as he said he had rather suspected something of the kind. His room at No. 159 Washington Street was searched and the dangerous stuff confiscated and taken to the Central Station. The explosive which Bodendieck was about to make, it is said, acts as would a huge torpedo, which, being thrown to the ground, explodes with terrific force. It is not known if there was any one else with him in his scheme beside the detective, as he was fearful of betrayal.'"

As the case is before the authorities and not as yet settled, I prefer to abstain at present from giving you any comments or further information.

The case against the Bohemian Anarchists was called on the 17th inst., in the court of Judge Tuthill in Chicago, and held over to the October sessions.

The counsel for the accused Hronek, a Mr. Goldzier, moved that the case should be postponed to the November sessions, to enable the defence to produce in court the man Karafiat, who at present is on a visit in Europe. It will be remembered that Hronek maintained at the time of his arrest that he received the alleged bombs from Karafiat. State attorney Longenecker opposed the postponement, but the judge split the difference and granted a postponement to October. Chlebowa, the informer, has been entered on the charge-sheet, but he did not even take the trouble to engage a counsel. He was not present in court when the case was called. Sevic demanded a special trial, but this was refused to him. He was represented by a counsel of his own and denies that he sold any stuff to Hronek.

About a hundred delegates, representing sixty-one trade and labour unions, met on the 17th September in Harmony Hall, Troy, N. Y., in response to a call made by the New York Central Labour Union. The object of the conference, as officially stated, is to devise some means whereby certain clauses of the conspiracy section of the Penal Code of the State of New York may be amended or repealed. There has been of late among the union men a feeling that the law assumed that all strikes except those inaugurated to secure higher wages or to prevent reductions were conspiracies, and this feeling has been intensified by decisions in law courts based on the conspiracy laws. The conference is to decide what can be done to have the law amended. The first day was filled up with the appointment of various committees. The whole convention has no other purpose but to pass such resolutions as would enable the leaders to sell the labour vote to either of the two great parties.

Over 2,000 engineers, firemen, brakemen, and switchmen participated on the forenoon of the 17th September in St. Louis, Mo., in a parade, amid a chilling rain, in honour of the executive officers, delegates, and visiting friends who assembled in St. Louis to attend the third annual convention of the Switchmen's Mutual Aid Association of North America.

The Knights of Labour of Pittsburg are beginning to advocate the plan of admitting none but Americans to the order. The strict execution of this rule would reduce the membership of the order about three-fifths. The theory on which the Pittsburg men propose to act seems to be that a foreigner ought to be compelled to live in America twenty-one years before being permitted to vote or join a labour organisation.

Advices dated the 17th September from Havana indicate that the cigarmakers' strike is no nearer settlement than when it started five weeks ago. The manufacturers are well prepared and organised, and seem determined to break for ever the spirit of independence of their men. It is estimated that 9,000 workmen are out of employment, and the distress among their families, augmented by the effects of the recent hurricane, becomes greater daily. Three delegates from the Cigarmakers' Union arrived in New York City on the 16th September from Havana to appeal to American cigarmakers for help. At preliminary meetings it was decided to solicit assistance from cigarmakers throughout the United States to continue the strike. Already numerous contributions have been made, and a large amount will probably be collected.

It will be remembered that a glassblower in Belgium named Oscar Falleur was condemned in July 1886 to twenty years' hard labour for having participated in the sacking and burning of the castle and factory of one Eugene Boudoux. He was sent to the prison at Louvain, but later on released, on condition of emigrating. He first went to France. Some days ago the State department in Washington received the information from the United States minister Lambert Tree in Brussels that Falleur had emigrated to the States. He arrived on the 18th inst. by the Cunard steamer "Aurania." He gave his right name and admitted having participated in the Belgian riots. Falleur has been arrested according to the law prohibiting the immigration of "obnoxious people," and will be sent back. Now, how in hell's name can America call itself a free country?

Newark, N.J., September 18, 1888.

HENRY F. CHARLES.

## THE SOCIALIST LEAGUE.

OFFICES: 13 FARRINGTON ROAD, E.C.

The Offices of the Socialist League will be open for the sale of *Commonweal* and all other Socialist publications from 8.30 a.m. to 9 p.m. every day except Sunday. The Secretary will be in attendance from 10 a.m. to 9 p.m. daily.

A meeting of the metropolitan speakers of the League will be held at 13, Farringdon Road, on Tuesday, Oct. 9, at 8 o'clock, when it is hoped all the speakers will be present.

**London Members' Meeting.**—The next monthly meeting of members will take place on Monday, Nov. 5, 1888, at 13 Farringdon Road, at 9 o'clock sharp.

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

**Propaganda Fund.**—H. Samuels, 1s.

**Strike Committee.**—Collected in Hyde Park, Sunday, Sept. 23rd, 3s. 9d.; Sept. 30th, 3s. 1d. J. LANE, Treasurer.

### "COMMONWEAL" PRINTING FUND.

Langley, 2s.; P. W., 6d.; C. J. F., 2s. 6d.; K. F., 1s.

### FREE SPEECH FUND.

Already acknowledged—£4 3s. 3½d. Received—J. Underwood, 1s.; Dean, 6d. Total, £4 4s. 9½d. F. CHARLES, Sec., 13, Farringdon Road, E.C.

Proceeds of Concert organised by East End Propaganda Committee for free speech. From Wess, £1 10s. 3d.; Charles, 3s.; Autonomie, 6d. Total, £1 13s. 9d.—J. LANE.

## REPORTS.

LONDON (OPEN-AIR).—*Leman Street.*—Excitement caused by murder outside Berner Street Club prevented usual meeting here on Sunday. *Hyde Park.*—Henderson, Brooks, Cantwell, Boyce, Presburg, and Parker sang several labour songs and spoke here; 3s. 1d. collected. *Broad Street, Soho.*—New ground broken here Sunday evening, when a large crowd was brought together by the horse and foot police, who followed the procession here. Brooks, Cantwell, and Parker spoke. *Clerkenwell Green.*—Procession from Broad Street then marched here, when a great meeting was addressed by McCormack and Parker. Several songs sung. *Victoria Park.*—Good meeting Sunday last, addressed by Nicoll and Davis. Some thrift and temperance opposition replied to by Nicoll and Davis to evident satisfaction of audience; fair sale *Weal.* *Regent's Park.*—Last Sunday an attentive audience addressed by Samuels, Brooks, and Cantwell. Literature sold well.

CLERKENWELL.—On Sunday, Sept. 30, Wm. Blundell lectured on "Internationalism: Does it Interfere with Modern Politics?"

FULHAM.—Tuesday evening, back of Walham Green Church (note, Liberal club has now other premises) meeting opened by singing "No Master;"

HAMMERSMITH.—At Weltje Road, Sunday morning, 11.30, Tarleton being the speaker; same place in evening, 6.30, Mordhurst, Tarleton and Bullock addressed fair audience.

MITCHAM.—Good meeting last Sunday, at 11.30, addressed by G. B. Shaw. Good sale of 'Weal.—W. G. E.

ABERDEEN.—At indoor meeting on 24th, Champion's lecture, "Wrongs that require Remedies," read. Discussed by Aiken, McIntyre, Semple, Duncan and Leatham.

GLASGOW.—Members' meeting held Thursday, Sunday, 2 o'clock, Glasier and Tim Burgoyne addressed good meeting on Green, enlivened by number of questions as to what we would do with the "loafers."

NORWICH.—Thursday last, Kahler and Reynolds spoke at Yarmouth, several Commonweal sold; Friday morning Cores was released from prison, a good number of comrades waited outside the prison some time before he was released singing revolutionary songs and cheering at intervals.

LECTURE DIARY. LONDON.

Bloomsbury.—This Branch will shortly be actively working. Socialists resident in this locality should send their names in at once to 13, Farringdon Road. Clerkenwell.—Hall of the Socialist League, 13 Farringdon Road, E.C.

PROVINCES.

Aberdeen (Scottish Section).—Douglas M'Intyre, Sec., 17 Queen Street. Branch meets in Oddfellows Hall on Monday nights at 8.

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

Carnoustie (Scottish Section: Forfarshire).—Meeting every Tuesday, at 8 p.m., in the Carnoustie Restaurant. Samuel Wilson, Secy.

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

Edinburgh (Scottish Land and Labour League).—35 George IV. Bridge. Meetings for Discussion, Thursdays at 8 p.m.

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

Glasgow.—84 John Street. Reading-room (Draughts, Chess, etc.) open 10 a.m. till 10 p.m. daily. Weekly meeting of members on Thursday evenings at 8.

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

Leicester.—Hosiery Union Offices, 11a Millstone Lane. Fridays at 8 p.m.

Lochgelly (Scottish Section: Fife).—Secs. (pro tem.), John Greig and Hugh Conway, The Square.

Norwich.—Monday, at 8, meeting in Gordon Hall. Tuesday, at 8.30, Members' Meeting. Wednesday, at 8, Educational Class—subject, "Moral Basis of Socialism."

Oxford.—Temperance Hall, 25 1/2 Pembroke Street. Wednesdays, at 8.30 p.m.

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

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

All persons who sympathise with the views of the Socialist League are earnestly invited to communicate with the above addresses, and if possible help us in preparing for the birth of a true society, based on equality, brotherhood, and freedom for all.

OPEN-AIR PROPAGANDA.

SUNDAY 7.

- 11.30...Latimer Road Station...Hammersmith Branch
11.30...Mitcham Fair Green...Brooks
11.30...Regent's Park...Nicoll & Davis
11.30...Walham Green, opp. Station...The Branch
11.30...Weltje Rd., Ravenscourt Pk...Hammersmith
3.30...Hyde Park...Nicoll & Parker
6.30...Weltje Road, opposite Ravenscourt Park...Hammersmith Branch

Monday.

- 8 ...Wimbledon Broadway...G. B. Shaw

Tuesday.

- 8.30...Fulham—opposite Liberal Club...Fulham Bh.

Friday.

- 7.30...Euston Rd.—Ossulton Street...Parker

EAST END.

SUNDAY 7.

- Mile-end Waste ... 11 ...Mrs. Schack.
Leman Street, Shadwell 11 ...Parker.
Victoria Park ... 3.15...Davis & Mnwaring
London Fields ... 8 ...Schack, Mnwaring

TUESDAY.

- Mile-end Waste ... 8.30...Davis.

WEDNESDAY.

- Broadway, London Fields 8.30...Davis & Mnwaring

FRIDAY.

- Philpot St., Commercial Rd. 8.30...Lane.

SATURDAY.

- Mile-end Waste ... 6 ...East-end C'mittee.

PROVINCES.

Aberdeen.—Saturday: Castle Street, at 7 p.m.
Edinburgh.—Queen's Park, every Sunday, at 3 p.m.
Glasgow.—Sunday: Jail's Square at 2 o'clock; Paisley Road at 5 o'clock.
Ipswich.—Sproughton, Wednesday evening.
Westerfield, Thursday evening.
Needham Market, Sunday morning and evening.
Leeds.—Sunday: Hunslet Moor, at 11 a.m.; Vicar's Croft, at 7 p.m.
Leicester.—Sunday: Russel Square, at 11 a.m.
Norwich.—Sunday: Market Place, at 3 and 7.30.
North Walsham, Sunday at 11.
Yarmouth, Sunday at 3.
St Catharine's Plain, Friday at 8.15 p.m.

EAST-END PROPAGANDA.—The next meeting will be held at the Berner Street Club on Saturday October 6, when the subject for discussion will be "Our Winter Propaganda." Very important business.

SOCIALIST LEAGUE LITERATURE.

- Chants for Socialists. By William Morris. 1d.
Organised Labour: The Duty of the Trades' Unions in Relation to Socialism. By Thomas Binning (London Society of Compositors). 1d.
The Commune of Paris. By E. Belfort Bax, Victor Dave, and William Morris. 2d.
The Aims of Art. By Wm. Morris. Bijou edition, 3d.; Large paper, 6d.
The Rights of Labour according to John Ruskin. By Thomas Barclay. 1d
The Tables Turned; or, Nupkins Awakened. A Socialist Interlude. By William Morris. In Wrapper 4d.
The Manifesto of the Socialist League. Annotated by E. Belfort Bax and William Morris. An exposition of the principles on which the League is founded. 1d.
Useful Work v. Useless Toil. By William Morris. 1d.
"All for the Cause!" Song. Words by William Morris; Music by E. Belfort Bax. 4to, 4 pp. 6d. per dozen, 4s. 6d
"Vive la Commune!" Cartoon by Walter Crane. Best paper. 2d.
Mrs. Grundy (Cartoon). By Walter Crane. Fine hand-made large paper. 6d.

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# THE COMMONWEAL

## The Official Journal of the SOCIALIST LEAGUE.

VOL. 4.—No. 144.

SATURDAY, OCTOBER 13, 1888.

WEEKLY; ONE PENNY.

### NOTES ON NEWS.

ONE of the most curious things in that curious jumble, modern journalism, is the way in which the "democratic" dailies treat the rulers of Russia and Germany. If one were to trust the *Pall Mall*, the Czar is the most delightful of human beings, one upon whom all praiseful superlatives must be lavished unceasingly. True, he ill-treats Nihilists, but it is all for their good; if they only behaved a little better, and approached him properly, all would be well. He is always eager to "grant reform," but some wicked folk are for ever in the way, and nothing is done. Meantime robbery, murder, outrage, and injustice go unchecked; every foul thing that human tongue can speak is perpetrated in his name. Yet the "new journalism" can see no blot on the Great White Czar; the blood-gouts that speck his ermine are hidden from the loving eyes of his admirer, whose ears are also deaf to the never-ending wail of his victims.

The *Pall Mall* has done yeoman service in many a good cause; but who can tell how much of its other work has been rendered nugatory by its unweaning worship of the ice cold Colossus of the North, whose yoke is the heaviest ever laid on the neck of an oppressed people?

By way of balance, it may be supposed, the *Star* gives adulation to the German Emperor and the "Man of Blood and Iron." In justice it must be said that the adulation is not lavished wholesale; it is applied sparingly; but there it is. Nor can one wonder much at those who refuse to wholly credit a professed red-hot hatred of wrong at home while there is but the suspicion of a wink at wrong abroad. When will even the most advanced "leaders of popular opinion" wake to the fact that the peoples of the world are one proletariat, and that their rulers are one in kind though they differ in degree? Balfour and Warren, Bismarck and Manderöth, Floquet and his prefect, are of the same gang and are all enemies of the whole of the workers; and the sooner our "democratic" opinion-mills learn this the better for them and for their readers.

At the same time, we cannot credit the latest "theory" of the Whitechapel tragedies, though it is broached by one well acquainted with police methods in many lands. He will have that Sir Charles Warren has arranged the whole thing. For, says he, Warren wants more men; this will get them for him. Warren is a stern Biblical Christian, to whom adultery is worthy of death; and so duty chimes with interest. They are worthless lives that have been taken, and much good to "society" may result; and so the end will justify the means. Worse things have been done in Africa in the cause of Christianity and cheap cottons; why not in London for equally worthy ends?

We cannot credit it! More than one atrocity was charged against Warren when he was in Africa "spreading civilisation"; but even if these were brought home to him they would not prove him capable of repeating on white subjects that which he had wrought on black. But if he is not a scoundrel he is at least a fool; replying to the Whitechapel Board of Guardians about the murders, he says: "I have to request and call upon your Board, as popular representatives, to do all in your power to dissuade the unfortunate women about Whitechapel from going into lonely places in the dark with any persons, whether acquaintances or strangers." A Daniel come to judgment! S.

The gentleman who occupies his spare time in mutilating and murdering in the neighbourhood of Whitechapel, has quite unintentionally done Society a service. By his latest masterpieces he has made Sir Charles Warren's position almost untenable, and it will probably not be long before the London Socialists will bid adieu to their best friend.

His loss will leave us inconsolable. Oh, if he could only stay another year, and give us another Trafalgar Square performance! The small Radical remnant who have not yet accepted the Gospel of Revolution at his hands, might then be driven, by dint of hard knocks and furious charges of mounted men, into our ranks; and we might even witness the prompt conversion of Mr. Charles Bradlaugh and G. W. Foote, Esq., to the only religion which any sane person professes.

We might even have seen Charles Bradlaugh demonstrating the beauties of peaceful Radicalism by rolling policemen over like ninepins; while G. W. Foote might be led in triumph like a Roman captive to the nearest police-station, having proved by deeds his title to the noble name he claims.

But alas, it is all over! Warren is bound to go! Not only is he attacked by the ordinary Liberal and Radical press, but even the *Daily Telegraph* attacks him slyly under the pretence of going for Matthews. What a piece of artful humbug this is. There is no one less an admirer of Mr. Matthews than the present writer; but it is not fair to pour upon his devoted head the penalties due to the crimes of other people.

Mr. Matthews is not a personification of earthly wisdom; but if he were it would not be his duty, any more than that of any other citizen, to illumine with its light the dark places beneath the thick skulls of our detective officers. The man who is responsible is the Chief Commissioner of Police, who has also the detective department under his control since he sacked Superintendent Munro. It is he who has thrown everything out of gear by his fierce vanity, his martinetism, and his pig-headed obstinacy. It is he and not Matthews who is the real culprit.

It may be admitted that Matthews is incompetent; but if every Minister is to get the sack who can have that accusation brought against him what remnant of any Government would remain? If Matthews is incompetent, what in the name of the universe is Mr. Smith, Arthur Balfour, or Lord Salisbury? No; this is the real truth of the matter. Last year, after the battle of Trafalgar Square, the *Daily Telegraph* exhausted its whole vocabulary of eloquent admiration in sounding the praises of the mighty conqueror. It would now be too much of a come-down to have to admit that their sometime hero was an utter fraud. So "the largest circulation" agitates for the overthrow of the Home Secretary, hoping, with all the belief of which that Hebraic Christian paper is capable, that Matthews will drag down Warren in his fall. For the *Telegraph* knows full well that if the new Home Secretary is anything but a harmless abject figure-head like Matthews, that he and the imperious Warren are certain sooner or later to fall out, and this can only end in the resignation of the butcher. How admirable are the tactics of commercial journalism! D. N.

The late Rev. Dr. Edwards, who was minister of a United Presbyterian Church in the poorest part of the East-end of Glasgow, according to the Sheriff Court books, has left personal estate to the value of £20,313 14s. 6d. According to the Christian criterion could he have been a "neighbour" to the victims of civilisation with whom his lot was cast? Could he have had compassion on them? I hold that the man who gains a living by preaching Christ's doctrines, and who can die with thousands of pounds unused, must have been getting his money by false pretences.

Christ threatened with final condemnation the uncharitable. To the woman taken in adultery he said, "Go and sin no more," but to the accumulators of wealth "How shall ye escape the damnation of hell?" Pieces of silver—yea, piles of gold—are still secured by thousands of betrayers of Christ, who trade on the ideal embodied in his name. Although they subscribe to his test of judgment, "Inasmuch as ye did it not to them," etc., they can die leaving it undone, notwithstanding the means and opportunities they had to do it. But this game, as with the Established, is almost "u.p." with the U.P. Church.

The Glasgow policemen, instead of carrying their batons in leather sheaths as they have hitherto done, will henceforth keep them in a pocket specially made in their clothes. Every expediency must be given to the smashing of the heads of the people. Formerly, each "moral miracle" had to "pay for his whistle" at the rate of 1s. 3d. each, but a whistle costing 11d. each, of a new pattern, warranted to give a louder "birl," will be supplied to each man by the authorities. Other improvements than these are required to make "the force"

efficient in detecting real criminals. The real criminal does not sing to the "Bobby": "Oh, whistle and I'll come to you, my lad!" And does not "the force" protect the worst criminals?

It was reported on Glasgow Exchange on the 2nd inst., "that the Lanarkshire miners were getting very restive," (How strange!) "and are evidently concerting for the purpose of forcing an advance in wages!" The *Glasgow Herald* remarks that the result of the agitation is looked forward to with some concern by members of the Exchange. Some of these gentry who toil not, but who do spin—webs to entrap toilers—contend that the rise in prices so far does not warrant any concession to the men, while others admit that in their case at least a moderate increase is justified. Numerous complaints are made of the difficulty experienced by shippers in obtaining supplies of coal, three or four collieries having to be drawn upon where one sufficed before.

The workers' policy of restriction, by which they have for long suffered semi-starvation, has freed the market from over-supplies, and raised the selling value of their product by over 1s. 6d. per ton. Each man put out, on an average, four tons of coal per day, so that the increased price of the results of a day's labour amounts to over 7s., the whole of which the masters are pocketing, while they refuse a share of 6d. to the men. Yet they are surprised at the men concerting to get 6d. out of the 7s. increase their work produces. I hope the men will yet give the knaves more serious cause for alarm. G. McL.

### THE WILL OF THE MAJORITY.

WE are often admonished by the professional politician and by the man of "common sense" of the sacredness of the will of the majority, or as it is sometimes called, the popular will. The expression of this so-called will of the majority in legislation and social and political institutions, is conceived as authoritatively representing the wishes and convictions of the greater number of persons inhabiting the country or the given area; and it is assumed as an axiom by the persons in question that the will of a majority has an inviolable claim to respect. The latter proposition, I submit, can only have a measure of truth in any case; but what I am here concerned to show is that it is not true at all as applied to modern society, and can in fact only be true in the case of a society of equals; further, that even in this case it has one distinct principle of limitation.

What has been hitherto called the will of the people, or the will of the majority as manifested in the modern constitutional state, does not express any act of will at all, but the absence of will. It is not the will but the apathy of the majority that is represented. How many of the—not majority, but minority—of persons that vote, *consciously will* a particular line of policy? To show the utter absurdity of the whole thing we have only to remember that in theory the whole common and statute law of England is supposed to be the expression of the public opinion of the people of England. Yet if, as in the case of the Swiss referendum, the people of England were formally polled (even those possessing votes) and the whole issue respecting every law placed before each, how many laws, now undisputed, would not be swept away? It cannot be too emphatically impressed upon the ordinary law-abiding citizen that the greater part of law, as it at present exists, does so by the ignorance of the majority, not by its consent. It is the expression, not of the *suffrage* but of the *sufferance* of the people.

But this is not all. Supposing there were a referendum or poll of all the people of England to-morrow, it would be of little avail on any but the very simplest issue. For so long as there is inequality of education and of natural conditions and the majority are at a disadvantage in respect of these things, they are necessarily incapable of weighing the issue before them. Their very wants are but vaguely present to their minds, and in their judgment as to the means of satisfying them they are at the mercy of every passing wind. But given an equality of education and economic circumstances, there is yet another condition requisite before the opinion of the majority can be accepted as anything like the last resort of wisdom, and therefore as worthy of all acceptance. It is this. Public opinion, the verdict of the majority, even in a society of equals, if it is to have any value, presupposes a high sense of public duty—a standard of morality which exacts that everyone shall take the *requisite interest* in public questions for an independent judgment on them. The man who has not taken the trouble to train himself to think out these things cannot help to form an effective public opinion on any question presenting itself. Given the conditions mentioned, on the other hand, and the judgment of the majority would unquestionably represent the highest collection of wisdom up to date. But until these conditions are fulfilled, the opinion of the majority as such can have no *moral claim* on the allegiance of minorities or of individuals, although it may be *convenient* in many or in most cases to recognise it.

The only public opinion, the only will of the majority, which has any sort of claim on the recognition of the Socialist in the present day, is that of those who have like aspirations with him, who have a definite consciousness of certain aims—in other words, the will of the majority of the European Socialist party. Even the Socialist party, owing to the economic conditions under which its members, with the rest of society, labour, does not fulfil the conditions above stated as necessary for the formation of a public opinion which should command respect. But such as it is, there can be no doubt that it represents the nearest approach to an authoritative tribunal which we can find to-day.

As to those persons who prostrate themselves before this idol, the will of the majority (of present society)—of the mere mechanical majority, or count of heads—and swear they would yield anything to the authoritative utterance of "the people" (in this sense), it would be interesting to know how far in the direction of its logical conclusion they would be prepared to go. There are some among them, we believe, who, while avowedly holding the current theology to be pernicious, yet would nevertheless not oppose its being taught in public schools if the "majority of the nation" were in favour of it. Now it must be admitted that it is exceedingly probable that if the majority of the nation were actively in favour of "religious education" they would get their way. But it is also conceivable that were the majority not very energetic, an energetic minority might carry the day. Yet according to the "majority" *cultus*, it would be wrong to assist in opposing the "will" of the majority. Again, we would like to ask the pious majoritist whether he would complacently see the Holy Inquisition, gladiatorial combats, or bull-fighting established; or on the other hand, witness the abolition of all means of travelling on Sunday, the total prohibition of alcohol and tobacco, the closing of all theatres, and all because an ignorant majority decreed these things? Yet unless a man is prepared to follow a majority (so to say) through a quick-set hedge, the principle of bare majority-worship falls to the ground. Majorities are then tacitly admitted to be nothing *per se*, but only to be respected in so far as their judgments are themselves reasonable, or at least in so far as it is convenient to respect them.

The only conditions which can ensure a judgment on the part of the majority representing the highest practical reason of which human nature is capable up to date, as we have already indicated, are—(1) perfect economic and educational equality; (2) healthy interest in all questions affecting the commonwealth. In a society wherein these conditions were realised, all persons would be competent—some more, some less, of course, but all more or less—and the verdict of the majority ought clearly to be binding on all, so far as active resistance is concerned (and allowance always being made for the right of verbal protest on the part of the minority). There is one exception to this, however—an exception not very likely to occur, I admit, but nevertheless conceivable. It is the principle referred to as limiting the right of all majorities—even though the dissentient minority be only one. I refer to actions which Mill calls self-regarding, or those which in no way directly concern the society or corporate body. Were any majority to enforce a particular line of conduct in such actions, and to forbid another, it is the right and duty of every individual to resist actively such interference. For just as the free motion and development and disintegration of the cellular tissue is essential to the life of the animal body, the cause of death in cases of mineral poisoning being the stoppage of this process, so the healthy freedom of the individual within its own sphere is essential to the true life of the social body—as much so as the subordination of the individual in matters directly affecting society.

Were a majority, therefore, to seek to regulate the details of the private life of individuals in points where it does not directly come in contact with public life, any resistance on the part of individuals would be justified. Those entrusted with the carrying out of the mandates of the majority in such a case should be treated as common enemies, and if necessary destroyed. Even though the private conduct of individuals might have an indirect bearing on the commonweal, this would not justify direct interference; any temporary inconvenience would be better than the infraction of the principle of the inviolability of the individual from coercive restraint within his own sphere. Let us suppose a case. The habit becomes prevalent in a Socialist community of sitting up late at night. This habit renders some of those addicted to it not so capable as they would otherwise be of performing their share in the labour of the community. Now an otherwise sane majority might here easily lose its head and enact a curfew. In this it would be clearly going beyond its function, inasmuch as the habit in question is primarily a private and purely self-regarding matter. Let the majority if so minded exact more stringent standards of discipline and efficiency in work, and enforce obedience to them—such enactments should be binding on all good citizens. But an enactment compelling the citizen to go to bed at a particular time should clearly be resisted at all costs. Of course the probabilities are that a habit which really tended, although indirectly, to be detrimental to the community, would be voluntarily given up in a society where a social morality prevailed.

Again, the fact of an action being distasteful to the majority may be a valid ground for its not being obtruded on public notice, but is no ground for its being forbidden in itself. For instance, a certain order of Parisian palate devours with great gusto a species of large garden snail called *Escargot*. To the present writer, the notion of eating these snails is extremely disgusting. Now supposing an intelligent but unprincipled majority took the same view, as very likely it might, there would likely enough be proposals carried for prohibiting the consumption of these articles of diet—on the ground that it was bestial and degrading. Here, again, would be a case for resistance to the knife. But take the other side to this *escargot* question. The aforesaid molluscs are in Paris hawked about in the early morning in barrows, around the sides of which they crawl, the sight of them tending to produce "nausea and loss of appetite" (to employ the phraseology of the quack medicine advertisement) in those about to take breakfast. Now it is obvious that if this result obtained with the majority, the majority would have a clear right to prohibit the public exposure of these commodities, even if the would-be consumer were thereby *indirectly* debarred from obtaining them.

The same reasoning applies to sexual matters. Society is directly concerned with the (1) production of offspring, (2) with the care that things sexually offensive to the majority shall not be obtruded on public notice, or any obscenity on "young persons." Beyond this all sexual actions (of course excluding criminal violence or fraud) are matters of purely individual concern. When a sexual act from whatever cause is not and cannot be productive of offspring, the feeling of the majority has no *locus standi* in the matter. Not only is it properly outside the sphere of coercion, but it does not concern morality at all. It is a question simply of individual taste. The latter may be good or bad, but this is an aesthetic and not directly a moral or social question.

Once more, the drink question, in so far as the consumer gets what he wants, namely, pure liquor and not adulterated stuff, in a great measure comes under the same category, although not so completely, since the directly injurious effects to society invariably resulting with certain temperaments (irresponsible violence, etc.), from the taking of alcohol, might justify prohibitive treatment as regards those cases. Even this, however, would not justify any general measure of prohibition.

The above, then, is what I have termed the principle of limitation of the coercive rights of all majorities, however enlightened. When they overstep these limits, whether at the bidding of whim or foolish panic or what-not, the minority or the individual has the right and the duty of resisting it, the efficacy of the means to this end being the only test of their justifiability. On the other side of this clear and distinct line, on the contrary, in a free society of equals, free that is, economically as well as politically, the will of the majority must be the ultimate court of appeal, not because it is a theoretically perfect one, but because it is for reasons before given the best available.

The practical question finally presents itself, What is the duty of the convinced Socialist towards the present mechanical majority—say of the English nation—a majority mainly composed of human cabbage stalks, the growth of the suburban villa and the slum respectively? The answer is, Make use of it wherever possible without loss of principle, but where this is not possible disregard it. The Socialist has a distinct aim in view. If he can carry the initial stages towards its realisation by means of the count-of-heads majority, by all means let him do so. If on the other hand he saw the possibility of carrying a salient portion of his programme by trampling on this majority, by all means let him do this also. Such a case, though extremely improbable is just barely possible, as for instance, supposing Social Democracy triumphant in Germany before other western countries were ripe for the change of their own initiative. It might then be a matter of life and death for Socialist Germany to forestall a military and economic isolation in the face of a reactionary European coalition by immediate action, especially against the stronghold of modern commercialism. Should such an invasion of the country take place, it would be the duty of every Socialist to do all in his power to assist the invaders to crush the will of the count-of-heads majority of the people of England, knowing that the real welfare of the latter lay therein, little as they might suspect it. The motto of the Socialist should be the shortest way to the goal, be it through the votes or through the skulls of the majority. As has been often said before, and said with truth, every successful revolution in history has been at least initiated by an energetic minority acting in opposition to, or at least irrespective of, the inert mass constituting the numerical majority in the state. And it is most probable it will be so again. Be this as it may, the preaching of the *cultus* of the majority in the modern State, is an absurdity which can only for a moment go down with the Parliamentary Radical who is wallowing in the superstitions of exploded Whiggery.

E. BELFORT BAX.

Can any honest man feel surprised at learning that "lawlessness" is on the increase in many regions of the country, when the sole aim of the law seems to be to place labour in such absolute subjection as can scarcely be paralleled in Turkey or China?—*Paterson Labour Standard*.

THE "STRAIGHT TIP."—The nail masters of Birmingham have at last become conscience stricken, and are feeling ashamed of the starvation wages they have so long paid their workmen; the result is that the latter are to receive a ten per cent. advance. Want of organisation brought them to their wretched condition, as they have been compelled to submit to be ground down for some years past, until now they can hardly keep body and soul together. There are many railwaymen in a similar position, which is due to the same cause, but if they wait until the railway companies are conscience stricken, or take compassion on them, they will have to wait till the millennium.—*Railway Review*.

LATE CONVERSIONS.—It is a rather queer feature in our social life, the *Cotton Factory Times* thinks, that when a man becomes a Parliamentary representative he at once begins to find out what good institutions trades unions are. It is somewhat singular that a man may carry on a business for years, and constantly be brought in contact with working men, and yet never find out what good fellows they are until he wants their votes. We are far from saying that the votes of working men have any influence with Mr. Brunner, M.P., the Cheshire salt king, but he has been talking very "fine and large" about them. According to this authority, English working men are the best workers in the world. He (Mr. Brunner) pays half as much again to his workmen as is paid to workmen in the same trade in other European countries, and yet he says his labour costs him less per ton of salt than it does his competitors. This is valuable information, and it was supplemented by a recommendation to workmen to form strong trades unions. We are bound to confess that we rather like this, but we should have liked it still better had Mr. Brunner found it all out before he became a member of Parliament. Very likely, however, he had not time to study out the matter in his younger days, being too busy getting his large business together, but on the principle that "it is better late than never" we can accept this new recruit.

## REVOLUTIONARY CALENDAR.

WEEK ENDING OCTOBER 20, 1888.

14	Sun.	1814. Thomas Davis born. 1817. J. P. Curran died. 1842. T. Cooper tried for treason.
15	Mon.	1326. Walter Stapleton Bishop of Exeter, Lord Treasurer of England, beheaded at the Cross in Cheapside by the London 'prentices. 1794. Robert Watt hung for high treason. 1817. Kosciusko died. 1819. Carlile tried for publishing Paine's 'Age of Reason.' 1842. <i>Nation</i> founded by T. Davis, J. B. Dillon, and C. G. Duffy.
16	Tues.	1792. Society of the "Friends of the People" founded at Edinburgh. 1793. Marie Antoinette guillotined.
17	Wed.	1760. St. Simon born. 1803. W. Smith O'Brien born. 1859. John Brown at Harper's Ferry.
18	Thur.	1794. Suppression of the Jacobin Club. 1861. W. Sharman Crawford died. 1881. "No Rent" manifesto issued.
19	Fri.	1887. Fight between police and unemployed in Dover Street, Piccadilly.
20	Sat.	1817. Trial of W. Turner for high treason. 1830. Charles X. lands at Newhaven. 1881. Proclamation of Land League.

*John Brown at Harper's Ferry.*—This item is much too big for a note, and will be treated in a special article in our next number.—S.

The following note was held over from last week:—

*Searching the Ladies' School.*—The school, which had been founded by the Duke of Leuchtenberg and was under the patronage of the Czarina, was regarded by the Government as a valuable means of russifying Polish aristocrats, and to that end noble families of both nations were encouraged to send their daughters there. The police, becoming suspicious, searched the school, and arrested the head-mistress and eight of the leading pupils. Many "seditious" documents were found, and it was said to have been for a long time an active and very effective centre of revolutionary propaganda.—S.

## HUNGER AND COLD.

SISTERS TWO, all praise to you,  
With your faces pinched and blue;  
To the poor man you've been true  
From of old:  
You can speak the keenest word,  
You are sure of being heard,  
From the point you've never stirred  
Hunger and Cold!

Let sleek statesmen temporize;  
Palsied are their shifts and lies  
When they meet your bloodshot eyes,  
Grim and bold;  
Policy you set at naught,  
In their traps you'll not be caught,  
You're too honest to be bought,  
Hunger and Cold!

Bolt and bar the palace door;  
While the mass of men are poor,  
Naked truth grows more and more  
Uncontrolled;  
You had never yet, I guess,  
Any praise for bashfulness,  
You can visit sans Court-dress,  
Hunger and Cold!

While the music fell and rose,  
And the dance reeled to its close,  
Where her round of courtly woes  
Fashion strolled,  
I beheld with shuddering fear  
Wolves' eyes through the windows peer;  
Little dream they you are near,  
Hunger and Cold!

When the toiler's heart you clutch,  
Conscience is not valued much,  
He recks not a bloody smutch  
On his gold:  
Everything to you defers,  
You are potent reasoners,  
At your whisper Treason stirs,  
Hunger and Cold!

Rude comparisons you draw,  
Words refuse to sate your maw,  
Your gaunt limbs the cobweb law  
Cannot hold.  
You're not clogged with foolish pride,  
But can seize a right denied,  
Somehow Truth is on your side,  
Hunger and Cold!

You respect no hoary wrong  
More for having triumphed long;  
Its past victims, haggard throng,  
From the mould  
You unbury: swords and spears  
Weaker are than poor men's tears,  
Weaker than your silent years,  
Hunger and Cold!

Let them guard both hall and bower;  
Through the window you will glower,  
Patient till your reckoning hour  
Shall be tolled.  
*Cheeks are pale but hands are red,  
Guiltless blood may chance be shed,  
But ye must and will be fed,*  
Hunger and Cold!

God has plans man must not spoil,  
Some were made to starve and toil,  
Some to share the wine and oil,  
We are told.  
Devil's theories are these,  
Stiffing hope and love and peace,  
Framed your hideous lusts to please.  
Hunger and Cold!

Scatter ashes on thy head,  
Tears of burning sorrow shed,  
Earth! and be by pity led  
To Love's fold  
*Ere they block the very door  
With lean corpses of the poor,  
And will hush for naught but gore,*  
Hunger and Cold!

JAMES RUSSELL LOWELL (1844).

## CORRESPONDENCE.

### THE KAWEAH COLONY.

Dear Sir,—I noticed in one of your numbers of a few weeks back a reference to J. J. Martin for information as to the Kaweah Colony. Having no wish to allow any one to be possibly gulled, and to find things not altogether as they expected, I beg any enquirer to be very careful before he subscribes to the Colony in its present state and under its present usurped management—or comes out here relying upon it to help him any.

I would advise any one seeking information to by all means enquire first of the present secretary, Alf. Cridge, *Weekly Star* Office, San Francisco, or of—Yours truly,

W. J. CUTHBERTSON,  
President of Kaweah Colony.

307, Phelan Buildings, San Francisco, California.

The editor wrote that Jay Gould was all worn out and unstrung. The compositor set it up: "Jay Gould is worn out, but yet unhung." The proof reader let it go at that.—*Baltimore Free Press*.





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

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

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

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

**Subscriptions.**—For Europe and United States, including postage, per year, 6s. six months, 3s.; three months, 1s. 6d.

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

**CANUCK.**—The *Liberator* is not a revolutionary paper. It deals with only one topic, the disestablishment of the Church of England; and never has a word to say of labour matters.

*Periodicals received during the week ending Wednesday October 10.*

<b>ENGLAND</b> Church Reformer Christian Socialist Die Autonomie Hertfordshire Express Justice Labour Tribune London—Freie Presse Norwich—Daylight Postal Service Gazette Radical Leader Railway Review Worker's Friend	<b>Jewish Volkszeitung</b> Alarm Workmen's Advocate United Irishman Boston—Woman's Journal Chicago (Ill)—Vorbote Douglasville (Ga.)—Roll Call Detroit—Der Arme Teufel Fort Worth (Tex)—South West Milwaukee—National Reformer Paterson (N J) Labor Standard	<b>SWITZERLAND</b> Arbeiterstimme <b>ITALY</b> Turin—Nuovo Gazzetta Operaia <b>SPAIN</b> Madrid—El Socialista Cadiz—El Socialismo Barcelona—Tierra y Libertad Seville—La Solidaridad <b>PORTUGAL</b> Lisbon—O Protesto Operario <b>GERMANY</b> Berlin—Volks Tribune <b>AUSTRIA</b> Brunn—Arbeiterstimme Wien—Gleichheit <b>ROUMANIA</b> Jassy—Muncitorul
<b>NEW SOUTH WALES</b> Hamilton—Radical Sydney—Australian Star	<b>FRANCE</b> Paris—Cri du Peuple (daily) Le Parti Ouvrier (daily) La Revolte Le Coup de Feu Sedan—La Revolution Lille—Le Cri du Travailleur	<b>GERMANY</b> Stockholm, Social-Demokraten Malmo—Arbetet <b>WEST INDIES</b> Cuba—El Productor
<b>INDIA</b> Bankipore—Behar Herald Allahabad—People's Budget	<b>HOLLAND</b> Hague—Recht voor Allen	
<b>UNITED STATES</b> New York—Der Socialist Freiheit Truthseeker Volkszeitung	<b>BELGIUM</b> Ghent—Vooruit Liege—L'Avenir	

## CHICAGO MARTYRS AND BLOODY SUNDAY.

"Our silence will be more powerful than our speech."

MRS. PARSONS has accepted the invitation of the Commemoration Committee to speak at the various meetings to be held in London and the provinces next November. Arrangements have already been made for meetings to be held on Saturday, November 10, at 8 p.m., at Wornum Hall; at Regent's Park on Sunday, November 11, at 11.30 a.m.; and in the afternoon at Hyde and Victoria Parks at 3 o'clock. Further particulars will be announced next week. Meantime, funds are urgently needed, and should be sent to J. Lane, Treasurer, at the office of the Socialist League, 13, Farringdon Road, E.C. Any information can be had by communicating with Secretary of the Commemoration Committee.

W. B. PARKER, *Secretary.*

## WIMBLEDON AND MERTON NOTES.

SINCE the successful meeting held on the Wimbledon Broadway on behalf of the match-girls, where a truce was proclaimed between the hitherto warring Socialists and Christians, and we both pulled together to help the girls, the branch has been actively at work to permeate the neighbourhood with Socialistic ideas. The temporary alliance with the Christians is a curious fact in connection with our local propaganda; there exists the ruins of a Radical Association, done to death by starved respectability and want of verve. There is also a scattered group of Freethinkers, whose toleration of Socialist opinions does not extend so far as the purchase of a *Commonweal* for perusal; being as our Christian opponents say "without God," they worship instead the triton and minnows of the Secularist party, and we who are fighting against social wrongs do not receive the least assistance from either Radical or Freethinker, and hence the strange spectacle was seen of Revolutionary Socialists and Christians uniting in an attack against monopolist tyranny.

We are blessed here with a "Free" Library, which is largely used as a lounge by the respectable inhabitants of the jerry-built villas in this jerry-built place. Their respectability is of such a nature that it stiffens features and joints, and prevents a natural walk or speech. This respectable clique have expunged *United Ireland*, the *Star*, and the *Commonweal* from the library stands; the reason given for rejecting the *Weal* being in the elegant language of one Norman Bazalgette, that it wanted to "shove up all that was down and bring down all that was up." So we are taking up the suggestion of our Australian comrades, and shall open our club-room as a really "Free Reading Room," and should be glad to receive any help that comrades can give in the direction of gifts of papers, books, etc. In conclusion, we ask the purchasers of this journal in the neighbourhood to give us some help towards our branch and its work. (*Pro Committee*) F. KITZ.

## A SAFE INVESTMENT.

"THERE is meat on that bone yet," is the way to speak of the recent discovery by a London daily that a safe four per cent. can be made by supplying moral "doss-kens" to the waifs and strays of London. The chief next the *Times* of the reptile press says it is a "certain thing," and a correspondent, delirious with joy, writes to say that even more can be made out of this Christian endeavour to raise our fellow-creatures and wring a percentage out of them at the same time.

The retiring modesty of the leader-writer (possibly the same who vilifies the unemployed) did not permit him to exhaust his theme, and "even more" can be made from the venture than he presumed.

Enchanting prospect! to save society and pocket four per cent. safe, and "even more"; to surround your scheme with a halo of sanctified purpose, like the nimbus around the head of the dead Christ; to invoke his name as sanction to your plan; to hide your prospectus under a mass of phrases about the moral and physical degradation of the mass and your own self-sacrificing determination to uproot and alleviate it, and withal secure your four per cent., and even more!

It seems a far cry from Whitechapel to Peru, but a Spanish society has been formed to discover any chance loot that Pizarro's cut-throats may have left untouched when they invaded illfated Peru. Like their English congeners, the Spanish adventurers think there's "meat on that bone yet." The slums of London and all our cities and towns are the result of landlordism and capitalism. The method of life adopted by Annie Chapman and her fellow-victims is the alternative one to slow murder for sweaters' pay. Had they died slowly, starved or worked to death, the journals now so moved over the manner of their ending would have barely noticed the inquests, if any were held; they would certainly not have displaced their Court News to make room for an obituary. But there is an opening for profit made *literally* with the murderer's knife; and the gutters of London and its terrible human wreckage shall be made to yield four per cent. and "even more"!

With singular inconsistency, the journal which is booming the new enterprise calls loudly for the detection and punishment of the criminal. How ungrateful to denounce the direct cause of making four per cent.! Such ingratitude is only equalled by the parson when denouncing the Devil and all his works; for no Devil, assuredly no parson and no salary. To speak well of the bridge that carries one over is evidently not the motto of the Fleet Street Judas.

These wretched capitalistic sheets are produced themselves under conditions which slowly murders the operatives. They are filled with accounts of military operations wherein hundreds die the dust in order to increase the profits of the capitalists.

The perpetrator of the recent crimes will, if caught, suffer in person for his crimes (if not *very* rich). An eye for an eye and a tooth for a tooth, say the law and the press. When shall the doctrine of retribution be carried out on those who at home exploit and rob their fellows, making the awful lives of Annie Chapman and her associates the only life possible to thousands, and abroad use up our sons and brothers in atrocious exploits beside which the Whitechapel tragedies pale in comparison? As a foul and dank hole will engender noisome creatures, so will the horrible surroundings of the poor breed monsters, and their victims of the Annie Chapman type. That the human virtues flourish at all under such conditions shows the capacity of our race to withstand corrupting influences.

The murderer may be in this case a homicidal maniac, but we have uprising in our midst gangs of unfortunates, begotten of vile surroundings, who stop at no outrage or crime. The wretched sisterhood of the pavement are their first victims, and next belated wayfarers. In the first case their guilt is shared by the police, who in every locality partake of the wages of prostitutes and join with the roughs and bullies in blackmailing them. These "guardians of the peace" are to be, some long day ahead, the detectors of the Whitechapel murderer.

Meanwhile, as easiest to their hand, they attack half-starved men and lads, and steal a few bits of red cloth when borne aloft in the processions of the unemployed. The bourgeoisie is shrieking aloud for its dear police, sorely tried public servants as they termed them when bludgeoning the unemployed. Who knows which way the knife may be turned next? The four per cent. sympathy they now display for the victims is the same kind of motor which moves them to look after the sanitary conditions of back streets when an epidemic is threatened: they might catch it themselves. The police are suited to the work they have to do—viz., to drive discontent under the surface and break their fellow countrymen's heads, if poor—and no murderer need fear arrest at their hands. These bulky chawbacons, like the evicting R.I.C., are the laughing-stock of the light-fingered fraternity. The contumely heaped upon our comrades of the Berner Street Club by their silly quest of a miscreant already far away from the scene of his crime is as nothing to the outrages committed by these chartered ruffians in uniform at the International Club a few years back. We Socialists, with the memory and actual experience of that scene of pillage and brutality enacted by the police and of the farcical travesty of justice which followed upon process against them in the courts, can well read with amusement articles calling upon the police for protection from depredators. False swearers, blackmailers, committers of outrage and assault upon their fellow men—these are the agents of "justice" in a system of society which is based upon legalised violence and robbery: they are to bring to judgment those who commit *un-legalised* depredation and murder.

F. KITZ.

What is pauper labour? Labour that must beg for employment whether in this country or any other.—*Twentieth Century.*

## LETTER FROM AMERICA.

THE refusal of the authorities to allow comrade Oscar Falleur to land was a little too stiff. American workmen have not yet reached such a state of depravity as to swallow with good grace such hot pepper. So on September 21, James Quinn, Master Workman of District 49 Knights of Labour, sent a telegram to the Secretary of the Treasury, saying that Oscar Falleur was prohibited from landing under the pretext that he is a convict whereas he is only a political offender. He added that if the department ordered Falleur to be sent back it will be the first time that a political offender was ever debarred from entering this country. Later in the afternoon, Acting-Secretary Thompson wired the collector of customs at New York to detain Falleur until he has had an opportunity to prove his allegation that he is a political offender and not a convict. Falleur, in consequence, did not sail in the "Aurania." Ex-Civil Justice Gedney, who has been retained to look after Falleur's case, says: "The law especially specifies that the detention of a convict shall continue until the sailing of the vessel upon which he arrived," and as Falleur did not return in the "Aurania" he cannot now lawfully be returned on any other steamer.

At the last meeting of the Central Labour Union in New York on the 23rd of September, the following resolution was passed:—

"Whereas, a Belgian refugee named Oscar Falleur, President of the Belgian Glassworkers' Union, is being prevented by the authorities of Castle Garden from landing and making this country his permanent home, and whereas this action is the result of a contemptible conspiracy of the Consul representing the American Republic in Belgium with the ruling class of that country against a man whose only crime was that he was a devoted friend of labour and a labouring man himself, the President of the Glassworkers' Union, and a member of the order of the Knights of Labour, who has suffered imprisonment for participating in a strike, and whereas the extradition of Mr. Falleur would be contrary to the traditions of this and every other civilised country, be it Resolved, That the Central Labour Union solemnly protests against this proposed outrage upon our brother Falleur, and we demand that all proceedings interfering with his landing be dropped, so as to prevent the disgrace attempted to be cast on this Republic, which has always recognised the principle of free asylum for refugees from oppression and tyranny."

A copy of this resolution will be sent to the Secretary of the Treasury.

In all probability there will be a renewal of the engineers' strike on the Burlington Railroad system. There surely will be if certain proposed measures looking toward a reduction and re-organisation of the present force of "scabs" are carried into effect. It has been understood that a new schedule has been prepared, to take effect on October 1st. It is generally supposed that a reduction of the engineer force is one feature, and the substitution of firemen for the engineers laid off. The "scabs" are much excited, and declare they will not stand the reduction. The old Brotherhood men are flocking back, and openly say they will pave the road back inside of a month.

Judge White, in Pittsburgh, has laid down the law that an employer always has the right to discharge an employé with or without cause. We knew that long ago.

In the *New York Herald* appeared an advertisement for an assistant book-keeper, to which there came 374 answers. If you want a job—don't come to America!

At the last meeting of the Chicago Trade and Labour Assembly an effort was defeated to pledge that organisation to the Union Labour Party, the almost unanimous feeling being against using the Assembly to endorse any political party.

More than forty of the law-'n'-order lambs who attempted on the 4th of May, 1886, to break up at the Haymarket in Chicago a peaceable meeting, have since been discharged from the force for various crimes, as vagrancy, drunkenness, etc.

In spite of exceedingly bitter experiences made in previous years, the Socialist Labour Party (Social Democrats) have resolved at their meeting last Sunday to go again into politics, and to put up a ticket all to their own cheek. State and municipal tickets will be put into the field. A committee was appointed to arrange for a Convention, at which the nominations will be made, the date of which has not yet been decided upon. The decision was carried by an almost unanimous vote; the party this year will not attach itself to any other party. It must be understood that the Socialist Labour Party is principally composed of German speaking citizens of the United States, and consequently naturally can exercise but very little influence on the American public. The selling out of George, McGlynn, and others, seems not to be sufficient for these people—they want more!

Henry George is at present making stump speeches for the Democrats at 500 dols. a night, and McGlynn, in conjunction with the wire-pullers of the United Labour Party, is drawing boodle from the Republicans. Such are the results of a Parliamentary agitation. Thank you!

A report from Chicago says that Bodendieck was released on the 21st of September. He states that during the whole time of his incarceration—12 days—he was kept a close prisoner in a dark underground cell at the central station, and was unable to communicate with any one. Every means known to the "Sweat-box" high priests was resorted to, to wring from him a "confession," but Bodendieck having nothing to tell remained firm. On releasing him Bonfield told him that no charge was entered against him, and he was not even brought before a justice; he was simply deprived of his liberty at the whim and caprice of our Chicago Vidocq-Bonfield. The latter cautioned him to leave the country, as he was liable to arrest in every city and town in the United States. The whole story of Bodendieck's conspiracy to destroy property was made up to furnish the newspapers with a sensation, and to add glory to Bonfield's record, but principally to prejudice public opinion against the Bohemian Anarchists, whose trial was to take place the Monday following his arrest.

Bodendieck has been known to me as one of the best workers in Chicago—a man never tired to work for the good of the cause. He has done immense service in spreading revolutionary literature, and he is a man not easy to be "sized up" or bullied into cowardly submission by a Bonfield, a vulgar and coarse brute of the lower prize-ring type.

'Trade Unions: Their origin and objects, influence and efficacy, by Wm. Trant, M.A., with an appendix showing the history and aim of the American Federation of Labour, followed by a brief sketch of the growth, benefits, and achievements of the national and international trades unions of America,' is the rather ambitious title of a pamphlet published by the American Federation of Labour, containing on forty-seven pages closely printed a good deal of interesting matter. The five opening chapters of this pamphlet are condensed from the prize essay on Trade Unions written by Wm. Trant, who secured for it the £50 prize offered a few years ago by the Trades Union Congress of Great Britain. Trant deals principally with English unions, and it might be worth while for a member of the League to look up Mr.

Trant's eminently shoddy and extremely silly production and review it. To show you the quality of his essay, I will just quote the concluding passage:

"Jack is as good as his master, and the men know that if employers would only acknowledge this—if they would only meet their workmen as men on an equal footing with themselves, and discuss the wages system with them, as the late Mr. Brassey, Mr. E. Akroyd, Mr. W. E. Forster and others were in the habit of doing—then strikes would be impossible. Trades unionism has a great future before it. Its ultimate result cannot be otherwise than to convince both employer and employé that they are the truest friends each of the other, for each derives his revenue from the other."

Enough. The two appendices written and compiled by P. B. McGuire, secretary of the Federation, are the most instructive and interesting. Here the story is told in cold type—unconsciously of course by McGuire—of the modern Sisyphus, the trades unions on their present basis. How many times have the trade unions been broken up because of incapacity to fight capitalism effectually on their present basis, and yet always having learned nothing and forgotten nothing, they re-formed themselves exactly on the same basis. Here are a few extracts:—

"Early in the year 1866 the trade assemblies in New York City and Baltimore issued a call for a national labour congress, and in accordance with that appeal one hundred delegates, representing sixty open and secret labour organisations of all kinds, and covering an area of territory extending from Portland, Mo., to San Francisco, Cal., met in Baltimore, Md., on August 20. At this meeting the National Labour Union was formed. From 1867-1872 a yearly congress was called to perfect the organisation. In 1872 it was decided by the union to go into politics, and David Davis of Illinois was chosen as candidate for president. . . . This drifting into political action provoked so much dissension that one local organisation after another withdrew its support, and interest was lost in the central body. . . . In the next year, 1873, the great panic swept upon the country and demolished the trades unions. . . . The distress of the winter of 1873-4, and inability of organised labour to stem the reductions of wages that were taking place in every branch of industry, induced a number of leading trades unionists to call another "Industrial Congress" with the intention of forming a federation of the trades and labour unions of the entire country. . . . New organisations were formed, but they did not last more than a year each. . . . A call was published for a convention to be held in Pittsburgh in November 1881, and this gathering proved to be successful. . . . A permanent organisation was effected styling itself "The Federation of Organised Trades and Labour Unions of the United States and Canada." . . . At the second convention of this organisation in November 1882 a manifesto was issued. . . . Conventions were held every year. . . . At the convention held October 7, 1884, in Chicago, steps were taken for a universal agitation in behalf of the eight hour system, and the 1st of May, 1886, was fixed upon as the date for the general inauguration of the plan. . . . At the convention held in Columbus, Ohio, in December 1886 the old Federation of Trades and Labour Unions was dissolved and the American Federation of Labour created. . . . Twenty-five national organisations were blended in it, with an aggregate membership of 316,469 working men. . . . The American Federation of Labour is numerically the strongest labour organisation, possessing to-day an aggregate membership of 618,000."

I may add that in the lock-out and strike of the brewers it has been clearly proved that the Federation has no power, in spite of its numerical strength.

Newark, N.J., September 25, 1888.

HENRY F. CHARLES.

"Mamma," said Albert, "do you believe in the faith cure?" "Yes, dear," said mamma, "and I practice it, too." "Mamma," continued the boy, feeling his damp hair uneasily, "if a boy goes a-swimming and then lies about it, can you cure him of lying by faith?" "No, dear," said mamma sweetly, "that vice is cured by laying on of hands." And in ten minutes thereafter Albert was the best-cured boy on all Long Island.—*Truthseeker*.

A NEW S. A. S. S.—A new strike against sneaking snobbishness was instituted at Mr. Carnegie's lecture in the St. Andrew's Hall, Glasgow. The snobbishness which has hitherto been practised at such large meetings, when the national anthem is played by the organist, was dispensed with. When the city organist played "God save the Queen," the audience neither stood on their feet nor took off their hats; but at the close some of them gave a bad, bold, braid, well-defined hiss! That is a straw on the stream of tendency which shows the direction and force of the current.—G. McL.

IMMIGRATION AND THE KNIGHTS OF LABOUR.—Is it true, Mr. Knight of Labour, that the globe is the symbol of your organization, the people of all countries your brothers, the barriers of bigotry and race broken down? If it is true, what right have you to try to keep for yourself this star-spangled country? What right have you to say, "I am here first. I have got my seat at the table. Let the less fortunate go and eat grass?" Restrict immigration if you want to. Self preservation is the first law of nature, and if you really think you are going to starve if your cousin from Ireland, or Germany, or Italy comes here, why slam the door in his face, but don't be a hypocrite about it and pretend to believe in the "solidarity of the labour of the world."—*Boston Labor Leader*.

WAGES FOR WATCHING THE QUEEN!—The elaborate arrangements made for the protection of Her Majesty when travelling by rail are pretty well known to most people, but it is reserved for a limited circle to know at what cost it is done. The impression, of course, is that the special precautions taken involve the companies in heavy expenditure, but if they were all obtained at as cheap a rate as is the guarding of the railway bridges, level crossings, etc., the expenditure would certainly not be much felt. According to a Great Western correspondent, platelayers required for the latter duties were, on the occasion of the last journey of Her Majesty northwards, paid at the rate of 2½d. per hour, in the Bilstol (W.M.) district, for their services—services which, it should be noted, were rendered during the night after their usual day's work was over. Twopence farthing per hour for guarding the life of the Sovereign is certainly not calculated to make the men concerned very loyal subjects.—*Railway Review*.

RAILWAYMEN'S CONGRESS.—The annual congress of the Amalgamated Society of Railway Servants was opened in the Assembly Rooms, Public Hall, Lime Street, Preston, on Tuesday, 2nd, and continued throughout the week. The subjects for discussion were: Accidents to Railway Servants, the Employers' Liability Bill, the Railway Regulation Bill, the Railway and Canal Traffic Act, especially as regards the clause giving the Board of Trade power "to order railway companies to furnish such statistics as it may require," the inspection of railways, and the desirability of extending the principle "of appointing practical men as inspectors of railways, as has been done in the case of factories, workshops, and mines," returns of over-work on railways, the Engineman's Certificate Bill, the Coroners' Courts, and the right of the relatives of deceased workmen or their representatives to take part in inquiries as to the cause of death or otherwise, continuous brakes, the eight hours' question, and the question of the amalgamation of the English and Scotch societies.

## THE LABOUR STRUGGLE.

BRITAIN.

**WAGES ADVANCED.**—Denny Bros., shipbuilders, Dumbarton, gave notice of an advance of 5 per cent. on all time-worker's wages in the yard to date from September 30th.

**STRIKE SETTLED.**—The Aberdeen ironmoulders have agreed to accept the offer of the masters of an increase of one farthing per hour on present wages. The men asked an advance of 1d. per hour.

At the Westminster County Court on the 2nd inst., a doctor admitted that the competition in his line was so great that "some of the medical men attended patients for 2½d. per week." The "intellectual proletariat" grows apace!

**STIRLINGSHIRE MINERS.**—At usual monthly delegate meeting, on 4th inst., it was unanimously decided to recommend miners throughout the county to renew demand for an increase, and to fall in with policy resolved upon at Manchester Conference.

**STRIKE OF BOILERMAKERS AT KIRKALDY.**—No definite agreement has been come to yet, but the masters will, in the meantime, take on a few of the men at the increased wage. May that not be a scheme to disorganise and defeat the men? The men, like the coal-masters in Lanarkshire, should be united and wait until the rise is general.

**DERBYSHIRE MINERS' WAGES.**—A conference of delegates, representing 16,000 underground workers in Derbyshire mining districts, met at Chesterfield on Saturday 6th, and decided finally to carry out the resolutions of Manchester Conference, and give fourteen days' notice, demanding 10 per cent. advance, notices to terminate in week ending 27th inst.

**DUNDEE MOULDERS' WAGES.**—As already announced, the foundry owners in Dundee resolved to grant the moulders in their employment an increase of 1s. per week in their wages. The men, who asked for an advance of 2s., were dissatisfied with the increase made, and as the result of a meeting with employers on Saturday 6th the latter agreed to the full increase.

**THE SCOTCH STEEL TRADE.**—The steel and malleable iron trades in the West of Scotland are active, and likely to be so for a long while. Orders continue to be placed for shipbuilding material in quantity, and buyers readily give increased prices asked. The men who make the steel get a poor share of the increased prices, but they get all the increased labour.

**ADVANCE IN THE WROUGHT NAIL TRADE.**—The whole of the employers in the wrought nail trade in the Staffordshire and Worcestershire districts have delivered iron to their workpeople at an advance of 10 per cent. There are about 15,000 operatives employed in the trade, amongst whom the decision of the employers to increase the wages has caused general satisfaction.

**WEST CALDER SHALE MINERS.**—As settled on Friday, the men were again idle on Saturday 6th, and a deputation waited on the manager in the morning. No definite arrangement was come to, and at a meeting held afterwards it was resolved to work till Wednesday 10th, and if no settlement regarding "crows" was come to, that the men lift their graith and remain out until an arrangement is made.

**END OF FORTH BRIDGE STRIKE.**—A meeting in connection with the strike was held on Saturday night, when it was agreed that work be resumed on Monday 8th. The contractors agreed to grant the demand for time and half after eight o'clock. One or two of those on strike will not be taken on again, and we think that the conduct of the others in agreeing to this victimising calls for some explanation. What have they to say?

**MIDLAND IRON AND STEEL WAGES BOARD.**—The arbitrator awards that puddlers' wages shall continue at 6s. 9d. per ton until the 20th inst., and from and after that date puddlers' wages shall be 7s. 3d. per ton. The wages of mill and forge men shall be regulated by the same rate and in the same manner as heretofore. That the above award shall be subject to one month's notice, to be given at the end of any week by either side of the board.

**CLOSE OF THE EBBW VALE STRIKE.**—The colliers' strike concluded on the 3rd inst. Mr. Abraham, M.P., and two delegates from the Miners' Federation, waited upon the employers' representatives, and after discussion an understanding was arrived at. The dispute was referred to the arbitration of Mr. Abraham, representing the men, and Mr. Edward Jones, for the employers, their decision to be final. The men have resumed work.

**PUDDLERS' WAGES.**—At the meeting of the Midland Iron and Steel Wages Board it was shown that, taking the fortnight, the utmost that could be earned by a puddler was 24s. 9d. a week—23s. was nearer the mark. At some places the men were allowed to make 27 cwt. per turn, earning for the ten turns £4 7s. 3d. Out of that each had to pay £1 18s. 6d. for his underhand in addition to lighting and fettling, leaving him £2 7s. 9d. for ten turns.

**NORTH WALES MINERS.**—The men at most North Wales collieries have resolved on a 10 per cent. advance. So far as can be ascertained, the only collieries where the men have not yet given in adhesion to this demand are Von Ffrwd and Brynbo Companies' blast-pits. Notices for advance will be served on managers on 13th inst., and expire on 27th. A Welsh paper is responsible for the statement that, should the men at the collieries named above refuse to co-operate with the general body, serious disturbances are likely to ensue.

**GLASGOW QUAY LABOURERS.**—A large meeting of mineral quay labourers was held at Glasgow on the 3rd inst. A statement was laid before the meeting as to their application for power to act as stevedores, which had been before the Licensing Committee of the Clyde Trust on the 2nd inst., by whom it had been postponed. An opinion was strongly expressed by those present that the delay was an injustice to the men. It was pointed out that the labourers had not struck work, but that they were locked out by the stevedores.

**FIFE COLLIERS.**—The monthly meeting of the Fife and Clackmannan Miners' Association, was held at Dunfermline on September 30th. The Board instructed Mr. Weir to attend on the Home Secretary with a deputation from all trades regarding the Employers' Liability Bill when Parliament meets. Mr. Weir is always pretty successful in securing numerous tips at the expense of the miners, which result in very little benefit to them. The Board also decided not to ask for an advance in wages just now. The Fife district of miners is the greatest enemy the Scotch colliers have to contend with at present, and it would be amusing and instructive to all interested in the labour struggle to watch closely the advice and movements of the secretary; how they affect Mr. Weir and the miners respectively.

**THE STRIKE AT FEATHERSTONE—AN OFFER REFUSED.**—A deputation of the miners on strike at the Featherstone Haigh Moor Pit waited upon the managers on Thursday 4th, to try to settle the dispute. The owners offered the men slightly better terms than those contained in the new scale of prices which they endeavoured to enforce. But on consideration at a subsequent miners' meeting, it was resolved not to accept the new terms, as they were a reduction on the old rate of wages. The strikers are being well supported by their comrades elsewhere.

**MIDLAND MINERS.**—A conference of masters and men from the South Staffordshire and East Worcestershire districts was held in Birmingham on 4th. The notice by the men for an advance was considered, and it was suggested that the notice should not take effect until 27th inst., when the notice of the Manchester Conference will come into operation. It was decided to form a wages board, and the following regulations for the future were agreed to: (1) The board to consist of an equal number of masters and men; (2) the minimum shall be 3s. 4d. per day for thick coal, and thin coal wages in proportion; (3) when the average selling price of all coals and slack advances or falls 2d. per ton, thick coal men's wages shall be affected 1d. per day, and thin coal men in proportion; (4) the average selling-price at the colliery to be twelve firms equally chosen by masters and men; (5) that all perquisites to miners be continued as heretofore; (6) that it exist six months certain, and subject to three months' notice.

**COOPERATIVE GERMAN BOTTLE-BLOWERS AT GLASGOW.**—Some German bottle-blowers lately employed at Portobello have started bottle-making in Glasgow on co-operative lines, and have already received large orders from exporters; there is every prospect of the enterprise proving most successful. As the bottle-blowers are nearly if not all Socialists, we especially wish them success, and trust that their undertaking will set an example to other classes of workers in this country. A mean and, let us hope, illegal attempt has been made by their late employer to delay and if possible mar the undertaking at the outset by refusing to pay their last fortnight's wages. On the final Saturday it appears the metal would not work properly, owing to some colouring ingredients which their employer had put in the furnace. After several unsuccessful attempts to use the metal, the men refused to work more; and on the plea that their refusal caused him loss, the employer has kept back their entire fortnight's pay. A test case against the employer has been raised in the Edinburgh Sheriff Court. We will inform our readers of the result.

**YORKSHIRE COAL TRADE.**—During last week a large number of meetings held, at the whole of which in both South and West Yorkshire the men decided for an advance of 10 per cent. One of the largest and most important conferences hitherto held of the Yorkshire trade, on Thursday, 4th, adopted same resolution, and recommended giving notice to terminate at end of month. Delegates representing 40,000 men were present. A ballot showed that 90 per cent. of the men were in favour of striking if advance was refused. The miners' agents are advised that other districts are acting in a similar way, so that by the end of October it is anticipated that 170,000 miners will bring out their tools unless the advance is given. The South Yorkshire Coalowners are very stubborn. They have not only declined to meet the men's representatives, but they are preventing the men holding "pit-gate" meetings on the colliery premises. Mr. Pickard, M.P., speaking at a miners' meeting at Sheffield on Friday 5th, said, with reference to Lord Houghton's suggestion that the claim for an advance should be referred to arbitration, that the time for arbitration was past. Owners had had a fair opportunity to make the men an offer, but they had declined to do so, and they must take the responsibility. The condition of trade justified the advance, and the men would get it by force if in no other way.

**LEEDS WEAVERS' STRIKE.**—Tuesday, 25th, the firm met the employés delegates, who asked for an advance upon the new list of 1d. per "string" on work at 66, 72, and 76 "picks" per minute, and upwards, according to the different sorts of looms. After debate, they accepted one-third of a penny per "string" on all above 86 "picks." In other words, the new list meant an average reduction of about 3s. per week; and the amount yielded by the firm will give back about 6d., and in some cases 1s. Fines are to be stopped and workers dismissed for bad work; a plan which they unanimously prefer, as they have sometimes been fined for faults of the loom. No weaver will be "sacked" for having taken part in the strike. On the other hand, it is rumoured that the obnoxious manager is to leave. The terms are not good for the women; but they have gained something of value by the strike, apart from the small advance. They have learned the need of organization, and they have learned that the organized men of their own district are their sure friends in time of need. The Leeds Trades' Council and the Women's Trade Union Provident League are helping the girls to form a union, which will probably be a branch of the West Riding Power Loom Weavers' Association. Miss Clementina Black, Industrial Hall, Clark's Buildings, Bloomsbury, W.C., will gladly receive subscriptions or other help.

**SCOTCH COAL TRADE.**—Household coal was advanced 1s. per ton on Oct. 2nd in the Glasgow market. A good trade was done in Glasgow last week on the increased prices. The increased rate, so far, has been readily enough conceded by the merchants, who, on their part, have advanced the prices accordingly. Nothing has been conceded to the men who produce the coal. Messrs. Dunlop and Co. told their men they were members of the Lanarkshire Coalminers Union, and consequently could not give the 10 per cent. asked for until a general advance had been conceded, which would not be in any case until November 1st, when they expect another rise in price of coal, owing to expiry of notices at English collieries. A miners' meeting held at Motherwell on the 2nd inst. resolved: "That the miners of Lanarkshire take off the present day half a ton, and boys to get only what they are fit for according to their age." It was further agreed to continue the Saturday holiday. The report submitted by the delegates who waited on the masters showed that the masters refused the advance, notwithstanding that they were getting 1s. more per ton for coal. It was reported on the Glasgow Exchange: "As a rule, stocks at present, with the exception of those at the East of Scotland collieries, are low, and therefore any stoppage in the output would be serious"—to the thieves who pocket something for nothing! If the colliers of England and Scotland would unite in a body, the "iron ring" which binds them to perpetual unrequited toil could easily be broken; but will they?

**CONDITION OF THE LOCK FILERS.**—The "Special Commissioner" of the *Labour Tribune* says: "A gun lock, as everyone knows, is a very delicate and important piece of work. It requires to be finished with the utmost nicety and care, and therefore calls for the exercise of very considerable skill. I was amazed, therefore, to find that the gun-lock filers were so miserably paid. It is necessary for my purpose that I should avoid tech-



nicalities as much as possible, and therefore, without attempting to describe a store lock, it must suffice to say that this particular lock is taken as the standard—that is to say, the price paid for work done on a store lock is the standard price, and the price for work done on all other kinds of locks is fixed accordingly. The present price paid for filing and fitting a store lock is 5d. It has been down as low as 3½d. It used to be 7d., and in times now long gone by it was 1s. and 1s. 1d. It appears that four can be done in a day, and twenty-four is counted a good week's work. That means, of course, that the weeks wages amount to 10s. But the Darlaston gun-lock filer has to pay out of his 10s. as much as 2s.—or an average of 1d. per lock—for shop-rent, pins, firing, oil, tools, and light. So that his net wages are about 8s. per week when he does a full week's work. And out of this, again, he has to pay house-rent, which ranges from 2s. 6d. to 4s. a week. The miracle to me is how these people manage to live at all. The steel re-bounding lock is a superior piece of work, but the amount which can be earned in one week, even upon these, is fearfully small. This lock is used for sporting breech-loaders. The separate parts of the lock, six in number, are supplied to the lock filer. They are made of hard steel. Every part has to be most carefully filed to a particular gauge, and as many as thirteen holes of different sizes have to be drilled. The work upon the spring of the lock is most delicate. A very superior workman working at these locks can earn, in a full week, as much as 15s.; but from this there are reductions similar to those already mentioned in the former case. I was told, on good authority, that the best workman in Darlaston, engaged on the very best work in connection with the gun-lock trade, could not earn more than £1 per week. But, bad as all this is, the condition of things is aggravated by the circumstance that it is exceedingly rare for any man to do a full week's work. It seems to be characteristic of these small shop industries that the men do not work with any regularity. They do the work as it comes in, but, unfortunately, it does not always "come in," and I gathered that a man who got five days' steady work in a week counted himself fortunate."

AMERICA.—September 25.

The delegates of the labour organisations to the convention at Troy, N.Y., passed a resolution for striking out of the conspiracy laws the passage making intimidation a crime, and resolved to endorse only such candidates for political offices who pledge themselves to support this resolution.

There were 178 business failures reported during the last week, against 145, 156, and 148 in the corresponding weeks of 1887, 1886, 1885.

A general strike of New York City furniture workers is talked of in case the employers attempt to enforce the ten-hour rule and to institute "free" shops against union shops.

The western window-glass manufacturers have decided to resume work generally on October 1, instead of October 8 as originally intended. The resumption will give work to about 6,000 men.

A Brooklyn framers' union has compelled an employer to furnish 800 dol. bonds for the prompt payment of union wages to his men.

Fall River weavers will ask for an advance of 1 per cent. on print cloths and 5 per cent. on all other cotton cloth manufactured by them.

The Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers in convention at Atlanta this week formally approved of federation with the brakemen, switchmen, and firemen. It is also stated that the Knights of Labour will amalgamate with these orders.

LIST OF SEPTEMBER STRIKES.

Previously reported	...	...	...	3,154
Scottdale, Pa.—Coke-workers, for advance, Sept. 3; failed Sept. 11	...	...	...	—
Stewart, Pa.—Coke-workers, for advance, Sept. 1; failed Sept. 8	...	...	...	—
Moyer, Pa.—Coke-workers, for advance, Sept. 8; compromised Sept. 11	...	...	...	—
Tacoma, W. T.—Carpenters, for nine-hour day, Sept. 10	...	...	...	250
St. Louis, Mo.—Telegraph-messengers, for unionism, Sept. 10	...	...	...	—
Falls City, Neb.—Lock-out of cigar-makers, unionism, Sept. 6; succeeded Sept. 8	...	...	...	—
Ashland, Wis.—Switchmen, for advance, Sept. 17	...	...	...	—
Fall River, Mass.—Cotton-spinners, against using bad stock, Sept. 18	...	...	...	30
New York City—Newspaper reporters, for payment of wages due, Sept. 17; compromised same day	...	...	...	—
Marlborough, Mass.—Shoe-lastors, against employment of one man, Sept. 17; compromised same day	...	...	...	—
Brooklyn, N. Y.—Labourers, for payment of over-due wages, Sept. 19	...	...	...	60
Philadelphia, Pa.—Cigar-makers, unionism, Sept. 19	...	...	...	140
Brooklyn, N. Y.—Carpenters, in bakery, against non-union men, Sept. 19	...	...	...	—
New York City—Building hands, for over-due wages, Sept. 19; succeeded same day	...	...	...	10
Total number of strikers known to September 19	...	...	...	3,644

H. F. C.

Mr. Shepard, of the pious *Mail and Express*, in a speech before the Chautauqua Assembly, said: "To attempt to abolish poverty is an attempt to discredit our Lord Jesus Christ's declaration and prophecy, 'The poor ye have with you always,' and either one of these attempts is as sensible, and not more so, as to attempt to abolish appetite." The *World* on this remarks: "Mr. Shepard is a son-in-law of the late Wm. H. Vanderbilt. His poverty was miraculously abolished several years ago in the face of Christ's declaration and prophecy, and it is but natural that he should regard the effort of his fellow-beings to benefit themselves as more or less sacrilegious."—*Truth-seeker*.

PATRIOTIC FUSTIAN.—An American who was recently in England was interviewed on his return by a reporter for *Boots and Shoes*, and is reported to have said as to the relative condition of English and American workmen:—

"There is a great gulf between the two. The average English workman earns £1 a week, and probably spends it all. The American labourer earns 48s. or £3 a week, and perhaps spends it all. Both may expend all they receive, with this difference: the American buys luxuries that his English cousin never dreams of. Workmen in England are contented with their lot because they don't know any better. Provisions and other necessities of life are cheaper there than here, because every one is content with a smaller profit, and also for the reason that there are fewer middlemen there than here."

Whereupon the *Shoe and Leather Record* is most patriotically angry, and says:—

"This is the kind of fustian that is written for the purpose of bolstering Protection in America, where 'the pauper labour of Europe' is a phrase which has become enshrined as a truth too holy to be called in question."

What we should like to know is, which has riled the *Record*—the truth told about the English workers—or the lie that Americans are much better off?

INTERNATIONAL NOTES.

ITALY.

VARESE.—The women spinners employed at Masnago near here, together with a few workers in both towns, held a meeting the other day to draft a demand to the director of the spinning-factory and to the Municipality to settle between the masters and workers the question of the length of the working day. Although the meeting was private, the carabinieri penetrated into the place where it was held and arrested one of the men. The women resisted the police and followed them to the police-barracks with loud protests. Their disturbance had the desired effect, as the man was set at liberty. The women then declared themselves on strike, demanding a reduction of the working day to eleven hours and a daily pay of 2 l. 10 c. (1s. 8½d), without counting food and lodging.

BOLOGNA.—The Annual Congress of the Italian Labour Party took place here on the 8th, 9th, and 10th of last month, during which time the usual questions were discussed, with no particularly noteworthy departure. In the discussion of the "Programme of Communal Administration" which the central committee had been charged to draw up by last year's conference at Pavia, there was a distinct gathering into two parties—those who favoured taking part in political agitation and communal administration, and those who feared the influence of any such participation in public life. After a lively discussion between the champions of both sides, the programme was accepted, leaving the methods of carrying it out to the discretion and needs of the moment in the various branches and districts. A representative was elected to attend the coming International Conference of Trades Unions in London; and apropos of this I feel bound to point out, what is perhaps obvious to most of our readers, that the Italian labour party almost exactly parallels our trades unions in sentiment and scope at present, and that while recognising the absolute necessity of some form of union among the Italian workers, it is to be hoped that once arrived at that point of organisation, they will not remain stationary like the trades unions and like them represent a merely commercial organisation of equal importance, according to the point of view of the Socialist economist, to the employers and capitalists as to the employed and wage-workers.

At one sitting of the Bologna conference proceedings began at 7 a.m., after an over-night sitting terminating at 1 a.m. Such alertness and enthusiasm forms a very excellent example to us English keepers of "Social-Democratic time," as it is bitterly called, the two first words being here none too complimentary in their qualification!

THE BUILDING CRISIS IN ROME.—A public meeting was called for the 30th September in the Piazza Dante to discuss the present position of the workers in the building trade. The preparations for the German Emperor's visit to Rome will occupy only a few weeks and then the condition of the workers will be as before, a parlous one. The building crisis affects, of course, not only the masons themselves, but the many other trades dependent thereon—decorators, carpenters, painters, etc.—who are all drawn into the vortex.

PUBLIC MEETING IN ROME.—Talking of this public meeting, the *Messaggero* says with a burst of enthusiasm, "The Government has permitted that this meeting should take place. . . . It is the first time in Italy that a meeting has been allowed in a public square, and such a concession is greatly to the honour and credit of Crispi's upright and loyal policy. We hope that the workers will show themselves worthy of the concession," etc., etc.

AN ENGLISH INNOVATION.—The *Messaggero* is not so well up in current popular affairs in England as so distinguished an organ might be, as the writer goes on to complain gently of Crispi's "innovation à l'Anglaise," saying that if it succeed not, the responsibility will be on the heads of those who convened the meeting, and it will be an experiment never to be repeated. This touching tribute to the "right of free speech" in England is now, unfortunately, a little out of date—say, by a year or two. M. M.

THE SOCIALIST LEAGUE.

OFFICES: 13 FARRINGDON ROAD, E.C.

The Offices of the Socialist League will be open for the sale of *Commonweal* and all other Socialist publications from 8.30 a.m. to 9 p.m. every day except Sunday. The Secretary will be in attendance from 10 a.m. to 9 p.m. daily.

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

A meeting of the metropolitan speakers of the League will be held at 13, Farringdon Road, on Tuesday, Oct. 16, at 8 o'clock, when it is hoped all the speakers will be present.

London Members' Meeting.—The next monthly meeting of members will take place on Monday, Nov. 5, 1888, at 13 Farringdon Road, at 9 o'clock sharp.

"COMMONWEAL" PRINTING FUND.

M. P. H., 2s. 6d.

REPORTS.

LONDON (OPEN-AIR).—*Leman Street*.—Turner and Hicks spoke here Sunday morning. Several new members made. *Hyde Park*.—Large meeting on Sunday afternoon; 4s. 7d. collected. John Williams (S.D.F.), Springfield, Nicoll, and Parker spoke. A procession was formed and marched to Broad Street, Soho, being well taken care of by horse and foot police. Usual singing took place. *Broad Street, Soho*.—A great meeting here on Sunday evening, addressed by Nicoll, Springfield, and Parker. *Clerkwell Green*.—Big meeting on Green Sunday night; Parker, A. Burrows and Pearson (S.D.F.), and M'Cormick spoke, and revolutionary songs were sung.

FULHAM.—Sunday morning, Tarleton spoke to fair audience. In evening, Bullock, Davis, Samuels, and Groser spoke outside rooms. G. B. Shaw afterwards lectured inside to good audience on "Anarchy and the Way Out." Several questions and good discussion.—S. B. G.

WHITECHAPEL AND ST. GEORGE'S-IN-THE-EAST.—The first meeting of this branch was held at Berner Street Club last Friday evening. The branch starts with forty members.—P.

ABERDEEN.—Open-air work much interfered with by stormy weather. Meeting Monday last at Correction Wynd, a station from which Mahon was driven on the night of his arrest. Choir made capital appearance and gathered a crowd, which, in spite of the biting wind, listened attentively to what Leatham said. Fair sale of *Weal*. At indoor meeting same evening, Leatham lectured on "Work v. Waste." Discussion carried on by Barron, Aiken, Semple, and Duncan. Social gathering being arranged to celebrate our anniversary.—J. L.

**EDINBURGH.**—No open-air meetings last two Sundays, owing to inclement weather. Arranging for hall for winter lectures. Next Thursday evening begin study of one Proudhon's works.

**GLASGOW.**—Business meeting on Sunday, at 2.30. At 5, Joe and Tim Burgoyne addressed usual meeting at Paisley Road Toll. At 6, Glasier and Anderson held meeting on Green; afterwards in rooms. Seven of our German comrades, who, with others, are about to start a Co-operative Bottle Works in Glasgow, joined the League. One of our German friends sung the German "Marseillaise" and the "Proletariat."

**NORWICH.**—St. Catherine's Plain and Yarmouth meetings not held, owing to weather. Sunday afternoon, good meeting in Market Place, addressed by Cores; audience adjourned to Gordon Hall, where Cores resumed his address. W. Moore and Mowbray also spoke. In evening, short meeting in Market Place, addressed by Poynts. At Gordon Hall good meeting held; one of the audience took the chair. Proceedings opened with "March of the Workers." Mowbray gave an address; Cores also spoke; meeting closed with "No Master." Fair sale of 'Weal.

**EAST-END PROPAGANDA.**—A crowded audience assembled to hear a discussion on "Our Winter Propaganda." Davis, Leach, McCormack, West, Parker, and others took a part. Practical suggestions made will be found useful in the coming winter. It is intended to hold meetings on Thursday, Friday, Saturday and Sunday evenings in district. Comrades who intend to assist are requested to turn up at the Club, 40, Berner Street, at 8 o'clock on any of these evenings, where we assemble previous to going out to meetings. 5s. was collected for the strike fund.

**SOUTH HACKNEY RADICAL CLUB.**—Parker lectured here on Sunday morning to an appreciative audience on "Why the Social Revolution is Inevitable."

## LECTURE DIARY.

### LONDON.

**Bloomsbury.**—This Branch will shortly be actively working. Socialists resident in this locality should send their names in at once to 13, Farringdon Road.

**Clerkenwell.**—Hall of the Socialist League, 13 Farringdon Road, E.C. Sunday, October 14, at 8.30, Open Discussion on "Are Palliatives Reactionary?"

**Fulham.**—Our rooms, 8 Effie Road, Walham Green, will in future be opened on Thursday evenings at 7 o'clock to all persons interested in social matters.

**Hackney.**—Secretary, E. Lefevre, 28 Percy Terrace, Victoria Road, Hackney Wick.

**Hammersmith.**—Kelmescott House, Upper Mall, W. Sunday Oct. 14, at 8 p.m.

**Hoxton.**—Persons wishing to join this branch are requested to communicate with H. D. Morgan, 22, Nicholas Street Hoxton.

**London Fields.**—All communications, etc., to Mrs. G. G. Schack, 26 Cawley Road, South Hackney.

**Merton.**—Club-house, 3 Clare Villas, Merton Road, Singletree. Lecture on Sunday evenings at 8.30.

**Mile-end and Bethnal Green.**—95 Boston St., Hackney Road. Members and friends of this Branch will meet on Saturday Oct. 13, at 8.30 p.m., to consider the best means of forming a Socialist Club in district.

**North London.**—Secretary, Nelly Parker. Business meetings held on Friday evenings at 6 Windmill St., Tottenham Court Road, after open-air meeting at Ossulton Street.

**Whitechapel and St. Georges in the East.**—Meeting of Members on Friday October 12, at 8 p.m., in Berner Street Club.

### PROVINCES.

**Aberdeen** (Scottish Section).—Douglas M'Intyre, Sec., 17 Queen Street. Branch meets in Oddfellows Hall on Monday nights at 8. Choir practice at 46 Marischal Street on Thursday evenings at 8.

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

**Carnoustie** (Scottish Section: Forfarshire).—Meeting every Tuesday, at 8 p.m., in the Carnoustie Restaurant. Samuel Wilson, Secy.

**Dumdee** (Scot. Sect.).—Meetings every Sunday in the Trades Hall, opposite Tay Bridge Station.

**Edinburgh** (Scottish Land and Labour League).—35 George IV. Bridge. Meetings for Discussion, Thursdays at 8 p.m.

**Galashiels** (Scot Sect.).—J. Walker, 184 Glendinning Terrace, secy.

**Gallatown and Dysart** (Scottish Section: Fife).—Meet every Tuesday at 7 p.m. in Gallatown Public School. Secretary, A. Paterson, 152 Rosslyn St.

**Glasgow.**—34 John Street. Reading-room (Draughts, Chess, etc.) open 10 a.m. till 10 p.m. daily. Weekly meeting of members on Thursday evenings at 8. French Class meets every Sunday at 11. Important business meeting on Sunday at 1.30.

**Kilmarnock.**—Secretary, H. M'Gill, 22 Gilmour St.

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

**Leicester.**—Hosiery Union Offices, 11a Millstone Lane. Fridays at 8 p.m.

**Norwich.**—Sunday, Gordon Hall at 8.15. Monday, at 8, meeting in Gordon Hall. Tuesday, at 8.30, Members' Meeting. Wednesday, at 8, Educational Class—subject, "Moral Basis of Socialism." Thursday, at 8, Meeting in Gordon Hall. Saturday, 8 until 10.30, Co-operative Clothing Association.

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

**Walsall.**—Lecture Room, back of Temperance Hall. Mondays at 8 p.m.  
**West Calder** (Scottish Section).—Sec., Robert Lindsay, West Calder.

All persons who sympathise with the views of the Socialist League are earnestly invited to communicate with the above addresses, and if possible help us in preparing for the birth of a true society, based on equality, brotherhood, and freedom for all.

## OPEN-AIR PROPAGANDA.

### SUNDAY 14.

11.30...Latimer Road Station ...Hammersmith Branch  
11.30...Mitcham Fair Green .....The Branch  
11.30...Regent's Park .....Nicoll & Davis  
11.30...Walham Green, opp. Station.....The Branch  
11.30...Weltje Rd., Ravenscourt Pk .....Hammersmith  
3.30...Hyde Park .....Morris  
6.30...Weltje Road, opposite Ravenscourt Park  
.....Hammersmith Branch

7.30...Broad Street, Soho .....Cantwell  
7.30...Clerkenwell Green .....Blundell  
7.30...Mitcham Fair Green .....The Branch

### Monday.

8 ...Wimbledon Broadway.....The Branch

### Tuesday.

8.30...Fulham—back of Walham Green Ch. ...Branch

### Friday.

7.30...Euston Rd.—Ossulton Street .....Nicoll

### EAST END.

#### SUNDAY 14.

Mile-end Waste ... 11 ...Whitechapel Bh.  
Leman Street, Shadwell 11 ...Mrs. Schack.  
Victoria Park ... 3.15...Schack, M'nwaring  
London Fields ... 8 ...M'nwaring, Schack

### TUESDAY.

Mile-end Waste ... 8.30...Whitechapel Bh.

### WEDNESDAY.

Broadway, London Fields 8.30...Mainwaring.

### FRIDAY.

Philpot St., Commercial Rd. 8.30...Whitechapel Bh.

### SATURDAY.

Mile-end Waste ... 6 ...Whitechapel Bh.

### PROVINCES.

**Aberdeen.**—Saturday: Castle Street, at 7 p.m.  
**Glasgow.**—Sunday: Jail's Square at 2 o'clock; Paisley Road at 5 o'clock.

**Ipswich.**—  
Sproughton, Wednesday evening.  
Westerfield, Thursday evening.  
Needham Market, Sunday morning and evening.

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

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

**Norwich.**—Sunday: Market Place, at 3 and 7.30.  
North Walsham, Sunday.  
Yarmouth, Sunday at 3.  
St Catherine's Plain, Friday at 8.15 p.m.

**HAMMERSMITH RADICAL CLUB,** Grove Hoase, Broadway.—Mr. R. P. Cottam (U.C.), "The County Council and Local Taxation." Sunday Oct. 14, 8 p.m.

**STREATHAM LIBERAL CLUB,** Broadway, Streatham.—Mr. F. Verinder (E.L.R.L.), "The Land Question for Townsfolk." Tuesday Oct. 16, 8 p.m.

**GREENWICH REFORM CLUB,** 10 Nelson Street, Greenwich.—Rev. S. D. Headlam (G.S.M.), "Christian Socialism." Thursday Oct. 18.

**FREEDOM DISCUSSION GROUP.**—At Farringdon Hall, 13 Farringdon Road, on Friday October 12th, a Free Discussion will be opened by Dr. Merlino, on "The Organisation of Labour," at 8.30 prompt.

**THE SOCIALIST CO-OPERATIVE FEDERATION.**—The Committee will meet at the Labour Union Printery, 158 Pentonville Road, N., on Saturday October 13, at 8 p.m. Subscriptions received and members enrolled at 9 p.m.

**INTERNATIONAL WORKING MEN'S EDUCATIONAL CLUB,** 40 Berner Street, Commercial Road.—Grand Concert and Ball, Sunday next, October 14, at 8 p.m. (sharp). Proceeds will be devoted to Chicago Commemoration Fund. A first-class company will be present. Admission 3d. This is the first of a series of four concerts to be given by the East-end Propaganda Committee.

**FABIAN SOCIETY.**—The Fabian Society is giving a course of lectures on "Socialism: its Basis and Prospects." The first part of the course is devoted to "The Basis of Socialism." Of this, two have already been given—Sept. 21, (1) "The Historical Aspect," Sidney Webb; Oct. 5, (2) "The Economic Aspect," G. Bernard Shaw. Those that are to follow are: Oct. 19, (3) "The Moral Aspect," Sydney Olivier; Nov. 2, (4) "The Industrial Aspect," William Clarke. The second part of the course will deal with "The Organisation of Society": Nov. 16, (1) "Property under Socialism," Graham Wallas; Dec. 7, (2) "Industry under Socialism," Annie Besant; Dec. 21, (3) "The Outlook," Hubert Bland.—The meetings will be held at Willis's Rooms, King Street, St. James's Square, S.W. The chair will be taken by the Rev. Stewart D. Headlam, B.A., at 8 p.m. precisely. Tickets for the course may be obtained from the Hon. Sec., Sydney Olivier, 189 Portedown Rd. W.

## THE HISTORICAL DEVELOPMENT OF THE LABOUR MOVEMENT IN THE UNITED STATES;

WITH REMINISCENCES OF

**Albert R. Parsons,**

AND HIS CONNECTION THEREWITH, COVERING A PERIOD OF TWENTY YEARS.

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## AN APPEAL

TO FRIENDS AND THOSE INTERESTED.

The importance of the work I am undertaking will be readily appreciated by all who love justice and humanity. Future generations will prize every detail in the history of these fast-moving years. The movement towards a higher civilisation needs a correct presentation of facts; and the veil of prejudice, which an unrelenting ruling class has woven about the events of the past two years, must be torn aside before it shades into tradition. Much of the matter presented is of the deepest interest, and can be obtained from no other source.

In order to bring out this work as it should be done, heavy expenses will be entailed, and it is unnecessary to mention that my means are limited. I, therefore, ask all who feel interested in seeing this work carried out, to send in subscriptions, or parts of subscriptions, or contributions from the financially able and willing. It is impossible at this date to give the exact size and price of the book, but subscribers may be sure that besides getting the full worth of their money in interesting information and good reading, they will be aiding a good cause, and assisting in the support of two children made orphans by the State. I have chosen this work rather than to take up any of the ordinary occupations open to women, because I believe I can best finish the labour my beloved husband laid down, and at the same time care for the innocent children he left helpless.

The price of the book will probably be about 1 dol. 50 c. Parties sending in clubs of five or over will obtain wholesale rates. It will be out at the latest by December 1, 1888, if friends will contribute promptly. Without your generous aid it may be impossible for me to accomplish this great task I have undertaken.

With fraternal greetings, yours,

MRS. A. R. PARSONS.

785 MILWAUKEE AVE., CHICAGO, ILL., U.S.A.

Price 1d.; Post-free, 1½d.

## THE RIGHTS OF LABOUR ACCORDING TO JOHN RUSKIN.

Arranged by THOMAS BARCLAY.

Second Edition.

"Your pamphlet is the best abstract of all the most important pieces of my teachings that has yet been done; and I am entirely grateful to you for doing it, and glad to have your letter."—Extract from letter received from Mr. Ruskin.

Commonweal Office, 13 Farringdon Rd., London, E.C.

## THE AUSTRALIAN RADICAL

Advocate of Liberty, Equality, and Fraternity

New Lambton Road, Hamilton, Australia.

This journal is the organ of the Australian Socialist League. Copies may be had at the office of the *Commonweal*, 13 Farringdon Road, E.C. 1½d. per copy, 1s. 6d. per quarter, post free.

## THE MINER.

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EDITED BY J. KEIR HARDIE,

Monthly, 1d. Subscription, 1s. 6d. per annum.

Miner Office, Cumnock, Ayrshire.

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# THE COMMONWEAL

## The Official Journal of the SOCIALIST LEAGUE.

VOL. 4.—No. 145.

SATURDAY, OCTOBER 20, 1888.

WEEKLY; ONE PENNY.

### CHICAGO MARTYRS & BLOODY SUNDAY.

“Our silence will be more powerful than our speech.”

Mrs. PARSONS has accepted the invitation of the Commemoration Committee to speak at the various meetings to be held in London and the provinces next November. Arrangements have already been made to hold meetings on

Sunday, November 11, at 11.30 a.m., in  
REGENT'S PARK.

Sunday, November 11, at 3.30 p.m., in  
HYDE PARK.

Monday, November 12, at 7.30 p.m., in  
STORE STREET HALL.

Sunday, November 18, at 3 p.m., in  
VICTORIA PARK.

Speakers, resolutions, and further announcements will be made next week. Meantime, funds are urgently needed, and should be sent to J. Lane, Treasurer, at the office of the Socialist League, 13, Farringdon Road, E.C. Any information can be had by communicating with Secretary of the Commemoration Committee.

W. B. PARKER, *Secretary.*

### NOTES ON NEWS.

THE *Pall Mall* during the past week has been adding one more item to the list of those things that go far toward almost earning it forgiveness for its mischievous Czar-worship. It has been, with great industry and a few diagrams, knocking to pieces the militarised police despotism under which we live, and showing how little *real* “protection to property” it ensures. Except for the great ones of the earth, there is very little “protection” going on; small folk might as well—or indeed very much better—be relying wholly on themselves. Now that the shopkeepers, the vestrymen, and men with votes are being made “practically” to feel this, there will be a change made. But will it be a change so *very* much for the better all round?

I think not. The words “popular control” are alluring; but I doubt that the ideal is a utopian one while the present system lasts. The “respectable classes,” that is, the Haves and the Hangers-on, will rule still; they will appoint the County Council and that will appoint the Chief Commissioner, or whatever he may be called. Then the shops will be better looked after—but free speech? Then popular safety may be greater—but popular liberty? We may, and probably shall, be a little better off; but so long as class society endures, and its pillar monopoly, the dominant class by the necessity of its position will be compelled to have police, and to use them against the lower class; no control, “democratic” or otherwise, can help that.

“Sir” Peter Edlin is a well-known incarnation of bourgeois justice. A little while ago he inflicted some of his notorious sentences on some poor beggars. Last week he had two hotel thieves before him, and sentenced one of them six times over to five years’ penal servitude! As the *Star* said: “We have no desire to take up the cause of hotel thieves. They are a great nuisance within their sphere, no doubt, though the sphere is rather limited, and their victims generally people who have plenty to lose. But it is impossible to help contrasting

these sentences for offences against property with the usual scale at the Middlesex Sessions and elsewhere for offences against the person.”

We may add, especially if it is a working-class person!

Almost on the same day, that other illustrious Nupkins, Mr. Saunders of the Thames Police Court, gave an example *per contra* which may serve to cite. A painter in full work, and earning fair wages as wages go, but who spent them in drink, was charged, with his wife, with endangering the life of their child, aged two and a half years. The child was found alone, with only its shirt on, in a room full of indescribable filth, the stench of which was unbearable. A doctor was fetched; the child found to be almost dying, and taken to the infirmary; after five days careful treatment, though its life was out of danger and it was much improved, it was still very weak and “hardly able even to cry!” The neighbours had used to throw in food through the window, or the boy would have been dead long ago.

But it was only the worthless life of a working-class baby that was endangered; and though everything was worked up to the hilt, Mr. Saunders pooh-poohed the case and declined to convict.

As at home, so abroad. In comparison with the “prestige of the empire, etc., what are a few “damned niggers”? A Reuter’s telegram from Simla the other day stated that General M’Queen had informed the Hassanzais and the Akanzais that unless they accepted his terms by the 15th inst. he would begin a systematic destruction of their crops, which are uncut. How the frontier folk must love the “great white mother” and the religion of her children! S.

Our high opinion of the intelligence of the police increases day by day. Could we have a more charming proof of their possession of this inestimable quality than the disclosures vouchsafed at the inquest on Catharine Eddowes? We hear there that when the murderer was good enough to leave an absolute clue to his identity by writing on a wall an inscription ascribing the murder to the Jews, that the metropolitan police, at the instance of “a high official,” ordered the inscription to be rubbed out, despite the protests of the members of the City force, who not being on their own ground were forced to submit.

Who was the “high official”? universal history will exclaim. The *Pall Mall Gazette* says it was Sir Charles Warren. The good gentleman was known to be upon the ground at the time. It is also known that he labours under a morbid dread of riots, and beholds in any chance crowd collected by accident or curiosity in a public thoroughfare the nucleus of the dreaded mob. Besides, who but a very high official would have dared to order the destruction of such a very excellent clue? Everything points to Sir Charles, and Sir Charles does not deny the soft impeachment.

It may be admitted, of course, that it may be some smaller luminary which gathers its light from the glorious sun in Scotland Yard. But if this is so we should like to know the name of the perpetrator of the latest stroke of genius. Will not some lover of his kind announce it to expectant humanity?

It is said by some cynics that the perpetrator of these awful crimes is a member of the metropolitan police, and that is why his comrades and his chief are doing their utmost to cover up his tracks.

Meanwhile, we would advise Sir Charles to denude Whitechapel of its police. There would be some chance of catching the murderer then.

We are often told by smug middle-class gentlemen that under their beneficent sway crime decreases, and with the spread of the commercial system will gradually disappear. They are always ready to support their assertion with the latest official statistics, which, as is customary with most things official, invariably contradict the every-day experience of the ordinary citizen.



In the old days there was a clear line drawn between the honest middle-class merchant and the ordinary swindler. Nowadays it is very hard to make the distinction; they are so much alike that we cannot tell the one from the other. Commercialism is so thoroughly incultured with roguery, that the scoundrel, so long as he is well dressed, can pursue his operations within the pale of society without the slightest risk of a scratch from the talons of the law.

But now we are, it seems, threatened with an epidemic of crime from outside respectable circles. Thanks to Sir Charles Warren the petty thief can pursue his occupation—with the same ease as his more respectable brother—in the quiet suburban streets of the town.

Most of our readers, we suppose, have read the doleful reports recently published in the *Pall Mall Gazette*, which tell us that in such thoroughfares as Gray's Inn, Hackney, and Southwark Park Roads, there is hardly a shopkeeper who hasn't lost something during the last two years, the period of Sir Charles Warren's time of office.

We must also remember that this has been a time of sharp distress, and that it is quite evident from the unconsidered trifles that are stolen that the thefts in many cases are not the handiwork of professional thieves, but are the deeds of starving men. As long as Society can offer no relief to the poor man but the workhouse, who can be surprised if he prefers to relieve himself?

With a gloomy winter before us it would be well for the middle classes to consider these things. As the workhouse returns show, there are more people in London driven to desperation through want than at any time during the last thirty years. We are threatened, thanks to beneficent operations of corn monopolists and baker rings, with a rise in the price of bread, and this while thousands of people are starving through lack of employment.

What will be the result? Sir Charles Warren may stop unemployed meetings in Hyde Park and Trafalgar Square, but that will not prevent the sack of baker's shops should the famished multitude make up its mind to starve no longer while bread can be had. This is the situation which the rich have to consider. D. N.

## LABOUR'S TRIANGULAR PROBLEM; OR, MEN VERSUS MACHINES.

(Continued from p. 314.)

THE contention of the orthodox economist and business man and inventor has always been that, although there might be some amount of—well! “inconvenience” (starvation sounds too ugly,) caused to those unfortunates thrown out by each new invention, yet the great amount of good resulting to the whole community was quite enough to warrant new inventions, and such encouragement as could be given by the protection of Patent Copyright Acts. It is urged by the inventor, but more especially by the capitalist, who almost invariably gobbles up the inventor, that the increased output and the great reductions in price resulting, more than compensates for the few extra “out-of-works.” The glad-to-be-satisfied consciences of the bourgeoisie, who are the chief consumers of the results of improved methods in machine manufactures, accept the statement and no more is said.

Macfie's book is an attack on Patents and Copyrights, and contains a mass of matter of use to Socialists directly on those questions, and incidentally some very useful information on proving that almost every invention has conducted more to the direct profit of the monopolist, to the direct suffering of the workers, and only in the very slightest has benefited the consumer, the supposed to be much studied consumer.

One or two very short examples can be given to prove how exceedingly small has been the benefit received by the general body as compared with the immense and immediate profit which has resulted to the monopolists, and then I will conclude with a short summing-up of the case against monopolist control of machine power.

W. S. Hale, a maker of stearine and composite candles, in evidence before the Lords, 1851, said “that he was able to reduce the price of two wick candles three halfpence per pound immediately on the expiration of Palmer's patent.” Palmer by his patent, therefore, extorted three halfpence per pound more than was required by a manufacturer not holding a monopoly. Three halfpence extra profit on every pound of candles used forty years ago represented a very large sum of money.

Of necessity, in dealing with the question of Machinery, one has to come in contact with the question of Patents; it is an essential part of the monopoly which lends to the constant debasement of the labourer.

In Sir Henry Bessemer's evidence before the House of Commons Committee, 1871, we have a series of statements which show the enormous profits made by these monopolists. “£4,000 was the cost prior to my bringing the invention before the public, and about £16,000 after my paper was read at Cheltenham, making altogether an outlay of about £20,000.” In three weeks he had sold licenses amounting to £26,000; two iron-masters paying £10,000 each. “Of course, I had a larger stake to play for; I knew that steel was selling at £50, or £60, or £70 per ton, and I knew that if it could be made by my plan, it could with profit be sold at £20 a ton.”

The men who gave these premiums of £10,000 each, made no attempt to utilise the power they had, and five or six years later Bessemer bought back these privileges, giving in one case £20,000 for what he had sold for £10,000. It paid Bessemer to do this, as he then “swept the market clear of all these privileges,” and was able by his further patents to dictate fresh terms—this time a royalty of £1 or £2 per ton on every ton of steel made.

In another manufacture an article was being supplied from Germany and sold at 7s. per ounce, the raw material of which was only worth 11d. per pound. He applied himself to the matter, and was able to make a similar article at a cost of 4s. per pound. He sent out a traveller, and the first order he took was at the rate of 80s. per pound net. For twenty-eight years this trade has been carried on (he is speaking in 1871, and it is still going on), and we are charging the trade 300 per cent. profit, . . . in the first instance it was more than 1,000 per cent. profit.<sup>1</sup>

That this great profit has been made mainly by dispensing with manual labour, is proved indirectly in his statement, that three out of his five assistants having died, “the secret was in the possession of only two besides himself,” and it is known that the amount of the trade done was considerable.

At p. 401 he says, dealing with the royalty on iron and steel, “The manufacturers are getting £3 a ton more for railway bars under a 2s. 6d. royalty, than they sold them for under a £1 royalty two years ago.” How much profit do you suppose the seller of that 100,000 tons which you have referred to would have on that transaction?—“I should say that a judicious manufacturer there would have a profit of £2 a ton.” Then your royalty was equal to one-half of the manufacturer's profits?—“We took one-third of the spoil in that case, but that was on the lowest article in the trade, namely, railway bars; on some other articles where we were charging £2 a ton, the manufacturers were getting £25 a ton profit.”

Without any further quotation, it must be allowed as proved that the general public has not benefitted in any way proportionate to the above, while in every instance the amount of labour displaced has been immense. This displacement is constantly going on, and with constantly increasing rapidity, and the time is not far distant when absolute starvation of thousands will force the consideration of two questions—a revival of the old-time machine-smashing mania, or a direct control of all machinery by the whole working body of the people. Sheer self-defence will in the near future force a settlement of this detail; and, although they do not seem to know it, the ordinary newspapers have lately much exercised on a matter which is proof of this statement. “On the threshold of Socialism” was the title of an article in the *Pall Mall Gazette* a few days ago (Sept. 13), dealing with the rapid growth of the American trust system, which has grown to such an extent as to demand the attention of the president of the United States. The particular trade dealt with was the manufacture of jute bagging (used for cotton packing). The total output is about forty-five million yards. Eight firms, manufacturing two-thirds of the total output, join in a trust, and by one man placed in New York, can practically control the whole trade; for their body, having power to force prices up in its own interest from 7½ cents to 11 cents for its own goods, enables the third who stand out from the ring to get some increase in price simply by the dearth made by the trust holding its goods in. In the *Commonweal* of September 15, H. F. Charles in the American Letter gave some interesting and useful details as to the Standard Oil Trust, probably the most gigantic monopoly ever formed. Soap, and corn, and beef, and even coffins, have, with other commodities, been subjects of “trusts” in America, and now our turn has come. At the present time the “Great Salt Syndicate” is an important newspaper “item,” but the idea has been working for some time. Amalgamation of dock companies, of canal companies, of railway companies, has been a growing topic in City circles. The dock amalgamation is a fact; the amalgamation of five London railways into two is almost sure very soon. When dock has joined dock, the next and easy step is canal to dock, and then railway to that.

Says the *Pall Mall Gazette* article: “In the end the fighting trusts are apt to amalgamate, and then the monopoly becomes complete. Underselling is not the only weapon by which a trust can kill out competition. Boycotting is freely resorted to. One trust allies itself with another trust for offensive and defensive purposes. In short, the work of centralisation is going on at railroad speed.”

THOS. SHORE, jun.

(To be concluded.)

The following notice appeared in a shop window of a tailor in Hull: “Wanted, two apprentices, who will be treated as one of the family.”

Cunninghame Grahame denies emphatically that he is about to resign his seat for North West Lanarkshire in order to seek a quieter constituency.

RETRIBUTION.—St. Peter (to applicant): “You say you were an editorial writer on a daily newspaper?” “Yes, sir.” “Step into the elevator, please.” (Steps in)—“How soon does it go up?” “It doesn't go up, it goes down.”—*Labour Tribune*.

METROPOLITAN PAUPERISM.—The weekly return of metropolitan pauperism shows that the total number of paupers relieved in the fifth week of the past month was 92,528, of whom 55,953 were indoor and 36,575 outdoor paupers. The total number relieved shows an increase of 1,593 over the corresponding week of last year, 4,924 over 1886, and 6,409 over 1885. The total number of vagrants relieved on the last day of the week was 1,117, of whom 883 were men, 203 women, and 31 children under sixteen.

<sup>1</sup> Macfie, p. 394-97.

## INTERNATIONAL NOTES.

## FRANCE.

The extra-Radical government of France is very near to its death, and nobody will mourn the fall of Floquet and Co. That Radical humbug will have shown, even to the blindest, what Radicalism means, in office as well as out of office. His last move has been that infamous decree against the foreigners who reside in France and contribute, at least a considerable portion, to the production of her wealth. It has been said that Floquet has acted under the direct inspiration of the Russian despot, who wants to know the names and addresses of the Nihilists; if that be so, he is even more stupid than one would have thought. Our French comrades, all over the country, are preparing to break through all obstacles by means of a revolution; they know that the Boulangist movement is only a mere interlude that will soon be played out, and then their turn will arrive, and we earnestly hope that this time the tables will be turned once for all. It is the duty of all Socialists to closely watch the French revolutionary movement, in expectation of the eventful times that are coming nigh, in order that they may be of some help to those who have hitherto been the heroic forerunners of the cause of justice and liberty in the world. If solidarity and internationalism are not mere words in the wind, if we are as it were permeated by the very meaning and profound sense of these expressions of the revolutionary language, we ought to entertain close and warm feelings just now towards our friends over the channel, because from France again will in the nearest future come a new revolutionary impetus that shall give rise to a general social outbreak all over Europe. It may very well so happen that, with the celebration of 1789, the triumph of bourgeoisdom and commercialism, revolution shall ring the knell both of commercialism and bourgeoisdom!

Revolutionary France has again lost two of its most energetic defenders: Jules-Léon Fontaine and Emile Gois. Citizen Fontaine, fellow of the Polytechnical School and professor of mathematics at the Lycées Saint-Louis and Condorcet, had reached the age of seventy-six years. He refused to enter the service of the State, remaining free professor of science and devoting all his leisure hours to the study of social questions. After the revolution of 1848 he likewise declined to accept the cross of the Legion of Honour, which was spontaneously offered him by the Republican government. During the fatal years of the Third Empire he gathered secretly around him some revolutionary friends with whom afterwards he tried to organise a Socialist movement in various quarters of Paris. Implicated in the trial of Blois (conspiracy against Napoleon), he was sentenced to fifteen years' imprisonment, but the revolution of the 4th September released him from captivity. The Commune of Paris made him director of national property, and in that capacity he seized all the goods belonging to the infamous Thiers. For this he was sentenced to twenty years' hard labour in the galleys of the isle of Nou, where he remained until the general amnesty of 1880.

Citizen Emile Gois, of the Blanquist group, died at the age of fifty-nine years, having been born in 1829. He was one of those who boldly took up arms against the *coup d'état* of Napoleon, and after the victory of that imperial scoundrel, was transported to Lambessa in Africa, where he remained until the amnesty of 1859. He then came back to Paris and organised, with a handful of friends, those secret groups that followed the inspiration of Blanqui. In 1870 he was prosecuted for the famous plot of Blois, but escaped imprisonment by flying to Belgium, where he lived until the disaster of Sedan. During the siege of Paris, he took service in the ranks of the National Guard, at the same time contributing to Blanqui's paper, *La Patrie en Danger*. He also was at the affair of the 21st October, and took part in the battle of the 22nd January. After the proclamation of the Commune, he became a colonel attached to the staff of General Eudes and was president of the court martial which dealt most energetically with the enemies of the revolution. He happily escaped to London, after having fought to the last moment on the barricades. The general amnesty of 1880 enabled him to return to Paris, where again he was a most brilliant contributor to Blanqui's *Ni Dieu ni Maître*. He also aided in the formation of the central revolutionary committee. His last years were sadly troubled by constant and painful illness, the fatal consequence of a life of hard and vigorous struggle.

## GERMANY.

Whilst William II. is travelling in Austria and in Italy under pretext of settling peace-alliances, but in reality for the sake of preparing war, his employés at home continue their reactionary work. The state of siege has been prolonged for the towns and districts of Hamburg, Hanau, Stettin, Francfort, etc. Numerous arrests have been made at Augsburg, at Munich, and in the district of Elberfeld. Judgment has been given on Friday at Hamburg in the Socialist trial. For belonging to a secret association—i.e., to the Social Democratic party, which is not at all a secret society—comrade Bapst was sentenced to three months imprisonment, comrades Wuerfel, Fricke, Rohde, and Noak to two months. Six others were acquitted, the court holding that they had suffered sufficient punishment by their detention in gaol pending examination. How magnanimous this sounds in despotic Germany! In Freyburg several Socialists coming from Switzerland have been arrested, but before the gentlemen of the police were at hand more than 2000 copies of the *Freiheit* had been distributed.

The Socialist fraction of the Reichstag have again lost one of their members. Julius Kracker was born Jun 26, 1839, and died at Breslau, a few days after his release from prison, on the 2nd of this month. He has been active in the Socialist workers' party for more than twenty years. He attended the popular school of his native town until his fourteenth year, when he commenced his travelling tour, as a saddle-maker, all over Germany, Austria, Hungary, and Russia. Before the proclamation of the muzzle-laws, he was contributor to the *Wahrheit* (Truth) and sub-editor of the *Breslauer Tagblatt* (Breslau Daily Gazette), and afterwards editor of the *Schlesischer Courier* (Courier of Silesia). He was also a partner in the publishing firm, Kühnert and Co. at Breslau. 1867 he entered the Workersverein of Breslau, and 1868 became a member of the Social-Democratic party. He sat in the German Reichstag from the year 1881 up to the date of his death. He is the author of a book on the causes of the misery in Upper Silesia. His career has been full of sadness; son of very poor parents, he has always had to struggle against poverty and misery. Besides, he has been among those who have steadily been prosecuted by the German police, his last condemnation being one for secret conspiracy. At his funeral the police prohibited any procession to be formed, and no farewell speech was allowed to be pronounced on his grave. The Silesian workers have lost by his death one of their best and truest friends.

## BELGIUM.

The outlook is again very dark in the industrial centres of Belgium, and it is seriously apprehended that a general strike might burst out at a

moment's notice in the Borinage district. In the basin of the Sambre, exceptional measures are taken by the local "authorities" against any possible uprising of the workers. In the centre district prevails an agitation which seems very intense, although not as yet widely spread. The workers are in a state of excitement which grows from day to day; all their peaceful manifestations, their gatherings, their petitions, their strikes even, have proved to be of no avail and completely useless, and they seem rather inclined to take up another course which could perhaps do away altogether with their masters, industrial and political. Besides, they are now well aware that the partial revival that has been manifesting itself in their industry, has only proved beneficial to the mine-owners and not in the least to themselves. They have to live with their wives and families on an average salary of £30 a year. Again, the Government and several mine-owners seem to provoke the workers to commence action at any cost. Numerous arrests have been made at Couillet; Falleur has been exiled; comrade Chauviere, municipal councillor of Paris, has been expelled from Belgium whilst peaceably lecturing for the workers; and the masters refuse to give any work to those who have been engaged as leaders in previous strikes. All these vexations and prosecutions have created in the mining districts an intense feeling of discontent, which is likely to lead to what the toilers call the general "black" strike. It is also rumoured that the exploiters of labour have agreed to at once stop work in the mines and in the factories whenever a *partial* strike should occur, and it may well be certified that if they stick to such an agreement, ere long we shall have another insurrection there, much more violent than that which was the consequence of the "hunger strike" of 1886.

## HOLLAND.

The Parliamentary reports of the Parliamentary Commission, appointed last year by the Dutch Chamber to inquire into the condition of the labouring classes in Holland, has now been published, and contain some interesting facts which condemn, here as elsewhere, the bourgeois system of commercialism. Holland is essentially a country of small industries, and having no coal or raw materials of its own, the manufacturers are able to meet foreign competition only by utilising badly paid labour to the utmost. The smaller master bakers of Amsterdam, for instance, in order to compete with the machine-made bread of wealthier bakers, work sixteen hours a-day all the week, except on Fridays and Saturdays, when they work for twenty-six hours without intermission. The 5,000 tailors of the same city try to compete with the large firm of Van der Waal, which employs machinery worked by women and girls, by working with their wives and children till midnight, and sometimes twenty-four and even forty-eight hours on end. Day-and-night work prevails in Dutch bakeries, steam-mills, breweries, vinegar factories, sugar refineries, and the gas, glass, paper, and many other industries. The work is done in shifts or relays, so that the man who works during the day one week works during the night the following week, and if men are ill or away others who have already worked must take their places, so that extremely long hours—eighteen, twenty-four, and thirty-six hours are mentioned—are common. The average day in the great majority of the factories is thirteen to fourteen hours. In one province in which complete statistics were obtained, it was found that 39 per cent. of the total number of workpeople was composed of women and children, and the number everywhere is constantly increasing. The effect of women and child labour on the rising generation is exhibited in various ways. Infant mortality in all Holland increased 19 per cent. between 1880 and 1885, while in Maas-tricht the increase was 21, Eindhoven 30, and Gouda 33 per cent. The recommendations made by the Commissioners to the Government are of the same palliative kind as happens in all countries on such like occasions: Efficient factory inspection, enforcing the law against child labour, prohibition of night and Sunday labour for women and children, and provision for securing adequate rest for them, and prohibition of female labour for a month after confinement. But it cannot be too often repeated that all these palliative measures will prove to be of no avail for the working-classes; there is only one remedy, and that is the abolition of wage-slavery and competition altogether—and that means no more nor less than the Social Revolution.

## HUNGARY.

The first report of the Hungarian factory inspectors has been issued. Among the workpeople in the chief centres of manufacture there are 38 females to every 100 males; and of the total number there are 97 under 16 years of age for 1,000 above it. In Budapest 40 per cent. of the women are engaged in tobacco manufacture, and 15 per cent. each in printing and textile manufacturing. In the districts of Fiume and Klausenburg there are 2,395 women in tobacco factories and only 120 men; in the bent-wood furniture factories also the women predominate. In Hungary the average effective working-day is ten to eleven and a-half hours, but in the paper and some other factories it lasts eighteen, and in glass-making fourteen to nineteen hours, while in mills relays work twenty-four hours at a stretch; also in iron foundries, while Sunday labour is rare, except where the work must be carried on continuously. In Upper Hungary the wages vary between 10d. and 1s. 5d.; in Budapest and other places from 1s. 5d. to 2s. a day for ordinary workmen, while locksmiths, smiths, tanners, and some other trades are paid a little more. V. D.

## ITALY.

BOLOGNA, Oct. 1.—Yesterday and to-day the Congress of the Italian Co-operators was held in this town, with the assistance of the Government, the municipal authorities, several M.P.'s and senators, and Messrs. Holyoake and Vansittart Neale, who, as guests, took part in the discussion. The annual report shows that there are at present in Italy 176 manufacturing productive societies (63 in the building trade), 229 dairies, 31 agrarian societies, 43 bakeries, and 405 co-operative stores. The next Congress will be held at Turin in 1890. There was nothing noteworthy in the debates except, perhaps, the evident fear of these gentlemen lest Signor Crispi should keep his word and do something towards the solution of the social question. One of the speakers protested, amid the applause of the audience, against what he called "precipitate measures." No fear! The Government is not so suicidally minded as to propose anything really effective. For the sake of the king, a weak-kneed but honest fellow, who has pledged his word, there will be some attempt at ostensibly social legislation in the forthcoming Parliamentary Session. But, besides the starting of some public works, designed of course with an eye towards the enrichment of their promoters, nothing of any salutary consequences need be expected.

VICENZA, Oct. 6.—The journeymen bakers of this town struck work for an increase of wages, and opened four productive shops in the central localities as a means of pressure against their masters, who gave in and accepted the terms of the men. H. SCH.



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

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

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

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**Subscriptions.—For Europe and United States, including postage, per year, 6s. six months, 3s.; three months, 1s. 6d.**

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

**J. O. H.**—Of course your opponent was talking nonsense. Socialists have always been and are on the side of education. The first infant school established in London was the one in Vincent Square, Westminster, which was managed by a Mr. Buchanan on the model of that at New Lanark, where he had been trained.

**MUSIC-BOOK.**—Will the comrade who borrowed a manuscript book of revolutionary songs and airs from May Morris, and whose address she does not know, kindly return it to her at this office.

*Periodicals received during the week ending Wednesday October 17.*

ENGLAND		BELGIUM	
Freedom	Volkszeitung	Ghent—Vooruit	
Justice	Jewish Volkszeitung	Liege—L'Avenir	
Labour Tribune	Alarm	Antwerp—De Werker	
London—Frete Presse	Workmen's Advocate		ITALY
Norwich—Daylight	Boston—Woman's Journal	Turin—Nuovo Gazzetta Operaia	
North British Daily Mail	Liberty	Turin—Il Riscatto	
Our Corner	Chicago—Knights of Labor	Turin—Il Muratore	
Radical Leader	Vorbote	Florence—La Question Sociale	
Sozial Demokrat	Baecker Zeitung		SPAIN
Telegraph Service Gazette	Detroit—Der Arme Teufel	Madrid—El Socialista	
To-Day	Port Worth (Tex)—South West	Seville—La Solidaridad	
Worker's Friend	Milwaukee—National Reformer	Barcelona—El Productor	
	Paterson (N J) Labor Standard		GERMANY
NEW SOUTH WALES	St. Louis (Mo.)—Die Parole	Berlin—Volks Tribune	
Hamilton—Radical			AUSTRIA
	FRANCE	Brunn—Arbeiterstimme	
VICTORIA	Paris—Cri du Peuple (daily)	Wien—Gleichheit	
Melbourne—Our Good Words	Le Parti Ouvrier (daily)		ROUMANIA
	La Revolte	Jassy—Municipal	
INDIA	Le Coup de Feu		SWEDEN
Bankipore—Behar Herald	La Revue Socialiste	Stockholm, Social-Demokraten	
Madras—People's Friend	Sedan—La Revolution		WEST INDIES
	Little—Le Cri du Travailleur	Cuba—El Productor	
UNITED STATES	Nimes—L'Emancipation		
New York—Der Sozialist			
Friedheit	HOLLAND		
Truthseeker	Hague—Recht voor Allen		

## HIGH TREASON AND LOW TREASON.

THE Grand Old Man, speaking in Wales a few days ago, tried to explain something which he had said or had not said about the political prisoners of Bomba and of Balfour. He might, without exciting wonder, have forgotten how many persons he had seen thirty or forty years ago in the prisons of the first tyrant and the different chains and dungeons allotted to the various grades of prisoners. He, it appears, saw one man in Bomba's prisons accommodated with a convenient private room, in which he could write and read and amuse himself. This one had not as yet been convicted, and was therefore better off than innocent people in England with ragged coats who happen to fall under the suspicion of the police. So far, however, as I could see amid the cloud of words in which the Grand Old Man hid his meaning, he did not express any sympathy for those who had been convicted of high treason. His speech quite bristled in one part with allusions to this awful crime; it was one to be carefully distinguished from low treason. Apparently he would have been ready to act as gaoler in defence of the great fetish of law and order and of its priest King Bomba. The scene was changed shortly afterwards by Garibaldi's high treason, which, being successful, became sanctified; and Bomba's side became the traitors.

When the forsworn President of the Republic crushed the liberties of France in 1851, and transported hundreds of his political opponents to Cayenne and other unhealthy places, our commercial society looked calmly on. As soon as the Brummagem Emperor was dressed out in military guise and big boots, they fell down and kissed the feet of the murderer. They followed his lead to the Crimea, French, English, and Italians, and poured out the blood of the people like water in support of the orderly government of the "unspeakable Turk." The last touch of respectability was put upon him in 1855, when he was enthusiastically received in England. Then (if the accounts of the time are to be trusted) this felon associate of kings and emperors received from royal lips the salute which usually passes between these high and mighty personages. He became, indeed, so powerful a defender of law and order, that in 1858 the commercial person, Palmerston, proposed to assist him in his uneasy task of sitting on the throne, by halting back to his legal mercies anyone suspected of high treason who had avoided his myrmidons by getting over to this side of the

Channel. In 1859 he gratified his own and alarmed the predatory classes of England by the strictly legal and proper conveyance of Nice and Savoy from Italy to France.

Rulers such as these are scarcely men, though they are called divine, and the crime of wishing to get rid of them or of their paltry imitators Salisbury and Balfour must in like manner be called by a high-sounding title. It has been said that at one time anyone proposing to alter a bit of the law came into the assembly with a rope round his neck. It has certainly been universally acted on, in the case of those who wish to alter the whole of the law, to draw the rope tight, very tight, even before they could reach the assembly. Whether more or less than this severity should be allotted to the mysterious crime of treason-felony, invented by the English Government, or to that low form of treason against society which attempts to correct its inequalities by the transfer of a watch or purse from one man's pocket to another's,—all these questions might be referred to reason, if only law and force would hold quiet for a time. But when King Richard III. caught someone, his formula was, "Off with his head; so much for Buckingham"—a plain, straightforward way of checking argument, and of preventing that person from interfering with his, the said Richard's, privileges. Similarly now-a-days Joseph, or the ruling party to which he is an understrapper, having turned William off his throne, calls out, "He's off his head; so much for poor old William"; and tries to keep him in a political lunatic asylum (speech at Bradford, Sept. 19). The lunatic, he says, thinks that the tyranny of having treason in Ireland tried by two magistrates instead of a jury is as bad as the tyranny of King Bomba. I confess I do not see the difference; and if Joseph says he can, well, I should be inclined to send him to bear company with William.

Let us, however, examine what Joseph calls his reasons. Among other things, he expresses his delight at the release of Mr. Dillon, who, he says, is quite honest and yet has done more mischief and has brought more misery upon the people of Ireland than if he had been the greatest criminal. I should have thought that it was very criminal to bring misery on the people of any country; but who the great criminals are, in Joseph's mind, may perhaps be gathered from a letter of Lieut.-Col. A. E. Turner in the *Daily News* of September 12. The colonel says that "the parish priests of Ireland, who help to coerce the tenants, by means of the Plan of Campaign, to lodge their rents with them, thus become very little, if at all, better than receivers of stolen goods." Joseph's mind must surely be wandering. In the same breath he urges that "while the law stands as it is, it must be enforced," and expresses his joy that a man, worse than a systematic breaker of the law, should be let out of gaol to bring yet more mischief and misery on the world. In another place Joseph says that two magistrates are better than a jury in Ireland because the tyranny of the National League would prevent a jury from giving a verdict in accordance with its oath. Poor fellow, poor fellow, take him away: he is quite crazy, and cannot see that if, as he says, the League is king *de facto*, it has the same right to influence the minds of its subjects as every government has had to warp the judgment of its officials, from long before Chief Justice Scroggs down to the present tribe of big and little Nupkinses. For as Thomas More says in his 'Utopia,' "Princes are more generally set on acquiring new kingdoms, right or wrong, than on governing well those they possess"; and again, "Fair pretences will never be wanting, when sentence is to be given in the prince's favour. It will either be said that equity lies of his side, or some words in the law will be found sounding that way, or some forced sense will be put on them; and when all other things fail, the king's undoubted prerogative will be pretended, as that which is above all law; and to which a religious judge ought to have a special regard."

The jumble of arguments brought forward by Liberals and Radicals against the "herding of political prisoners with felons," are an expression of the prejudices of the richer classes. There is a bit, however, in Victor Hugo's 'History of a Crime'—the crime of 1851—which shows that this herding together has its good side. He is describing how he and other deputies, on the mere suspicion that they might be high traitors, were thrust into the prison of Mazas, and treated there like ordinary criminals. An excellent piece of education for deputies, says he; they thus get some knowledge of what they condemn low traitors to. The fact is that criminals of all kinds are political; they all desire to upset the present distribution of property. But those who are commonly meant by the name are such as can give reasons for their ideas; and the power of reasoning has always been dreaded by the privileged classes, and has hitherto led to the stake, the block, and the gallows. In the break-up of all the old beliefs, the governing classes are too cowardly to carry out their expressed opinions to their logical conclusion; they dare not propose to hang the man of whom they say "that he has done more mischief and has brought more misery upon the people, than if he had been the greatest of criminals." This is mere froth, suited to those who expect to have to grasp by the hand men who now or a short time since, "were marching through murder and rapine to the disruption of the empire."

There was a certain trumpeter, who being taken prisoner in a battle, begged hard for quarter, declaring his innocence, and protesting that he neither had nor could kill any man, bearing no arms but only his trumpet, which he was obliged to sound at the word of command. "For that reason," replied his enemies, "we are determined not to spare you; for though you yourself never fight, yet with that wicked instrument of yours you blow up animosity between other people, and so become the occasion of much bloodshed." The moral of this fable is, that there is a little incendiary called the tongue, which is more venomous than a poisoned arrow, and more killing than a two-edged



sword. If then in any civil commotion the persons taken in arms against the government deserve to die, much more do they whose tongues give birth to the sedition and direct the tumult. People like Bomba were logical, and did their best to keep the trumpeters under lock and key; and in doing this, treated them as badly as those guilty of low treason. Our modern enlightened person halts between two opinions; being unable to make up his mind he acts from his prejudices. His political prisoner is as a rule of the same class as himself, but is in his view a renegade. So he puts him in prison for being a renegade, but wishes to treat him as a first-class prisoner, not to be mixed up with lowly traitors.

Our Home Rule friends—I call them friends, for I count Home Rule as the first step towards Socialism—should have gloried not only in blowing the blast of sedition, but in suffering for it, just like ordinary people taken in arms. It is but little like equality to grumble at having to perform—each one for himself, be it noted—*menial offices*. I can imagine the kindly Irish saying, "I would do anything in the world for one of these; I would work my fingers to the bone." That is right, to serve one who serves all. But it smacks of serfdom, not of equality, to have some told off to *menial services*, and this because of poverty and not from any natural turn. So long as there is this feeling that *menial duties* are fit only to the poor, it means that there is to be a privileged class living on the workers. Our Irish friends have got to read and mark that other little fable about the ass, the wise animal, which said, "I will not stir an inch; what is it to me who my master is, since I shall but carry my panniers as usual?"

C. J. F.

### THE AUSTRALIAN MINERS' MANIFESTO.

MANIFESTO of the Amalgamated Miners' Association of the Newcastle District of New South Wales.—To our Fellow-workmen of Australasia and the General Public. Fellow-workmen and Citizens,—The miners of the Hunter River district, Newcastle, New South Wales, deeply regret that they have to appeal to you for your moral and pecuniary aid in a most unequal struggle. For years past the miners have upheld isolated strikes, and submitted patiently when locked out in a similar way. This has been an enormous strain on the resources of the organisation, and an unbearable tax upon its members. It was foreseen that such a state of things must, sooner or later, culminate in a general strike such as has now taken place, unless averted by an agreement between the colliery proprietors and the miners for the settlement of disputes. After the miners of three collieries in the district had been locked out or on strike for some months, an attempt was made to obtain a general agreement of this kind. For this purpose a conference of the representatives of the proprietors and the workmen was agreed to and held on the 21st of July last, at which the miners submitted a draft of the proposed agreement. After considerable discussion, the miners were asked by the chairman of the associated proprietors if they would meet the proprietors again at three o'clock in the afternoon of that day, a proposal to which the miners at once assented, but it would appear that this proposal had been made inadvertently by the chairman, because some of the proprietors dissented from it. After consultation among themselves, the proprietors could only agree to place their agreement in the hands of the miners within a fortnight, and possibly meet them again in conference within a month. From that date no promise was made to meet the miners again to discuss and mutually draw up an agreement on any fixed date. This was pronounced against by the miners' representatives, but the conference was allowed to terminate without any understanding being come to as to when it would reassemble. This unwillingness to fix a date for discussing the proposals of their side for an agreement was regarded by the miners as an attempt to indefinitely defer a settlement of the disputes so long pending and arising out of the grievances which had become intolerable. These grievances are too numerous to admit of recapitulation here; but the chief among them is the attempt on the proprietors to compel the men to work and throw back rubbish from among the coal for nothing; or, in other words, to do additional work without increase of pay. In several of the collieries bands of stone run through the coal seams, which have to be extricated and separated from the coal by the mixer. For several years this work was paid for on the lines laid down in a mutual agreement which the masters themselves absurdly terminated, and refused to come to any fresh agreement, leaving the miners to obtain payment for this extra work as best they could. Arbitration has been refused by the masters, a general agreement indefinitely deferred, and repeated endeavours were made to force the workmen to agree to a reduction of from 6d. to 9d. per ton, which means, taking the average production per man per day at two tons, a reduction in the miners' daily earnings of from 1s. to 1s. 6d. per man. In addition to this, miners who have been locked out of the South Waratah mine, and who sought and obtained work elsewhere, have been prevented from getting work, or dismissed, at four different collieries, and boycotted and victimised in the most heartless and unceremonious manner. These reductions and this arbitrary and inhuman treatment have been protested against over and over again. Repeated attempts have been made to obtain redress by negotiations, but all have failed, and the miners have been forced to the conclusion that such proceedings could only be prevented by a strike or by submitting to a lock-out. Those amassing wealth and drawing unprecedented dividends from the results of the miners' labour evidently desire and intend to make further inroads on the earnings of the worker toiling for his daily pittance, and to extort from labour its legitimate reward. We wish it to be clearly understood that in this case we are not the aggressors. We are simply defending one of the highest principles for which workmen can contend—a principle worthy of the unlimited support of ourselves and the general body of the workers, and which is summed up in the words 'the unequal distribution of wealth.' There will be nearly six thousand workmen involved in this struggle, and we appeal to your sense of justice to do all in your power to aid the workers now defending their rights and yours—the inalienable rights of labour. Having taken up a position forced upon us in the general interest of a humane cause, let it be your earnest endeavour to prevent us failing in so noble an undertaking. Failure on our part means the further oppression of labour, while successful negotiation for an agreement will mean the establishment of peace and prosperity in one of the first industries in Australia.—JAMES CURLEY, Miners' General Secretary, Committee Rooms, Tattersall's Hotel, Newcastle, August 29th, 1888.

### LETTER FROM AMERICA.

THE President has signed the Chinese Exclusion Bill this morning, because, to use his own words, "the experiment of blending the social habits and mutual race idiosyncracies of the Chinese labouring classes with those of the great body of the people of the United States has been proved by the experience of twenty years, and ever since the Burlingame treaty of 1868, to be in every sense unwise, impolitic, and injurious to both nations." No John Chinaman will hereafter be permitted to land in the United States. California is rejoicing over the passage of the Bill.

From January 1st to October 1st, 1888, 323,014 emigrants arrived in New York City, against 300,703 from January 1st to October 1st 1887, or an increase for the first nine months of the year of 22,311 emigrants.

The Switchmen's Association met in convention on the 26th September in St. Louis, Mo. After the routine work, choosing of officers, had been transacted, a plan was proposed and unanimously adopted for the federation of the brotherhoods of the locomotive engineers, the firemen, the switchmen, and the breakmen. It was also agreed to take Knights of Labour in, but as railway employes only, and the order of railway telegraphers will be admitted on the same terms. It seems, therefore, that Powderly's big scheme has succeeded, and there is now an opening for him to materialise new boodles.

J. A. Bauereisen, one of the striking engineers of the "Q" system, and one of the indicted in the alleged dynamite conspiracy, has sent out a circular, of which the most important points are: A great many may think the strike on the "Q" is getting to be an old story, but such is not the case. The strike is just as good as it ever was, and the men are just as determined and solid, and the company is losing money as fast, if not faster, than when the strike began. Wrecks are numerous. Only a few days ago they had a great one on the Kansas City branch, and on the 6th September they had one on the east end so bad that a track was built around it, and all the trains were delayed five hours, but not a word was published in the Chicago daily papers. . . . We must not think of ever giving up the fight, for it is not far before winter will be upon us, and then they will have to come to it or have their road sink into the hands of a receiver, and he will have to settle with the strikers if he wishes to run the road; for as it is now the best of weather and the scabs having wrecks and break-downs, how will it be in the winter and in foggy weather, which is soon to come? . . . We hope that all brothers will see the necessity of being prompt in their assessments, for strikers cannot live without money. . . . The circular says, further, the order of railway conductors should be taken into the federation of railway employes "if it will kick out its scabs and their sympathisers," and proposes that a committee from each organisation form a "grand administrative board," with power to act and control all the systems.

The case of our comrade Oscar Falleur has not been settled yet. He ought to have been sent back last Saturday, but as Secretary of the Treasury Fairchild has not decided the case as yet a further continuance has been granted to Falleur. Organised Labour is doing very little for him.

Capt. W. P. Black and lawyer Salomon are trying to get Schwab and Fielden liberated. They are diligently studying the record of the trial, and maintain that it contains a good many irregularities. These lawyer tricks will do no good.

The Socialist Labour Party of New York have now resolved to go red-hot into politics. A meeting of the combined sections of New York and Morrisiana was held last Sunday. The first business transacted was the consideration of a motion of the German Federation of Trades, "That all members turn out in a parade on November 10th to commemorate the hanging of our Chicago martyrs." A long debate followed, and it was finally resolved to hold a mass meeting in place of the parade. The City Committee reported that a number of persons had been appointed to look after politics in the various districts, and recommended that a ticket be nominated. The Committee further recommended that no ballots be peddled at the polls, but that they be carried from house to house. The report was adopted. A motion that an electoral, State, city, and county ticket, be put in the field, was adopted. The City Committee was given power to make the necessary nominations. A Committee was also appointed to collect monies to defray expenses.

The Sugar Trust and the National Grocers' Association (the Wholesale Grocers) have combined. The grocers are now dictating prices to the public and to independent manufacturers.

The Bay State Sugar Refinery in Boston, acting under orders from the Sugar Trust headquarters in New York, closed down last Saturday night for good, thus throwing out of employment 300 men. This action was a complete surprise to the men employed. Employment for the class of men used to sugar refining is very hard to find at this time of the year. The Trust has been gradually closing down refineries for a few months past, the object being to curtail the production and stiffen up the prices of sugar. So 300 families are made absolutely helpless and penniless simply because a gang of legalised thieves so will it. But, of course, we revolutionists are unable to comprehend the beauties of this best of all possible worlds; we lack the necessary intelligence which distinguishes our capitalistic friends.

Most of the Indian tribes have obtained land grants in years gone by, which are reserved for their use. They hold this land in common. This has always been a point of annoyance to our Washington authorities. They wanted the land, and they also did not like to tolerate "Communism" in their own country; so they resolved to cheat the Indian again. A Commission was appointed to go to the Sioux-Indians to induce them to sell their land. But the Indians, unlike labour organisations, have learned from the past. They told the Commissioners, who, if they resemble their pictures in the illustrated papers, are about the meanest and most thievish-looking persons in the world, that the white men have cheated them and lied to them so many times that they did not desire to have any more dealings with the "big father" in Washington. Corruption was tried next, and although a few chiefs listened more to the arguments of firewater and dollars than to the voice of their own conviction, no definite arrangement could be brought about. The purpose of the Government is either to buy the Indians out, knowing the money would be spent pretty soon, or to parcel out the land now held by the red men in common, assuming that a good many individual Indians would be willing to sell their "property." The Commission has returned to Washington, having effected, fortunately, nothing as yet.

Newark, N.J., October 3, 1888.

HENRY F. CHARLES.

THE ALMIGHTY DOLLAR.—Money has become the executioner of all things. Finance is the alembic in which a frightful quantity of goods and provisions are made to evaporate into useless luxury. Money, in the hands of a few, declares war against all the rest of mankind.—Boisguillebert.

## THE LABOUR STRUGGLE.

BRITAIN.

A floor-cloth ring has been formed at Kirkaldy.

The granite polishers of Aberdeen and district have agreed to form a trades' union.

**TAILORS' STRIKE.**—The strike of the tailors in the employment of Dunfermline Co-operative Store, which has lasted three weeks, is now ended, the principle for which the workers contended having been conceded.

**RIVETTERS' STRIKE.**—The rivetters of Caird and Co., Greenock, struck work on the 12th, on the ground that detention money fixed by firm is too high. They also ask a slight advance on the hundred rivets for ballast tanks of the P. and O. steamers.

**KIRKALDY BOILERMAKERS.**—The Kirkaldy boilermakers connected with the association have again resumed work, the masters having yielded the additional halfpenny per hour which was demanded. The non-society men are to come out on strike unless they receive the same advance as the society men.

**RAILWAY SERVANTS' CONGRESS.**—The railwaymen in their congress have been showing in many ways their way-back position. Their attitude on strikes, co-operation, and other points discussed was much behind that of most trades. One joke which turned up through this was that some of the members wanted to censure the General Secretary because he had gone on a deputation with Peters and Kelly, "who were Socialists"!

**PREPARING FOR A TWELVE HOURS BILL.**—The Government is going to introduce a Twelve Hours Bill for railway servants. The Board of Trade has demanded a return of men who, in two months last year and two months in the present year, have been kept at work for more than twelve hours. This, however, seems a long way off the eight hours which are now being so largely demanded by even trades' unions as the normal working day.

**CLEVELAND MINERS' AND BLAST-FURNACEMEN'S WAGES.**—The accountant's certificate for the quarter ending 30th September, relating to the wages of the Cleveland miners and blast-furnacemen has been issued at Middlesbrough. It shows that the price of No. 3 Cleveland pig-iron was 32s. 3.73d. per ton. This gives the blast-furnacemen an advance of  $\frac{1}{4}$  per cent., and the miners 1.50d. per ton. It is expected that the next quarter's certificate will give a more definite advance.

**BAD FOR BAKERS.**—It is said that Mr. George Stewart, F.C.S., chemist to J. and B. Stevenson, bakers, of Glasgow and London, has been successful in discovering a method of baking by electricity. The bread is said to be quite as well baked as by the present methods, and more quickly; and there will be a large saving in wages. But, if our present social system is to continue, where will the bakers be thrown out of employment by these "improvements" and money to buy the bread?

**NAILMAKERS.**—The masters in Rowley, Old Hill, and Hales Owen districts paid the advance in accordance with Birmingham agreement on Saturday, 13th. The executive committee of Nailmakers' Association have arranged for a fund to protect list prices. At present each man will pay twopence per fortnight, and each woman one penny. The funds will be used to support operatives who may strike in consequence of deviations from list. The committee have decided to take prompt measures in case any employer refuses to adhere to list arranged at Birmingham conference.

**SHALE MINERS.**—The following was unanimously resolved at a representative meeting of Mid and West Lothian Miners' Union, held at Broxburn on 11th: "That, looking at the various disputes that are continually arising in all trades throughout the country, and the success which attends the cause of labour when it is thoroughly organised, we would strongly advise the shale miners to use their best efforts to perfect their union." The dispute at West Calder in connection with the tare and "crowing" of the hutchies has been settled by the manager conceding the demands of the men.

**IRONSTONE MINERS' WAGES.**—At Guisborough, the claim of the owners of the Slapeworth Mines for a reduction of 1d. per ton in the rate paid for winning ironstone has been before Mr. J. C. P. Anson, who has given his decision that the increased output and the corresponding increase in the earnings of the men are attributable to the experience which the men have gained in the use of the machines at work in the mine, rather than to the improvements which have been made in the appliances since the signing of the sliding scale. He therefore decides that the masters are not entitled to the reduction claimed by them.

**THE IMPENDING GREAT COAL STRIKE.**—Since the "scare" about the great coal strike began, all back-bone has lost its power in the "bulls" of Glasgow Stock Exchange. Fear has affected the spine of the "bulls." This was specially noted on Friday, the 12th inst., in connection with the market for Scotch railways. Selling orders came from London of both Caledonian and North British stock accompanied by the "alarmist" intimation that a strike had taken place in the iron trade in Lanarkshire. Now the extent of the "alarm," the "wisdom" and the "honesty" of the "bulls" and "bears" may be gathered from the fact that notwithstanding they had the "truth" of these reports within their own doors, "great damage was done" in the interval of the hearing of the workmen of Lanark being on strike and the regaining of the "bulls' senses. The coal-owners' organ of opinion, in referring to the "alarm" on the Glasgow Exchange on Friday, says: "Possibly capital will be made out of the wages movement in the coal trade, but we are assured by those best able to form an opinion that there is no likelihood of a strike in Scotland." The Scotch coal-masters base their confidence on the fact that "the Fife men are not prepared to strike." They, like the "bulls," have apparently lost all back-bone, and while other districts throughout Scotland were regulating supplies in order to fight this battle, the Fife men have given so large stocks that the masters are prepared for a strike; in fact, for the masters in Fife "there is meat on that bone." The result of the action taken by the men of Fife and Lanarkshire respectively is that while the Fife masters will not recognise the improvement in trade as warranting an addition to the wages of the men, the Lanarkshire masters recognise that the improvement "has taken place," and they are prepared to give the men a rise. The masters are readily getting an advance of 1s. 3d. per ton on late prices, and they expect to satisfy the men and avoid a strike by ignoring all former advances in prices, and offering a rise in wages regulated by a sliding scale, which has been characterised by the men at their last meeting at Hamilton as "nefarious." The English miners need not fear that their comrades in Lanarkshire will embarrass their struggles as the Fife men did in the late Lanark strike.—G. McL.

**NUT AND BOLT MAKERS.**—On Friday, 12th, a meeting of nut and bolt makers was held at Darlaston to consider advisability of asking for return of 5 per cent. taken of list of prices of 1885. Mr. Juggins, who presided, said there was already a disposition on the part of some employers to fulfil promise made in 1885, when wages were reduced—viz., to give back same when trade sufficiently improved. Trade was considerably better, and the promise should be fulfilled. Operatives in other trades had already obtained an increase, and it was very desirable that nut and bolt makers should make a similar application. A resolution was passed expressing opinion that the employers should return the 5 per cent. Mr. Juggins was instructed to formally demand that advance.

**ENGINEERS' STRIKE.**—A strike among employes of various engineering works in the Potteries began Monday 15th, about a thousand men being affected. As announced at the time, members of the Engineers' Society gave employers notice a fortnight ago for an advance equal to 2s. per week, on the ground that recent improvements in trade entitle them to return of a reduction to which they submitted some two years since. The masters, however, stated that state of trade in district did not justify demand, and refused to grant concession asked for; at same time, they asked that notices might be withheld for a month, to enable them to enquire as to correctness or otherwise of men's statements that the advance was being conceded in other centres. The men refused further delay, and gave formal notices for termination of contracts. These notices expired on Saturday, and Monday the men did not resume work. On Tuesday the bosses caved in and all was over. It is said that at one works where wages were not interfered with at time of general reduction, two years ago, no advance was asked for.

**THE COAL CRISIS.**—The miners of Lancashire, Derbyshire, Leicestershire, Nottinghamshire, Warwickshire, Cheshire, Shropshire, Staffordshire, and Scotland have pledged themselves to the resolution of the Manchester Conference to get 10 per cent. or strike. Ten per cent. on their wages is a very small part of the increased value of their labour. Thousands of notices have already been handed in, and should the masters persist in resisting the demand, it is expected that over two hundred thousand men will leave off work. The struggle promises to be the biggest ever known in the coal trade. The officials of the Yorkshire Miners' Association report that the strike movement has been determinedly entered upon by the men throughout the whole of Yorkshire. A largely attended meeting of Welsh miners was held at Chein Mawr, Ruabon, on the 11th inst., when it was resolved to unite with the Lancashire miners in giving notices for the advance. The commercial editor of the *Glasgow Herald* says: "The threatened great coal strike in Yorkshire is creating considerable interest in the coal circles here, for in the present position of the trade it is felt that so large a withdrawal of fuel from the market as is meant by the suspension of the labour of 180,000 men cannot fail to have important consequences. Mr. Pickard calculates on the active support of 60,000 men on this side the border. It is not at all improbable that a little patience will ensure for the Scotch miners a moderate advance in wages." We are responsible for the italics in the last sentence, because it deserves to be read, marked, and inwardly digested by the miners. Translated into plain language, it means that if the miners of Scotland help the masters to crush the miners of England, they themselves may get some small share of the spoil, but need not expect a share in proportion to the increased value of their output. Scotch miners are not likely to join the enemy and go against their class. They fully realise what such a policy means. The action of the Fife miners and their secretary during the late struggle in Scotland was that of the "patience" recommended in the above, and it did not improve their lot. It on the other hand disorganised the miners throughout Scotland and strengthened the position of the masters. As the *Labour Tribune* well says: "If a strike is to take place, the best way to make it successful is to be thoroughly determined on the matter. Wavering means certain defeat and failure. So far, the men manifest a greater determination than on any previous occasion."

AMERICA.—October 3.

The Illinois Central railroad switchmen in Chicago have struck for higher wages.

For the last ten days negotiations have been in progress between two committees from the North Chicago Railway Employes Association and Mr. Yerkes, the owner of all Chicago street car lines. These negotiations have resulted in nothing, and a strike is expected.

There were 150 failures in the United States reported during the past week, against 166, 205, 140, and 201 in the corresponding weeks of 1887, 1886, 1885, and 1884 respectively.

A Philadelphia street-car employes organisation has brought suit against the superintendents of several lines for violation of an Act of the Legislature making the working of street-car employes longer than twelve hours daily a misdemeanor.

The National Department of Labour is at present engaged in investigating the wages and condition of persons employed on railroads throughout the country.

### LIST OF SEPTEMBER STRIKES.

Previously reported	3,644
New York City—Building hands, unionism, September 19; succeeded Sept. 20	—
Brooklyn, N. Y.—Painters, for recognition of union, Sept. 19	—
New York City—Silk weavers, against reduction, Sept. 19	30
New York City—Furniture workers, against reduction, Sept. 19	—
New York City—Carpenters, against reduction, Sept. 19	—
New York City—Ornamental iron-workers, unionism, Sept. 21	—
New York City—Confectioners, Sept. 15	—
Long Branch, N. J.—Tailors, against reduction, Sept. 21	—
New York City—Piano makers, against reduction, Sept. 20	—
Edwardsville, Pa.—Coal miners, for advance, Sept. 21	500
Brooklyn, N. Y.—Coal-cart drivers, unionism, Sept. 23	—
Hartford, Conn.—Repair shop hands, against overtime, Sept. 22	200
New York City—Bakers, against discharge of one man, Sept. 22	—
New York City—Painters, non-payment of wages, Sept. 24	—
New York City—Clothing cutters, for recognition of union, Sept. 24	—
Indianapolis, Ind.—Natural gas-fitters, for advance, Sept. 18	—
Chicago, Ill.—Railroad hands, for advance, Sept. 19	—
St. Louis, Mo.—Railroad hands, refusal to handle Burlington engines, September 17	—
New York City—Piano makers, for non-payment of wages, Sept. 27	—
Brooklyn, N. Y.—Coachmen, for recognition of union, Sept. 27	—

Total number of strikers for September

4,374

H. F. C.

REVOLUTIONARY CALENDAR.

WEEK ENDING OCTOBER 27, 1888.

21	Sun.	1841. Distress in manufacturing districts.
22	Mon.	1685. Edict of Nantes revoked. 1817. Trial of Isaac Ludlam for high treason.
23	Tues.	1797. Trial of James Dunn for "conspiring to murder." 1817. Trial of Geo. Weightman for high treason. 1848. Meagher and McManns sentenced. 1851. Kossuth arrives in England. 1881. Socialists and Irish protest in Hyde Park against imprisonment of Parnell, Dillon, etc.
24	Wed.	1669. W. Prynne died. 1793. Meeting of the London Corresponding Society at Breillatt's, Hackney Road. 1849. Declaration at Montreal in favour of union with United States.
25	Thur.	1797. Trial of Patrick Carty for "conspiring to murder." 1845. Monster Repeal Demonstration at Cashel. 1878. Attempt upon the King of Spain.
26	Fri.	1795. Meeting of London Corresponding Society in Copenhagen Fields. 1831. "Riots" at Frankfurt." 1848. G. B. Mullins transported.
27	Sat.	1553. Servetus burnt by Calvin. 1843. Trial of "Rebecca" rioters at Cardiff.

*Distress in Manufacturing Districts.*—This year the people were in a fearful condition. At a meeting held in Leeds on October 23 it was shown that in 4,752 families there, containing 19,936 persons, there were 16,156 unemployed. The average weekly income of each was 11½d., or something less than 1¼d. a-day.—S.

SCOTCH NOTES.

THE SCOTTISH POOR HOUSE.—"Every one connected with the administration becomes hardened, from the chairman of the board down to the keeper of the hopeless gate in the joyless wall. The very chaplain and lady visitors get unnatural. Within ten minutes of seeing an aged servant of Christ struggling for nourishment out of a bowl of 'fusionless' soup, a gentlewoman will laugh and grow fat over a six-course dinner. But then she left a tract to the weary and glazing eyes! Yes, there 's a chaplain to tell of heaven. No need to say much about hell; his audience could beat him at that! But who is this approaches us, a man of thin lips and majestic mien, with a tome of political economy in one hand and some clippings from the *Scotsman* curling among the delicate fingers of the other? Be off, you dismal croaker! your head's a mile in front of your heart."—*Christian Leader*. To me the *Christian Leader* credits the *Scotsman's* editor with that which the naked eye cannot detect amongst his assets. His head, therefore, is in front of some other trait of character which is obvious.

A MODEL LIBERAL POLITICAL PAPER PLEASED!—The *North British Daily Mail* says, in consequence of some American firms "offering to build machinery cheaper than we can do": "It is pleasing to learn that a number of the Glasgow establishments are introducing time-saving and improved labour-saving (wages-saving) plant into their shops." The *Mail* professes to be run in the workers' interest. The large circulation of the weekly edition among the workers keeps up the daily edition, and yet the *Mail* is pleased to learn of its supporters being put out by improved labour-saving machinery. Of course, that confession did not appear in a column which the workers who produce are in the habit of reading; it was in the business column of the daily edition, meant for the traffickers in the products of human labour-sweaters. The *Mail* has been in great tribulation for some time past in case working men should do anything that would injure the unity or prospects of the Liberal party, and yet its proprietor—Dr. Chas. Cameron, M.P.—is a shareholder in the notorious firm of Bryant and May, famed for the light they gave into the making of dividends.

A GLASGOW EXHIBITION.—When the Queen visited the Glasgow Exhibition she was not shown anything that explained the advancement of Glasgow more than the following as described by a writer in the *Evening Times*: "From the top of a car at Charing Cross I saw a sad sight yesterday. A waif, a young man, evidently in the lowest stage of destitution, sauntered along with his eyes on the ground and his hands in his pockets. Suddenly he dived into the gutter, picked up something, thrust it into his mouth, and fairly "wolfed" it. It was a small raw potato. Spying another at a shop door, he rushed at it and devoured it with the same voracity. Hitherto he had not shown the slightest hesitation. Turning into Newton Street, he saw some garbage on the ground. This he seemed to eye suspiciously, and he gave it a kick with his miserable shoe. But there was no help for it; hunger conquered his scruples, and the abomination was greedily chewed and swallowed. This happened in the last quarter of the nineteenth century, and in the second city of the empire. The occupants of the car-roof looked on with horror." Glasgow is surely second in its poverty and despair. "Oh it was pitiful in a whole cityful," and yet from "scenes like these great Glasgow's grandeur springs."

"LET GLASGOW FLOURISH BY THE PREACHING OF THE WORD."—The evening edition of the *Glasgow Herald*, the capitalist's organ, says:—"The other day an old, poorly-dressed, but tidy woman called at a police-office in the city, and, unfolding on the counter a bundle of shirts she was carrying, humbly asked if the police could do anything to assist her in demanding more than 7d. a dozen for the finishing of the shirts. The bundle contained a dozen and a-half; and to finish them was the work of nearly two days, for which she got paid 10d. (who got the other ½d.!). With tears in her eyes the poor creature said she was willing to work, but that she could not make sufficient money to keep her from the poor-house by shirt-finishing. Poor body! the law has no protection for such as you!" Out of their own mouths the capitalists stand condemned. When we remember the treatment of the victims of the Scottish poor-houses, the dread of the poor woman will be understood. Verily the poor-house is the Scotch hell—"the hangman's whip that keeps the wretch in order." The Queen is the outward symbol of the law which keeps wretched women in such order as the above, and yet the Glasgow magistrates would be highly scandalised and indignant if these wretches, when given an extra feed of peas and soda, were to demur at the toast of "the Queen." G. McL.

THE VALE OF TEARS.

(By HEINRICH HEINE. Translated by SIR THEODORE MARTIN.)

THE night-wind through the dormer howls  
And two poor creatures lay  
In a garret upon a trundle-bed,  
And wasted and wan were they.

And one unto the other says:  
"Oh, gather me into your arm,  
And press your lips, dear, close to mine;  
I want you to make me warm."

And this is what the other says:  
"When I look into your eyes,  
Hunger and cold, and want are forgot,  
All my earthly trouble flies."

Much did they kiss, they wept still more,  
Clasped hand to hand, and sighed.  
They laughed very often, and even sang,  
Then their talk into silence died.

Next morning the police inspector came,  
And there by that woful bed  
He with the parish doctor stood,  
Who certified both were dead.

"The cruel weather," said his report,  
"Combined with inanition,  
Has caused the collapse of both—at least,  
Has hastened that condition.

When frost set in," he went on to say,  
"Tis vital the body should  
Be protected by woollen blankets—likewise  
Be nourished by wholesome food."

THE SOCIALIST LEAGUE.

OFFICES: 13 FARRINGDON ROAD, E.C.

The Offices of the Socialist League will be open for the sale of *Commonweal* and all other Socialist publications from 8.30 a.m. to 9 p.m. every day except Sunday. The Secretary will be in attendance from 10 a.m. to 9 p.m. daily.

A meeting of the metropolitan speakers of the League will be held at 13, Farringdon Road, on Tuesday, Oct. 30, at 8 o'clock, to discuss new leaflet and other propaganda.

London Members' Meeting.—The next monthly meeting of members will take place on Monday, Nov. 5, 1888, at 13 Farringdon Road, at 9 o'clock sharp.

REPORTS.

LONDON (OPEN-AIR).—*Regent's Park*.—Large meeting here Sunday morning, addressed by Cantwell, Nicoll, and Mrs. Taylor; 40 *Commonweal* sold; collection, 1s. 9d. *Hyde Park*.—Cantwell, Morris, and two other comrades addressed meeting here. "Marseillaise," "March of Workers," and "No Master" were sung by the Hammersmith Choir. Some opposition by a protectionist, 9s. worth of literature sold. At end of meeting a procession was formed and marched along Oxford Street under the red flag to *Clerkenwell Green*, our comrades singing lustily the choruses of revolutionary songs. A good meeting was afterwards held on the Green. *Whitechapel*.—A capital meeting was held at Philipot Street, last Friday, by Parker. *Victoria Park*.—Good meeting on Sunday, addressed by Mrs. Schaak, Davis, and Hicks. Fair sale of *Commonweal*.

CLERKENWELL.—On Sunday, Oct. 14, White (S.D.F.) and Blundell (S.L.) debated as to whether "Palliatives are Reactionary." Blundell opened, and pointed out that all palliatives, or mere reforms, were simply a patching up of a huge social sore, which would break forth again in an aggravated form, and that the only way out was to steer clear of all political dodgery, and demand the entire abolition of the monopoly of land, tools, machinery, etc., etc.; the workers to manage their own affairs, and live happily; the idlers to starve and die. White advocated the erection of improved artisans' dwellings, one free meal a day to children, free education, and so on; not necessarily to ask Parliament to do these things, but the workers to act for themselves. Very interesting discussion followed, and many things were said which may do good propaganda.—B.

FULHAM.—Tuesday evening, back of Waltham Green Church, fair meeting was addressed by Bullock, Beasley, and Groser. Sunday morning, Morris spoke to excellent meeting, and in evening Graham Wallas lectured inside our rooms on "Some facts in the History of Wages." Several questions and good discussion.—S. B. G.

HAMMERSMITH.—At Latimer Road, on Sunday morning, good meeting; 24 *Weals* sold. Dean, Maughan, and Davies spoke, very ably aided by Lyne, of S.D.F. Several members of Hammersmith Choir also helped. In evening, at Kelmescott House, E. J. Craig lectured on "Ireland and Evictions."

ABERDEEN.—No outdoor meeting, owing to Leatham being obliged to work till 11 and 12 at night and on Sunday. At indoor meeting, Monday, 8th, Carpenter's tract, "Desirable Mansions," read; discussed by Barron, McIntyre, Aiken, and Leatham. Vigorous propaganda to be carried on during winter, "run dog," etc.

GLASGOW.—On Sunday, at 3, Glasier and Tim Burgoyne addressed good meeting in Jail Square. At 5, at Paisley Road Toll, Joe Burgoyne and Glasier spoke to large, attentive audience. At close a number of questions put, replies given meeting with obvious approval of great majority present.

NORWICH.—Unable to hold usual meeting on St. Catharine's Plain owing to wet. Sunday afternoon, large meeting held in Market Place addressed by Mowbray and Cores; audience very attentive. In evening, short open-air meeting held; at Gordon Hall Mowbray lectured on "Two Great Curses of Civilisation—Christianity and Capitalism." Chair taken by Adams; meeting opened with "No Master." A friend in the audience defended the gospel, but mainly dwelt upon humanitarianism, receiving very fair attention from audience, and was replied to by Mowbray.—A. T. S.

CHESTERFIELD DISCUSSION SOCIETY.—Sunday evening last, first lecture of a series was given in St. Thomas's Room, Knifesmith Gate, by Edward Carpenter, subject being "The Future of Modern Commerce." Good attendance, many unable to find seats. These Sunday evening lectures have been organised by the Socialists and some others in the district, for the purpose of educating the people on social subjects and raising discussion on them.—R. U.



LECTURE DIARY.

LONDON.

**Bloomsbury.**—This Branch will shortly be actively working. Socialists resident in this locality should send their names in at once to 13, Farringdon Road.

**Clerkenwell.**—Hall of the Socialist League, 13 Farringdon Road, E.C. Sunday, October 21, at 8 p.m., J. Turner on "Palliatives a Waste of Energy."

**Fulham.**—Our rooms, 8 Effie Road, Walham Green, will in future be opened on Thursday evenings at 7 o'clock to all persons interested in social matters.

**Hackney.**—Secretary, E. Lefevre, 28 Percy Terrace, Victoria Road, Hackney Wick.

**Hammersmith.**—Kelmescott House, Upper Mall, W. Sunday Oct. 21, at 8 p.m., Graham Wallas, "The Revolution of 1848."

**Hoxton.**—Persons wishing to join this branch are requested to communicate with H. D. Morgan, 22, Nicholas Street Hoxton.

**London Fields.**—All communications, etc., to Mrs. G. G. Schack, 26 Cawley Road, South Hackney.

**Merton.**—Club-house, 3 Clare Villas, Merton Road, Singlegate. Lecture on Sunday evenings at 8.30.

**Mile-end and Bethnal Green.**—95 Boston St., Hackney Road.

**North London.**—Secretary, Nelly Parker. Business meetings held on Friday evenings at 6 Windmill St., Tottenham Court Road, after open-air meeting at Ossulton Street.

**Whitechapel and St. Georges in the East.**—40 Berner Street. Meets Fridays at 8.

**PROVINCES.**

**Aberdeen** (Scottish Section).—Douglas M'Intyre, Sec., 17 Queen Street. Branch meets in Oddfellows Hall on Monday nights at 8. Choir practice at 46 Marischal Street on Thursday evenings at 8.

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

**Carnoustie** (Scottish Section: Forfarshire).—Meeting every Tuesday, at 8 p.m., in the Carnoustie Restaurant. Samuel Wilson, Secy.

**Dundee** (Scot. Sect.).—Meetings every Sunday in the Trades Hall, opposite Tay Bridge Station.

**Edinburgh** (Scottish Land and Labour League).—35 George IV. Bridge. Meetings for Discussion, Thursdays at 8 p.m.

**Galashiels** (Scot Sect.).—J. Walker, 184 Glendinning Terrace, secy.

**Gallatown and Dysart** (Scottish Section: Fife).—Meet every Tuesday at 7 p.m. in Gallatown Public School. Secretary, A. Paterson, 152 Rosslyn St.

**Glasgow.**—84 John Street. Reading-room (Draughts, Chess, etc.) open 10 a.m. till 10 p.m. daily. Weekly meeting of members on Thursday evenings at 8. French Class meets every Sunday at 11.

**Ipswich.**—Pioneer Hall, Jacket Street. Meets on Sunday evenings.

**Kilmarnock.**—Secretary, H. M'Gill, 22 Gilmour St.

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

**Leicester.**—Hosiery Union Offices, 11a Millstone Lane. Fridays at 8 p.m.

**Norwich.**—Sunday, Lecture in Gordon Hall at 8.15. Monday, at 8, Concert on behalf of Branch funds in Gordon Hall; admission free. Tuesday, at 8.30, Members' Meeting. Wednesday, at 8, Educational Class. Thursday, at 8, Meeting in Gordon Hall. Saturday, 8 until 10.30, Co-operative Clothing Association.

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

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

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

All persons who sympathise with the views of the Socialist League are earnestly invited to communicate with the above addresses, and if possible help us in preparing for the birth of a true society, based on equality, brotherhood, and freedom for all.

OPEN-AIR PROPAGANDA.

SUNDAY 21.

11.30...Latimer Road Station ...Hammersmith Branch  
 11.30...Mitcham Fair Green .....The Branch  
 11.30...Regent's Park .....Morris  
 11.30...Walham Green, opp. Station .....Mainwaring  
 11.30...Weltje Rd., Ravencourt Pk .....Hammersmith  
 3.30...Hyde Park .....Nicoll  
 7.30...Broad Street, Soho .....Brooks  
 7.30...Clerkenwell Green .....Nicoll  
 7.30...Mitcham Fair Green .....The Branch

Monday.

8 ...Wimbledon Broadway.....The Branch

Tuesday.

8.30...Fulham—back of Walham Green Ch. ...Branch

Friday.

7.30...Euston Rd.—Ossulton Street.....Brooks

EAST END.

SUNDAY 21.

Mile-end Waste ... 11 ...Whitechapel Bh.  
 Lemam Street, Shadwell 11 ...Mrs. Schack.  
 Victoria Park ... 3.15...Schack, M'nwaring  
 Broadway, London Fields 8.30...Hicks.

TUESDAY.  
 Mile-end Waste ... 8.30...Nicoll & Davis.

WEDNESDAY.

Broadway, London Fields 8.30...Davis & Hicks.

FRIDAY.

Philpot St., Commercial Rd. 8.30...Hicks.

SATURDAY.

Mile-end Waste ... 8 ...Hicks.

PROVINCES.

**Aberdeen.**—Saturday: Castle Street, at 7 p.m.  
**Glasgow.**—Sunday: Jail's Square at 2 o'clock; Paisley Road at 5 o'clock.  
**Ipswich.**—  
 Sproughton, Wednesday evening.  
 Westerfield, Thursday evening.  
 Needham Market, Sunday morning and evening.  
**Leeds.**—Sunday: Hunslet Moor, at 11 a.m.; Vicar's Croft, at 7 p.m.  
**Leicester.**—Sunday: Russel Square, at 11 a.m.  
**Norwich.**—Sunday: Market Place, at 3 and 7.30.  
 Yarmouth, Sunday at 3.  
 St Catharine's Plain, Friday at 8.15 p.m.

**HARROW LIBERAL CLUB.**—Rev. S. D. Headlam (E.L.R.L.), "The Land for the People." Monday Oct. 22, 8.15 p.m.

**JUNIOR SOCIALIST EDUCATIONAL SOCIETY.**—On Tuesday October 23, at 31 Upper Bedford Place, Russell Square, a lecture at 8 p.m. sharp.

**ST. NICHOLAS COLE ABBEY,** Queen Victoria Street, E.C.—Rev. H. C. Shuttleworth, "The Place of Amusement in Earnest Life." Sun. Oct. 21, at 3.45.

**ST. CLEMENT'S,** Lever Street, City Road.—Special Sermon, C. E. Escreet (G.S.M.), "The Six Points of the Bishops' Social Charter." Sunday Oct. 21, 5 p.m.

**KENNINGTON LIBERAL AND RADICAL CLUB,** 143 Upper Kennington Lane.—Mr. F. Verinder (G.S.M.), "A Churchman's Plea for Free Schools." Sunday Oct. 21.

**EAST-END PROPAGANDA.**—Next Saturday, usual debate will be held at Berner Street Club, subject being "How far has Capitalistic Co-operation benefited the Working Classes?" Davis will open.

**MILE-END AND BETHNAL GREEN BRANCH.**—A meeting of members and friends will take place Sunday, October 28th, at 26 Cawley Road, Victoria Park, at 6 p.m., after meeting in Park, to consider best means of forming a Socialist Club in district in connection with this branch. Comrades please attend.—H. M.

**INTERNATIONAL WORKING MEN'S EDUCATIONAL CLUB,** 40 Berner Street, Commercial Road.—Grand Concert and Ball, Sunday next, October 21, at 8 p.m. (sharp). Proceeds will be devoted to Chicago Commemoration Fund. A first-class company will be present. Admission 3d. This is the second of a series of four concerts to be given by the East-end Propaganda Committee.

**FABIAN SOCIETY.**—The Fabian Society is giving a course of lectures on "Socialism: its Basis and Prospects." The first part of the course is devoted to "The Basis of Socialism." Of this, two have already been given—Sept. 21, (1) "The Historical Aspect," Sidney Webb; Oct. 5, (2) "The Economic Aspect," G. Bernard Shaw. Those that are to follow are: Oct. 19, (3) "The Moral Aspect," Sydney Olivier; Nov. 2, (4) "The Industrial Aspect," William Clarke. The second part of the course will deal with "The Organisation of Society": Nov. 16, (1) "Property under Socialism," Graham Wallas; Dec. 7, (2) "Industry under Socialism," Annie Besant; Dec. 21, (3) "The Outlook," Hubert Bland.—The meetings will be held at Willis's Rooms, King Street, St. James's Square, S.W. The chair will be taken by the Rev. Stewart D. Headlam, B.A., at 8 p.m. precisely. Tickets for the course may be obtained from the Hon. Sec., Sydney Olivier, 180 Portsdown Rd. W.

SOCIALIST LEAGUE LITERATURE.

**Chants for Socialists.** By William Morris. . 1d.  
**Organised Labour: The Duty of the Trades' Unions in Relation to Socialism.** By Thomas Banning (London Society of Compositors). . . . . 1d.  
**The Commune of Paris.** By E. Belfort Bax, Victor Dave, and William Morris. . . . . 2d.  
**The Aims of Art.** By Wm. Morris. . . . . 1d.  
 Bijou edition, 3d.; Large paper, 6d.  
**The Rights of Labour according to John Ruskin.** By Thomas Barclay. . . . . 1d  
**The Tables Turned; or, Nupkins Awakened.** A Socialist Interlude. By William Morris. In Wrapper . . . . . 4d.  
**The Manifesto of the Socialist League.** Annotated by E. Belfort Bax and William Morris. An exposition of the principles on which the League is founded. . . . . 1d.  
**Useful Work v. Useless Toil.** By William Morris. . . . . 1d.

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BOOKS FOR SALE.

To make room, and allow me to purchase other books required for *Commonweal* work, I shall be glad to hear from buyers of following duplicate copies and other items, of which full details will be sent:—

**HISTORY OF AMERICAN SOCIALISMS.** Quite new. 8s. 6d. (published at 15s.). (Noyes).  
**LIFE OF WILLIAM LOVETT.** New. 3s. 6d. (pub. 5s.).  
**MEN OF THE TIME.** A useful Dictionary of Biography. 5s. (pub. 12s. 6d.).  
**MANUAL FOR CO-OPERATORS.**  
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**HONE'S ANCIENT MYSTERIES.**  
**BURKE ON THE EVILS OF ALL STATE GOVERNMENTS.** 1s., post free.  
**SECRET SOCIETIES OF THE EUROPEAN REVOLUTION.** (Frost.) 2 vols., newly bound, 7s.  
**VOLNEY'S RUINS.** 2s.  
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# THE COMMONWEAL

## The Official Journal of the SOCIALIST LEAGUE.

VOL. 4.—No. 146.

SATURDAY, OCTOBER 27, 1888.

WEEKLY; ONE PENNY.

### CHICAGO MARTYRS & BLOODY SUNDAY.

"Our silence will be more powerful than our speech."

Mrs. PARSONS has accepted the invitation of the Commemoration Committee to speak at the various meetings to be held in London and the provinces next November.

#### SATURDAY, NOVEMBER 10,

A Meat Tea will be provided at St. Paul's Café, St. Paul's Churchyard, E.C., at 7 p.m. Tickets 1s. 6d. each. Tickets will be issued at 6d. each for those who cannot attend tea, in order to hear an address to Mrs. Parsons and her reply.

CUNNINGHAME GRAHAM, M.P., in the Chair.

Songs will be sung during the evening.

Arrangements have already been made to hold meetings on

SUNDAY, NOVEMBER 11, at 11.30 a.m., in  
REGENT'S PARK.

SUNDAY, NOVEMBER 11, at 3.30 p.m., in  
HYDE PARK.

MONDAY, NOVEMBER 12, at 7.30 p.m., in  
STORE STREET HALL.

The Chair will be taken by WILLIAM MORRIS.

Speakers:—P. Kropotkin, F. Kitz, J. Blackwell, Trunk, Dr. Merlino, Cunninghame Graham, and others, whose names will be announced next week. The whole of the Trafalgar Square prisoners released will be present at this meeting. Mrs. PARSONS will speak at Wornum Hall and Hyde Park, and probably Victoria Park.

SUNDAY, NOVEMBER 18, at 3 p.m., in  
VICTORIA PARK.

The following Resolutions will be moved at the meetings:—

#### FIRST RESOLUTION.

"That this meeting commemorates the legal murder of five men which took place on November 11th, 1887 (Parsons, Spies, Fischer, Engels, and Lingg), and the cruel imprisonment of three others (Fielden, Schwab, and Neebe) by the Government of the State of Illinois for the crime of supporting workmen in a labour struggle against their masters, and the further crime of maintaining the rights of free speech, and emphatically denounces the interference with these rights in all capitalist countries; an interference which is the natural result of a so-called Society founded on the robbery of labour."

#### SECOND RESOLUTION.

"That this meeting also denounces the attack on Free Speech made in London on November 13th, 1887, during which three men were killed and many sent to prison after a mere mockery of trial, and it calls for the immediate release of Harrison, condemned to five years penal servitude for being present at a political meeting which was ferociously attacked by the police."

Meantime, funds are urgently needed, and should be sent to Joseph Lane, Treasurer, at the office of the Socialist League, 13, Farringdon Road, E.C. Any information can be had by communicating with Secretary of the Commemoration Committee.

W. B. PARKER, *Secretary.*

### NOTES ON NEWS.

So we are on the verge of the sea of quibble and evasion and smothering of truth, which is called a political *cause célèbre*. Fine times for the daily press indeed, certain copy, increased sale, and other soothing advantages for "able editors"! Fine times also for the lawyers engaged on both sides! Though that is not much, for the sun does generally shine pretty bright on their side of the hedge, however cold the weather is for others. But as to supposing that anything else will come out of it, that is all nonsense. Arrangements will be made for the *Times* to fall soft; opportunities will be given to respectable Home Rule politicians to declare their unalterable fidelity to the rights of property and law-'n'-order, and we shall then pass to the order of the day.

Mr. Cunninghame Graham's letter to the *Pall Mall*, which had been in ecstasies at the prospect of something decisive coming out of this Great Evasion, was sensible and to the point. It is absolutely true, as he says, "that the majority of the Liberal electors care not one farthing whether Mr. Parnell wrote or instigated the letters." They are now Home Rulers, just as their opponents are Coercionists, whatever Parnell has done or has not done. And really when the *Pall Mall* is driven to say "that the cause of Home Rule will be decided by the judge's decision" in this Great Evasion Case, it surely wants pulling up.

The fact is that Parliament and the Platform having been talked out on the very simple question of Home Rule for Ireland, the quarrel has to be carried on constitutionally by some other means, and the time "put in" till the blessings of a General Election fall upon us. What better means for procrastination could be found than that sire and dam of procrastination, the Law Courts?

General Gordon's statue has been unveiled with very decidedly "maimed rites," and there stands the Christian hero in all the dignity of modern realistic sculpture. Would not this be an opportunity for the revival of the plan for Hudson's Statue, which long ago succumbed to Carlyle's ponderous hammer-strokes of scorn? He might be taken, I mean, as the type of successful commerce; might be represented standing behind the soldier of Christian Commerce and pushing him on to—I was going to say victory; but that I admit is inappropriate—let us say pushing him on to thrusting his head into the hornet's nest for the advantage of "progress" in Africa.

The claims of General Gordon, apart from his private character, to the worship of the centre of the empire of commerce are these: He served as a soldier of fortune in China, where he helped to put down what could scarcely be otherwise than a righteous rebellion against Chinese bureaucracy. He then "got religion," and became that most dangerous tool of capitalistic oppression, the "God-fearing soldier"; in that capacity he allowed himself to be used to drive the wedge of profit-mongering into barbarous Africa, and was quite prepared to do all that a man must do in such a service if he is to earn the name of a good servant. As, for instance, his orders for the cutting down of the fruit-trees of the people whom he had come amongst as a benefactor. He might have remembered that the "barbarous" Arab Calif Omar (who surely was as clear of his message from God as any modern "Christian soldier" could be), in his instructions to his warriors, expressly forbade them the wanton damaging of the fertility of the earth and the cutting down of fruit-trees on any pretence.

The *Pall Mall* says that "Gordon's whole soul would have risen in revolt" against Sir C. Warren's proceedings last year. Would it? That is a very rash assumption. I cannot help thinking that if he had any fault to find with his companion "Christian soldier," it would have been that he did not repress "popular excesses" in a sharper way than he actually did. Studying Gordon's face by photograph and also by Mr. Thorneycroft's very good portrait of him, I see in it the modern soldier—nothing more; and his actions tell us whose soldier he was—the piratical capitalist's soldier. The centre of the accursed capitalism may well worship him, and say to others: "Go thou and do likewise!"

Meantime a certain Mr. Manning has been holding up to our example the much-abused Portuguese, who have been making a railway from Loanda to Ambaca (distance 225 miles, but called part of a very ambitious scheme). Mr. Manning is of opinion that this will do more to open up and civilise the country than formal missionary enterprises; though considering what missionary work is going on in other parts of Africa, and that the rifle is the principal tool used in it, that seems doubtful.

The *modus operandi* of the capitalists thus engaged in benefitting humanity is described with a *naïf* simplicity which leaves nothing to be asked for. The Portuguese Government have guaranteed 6 per cent. to the shareholders during construction for five years. The contract was let to a Portuguese contractor, who in the first year of the work sublet it to an American—who sublet portions of it to other contractors—some of these again sublet smaller portions to small contractors. These men engaged their own labourers, *did the work* (italics mine), and received a lump sum on the completion of the work to the satisfaction of the engineer of the chief contractor.

Whether the labourers who did the work for the "small contractors" who *did the work*, were satisfied is another matter. It seems that the chief difficulty is scarcity of labour. "So long as the native can get enough to live on by cultivation or trade he will not do manual work"—for other people. Unreasonable black dog!

Though the Japanese have been for long running after the foul skirts of our modern civilisation, and doing their best to lay hold of the filthy thing, they have not come up to us in the matter of prisons: not being afraid apparently of the competition of prison labour with "free" labour, and not being under the spell of the fiendish stupidity of "philanthropy," which forces us to torture our prisoners by every respectable means (*i.e.*, any means which doesn't make blood flow and bones break), they set their prisoners to doing work which pleases and amuses them, and even teach them to do interesting work if they are capable of it. Only 29 out of 2,000 men in the prison visited by the *Pall Mall* Commissioner were set to the lowest work of breaking stones, and a great many were producing works of art. The Japanese after all have much to learn in the ways of civilisation. May they be long about it!

It is asserted by those who are proposing the great coal trust—that is to say, a monopoly which will have the whole public in its power—that its effect will not be to raise the price of coal. This is rather a big pill to swallow; for how is the greed of the monopolists to be controlled? But the very fact that such an assertion can be made shows once more how the confidence in limitless competition is being shaken: for the contention is that the entire margin of profit would come out of the avoidance of waste, and that that waste is caused by the hurry of *reckless competition*.

The following quotation, however, does not quite bear out the sanguine anticipations of the defender of the attempt to form a coal-trust: "The oil trade in this country [America] is [owing to the "trust"] in a more *satisfactory condition* than it has been in for some years. *Prices are higher*," etc. In point of fact the "more satisfactory condition" almost always does mean higher prices, and it is to this that all these combinations of capitalists are directed. They do not trouble their heads about anything else; for business men, like politicians, take care not to forecast matters for more than six months or so ahead—if even that.

W. M.

## LABOUR'S TRIANGULAR PROBLEM;

OR, MEN VERSUS MACHINES.

(Concluded from p. 330.)

ALL these companies are great users of machinery, are constantly trying to get improved machinery, so as to dispense with manual labour. A great monopoly in any trade means, therefore, monopolist control of all employed in making machinery to be used in that particular trade. A sole controlling monopoly in any trade can afford to give the very highest premium conceivable for any machine needful to the purposes of the monopoly, or can starve the machine-builders into accepting the very lowest subsistence wages; more than that, having at last made the monopoly complete, can afford any price it likes to buy up and finally crush out any machine or method not desired to be put into use. Improved methods and machines have repeatedly been bought up by established manufacturers, for the sole purpose of *not* being used. Under the trust system this can be carried to any extent desired by the monopolists, for they can recoup by famine prices any sum which they expend to maintain their sole control.

Our national life for years past has been depending on the improvements in and development of the trade in machinery, and yet there can be named no particular interest which could not in two years from now be controlled by ten or a dozen English or American capitalists. Take our railway interest; it represents a nominal investment of some eight hundred millions, a real value of less than four hundred millions; it is not a very extravagant idea, seeing what has been done in America, to conceive of our whole railway system managed by a board of millionaires owning the whole controlling power. The very first result of

this would be the equalisation of all fares, and the throwing out of employ of thousands of booking and checking clerks; for just as we to-day buy toffee and almond rock, cigarettes, cigars, matches, post-cards, and pocket-books in every railway station, so we should then help ourselves to our railway ticket from an automatic. This may seem to some as mere joking, but it is meant in sober seriousness, and in face of the developments in machines during the last thirty years, is not to be lightly set aside. How many "try-your-weight" boys has the automatic machine put out of a job during the last two years? and every day brings forth some new supply box; and the apprentice of Old London who stood outside his master's shop crying "What d'ye lack?" to-day appears in an automatic machine screwed to the door-step or window-frame.

Every day produces some fresh and astounding development in machinery. Even while writing, there arrives some notes on a new method of making sugar by electricity, which if true will totally upset the whole labours and negotiations of some of the 'cutest business men and politicians of the day, who have for months past been dealing with the sugar bounty question, and who, having made careful arrangements to spoil the public, find themselves outdone by a totally unexpected development in manufacture. And so the game goes on—more and more spoil to the spoiler, more and more of suffering to the mass, until, as Ruskin puts it—

"Day after day your souls will become more mechanical, more servile: also you will go on multiplying, wanting more food, and more; you will have to sell cheaper and cheaper, work longer and longer, to buy your food. At last, do what you can, you can make no more, or the people who have the corn will not want any more; and your increasing population will necessarily come to a quite imperative stop—by starvation, preceded necessarily by revolution and massacre." ('Fors' 44, 172.)

Daily more money spent to manufacture idle men, despite the fact it is "mere insane waste to dig coal for our force while the vital force is unused; and not only unused, but, in being so, corrupting and polluting itself. We waste our coal and spoil our humanity at one and the same instant"; and let this be borne in mind, "Your idle people, as they are now, are not merely waste coal beds. They are explosive coal beds, which you pay a high annual rent for."<sup>1</sup>

Just a short while longer and these increasing beds of explosives will go off, and the explosion will be such as will put even Sho-Bandai-San to shame as puny; it will not be the mere question of moving a mountain and leaving a wilderness of mud, it will be as complete as that of the American miner, who, reporting a mishap with some new blasting compound, said when the smoke was gone there wasn't even a hole left. A million of starving people, with another million on the verge of starvation, represent a potential of destructive force to measure which no dynamometer has yet been made, but which will, if suddenly liberated, assuredly and absolutely destroy every vestige of so-called nineteenth century civilisation; will destroy it more completely than time has destroyed the traces of human society of Nineveh, Babylon, Greece and Rome, or even of Mexico.

For the especial benefit of some critics, perhaps it may be well to say in conclusion that no word here placed is to be taken as against machinery and improvements; rather I believe in more and more. I rather like to run back over the history of machinery, the romance of improved methods, and, on the data of what has been done, speculate on what is possible and probable in the future. Although I fail to see what use some of the "saved time" will be after it is saved, yet I would give free rein to every one desired to make time-saving improvements. Ruskin analyses this detail in his 'Fors.' You may keep on making "time-savers" till there is absolutely nothing to do but to make a machine to use up the spare time; but to that the only answer is, if the human mind can occupy itself only in invention of machinery, why let it, and be hanged to it. The only thing to be claimed is the most perfect freedom for every individual to do the same; total denial of the claim that any small section of society shall dominate and exploit the great mass by monopolising the accumulated results of the whole course of time.

And so I pass on, dreaming of and working to realise the dream of the Chartist prison poet:

"Mind writ in every face; books million-fold  
Multiplied; galleries with breath-shapes hung  
Raffaello might worship, or Apelles old;  
Groups from great Shakspeare's world or Chaucer's song  
In bronzed or marble life, seeming upsprung  
From some new Phidian realm of earth beneath  
To gem the populous squares; music's full tongue  
Telling to millions what Mozart in death  
Enraptured heard, but could not the boon-sounds bequeath;

And all for ALL! Rank, class, distinction, badge  
For ever gone! Labour by Science made  
Brief recreation—not by Privilege  
Avoided, nor its thrift in name of Trade  
Or Commerce filched. To give a brother's aid  
To brethren, and enlarge the general bliss  
From knowledge, virtue, health, beyond parade  
Of pomp or gold—affording joy. I wis,  
When Truth doth reign, earth shall be such a Paradise!"

('Purgatory of Suicides,' Book viii.)

THOS. SHORE, jun.

<sup>1</sup> "We can never control the working-man until he eats up to-day what he earns to-morrow."—Congressman Scott.

<sup>1</sup> Ruskin: 'Queen of the Air.'



## A LETTER FROM AUSTRALIA.

## THE GREAT NEWCASTLE COLLIERY STRIKE.

ONE of the greatest strikes in the history of Australia has just come off in the Newcastle district. A fierce and determined struggle between capital and labour is now being fought out in the coal-mining industry of New South Wales, which is the main reservoir for supplying the wants of the rest of Australia. The capitalist press is now given a magnificent opportunity of asserting its reptile power, and is working its level best to make the miners appear as dangerous and "revolutionary" wretches and the mine-owners as deeply injured philanthropists. It is indeed amusing to observe the frenzied and hysterical efforts made by the commercial sheets to bluff the miners, blind the public to the true facts of the dispute, and uphold the grasping tyranny of plutocratic coal kings. The *Sydney Herald* is especially criminal in this peculiar line.

Trouble has been brewing for a long time past consequent on the continued encroachments made by the mine-owners on the rights of their wage-slaves. There had been an agreement between the proprietors and the miners for some time back, which regulated the price to be paid for hewing coal according to its selling price, the price for small coal, the hours of labour, the settlement of disputes, allowance to be made for "deficiencies," and other matters of detail. This agreement, after having been in force for some time, was ignored and finally abandoned by the masters. The miners, maddened by excessive exactions, took up the matter very warmly at meetings of their Association, and eventually a conference of delegates with representatives of the mine-owners was held on July 21st. The miners asked for the old agreement to be renewed, but the masters fought shy. No distinct understanding was arrived at, the masters offering nothing but evasions and shuffling promises.

In the meantime strikes and lock-outs had taken place in several of the collieries; first in the South Waratah, next in the Ferndale, and afterwards in the Co-operative Colliery and the A. A. Company's Sea Pit. According to the old agreement, the minimum hewing rate is 4s. 2d. a-ton when the selling price of coal is 11s. (which it has been for a long time). The seam, according to the agreement, is not supposed to contain more than six inches of "jerry" band; extra pay was to be given should there be more than six inches of "jerry" in the seam. But in the South Waratah Pit the masters shirked the agreement and only offered the miners the minimum hewing rate, when it should have been much higher. The seam in this mine contains a number of dirt-bands, of an aggregate thickness of fifteen inches. This increased the miners' toil and placed them at a great disadvantage. They demanded 5s. 6d. a-ton for the seam, and arbitration was proposed. However, the negotiations fell through, because the masters persisted in appointing one of their own fraternity on the arbitration-board. A lock-out ensued and work was abandoned in this colliery. Subsequently another big disagreement took place in the Ferndale Colliery, on account of the proprietors pursuing a similar course. Then disputes ensued at other mines. In the A. A. Co.'s Sea Pit the miners desired arbitration, but the bosses would have none of it. In fact the majority of the mine-owners were opposed to arbitration, because, they said, all the previous arbitration-boards had finished by conceding most of the men's demands. On that point the money-sharks were rather sore.

By the way, I must not omit to mention a serious grievance of the miners that has been overlooked by the outside public. Allowances were not made by the bosses for small coal; in fact, the men were continually swindled; and although the work of getting the small coal is just as severe as that of getting the big, they were not paid for it. All slack coal that came up was slung on one side and the masters sold it afterwards for 5s., 6s., and even 7s. a-ton. I understand that in some of the mines men were paid 6d. and 1s. a-ton for loading and sending it up, but for a long time were paid nothing. There is a great demand for this small coal on steamers, tug-boats, and in factories and warehouses. When the men asked 2d. a-ton for working it the masters refused. One can easily guess the enormous profits made in this way by those legalised brigands, the mine-owners. They reap a colossal income out of labour that they pay no wages for; the miners are thus robbed in an extraordinary and barefaced manner.

The miners at last made up their minds to force a definite agreement on the masters, in order to get something approaching fair play. A draft agreement was drawn up and submitted to the masters at the conference which was held on July 21st. Mr. Jesse Gregson, on behalf of the mine-owners, said they would lay their proposals before the men in a fortnight. But there and then he dodged from this time to about a month, about which time the bosses would, if it was convenient, meet the miners in another conference. The capitalists all through the business acted in an arrogant and shameless manner, humbugging the workers to the best of their ability.

Matters by this time came to a head. The miners held a very large aggregate meeting a week after, at which two resolutions were passed. The first urged the masters to adopt the agreement submitted to them on the previous Saturday, and the second declared that if the masters would not submit an agreement satisfactory to the miners, the latter would on receipt thereof give fourteen days' notice that they would go out on strike. The masters were incensed when they heard of this, and refused to submit any agreement at all until the resolutions passed at the aggregate meeting were withdrawn. Arbitration was also knocked on the head.

Balloting for the strike was thereupon commenced. The representatives of both bodies met for the last time in the Newcastle Chamber of Commerce on August 11th. The purse-proud Gregson (of the famous A. A. Company) treated the miners' delegates to a severe lecture and behaved towards Messrs. Goudry and Curley (the president and secretary of the Miners' Union) as if they were a pair of presumptuous savages. The overbearing manner of this giant monopolist only made matters worse. The result of the ballot was given that afternoon in favour of the fourteen days' notice to strike by an overwhelming majority. This meant that over 6,000 men should be thrown out of employment in the various Northumberland collieries. The decision threw the capitalist press into a rare state of perturbation. The *Sydney Morning Herald* was especially furious, and in the most dishonest way took the part of the mine-owners, and denounced the action of the men as "arbitrary" and "tyrannical." Every little event was distorted and exaggerated by this organ of the "classes" in order to make the mine-owning vultures appear generous philanthropists and the miners to appear ungrateful irreconcilables. The views of the colliery proprietors (bogus and otherwise) and other exploiters of labour flooded its columns for several days, but the views of the injured wage-slaves were carefully kept in the background.

All through Australia a wild chorus of wailing has gone up from hundreds of commercial rags, and pictures of coal-less, gas-less cities have been painted

in vivid colours. "Able editors" (in the scissors and paste-pot line) shrieked out their "opinions" in extra leaded type, but in most cases they only succeeded in leaving a strong impression in thinking minds that they were hopelessly ignorant and biased in matters economic and social. Some writers advocated that the miners' leaders should be tried for conspiracy and that special legislation should be introduced to make extended strikes criminal conspiracies. They argued that trade and commerce should not be paralysed because the coal-hewers chose to go out on strike. Very little was said, though, about the pig-headed, selfish action of the employers in refusing arbitration and the moderate demands of the miners.

A few papers, such as the *Australian Star*, *Bulletin*, *Ballarat Courier*, and *Radical*, spoke up strongly for the rights of labour. Other papers followed, and before long a big change in public feeling took place, great sympathy being shown towards the miners by the general body of workers. The Seamen's Union and most of the Australian trades organisations are lending them moral and pecuniary assistance.

At a great meeting held in Newcastle a Citizens' Committee was appointed to mediate between the rival parties. But it bungled from the very start; several of the members apparently held briefs for the mine-monopolists. Canon Selwyn, the leading spokesman, made himself particularly obnoxious to the miners, and acted in such a fashion that they refused to acknowledge him in any way. The commercialised "Citizens' Committee" wanted the miners to withdraw from all the positions they had taken up, while the masters yielded nothing but a mysteriously sealed letter, which they wanted the men to accept blindfold. The men stood their ground firmly, and the negotiations collapsed.

Newcastle being the centre of the coal-mine industry in this part of the world, it follows that if the strike is long continued great economic and social disturbances will ensue throughout Australia. Most of the other colonies depend mainly on the Newcastle district for their coal supply. There are only a few mines in other parts and their output is exceedingly limited. The coal and gas supply of the continent is nearly paralysed and will soon be practically cut off. Of course there is the possibility of the capitalists attempting to work the mines with "scabs" or "blacklegs." There will be the devil to pay if they do; the miners are in no mood to be trifled with, and their wives would form body-guards as they did at Illawarra and Bulli a couple of years ago. Already some tall talk is being indulged in by the monied classes about importing 2,000 skilled miners from England to work the mines. It is hinted that should the first lot join the Miners' Union on their arrival, the leading colliery proprietors will import three or four thousand more and pay them a small bonus. They say that they could obtain 4,000 Kauri timber-getters from New Zealand.

Some of the capitalist papers are beginning to recognise in a half-hearted way some of the principles that Socialists contend for. The *Sydney Daily Telegraph* has published a stirring article on the "People's Coal," in which it descants on the duties of the mine-owners to the public and acknowledges that the coal beds are the property of the people. Other articles of a cheering nature have appeared in several land-nationalist papers.

The miners have issued a manifesto (of which the full text appeared in the *Commonweal* last week). It will be seen that the efforts of the Socialist League and the *Australian Radical* are bearing rich fruit. The manifesto has created a sensation amongst the well-to-do classes. The boss slave-driving organ of the colony, the *Herald*, pulls very wry faces over it, and denounces its "Socialistic and Communistic tendency." It has made several violent attacks on Mr. Curley, the miners' secretary, whom it dubs as one of the "professional agitators." It is trying its best to alienate the support of the Trades and Labour Council from the side of the strikers. In fact the *Herald* is horrified that the miners' delegates should dare to use such highly improper language, and asks the T. and L. C. not to give its sanction to the "Communistic doctrine of the seizure of property acquired by industry and economy" (!). The played-out bunkum about the "risks" of capitalists, "capital working the mines" and paying labour, and the danger of capital clearing out of the country, is dished up for the delectation of gulls and profit-mongering plutocrats. The miners appear to be determined, and talk of a wide and improved system of co-operative distribution and of working the collieries for their own benefit and not to accumulate hoards for millionaires and land-robbers. Much stronger and more Socialistic language than has appeared in their manifestoes is being indulged in by the miners and their delegates at their lodge meetings and big open-air gatherings. The manifestoes are being circulated in every town and hamlet in Australasia. Preparations are being made for a prolonged struggle by both sides. There is some talk of an adjustment being brought about by the mediation of Mr. Brunner and other M.P.'s. The outlook is rather gloomy. The coal famine that is ensuing is throwing thousands of other workers out of employment. The Southern (Illawarra) miners have demanded increased pay and threaten to join their Newcastle comrades. The conflict between labour and monopoly has at last assumed a very definite shape in the sunny land of Australia.

Great efforts are being made to make the public believe that the miners were obtaining exceptionally high wages. Exceptionally good pay-days are picked out for this purpose. But the fact remains that in the most prosperous colliery (Wallsend) the average for the whole year was two and a half days a-week. In other collieries it is much less.

The mine-owners are already employing "blacklegs" at the Greta Colliery to fill small coal. Forty were sent from Sydney for that purpose on Sept. 4; a big escort of police accompanied them. The "blacklegs" are kept close to the mine when not working; they sleep and take their meals in a big shed. The miners are not allowed inside the mine property. Over 300 strikers gathered round the mine on Tuesday hooting and groaning. Violence was feared. There is almost certain to be bloodshed, for the police and numbers of the miners are armed with revolvers. Very exciting scenes have already occurred. By the time this letter is published in the *Commonweal* a great forward move will have been registered in the fortunes of the Australian labour movement.

I must now conclude, with fraternal greetings to our English comrades,  
Sept, 6th, 1888.

W. H. McNAMARA

The attempted mediation between masters and men in the Newcastle (New South Wales) coal district has proved fruitless, and there is no prospect at present of a termination of the strike. Somewhat serious disturbances have occurred at Wallsend, where the attitude of the strikers has become threatening.—(By telegram, Oct. 23.)

The ignorance of public questions displayed by the average Congress-man is only equalled by the folly of the people who elected him.—*Labour Signal*.



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

Communications invited on Social Questions. They should be written on one side of the paper, addressed to the Editors, 15 Farringdon Rd., E.C., and accompanied by the name and address of the writer, not necessarily for publication.

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

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C. S.—The Manifesto of the League, the pamphlets in the "Socialist Platform" series, the leaflets issued by the Council of the League, and articles definitely so stated in the 'Weal', are the only authoritative expositions of the League's "creed and policy."

Periodicals received during the week ending Wednesday October 24.

<p>ENGLAND</p> <p>Justice Labour Tribune London—Ereis Presse Norwich—Daylight Postal Service Gazette Railway Review Social Demokrat Worker's Friend</p> <p>NEW SOUTH WALES Hamilton—Radical</p> <p>INDIA Bankipore—Behar Herald Madras—People's Friend</p> <p>UNITED STATES New York—Der Sozialist Freiheit Truthseeker Volkszeitung Jewish Volkszeitung Alarm Workmen's Advocate</p>	<p>Boston—Woman's Journal Chicago—Knights of Labor Vorbote Detroit—Der Arme Taufel Milwaukee—National Reformer Paterson (N J) Labor Standard San Francisco Arbeiter-Zeitung</p> <p>FRANCE Paris—Cri du Peuple (daily) Le Parti Ouvrier (daily) La Revolte Le Coup de Feu Le Proletariat Sedan—La Revolution</p> <p>HOLLAND Hague—Recht voor Allen</p> <p>BELGIUM Ghent—Vooruit Liege—L'Avenir Antwerp—De Werker</p> <p>SWITZERLAND Arbeiterstimme Bulletin Continental</p>	<p>ITALY Turin—Nuovo Gazzetta Operaia</p> <p>SPAIN Madrid—El Socialista Barcelona—Tierra y Libertad Seville—La Solidaridad</p> <p>PORTUGAL Lisbon—O Protesto Operario</p> <p>GERMANY Berlin—Volks Tribune</p> <p>AUSTRIA Brunn—Arbeiterstimme Wien—Gleichheit</p> <p>DENMARK Social-Demokraten</p> <p>SWEDEN Stockholm, Social-Demokraten Malmo—Arbetet</p> <p>NORWAY Kristiania—Social-Demokraten</p> <p>WEST INDIES Cuba—El Productor</p>
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THE HUMOURS OF PROPAGANDA.

In olden times folk lived better and died happier than now a-days. We grudge to die, having never lived; they having lived did not grudge to die. Heaven bless the good souls who left a laugh behind them upon their tombstones!

The world to-day is so full of ugliness and wrong, that if we were to persistently contemplate the misery around us we would certainly go mad. But going mad would not make the world better, and it is to make the world better that we have become Socialists. And we know that we shall make the world better, and that conviction should cheer us. Only those who are without that hope and confidence—the unthinking or reactionary crowd—should be always melancholy.

We are told of a certain Rev. John Durham, minister of the High Church, Glasgow, some 200 years ago, that he never laughed or smiled. He had his house draped in black, and went about perpetually lamenting the "fall of man." Now this same John was, I verily believe, an honest and a feeling man. He believed that the overwhelming mass of the population, including probably some of his nearest friends and relatives, would most certainly be roasted in hell fire for ever. How could he, therefore, be otherwise than sad and full of mourning? I have no doubt that if John had had as little belief in damnation as most modern parsons have, he would have been a merry and hearty fellow, as most honest-thinking and good-hearted people are who wish to do some good in the world. I have seldom found a man who was always serious and melancholy of much account in lifting the burden of sorrow from his neighbour's shoulders, or capable of spirited deeds and untiring energy when noble work could be achieved. When a man is perpetually serious—if he be not a Calvinist—you may be certain that he allows his liver and peritneum to usurp the functions of his heart and brain.

Therefore it is that I have humbly resolved to myself to be as cheerful as I can, and make others cheerful also.

Propaganda work is, I know, not usually of a particularly exhilarating character—that is if you stick to it steadfastly, through success and failure, not finking when others funk, not getting wearied of it when others get wearied. Yet even the routine and monotony of propaganda may be enlivened by observing its humorous aspects, and not allowing the enemy to have all the amusement of the little perplexities and awkward situations it sometimes involves us in. Surely, when Christian officers can find magnificent sport in butchering niggers and coolies, when policemen can make merry breaking the heads of members of Parliament and bludgeoning women and children, even Socialists may contrive to extract a humble pleasure in denouncing

landlords and capitalists at street corners, shouting *Commonweal*, and even in reminding forgetful members that it is at least six weeks since they paid their last penny subscription!

Open-air propaganda—even when lacking the excitement and adventure consequent upon police interference—possesses elements of interest and amusement to anyone endowed with average zeal and good humour. It takes some time, no doubt, before one gets quite hardened to the business—especially the speaking part of it. I remember when I first began to speak outdoor, how between the feeling of the cheap-jack nature of the work, and the consciousness of my inability to decently express myself, I was kept in a state of mental torture. When going in the train to some out-of-the-way village, there to practise upon natives, I felt like one going out to be executed. The place appeared to get dreadfully deserted whenever I began to speak, and all my facts and figures vanished from my mind. How I envied the masterly assurance and consummate tact of the itinerant vendor of medicines! Even yet I observe his ways with admiration, and humbly endeavour to imitate them, but I fear with poor success. His knowledge of human nature is profound, whatever his skill in therapeutics may be. You never observe a quack approaching; he appears suddenly in the middle of a market-place or at a street corner like an apparition. If his pharmaceutical chest—carried in his coat pocket—is too small to attract universal attention, he is in nowise disconcerted. Perhaps he places his hat on the ground, walks back a bit and surveys it round; the people begin to notice him and wonder what he is about. Then he ventures to put his finger underneath the hat and withdraws it quickly as if some animal were there, and walks back and surveys it again. When by these manoeuvres he succeeds in gathering a fair crowd all gaping with expectation, he quietly unfolds his parcel and proceeds to dilate upon the wonderful curative virtues of the *Leontodon Taraxacum*, or some other marvellous medicinal herb. In half an hour he has procured the price of a night's lodging, and something to warm him before he tumbles into bed.

The gathering and subsequent behaviour of a meeting is always interesting. When you suddenly shout "Friends!" the people halt, stare at you, wonder if you have hurt yourself in any way, or if you have taken a fit. Then when you get on a bit, some youths draw nigh with a lively expectation that you are about to favour them with a "break down" or an acrobatic feat. The drunk man who jostles into the ring after you have spoken eloquently for an hour upon the robbery of labour, and demands what you are talking about, appears with a regularity that suggests he is an ubiquitous hireling of the capitalists. The annoyance of the drunk man who pronounces himself an enemy of Socialism is not quite as distressing, however, as that of the one who avows himself a friend. The latter invariably insists upon fraternising with you in the most effusive manner. He staggers forward with a swing that nearly knocks you down, plants his beglobbered boot down upon a bundle of *Commonweals*, seizes your hand and holds it till the end of your discourse, every now and then patting you appreciatively upon the shoulder, and encouraging you with "Right you are, my boy!" "God bless you!" and kindred ejaculations of approval.

If you desire to sell literature of any kind don't apologise in any way for its size or quality, rather aggravate, grossly if necessary, its value. The people know you are deceiving them, but they appear to esteem it a compliment that you think they desire a really good thing, and they express their gratification by purchasing. The more barefacedly that a quack exaggerates the virtues of his nostrums, and the more the crowd disbelieve him, the more eagerly, I have observed, they purchase.

If you tell the people, for example, that you are sorry *Commonweal* is not as large as it might be, and that it does not pretend to give all the latest local and foreign news, etc., it doesn't go at all. One of the best sales of *Commonweal* I ever saw, was when a miner's agent took it in hand one day and announced it as follows in thundering tones: "Here we have *Commonweal*! the largest Socialist paper in the country! Edited by William Morris, the greatest poet, painter, designer, and art critic of the age! Cram-full of news about the labour struggle in America, France, Germany, Italy, and Russia! Tells you how you are robbed and who robs you! Tells you what the Social Revolution means, how it can be brought about, and when it will be brought about! Stirring labour songs, correspondence upon important topics, and reports of Socialist meetings all over the country! Price only one penny—less than the price of half a pint of beer, mind you! Only a few copies left!" Nor do I think that those who purchased would be less disposed to do so again when they discovered that its merits might have been more modestly proclaimed.

J. BRUCE GLASIER.

(To be concluded.)

There is but one way for American labour to be protected, and that is to protect itself by organisation.—*Industrial Leader*.

The Indianapolis *Signal* has discovered that the lot of a labour paper is never a happy one. While the editor works and talks about shorter hours of labour for others, he must, in order to keep his paper afloat, put in long hours himself. To publish a labour paper is to take upon oneself a degree of worry and perplexity that would overwhelm more than one stout heart, did not hope tell of a better time coming.

UNEMPLOYED MEMBERS OF THE LEAGUE.—The Editors will insert such a notice as the following for any Branch of the League, in the hope that one member will assist another in obtaining work:—In the Merton and Mitcham Branches there are out of work: One dyer and cleaner (partially); two carpenters (one partially); one each, gasfitter, painter and decorator, sawyer, and labourer.

REVOLUTIONARY CALENDAR.

WEEK ENDING NOVEMBER 3, 1888.

28	Sun.	1794. Trial of Thomas Hardy for high treason. 1813. Louis Blanc born.
29	Mon.	1793. Edinburgh convention of the Friends of the People opened. 1794. Trial of Hardy, Horne Tooke, Thelwall, and others for high treason. 1831. Riots at Bristol, Bath, Coventry, and Worcester. 1883. International Trades Union Congress at Paris.
30	Tues.	1851. Kossuth in London.
31	Wed.	1790. Riot of frame-work knitters at Northampton. 1793. Brissot and others guillotined. 1848. Vienna retaken from the "rebels." 1870. Outbreak in Paris.
1	Thur.	1789. <i>Lettres de cachet</i> abolished. 1811. Henry White the elder tried for seditious libel. 1851. Bondin killed. 1867. Five Fenians sentenced to death at Manchester.
2	Fri.	1841. Daniel O'Connell elected as first Lord Mayor of Dublin.
3	Sat.	1640. Long Parliament met; William Lenthall chosen Speaker. 1815. John Mitchell born.

LETTER FROM AMERICA.

FROM a private letter written by our comrade Charles Bodendieck in Chicago, the following facts are learned: Bodendieck flatly denies having been acquainted with the detective mentioned in one of my last letters, and most certainly he did not elevate this scoundrel to the position of a room-mate. It seems that the detective found a means to get into Bodendieck's room, and search it in the latter's absence. Now Bodendieck not being married, and earning but small and irregular wages, boarded himself. He kept all his grocery—tea, coffee, sugar, pepper, salt, etc.—in different tin cans. The "sharp-witted" detective, seeing these various mysterious-looking cans, and knowing Bodendieck to be a devoted Anarchist, put two and two together and jumped at once to the conclusion, with a sagacity particularly owned by that class of people, that they must of necessity contain chemicals destined to be used in the manufacture of dynamite. Bodendieck was quickly arrested, and his grocery was given to an analyser of considerable repute, who, after the most minute investigation and much scientific speculation, came to the conclusion that the stuff was—well, what it was. He believed himself fooled, and told his friend Bonfield so in plain terms. Tableau! Bodendieck had to be released, and the Chicago police had added new glory of a shoddy character to its past record.

Our comrade, Oscar Fa'leur, has been permitted to land. Assistant-Secretary of the Treasury, Maynard, did not deem it wise to stab organised labour in the face just before a Presidential contest. Fa'leur has gone to Pittsburgh in search of work.

The rats are leaving the sinking ship. Within the last month, General Secretary Charles Litchman, of the Knights of Labour, and A. A. Carlton, a member of the Executive Board of the same organisation, have resigned and put their services as political spouters and wire-pullers at the disposal of the Republican party. Last Saturday, Thomas B. Barry, also a member of the Executive of the Knights, sent in his resignation accompanied by a letter to Powderly, which, as Barry had opportunity to learn the inner working of the order, proves conclusively what I always have maintained in reference to this labour organisation. Here are a few extracts:

"I hereby tender my resignation as a member of the General Executive Board, to take effect October 6th, as I can no longer endure to be a witness to the many farces and deceptions practised upon the innocent masses. I find that one of the requirements of a member of the board is to be a party to fraud that leaves the unthinking masses to hunger, with nothing for them but promises never intended to be kept. Your policy of deception must soon come to an end if the Order is to live. I have learned that it is a crime to be a Knight of Labour in the general office, as has been proved by the many discharges of tried and true Knights who helped the Order in its infancy, and the employment of unfair people or those who were not members of the Knights of Labour—something never before known in the history of a labour organisation. It was left to the general officers of the Knights of Labour to show their preference for scab-ism in employing non-members, while hundreds of our own people, equally competent to fill the positions, were made to suffer the pangs of hunger. One work in which you have achieved any amount of success has been in your untiring efforts to destroy not only me but districts that have had the courage to take exception to your worse than criminal policy in handing over the people whose interests you had sworn to protect to corporate greed, as can be proved by the nearly 2,000 people whom your action impelled to walk the streets of Cincinnati for weeks, and many of them to suffer for the necessities of life. For what? That one more representative to the General Assembly favourable to the general administration might be obtained. Had I not been called from the Richmond Convention I would there have exposed your system which you practised upon the representatives of the Order assembled there; when you numbered us all in order that your spies, not being acquainted with the delegates, might dog their footsteps and report to the high lords of the industrial movement what they had learned of the sayings of delegates. Whether those spies were paid out of your private funds or out of the funds of the Order I am unable to say. . . . In refusing to bow in submission and work in unison with the powers that be, in taking this stand against your worse than criminal methods, I do it with the full knowledge of your power to influence and your ability to practice your deception upon the unthinking masses and place yourself before them in the light of injured innocence. Were your power to crush and trample upon the rights of freemen a thousandfold greater I would still pursue the course I have mapped out in the interest of progress. No matter how high on the pedestal of fame a man may have been elevated, if he is wrong, or makes mistakes, I have the courage to tell him so. The die is cast. I have chosen. As for me, I would rather be in hell with the consciousness of knowing that I was right, than in paradise knowing that I was wrong."

There is going to be a lively time in Knights of Labour circles this week. An appeal has been issued to all Knights of Labour and lovers of justice inviting them to attend a mass meeting this Wednesday, where Barry will deliver an address entitled, "The Dry Rot in the Knights of Labour, its Origin and Causes." The appeal closes with the words: "Why has the membership of the order fallen off from 702,000 members in 1886 to 250,000 in 1888? Do you want to know the true state of affairs from those who know them? If so attend the meeting."

It is a matter extremely to be regretted that a powerful organisation has come to this. However, there is no other remedy now but total destruction, so that there may be room for a new organisation.

The immigration question is still in everybody's mind. Powderly devotes in his organ, the *Journal of United Labour*, two columns to the discussion of this question. He says, among other arguments (?):

"On November 22, 1882, I visited the slave pens at Eckert Mines, Maryland, and saw 105 Hungarians, who had been brought to this country under contract to take the places of striking American miners, huddled together in a single room. From that day forth I have spoken and worked against the system. One short year ago papers published in this country protested against a speech which I made on July 4, in denunciation of the system which lands poverty by the thousand under contract and makes paupers of our people. I said then and now repeat that while we owe a great deal to the poor and oppressed of other lands, we owe a great deal more to our own people."

Now Powderly, who has been a member of the Socialist Labour Party, knows that the exclusion of foreign workmen is not a solution of this evil. The Central Labour Union has under discussion a leaflet on the same question, of which I give you the most important points:

"But, inasmuch as the immensely increasing immigration from countries like Italy, Hungary, Poland, and Russia, where the labouring classes are accustomed to a miserably low standard of life, has a tendency to drag down the higher standard of the American workman, means should be devised which will prevent such poorly developed elements from competing with us in the labour market. And one of these means should be to enable such immigrants to become independent of the necessity of seeking employment where the supply of labour is superabundant already. The American nation is the richest in the world. We have millions of acres of unoccupied land. Our resources are almost unlimited. We mean that, in order to get rid of this threatening competition by foreign labour, we should demand from the legislative bodies of the States and the nation that they assist the immigrants in settling on our uncultivated lands. Congress should be prevailed upon to furnish the immigrant with means sufficient to cultivate those lands, and provisions securing the return of such government loans to the immigrant settler may easily be framed. Let us, therefore, immediately commence a powerful agitation for the purpose of impressing it upon the minds of the law-making powers that the remedy for the evils pertaining to increasing immigration is within their reach."

The Central Labour Union are nearer the truth, and if they discontinue to put any trust in government, and take the matter in their own hands, they are very near a solution of the problem.

A committee has been appointed in New York to make preparations for a commemoration meeting on November 11th. The Central Labour Union, the Socialists, and the Anarchists will co-operate. Meetings will be held in all the leading cities of the United States.

A big accident has occurred on the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad, near Washington, D.C., resulting in the killing of three persons and injuring seven others. The accident was due to a mistake on the part of the freight train men—the freight train coming into collision with an express train. The freight train men say they had been on duty 36 hours, and had gone asleep while being switched off to wait for some trains to pass. They woke up and believed the road to be clear. Considering the long hours railway men work, it is astonishing that accidents are not more frequent.

How sensations are got up may be seen from the following telegram, which was sent on the 6th of October from St. Louis:

"A special from Winfield, Kan., says that there is great excitement in that vicinity over the discovery that a secret military order of Anarchists, known as the 'National Order of Videttes,' exists in Cowley and Sumner Counties. A man named Pryor, formerly of St. Louis, is given as the leader of the band, and the agitation is increased by the discovery that several well-known citizens are members of it. The discovery was made by a detective employed for that purpose who was initiated into the order."

This telegram was published in all leading papers, but from beginning to end it is a thumping big lie.

A strike is announced from Chicago. All the street-car lines in Chicago are worked by a Philadelphia syndicate, whose representative in Chicago is a Mr. Yerkes, President of the syndicate, a man who has served a year in the Philadelphia penitentiary for embezzlement. This syndicate declared that it was willing to spend a million dollars to break up the organisation of their men. President Yerkes, in an interview with the reporters, made the following remarks: "There is no danger of a strike; the men have not ambition enough to strike. This I tell you in confidence; their spirit is broken. Did you ever observe one of our men? They stand anything, they are used to any kind of treatment. They are cursed and damned by passengers to such an extent, that submission has become their second nature. A few weeks ago one of their committees came to me with a list of complaints; I told them they were mistaken, and strange to say they believed my word." On the 6th of October, the men employed in running the street-cars of the west side struck for higher wages and shorter hours. All was quiet. Yerkes employed 200 private detectives and all the Chicago police to guard his property—against whom? Under these circumstances a brutal attack on peaceable citizens was unavoidable, and even all capitalistic papers say that the police was bound to cause the first collision. Sunday night, Captain Schaack, of infamous memory, and a squad of his men, tried to smuggle sixteen scabs imported from Philadelphia into the premises of the Company. Some strikers got a notion of what was going on, and cried "Scab! scab!" This made Schaack mad, and he ordered his bullies to attack the strikers. Strange to say the blue-coats refused to obey orders, and Schaack, who had advanced with drawn revolver to within a few feet of the peaceable citizens, observing the hesitation of his men, shouted to them, "Cowards! cowards! are you afraid? Go on, cowards, disperse this mob." The bluecoats mad through this language obeyed orders, ran at the little knot of strikers with drawn clubs and scattered it in every direction. The north side men have declared that if Yerkes does not give in by to-night, they also will go on strike. On Monday the cars were running again, not separately but bunched, so that more police might be crowded on them. Politics are entering into the conflict now. Yielding to the influence of the Republican city administration, who were afraid to lose votes, Yerkes withdrew yesterday the private detectives. Mayor Roche, or the "Cockroach of the Wild West," as citizen Francis Train called him, is trying to arbitrate between the strikers and the company.

Newark, N.J., October 9, 1888.

HENRY F. CHARLES.

Everywhere it is the same—an increase in aggregate wealth means an increase in poverty; one keeps pace with the other. As population increases, wealth increases; as wealth increases, poverty increases. There is a reason for this, and the reason is that some are enabled to monopolise natural opportunities, which others cannot use without paying a royalty.—*Craftsman*.



# THE LABOUR STRUGGLE.

## BRITAIN.

**RENFREW BOILERMAKERS.**—The boilermakers in Renfrew have got their wages increased from 6d. to 7d. per hour.

**ARBROATH MOULDERS.**—The iron moulders in Arbroath, having demanded an advance of 2s. a week, the master acceded to their request.

The strike of weavers at Macclesfield still drags itself along. It has now lasted about three months at an immense cost to both parties.

Lord George Hamilton told the Glasgow Chamber of Commerce that although 3,000 men have been discharged from the dockyards the output of work is the same.

**MOULDERS AND IRONFOUNDERS' WAGES.**—At a meeting of the employers held at Glasgow on the 17th inst., it was agreed to advance wages  $\frac{1}{4}$ d. per hour. The men asked an advance of  $\frac{3}{4}$ d. per hour.

**SHOEMAKERS ORGANISING.**—The shoemakers of Enderby, near Leicester, who some time back seceded from the Leicester trade union, have, after further consideration decided to form a local branch thereof.

**HALLSIDE PATTERN-MAKERS' STRIKE.**—The strike of pattern-makers at Hallside Steel Works has not terminated. The majority of the men are still out, and the few who have commenced work never lifted their tools.

**LANARKSHIRE MINERS.**—The masters who are united against the men have just made up their monthly returns for September and they say, according to their way of looking at it, the men are entitled to an advance of  $2\frac{1}{2}$  per cent.

**DUNDEE RIVETTERS' STRIKE.**—About fifty rivetters employed by Gourlay Bros. and Co., Dundee, in repairing the vessel "Superb," of Liverpool, struck work on 15th inst., asking their wages to be increased to 8 $\frac{1}{4}$ d. per hour, an advance of 1d.

**SHORT TIME IN THE COTTON TRADE.**—At a meeting of the United Cotton Spinner's Association, held in Manchester on 19th inst., it was resolved "that this committee recommend the spinning trade not to 'light up' during the month of November."

**BLAST FURNACEMEN'S WAGES.**—At a meeting of South Staffordshire masters, held at Birmingham on the 18th inst., it was resolved to grant the men an advance of 5 per cent., thus restoring the wages of two years ago. Over 1,000 men are affected.

**LEITH PLATELAYERS' STRIKE.**—A strike of upwards of 200 boilermakers and platelayers has taken place in Leith ship-building and engineering yards. The men are paid 6d. per hour, and demand an advance of  $\frac{3}{4}$ d. It is understood they would accept  $6\frac{1}{2}$ d.

**HOLMES SHALE MINERS.**—A full meeting of miners was held at the works on the 16th inst., when it was reported that no further reductions had been imposed on any section of the mine, and that in the case of the men who had gone to Boson, France, for work, their places had been filled up.

**MIDLAND IRONWORKERS' WAGES.**—The ironworkers are manifesting much dissatisfaction with the 5 per cent. advance awarded by arbitrators. The Wolverhampton men on the 17th inst. resolved to give instructions to the Wages Board delegates to immediately give notice for a further  $7\frac{1}{2}$  per cent. advance.

**GLASGOW RIVETERS.**—Riveters and caulkers employed by King and Co., Dock Engine and Boiler Works, South Kinning Place, Paisley Road, have come out for an advance. The employees received threepence less in the week than men in similar establishments. The firm offered the threepence, but the men demanded more.

**A SHORT STRIKE.**—The iron-ship builders at Dundee struck for an advance on Wednesday, 17th. The men held a conference on Friday with the masters; the employers agreed to raise rate of pay from 6d. to 6 $\frac{1}{2}$ d. per hour on new work, and from 6 $\frac{1}{2}$ d. to 7 $\frac{1}{4}$ d. per hour old. The men accepted this increase, and resumed work on Saturday, 20th.

**SCOTCH STEEL-WORKERS.**—The pattern-makers of Hallside Steel Works, who have been on strike for an advance of halfpenny per hour during the past four weeks, resumed work on the 19th inst., having been promised the advance in a fortnight's time. The moulders of the same works received an advance of a farthing per hour this week.

**CO-OPERATIVE BOOTMAKERS.**—The Leicester Co-operative Boot and Shoe Manufacturing Society the last quarterly report shows to be in a flourishing condition. The last quarter's takings amounted to £2,171, being 30 per cent. increase on previous three months. The workmen participated in profits to the extent of 1s. 9d in the £ upon wages.

**RHONDDA VALLEY MINERS.**—A permanent advance of  $2\frac{1}{2}$  per cent. in wages was, on the 17th inst., granted to the miners of the Rhondda Valley as a result of the Ferndale sliding scale award. It is announced that the advance, which had already been temporarily conceded, is now warranted by the increased price of coal and the revival of trade.

**MIDDLESBROUGH LABOUR DISPUTE.**—Efforts were made on Thursday, 18th, to settle the dispute between Bolckow, Vaughan, and Co., and their workmen in the engineering departments of their works. The men claimed an advance of 10 per cent.; but, after an interview with the general manager, the moulders and boiler-smiths agreed to accept merely 5 per cent.

**SAILORS AT BRISTOL.**—There seems a growing feeling among seamen that they ought to participate in the increased prosperity of the shipping trade. The steamship Titanic was up for signing on Saturday 20th, and the men refused an offer of £3 for seamen and £3 15s. for firemen, and stood out for £3 10s. and £4 respectively. The vessel failed to get her crew on the terms offered.

**IRONWORKERS' WAGES.**—All ironworkers engaged in North Staffordshire iron trade began work on Monday, 22nd, at an advance of 5 per cent. "This has been brought about by the Ironmasters' Association, without any steps having been taken by the men to secure the same," says the press, "and may therefore be regarded as a most satisfactory evidence of a substantial improvement in trade!"

**THREE HUNDRED WEAVERS ON STRIKE.**—On Saturday morning 13th, the weavers employed at the Bury Co-operative Manufacturing Co., Limited's Wellington Mill, Hinds, Bury, resumed work, after having been on strike since previous Thursday. The grievance was extra work and excessive steam. A meeting of the strikers was held on Friday morning and the manager interviewed, but he declined to come to terms. It was afterwards resolved to go in, and this was done on the following morning. So much for "co-operation."

**MONTROSE MILL-WORKERS' WAGES.**—Saturday 20th a meeting of the Dundee district mill and factory operatives was held in Montrose. Rev. H. Williams, Dundee, hon. president, advised them to wait patiently for five months longer, when they would be entitled to the benefit of the union, and then the members in Dundee would help them to strike. A resolution to that effect was adopted.

**GREENOCK SHIPBUILDING STRIKES.**—Rivetters' strike in Caird and Company's yard, Greenock, mentioned in this column last week, still continues. They are now joined in their demand by fitters, caulkers, and platers in same yard, and also by the rivetters and other iron-workers in Russell and Co.'s yard. Scott and Co., have given notice that, in common with other shipbuilders in Port Glasgow and Greenock, they will give an advance of 5 per cent. on all time-worker's wages.

**SCOTCH RAILWAY-MEN.**—The half-yearly report of the Amalgamated Society of Railway Servants for Scotland, just issued, states that many men are yet employed from 12 to 14 and 16 hours per day. At end of Dec. 1887 total strength of society was 2,743. During past half year there have been added 261, which brings total membership to 3004. For the six months ended June £605 was paid for sick claims, £145 for death claims, and £86 for out-of-work and suspension claims. Total balance at credit of society at the end of June was £4,152.

**A BIG "IRON RING."**—The *Glasgow Daily Mail*, which speaks the truth when a lie cannot help its hatred to the workers, says that a syndicate of all Scotch ironmasters is being formed which will put the copper and salt syndicates into the shade. It only awaits fuller discussion on points of detail—the most important of which is whether it would be possible to work the syndicate without the co-operation of the Cleveland masters, or coerce them into joining. To the Socialist these big syndicates have a peculiar interest, as they mark so clearly the utter smash-up of the Manchester school.

**COTTON STRIKE AT DROYLSDEN.**—For some time there has been great dissatisfaction amongst the minders at the Victoria Spinning Co. as to work and diminishing wages. Recently the matter was referred to the Minders' Association, who made representations to the employers. An alteration was made by the firm, but would have placed the men in no better position than they were. Matters came to a crisis last week and the weft minders tendered a week's notice, which expired Wednesday 17th, the piecers and scavengers coming out at the same time. For some unexplained reasons the twist minders still remain at work.

**MATCHMAKERS' UNION.**—The Union of Women Matchmakers which was formed after the Bryant and May strike, is progressing very satisfactorily. Nearly 700 have joined, and their weekly contributions are paid up with commendable regularity. The first quarter will soon be completed, and at quarterly meeting Mrs. Besant and Mr. Burrows, who are honorary secretary and honorary treasurer respectively, purpose giving the girls a musical entertainment, at which it is hoped some of the foreign delegates to the International Trade Union Congress will be present. The union elected two of their number and their secretary and treasurer to represent them at the Congress, but the fee being 10s. for each delegate, they have decided to send only the president of their committee and Mrs. Besant.

**KINGHORN SHIPBUILDING STRIKE.**—The strike among the rivetters at the yard of John Scott and Co., Kinghorn, still continues. The control of the strike is now said to have passed into the hands of the Boilermakers' Society, Glasgow, who are prepared to find work for all the men in the yard in the event of an early settlement not being come to. Messrs. Scott have been in communication with the other shipbuilding yards on the east coast—viz., Aberdeen, Grahamstown, and Leith—to ascertain the rate paid at these places, with a view to drawing up a scale to meet the demands of the men and to guide them in future. The firm lately stopped the contracts known as piecework, and have for some time been paying the riveters a fixed sum per week. "The strike is unfortunate, as the company lately procured two fresh orders from the General Steam Navigation Company, London!"

**GLASGOW TRADES COUNCIL.**—A meeting was held on 10th inst. The cabinetmakers' delegate reported that it had been proposed to reduce wages in the Barrowfield cabinet works by 10 per cent., but it was afterwards withdrawn. It was stated that some of the men who had taken a prominent part in resisting the proposal had been put away, but the rest of the men lifted their tools and left. The engineers' delegate stated that they had accepted an advance of 5 per cent. on the understanding that if warranted by the state of trade they would request another advance in January next. The case of the quay labourers was again before the Council, and it was resolved to approach the Clyde Trust Committee to get the stevedores' licence asked by the men.—At a meeting on 17th inst., the iron-dressers' delegate reported that some time ago they asked an advance of  $\frac{1}{4}$ d. per hour, but employers refused it on the plea that state of trade did not warrant it. It had, he said, been agreed to wait a little before any action was taken. A committee was appointed to enquire into the present state of payment of female labour, to see if steps can be taken to improve present position. It was stated that 48 buttons were sewn on and 48 button-holes worked for 6d. A pair of moleskin trousers was made for 3 $\frac{1}{2}$ d. For finishing a dozen men's flannel semmets, 6d. was paid; finishing a dozen heavy blue flannel shirts, 1s; fitting jackets for the machine, 11d. per dozen; finishing duck trousers, 8d. and 10d. a-dozen (about 17 hours' work); for making jacket, vest, and kilt, and providing thread for the same, 2s. 3d.; men are paid 17s. 6d. for making the same.

**THE COAL CRISIS.**—Everything points to a widespread strike, but it must fail unless better discipline is maintained; already there are signs of disintegration. The universal demand is 10 per cent.; at several collieries this has been conceded, and the men have gone in without troubling about the rest. The "men" at Hamstead Colliery, in South Staffordshire, have accepted a "provisional" advance of 5 per cent., on condition that they receive the whole if the others win it; at Combs Colliery, in Yorkshire, the men have taken even less; and so on. It is but fair to say that the bulk of the men are determined, and will remain firm whatever happens. That is all the more reason why they should knit their organisation closer together and deal in due fashion with blacklegs and faint hearts. The men who won't support their comrades are the kind that the Australian bosses are longing for, in order to break the strike there. Lord Houghton has been suggesting arbitration; but as this would need that the proprietors laid open their books and showed what profit they have been making, they have declined. Enquiries which are being pushed forward in the mining districts show the advance to be badly needed. Near Barnsley one man, a good workman, in what is considered fairly constant work, has made an average of 13s. 11d. a week. 15s. a week is quite a good figure.

Three test cases at Rotherham showed 19s. 4d. for ten days, 8s. 6d. for six days, and 6s. 6d. for six days. The 10 per cent. advance would make only about 4d. a day in thick coal miners' wages, and 2d. in those of thin coal and stone miners. Although the advance has not yet been generally given, the mere prospect has enabled dealers to raise the retail price from 1s. to 2s. per ton; a good many coalowners have done the same, and are making £100 a day profit—but to raise wages would ruin them! During the period 1871 to 1873, the rise of coal to fabulous prices was currently ascribed to the enormous wages paid to the workmen, who were understood to be working but three days per week, and to pass the rest of their time strumming on pianos and consuming champagne; but evidence collected by the Select Committee of the House of Commons put another complexion on the matter. It appears that in the West of Yorkshire district, between October, 1871, and March, 1873, there was an advance of coal at the pit's mouth of 15s. 5d. per ton, while wages in this period were advanced only 1s. 1½d. per ton! The strikers and intending strikers are narrowly scanning the various papers that are taking sides for and against them. So far they have found the press by no means so inimical as they expected, but some strong talking has been indulged in about certain papers of which they expected more than they have got. In many places they seem especially sore about the *Star*, which, they say, can only find room for a scanty paragraph now and then about a matter that affects the lives of 200,000 men and the comfort of millions more, and has even discontinued its weekly labour column, while it continues to pour out pages about every insignificant happening in Ireland, and can always puff a man-milliner.

AMERICA.—OCTOBER 9.

The feather-workers of New York have won their strike. The long strike of the cigarmakers in Cuba is considered at an end, although several of the factories are still closed. Very likely the sugar factory of Havemeyer and Elder, of Williamsburgh, N.Y., will be closed. 1,700 men would suffer by the change. Last week the two sugar factories in Brooklyn of De Castro and Donnor were closed. The managers say the closing was effected not by orders of the Trust, but for repairing purposes. About 1,200 men are in consequence out of work. The workmen have forced the Republican electioneering committee to turn the *Mail and Express* newspaper chapel into a union shop. The *Mail and Express* has been considered a stronghold of the "Boss Printers' Protective Association."

LIST OF SEPTEMBER STRIKES.

Previously reported	4,374
(The secretary of the Amalgamated Iron and Steel Workers reports 202 members of that organisation on strike.)	
Philipsburgh, Pa.—Glass-workers, for advance, Sept. 20; succeeded 27	—
Duquoin, Ill.—Switchmen, Sept. 25	—
Johnson county, Ark.—Coal-miners, for advance, Sept. 20; failed 30th	—
Baltimore, Md.—Boys in glass-works, question of management, Sept. 28	90
Baltimore, Md.—Boys in glass-works, question of management, Sept. 28	160
Total number of strikers known for September	4,624

LIST OF OCTOBER STRIKES.

Morewood, Pa.—Coke-workers, against discharge of two men, Oct. 1	1,000
Homestead, Pa.—Rail-makers, against docking system, Oct. 1	—
Philadelphia, Pa.—Lock-out of ship-riggers, against reduction, Oct. 1	85
Southern Illinois coal-miners, for advance, Oct. 1	2,000
Allegheny, Pa.—Toby-makers in cigar-factory, for reinstatement of discharged employes, Oct. 1	—
New York City—Feather-workers, against reduction, Oct. 1	300
Scranton, Pa.—Coal-miners, against reduction, Oct. 2	200
New York City—Cabinet-makers, against reduction; succeeded Oct. 4	—
New York City—Painters, against non-union men, Oct. 3; succeeded 4th	—
Total number of strikers known to Oct. 4	3,485

H. F. C.

CORRESPONDENCE.

HOW NOT TO DO IT.

Dear Sir,—As I have to prepare an essay on "Socialism" for a debating society, I should feel very much obliged if you would kindly forward me by return a pamphlet or small treatise on its principles, and enclose 2d. for postage.—Yours, etc.

[The above is a genuine letter, and a fair sample of a large number actually received. Pamphlets were sent, but one can hardly help standing aghast at the temerity which will tackle so vast a subject in such a way.—Eds.]

EQUALITY.—In the hive of human society, to preserve order and justice, and to banish both vice and corruption, it is necessary that all the individuals be equally employed, and obliged to concur equally in the general good, and that the labour be equally divided among them. If there be any whose riches and birth exempt them from all employment, there will be divisions and unhappiness in the hive. Their idleness is destructive of the general welfare.—*Helvetius, De l'Homme*, II, vi. 5.

THE COTTAR'S SATURDAY NIGHT OF LIFE.—The *Christian Leader* says:—"Then think of the fare! 'Coarse and inadequate,' Mr. J. Boyd Kinnear says. Yes, often worse than the dietary of prisons. 'And shovelfuls of soda in it,' said a lady to us yesterday, 'to make the peas soft and the meal swell.' We were forgetting the soda, with its skinning of the lips and disturbing of the night's sleep. Would that one of your thin-lipped gentry passed a night in a poor-house! No cell to yourself as they have in prison, but a large ward filled with done folk in various stages of decay. The coughing and expectorating from diseased lungs, the groans of senility, the peripatetics of the possessors of worn-out organs strained by the doses of soda, the oaths of the sleepers they awake, the hard bed and often insufficient covering, the cock-crow rising, the ignominious regimental moleskins, the sharp tongue of the dragooning governor, and then the weary round of blank monotony—oh! it is sickening. And wherefore all this heathen cruelty? *Pour encourager les autres*. We are to make Sandy Junior thrifty by kicking his father into a criminal's grave! Oh, Christian Scotland! rich in political economy and soda! Oh that our enemy would write a book telling how a man with a wife and family is to save a competence for declining years out of the miserable pittance earned as wages by unskilled labour!"

INTERNATIONAL NOTES.

BELGIUM.

Comrade Paul Conreur, of La Louvière, in the Hainault province, has been tried by the Court of Assize of Mons, for offences against the person of the King of the Belgians and the Congoese. Some time ago at a public gathering Conreur dared to express his opinions by saying, "Down with the King! Hurrah for the Republic!" That was all. But Conreur is a Socialist, and for that supplementary reason the offence is of course a very cruel one. The bourgeois who sat on the jury have sentenced him to one year's imprisonment, a fine of 300 frs. and all costs, which means at least another six months. Verily, the king of the African slave-traders is not worth so much as that. Conreur made a very able speech in court, but the jurors certainly did not understand one word of it! Besides, why should they?

We had a few words last week on the dark outlook in the coal districts of Belgium, adding therewith that the miners had to live on extremely reduced wages, whereas the owners' benefit was increasing a good deal. A few figures will illustrate this fact. Last year the production of coal increased by more than one million tons (from 17,285,547 to 18,378,624). In fact, the production of 1887 was the largest that has ever been attained. The province of Hainault alone accounts for three-quarters of this production. The 122 coal-pits of that district sold, in 1887, 108,220,000 francs' worth of coal. Out of that sum, 59,338,800 francs have been paid for wages to 75,000 workers, who extract the combustible with the aid of gigantic machines representing 80,000 horse-power, or the continuous effort of 1,600,000 men. Now that which most characterises this year is, besides the revival of the industry, the energetic way in which the coal-mining societies have worked in order to effect savings by reducing costs. In 1886 the ton was sold at 8fr. 24c., and, the cost being 7fr. 95c., a benefit of 29c. only was realised. In 1887, whilst the demand was increasing in considerable proportions, the price per ton decreased to 8fr. 3c., but the cost price was reduced to 7fr. 54c., leaving a nearly double profit, 49c. per ton. This reduction has been obtained on the work of the miners; the number of workers has been somewhat diminished, and the quantity of coal extracted by each worker has increased by nine tons in the year. The average extract, by year and worker, until 1876, was 170 tons and less; in 1887 it has amounted to 179 tons. The situation of the miners, however, has not been bettered. Although they have worked six days instead of four all the year round, their wages in 1887 have only shown an increase of 26 francs on those of the previous year. The miner of Hainault has to live on a yearly income of 787 francs (£35 10s. 0d.). In 1878, when he only produced one hundred and fifty tons, he earned 836 francs; in 1882, a year of heavy production, he earned 1,007 francs (£40), but a downfall has since been steadily keeping on. On the other hand, the shareholders have pocketed all the profits; their benefit has doubled. The general outcome in 1887 has been of 6,688,000 francs, whereas in 1886, it had been of 3,610,000 fr. This, of course, never prevents the mine-owners from declaring to their wage-slaves, when asking for an increase of their salaries, that they cannot do it, and they are very sorry indeed, they are even compelled to work at a loss, and they do so only to keep their workers alive. Scoundrels!

ITALY.

Distress and misery increase day after day, and especially so in some of the Sicilian provinces and in the Neapolitan and Piedmontese districts. The wages that are there already extremely low, have now fallen to the extremest possible minimum. The *Messaggero* states that from 1 fr. 50 cent. a-day they have come to 80 and even to 60 centimes: scarcely enough to eat a little *polenta*. These starvation wages are paid to the privileged, thousands of people being out of work altogether. Under such dreadful conditions it cannot be surprising that the emigration movement makes such rapid progress all over the country. In 1877, according to official statistics, there were 18,000 emigrants. In 1878 the numbers were 40,000; in 1882, 60,000; in 1885, 77,000; in 1886, 80,000; and in 1887, 150,000. At the end of the present year there will be nearly 200,000. In certain provinces, this exodus of the population assumes very dangerous proportions. So, for instance, in the southern part of the Peninsula, in the Basilicate district, there have been 12,128 emigrants on a total population of about 500,000 inhabitants—i.e., 23 per thousand—more than in Ireland, where the proportion has been 17 per thousand for the last years. The mass emigration of the country folk also contributes very largely to the concentration of all the agricultural land into the hands of a few proprietors; the *latifundia* of olden times are re-constituted and are from day to day enlarged by the innumerable small plots of land that are left behind them by the outdriven, who can no longer find their daily subsistence on Italian soil. At this very moment, no less than the three-fifths of the productive land of Italy is owned by the large proprietors, and nothing, in the actual state of things, can prevent the progressive accumulation of the agricultural property by an ever more and reduced group of individuals. Nothing,—of course except Revolution, that shall bring the land to its real owner, the whole community. V. D.

THE SOCIALIST LEAGUE.

OFFICES: 13 FARRINGTON ROAD, E.C.

The Offices of the Socialist League will be open for the sale of *Commonweal* and all other Socialist publications from 8.30 a.m. to 9 p.m. every day except Sunday. The Secretary will be in attendance from 10 a.m. to 9 p.m. daily.

A meeting of the metropolitan speakers of the League will be held at 13, Farringdon Road, on Tuesday, Oct. 30, at 8 o'clock, to discuss new leaflet and other propaganda.

London Members' Meeting.—The next monthly meeting of members will take place on Monday, Nov. 5, 1888, at 13 Farringdon Road, at 9 o'clock sharp.

Propaganda Fund.—Collected at Regent's Park, 4s. 8d.; at Hyde Park, 2s. 6½d. Total, 7s. 2½d.

"COMMONWEAL" PRINTING FUND.

Deane, 6d.

REPORTS.

LONDON (OPEN-AIR).—*Regent's Park*.—William Morris addressed very large meeting Sunday morning. *Weal* and other literature sold. *Hyde Park*.—On Sunday an enthusiastic meeting was addressed by Blundell, Henderson, Cantwell, Williams (S.D.F.), and a German comrade. Blundell sang "The March of the Workers," and other Socialist songs were sung. At end of meeting a procession of over 500 workmen marched to *Broad Street*, accompanied by many foot and

mounted police. Revolutionary songs were sung with great fervour. A huge meeting was addressed by Nicholls, Brooks, and McCormick, from which we marched to Clerkenwell Green, where another meeting was held by Nicholl and Power (S.D.F.). **Leman Street.**—Good meeting Sunday morning. Speakers: Mrs. Schack, Turner, and Parker. Procession afterwards round Ratcliffe Highway. 11 new members. **Philpot Street.**—On Friday evening Kitz and Parker spoke. Several songs sung. **Victoria Park.**—Oct. 21st, good meeting, addressed by Davis, Mrs. Schack, and Hicks.

**CLERKENWELL.**—On Sunday, Oct. 21, J. Turner lectured on "Palliatives a Waste of Energy." The lecturer was of opinion that a body like the Socialist League should be in the main a party of principle, and should certainly hold aloof from all compromise. When the oppressive factions saw a large party of this expression in the country, they would be sure to throw out "sops" of all shapes and sizes. Good discussion followed.—B.

**FULHAM.**—On Tuesday evening, back of Walham Green Church, Maughan and Groser addressed a very good meeting. Several of Morris's songs were given by Mrs. Tochatti and sister. Sunday morning, Tarleton and Davis addressed a good meeting. In the evening, after Davis and Groser had spoken outside outside our rooms, Tochatti gave his lecture on "Human Sacrifices in England." Several questions and some discussion. 2s. 6d. collected and three members made.—S. B. G.

**HAMMERSMITH.**—At Latimer Road, Sunday morning, very good meeting. Speakers: Tochatti, Dean, Maughan, ably aided by Lyne (S.D.F.) 24 'Weals sold. Several of the choir attended. In evening, Graham Wallas lectured on "The French Revolutionary Movement of '48."—J. M.

**MERTON AND MITCHAM.**—Good meeting on Fair Green, Mitcham, addressed by Kitz, Sunday morning. On Wimbledon Broadway, Monday, Kitz and Groser, of Hammersmith Branch, assisted by members of Hammersmith Choir, held a great crowd together for an hour and a half.—F. K.

**WHITECHAPEL AND ST. GEORGE'S.**—At a meeting held on Saturday evening, Leach was appointed treasurer; Schensul, librarian; and Parker and Wess, secretaries.

**ABERDEEN.**—At indoor meeting on 15th a spirited discussion took place over a lecture on "The coming Revolution." Speakers: Duncan, Aiken, Barron, Turner, Smith, McIntyre, and Leatham. At mass meeting in Castle Street, to protest against the freedom of the city being granted to Goschen (who is Lord Rector of Aberdeen University), Leatham spoke from three different platforms. The meeting showed a decided preference for the strong meat of Socialism, leaving the Gladstonian and trade-union demagogues for the Socialist speaker. Webster also took part, but not as a Socialist.

**EDINBURGH.**—Not much doing here at present. Still lending pamphlets from house to house. On 18th Smith read a paper, which led to good discussion.

**GLASGOW.**—On Sunday, at 2.30, Glasier, Gilbert, and Downie addressed meeting on Green. At Paisley Road Toll, at 5, Tim Burgoyne, Joe Burgoyne, Glasier, and Culloch spoke to large and attentive audience; a number of questions asked and answered.

**IPSWICH.**—On Sunday Creed held meeting at Stutton; Brown lectured at the Pioneers' Hall to good audience; and Thomas spoke at the Debating Club. We are getting on very well with our work since we opened our new hall.—G. T.

**NORWICH.**—Successful meetings during week at corner of Silver Road and St. Catharine's Plain. Mowbray has been addressing unemployed meetings during week. Sunday afternoon, usual meeting in Market Place, addressed by Mowbray; good audience listened attentively. In evening, Cores addressed open-air meeting in Market. At Gordon Hall, Mowbray lectured to fair audience on "Trades' Unionism and its Present Relation to Socialism." Cores took chair. Good sales of literature, and 8s. 6d. collected for propaganda.—A. T. S.

**EAST-END PROPAGANDA.**—Berner Street Club hall was again filled, Saturday evening, to hear discussion, opened by Davis, on "Co-operation." A number of speakers took part. 3s. 6d. was collected.—W. P. B.

**LECTURE DIARY.**  
LONDON.

**Bloomsbury.**—This Branch will shortly be actively working. Socialists resident in this locality should send their names in at once to 13, Farringdon Road.

**Clerkenwell.**—Hall of the Socialist League, 13 Farringdon Road, E.C. Sunday, October 23, at 8.30 p.m., Concert in aid of Chicago Commemoration Fund. Free admission; collection to be made. Sunday, November 4, at 8.30 p.m., Social Evening by Members and Friends; free admission. Sunday November 11, at 8.30 p.m., R. L. Allen, "Man in Relation to Life and Matter."

**Fulham.**—Our rooms, 8 Effie Road, Walham Green, will in future be opened on Thursday evenings at 7 o'clock to all persons interested in social matters.

**Hackney.**—Secretary, E. Lefevre, 28 Percy Terrace, Victoria Road, Hackney Wick.

**Hammersmith.**—Kelmescott House, Upper Mall, W. Sunday Oct. 28, at 8 p.m.

**Hoxton.**—Persons wishing to join this branch are requested to communicate with H. D. Morgan, 22, Nicholas Street Hoxton.

**London Fields.**—All communications, etc., to Mrs. G. G. Schack, 26 Cawley Road, South Hackney.

**Merton.**—Club-house, 3 Clare Villas, Merton Road, Singlegate. Lecture on Sunday evenings at 8.30.

**Mile-end and Bethnal Green.**—95 Boston St., Hackney Road.

**North London.**—Secretary, Nelly Parker. Business meetings held on Friday evenings at 6 Windmill St., Tottenham Court Road, after open-air meeting at Ossulton Street.

**Whitechapel and St. Georges in the East.**—40 Berner Street. Meets Thursdays at 8.

**PROVINCES.**

**Aberdeen (Scottish Section).**—Secretary, P. Barrow, 14 Ann Street. Branch meets in Oddfellows Hall on Monday nights at 8. Choir practice at 46 Marischal Street on Thursday evenings at 8.

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

**Carnoustie (Scottish Section: Forfarshire).**—Meeting every Tuesday, at 8 p.m., in the Carnoustie Restaurant. Samuel Wilson, Secy.

**Dundee (Scot. Sect.).**—Meetings every Sunday in the Trades Hall, opposite Tay Bridge Station.

**Edinburgh (Scottish Land and Labour League).**—35 George IV. Bridge. Meetings for Discussion, Thursdays at 8 p.m.

**Galashiels (Scot Sect).**—J. Walker, 184 Glendinging Terrace, secy.

**Gallatoun and Dysart (Scottish Section: Fife).**—Meet every Tuesday at 7 p.m. in Gallatoun Public School. Secretary, A. Paterson, 152 Rosslyn St.

**Glasgow.**—84 John Street. Reading-room (Draughts, Chess, etc.) open 10 a.m. till 10 p.m. daily. Weekly meeting of members on Thursday evenings at 8. French Class meets every Sunday at 11.

**Ipswich.**—Pioneer Hall, Jacket Street. Meets on Sunday evenings.

**Kilmarnock.**—Secretary, H. M'Gill, 22 Gilmour St.

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

**Leicester.**—Hosiery Union Offices, 11a Millstone Lane. Fridays at 8 p.m.

**Norwich.**—Sunday, at 8.15, Lecture in Gordon Hall. Monday, at 8, Concert on behalf of Branch funds in Gordon Hall; admission free. Wednesday, at 8, Educational Class. Saturday, 8 until 10.30, Co-operative Clothing Association. Tuesday next, Oct. 30th, General Meeting of Branch will begin at 8 p.m. sharp, to elect officers and discuss the propaganda during coming winter, and other important business. Every comrade is requested to make a special effort to be present.

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

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

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

All persons who sympathise with the views of the Socialist League are earnestly invited to communicate with the above addresses, and if possible help us in preparing for the birth of a true society, based on equality, brotherhood, and freedom for all.

**OPEN-AIR PROPAGANDA.**

SUNDAY 28.

- 11.30...Latimer Road Station ...Hammersmith Branch
- 11.30...Mitcham Fair Green .....Turner
- 11.30...Regent's Park .....Davis
- 11.30...Walham Green, opp. Station .....Mainwaring
- 11.30...Weltje Rd., Ravencourt Pk .....Hammersmith
- 3.30...Hyde Park .....Parker
- 7.30...Broad Street, Soho .....Parker
- 7.30...Clerkenwell Green .....Nicoll
- 7.30...Mitcham Fair Green .....Turner

Monday.

- 8 ...Wimbledon Broadway .....Mainwaring

Tuesday.

- 8.30...Fulham—back of Walham Green Ch. ...Branch

Friday.

- 7.30...Euston Rd.—Ossulton Street .....Fuller

**EAST END.**

SUNDAY 28.

- Leman Street, Shadwell 11 ...Parker.
- Victoria Park ... 3.15...Schack, M'nwaring and Davis.
- Broadway, London Fields 8.30...Mainwaring.

TUESDAY.

- Mile-end Waste ... 8.30...Whitechapel Bb.

WEDNESDAY.

- Broadway, London Fields 8.30...Davis & Hicks.

FRIDAY.

- Philpot St., Commercial Rd. 8.30...Davis, Kitz, Parker

SATURDAY.

- Mile-end Waste ... 6 ...Whitechapel Bb.

**PROVINCES.**

**Aberdeen.**—Saturday: Castle Street, at 7 p.m.

**Glasgow.**—Sunday: Jail's Square at 2 o'clock; Paisley Road at 5 o'clock.

**Ipswich.**—

Sproughton, Wednesday evening.

Westerfield, Thursday evening.

Needham Market, Sunday morning and evening.

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

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

**Norwich.**—Sunday: Market Place, at 3 and 7.30.

Corner of Silver Road, Thursday at 8.15 p.m.

St Catharine's Plain, Friday at 8.15 p.m.

**ST. CLEMENT'S, Lever Street, City Road.**—Special Sermon. Sunday Oct. 28, at 5.

**PADDINGTON RADICAL CLUB, Paddington Green, Harrow Road.**—Rev. S. D. Headlam, "The School Board Election." Sunday Oct. 28, at 8.30 p.m.

**ST. NICHOLAS COLE ABBEY, Queen Victoria Street, E.C.**—Rev. C. E. Escreet, "The Six Points of the Bishops' Social Charter." Sunday Oct. 28, at 3.45.

**DULWICH WORKING MEN'S LIBERAL AND RADICAL CLUB, Lordship Lane, Dulwich.**—Mr. W. Steer (E.L.R.L.), "Why Landlordism must Perish." Sunday Oct. 28, at 8 p.m.

**PRINCES SQUARE.**—A concert was given here on Sunday evening by the East-end Propaganda Committee at this Club, the proceeds to be devoted to the Chicago Commemoration Fund.

**THE SOCIALIST CO-OPERATIVE FEDERATION.**—The Committee will meet at the Socialist League Offices, 13 Farringdon Road, E.C., on Saturday October 27, at 7.30 p.m. Subscriptions received and members enrolled at 9 p.m.

**MILE-END AND BETHNAL GREEN BRANCH.**—A meeting of members and friends will take place Sunday October 28th, at 26 Cawley Road, Victoria Park, at 6 p.m., after meeting in Park, to consider best means of forming a Socialist Club in district in connection with this branch. Comrades please attend.—H. M.

**UNITED SCANDINAVIAN CLUB, 43 Rathbone Place, Oxford Street, W.**—Grand Entertainment, with Concert and Ball, in aid of the Publication and Propaganda Funds of the Debating Sections, will be held on Saturday October 27, at 8.30 p.m. The following, and others, have consented to oblige: Miss D. Powell (violin and piano), Mr. Redfern Williams (humorous songs and sketches), Mr. D. J. Nicoll (selections from 'Pickwick Papers'), Messrs. Stewart (nigger sketch). Programme, 6d.

**FABIAN SOCIETY.**—The Fabian Society is giving a course of lectures on "Socialism: its Basis and Prospects." The first part of the course is devoted to "The Basis of Socialism." Of this, three have already been given—Sept. 21, (1) "The Historical Aspect," Sidney Webb; Oct. 5, (2) "The Economic Aspect," G. Bernard Shaw; Oct. 19, (3) "The Moral Aspect," Sydney Olivier. The first part concludes with: Nov. 2, (4) "The Industrial Aspect," William Clarke. The second part of the course will deal with "The Organisation of Society": Nov. 16, (1) "Property under Socialism," Graham Wallas; Dec. 7, (2) "Industry under Socialism," Annie Besant; Dec. 21, (3) "The Outlook," Hubert Bland.—The meetings will be held at Willis's Rooms, King Street, St. James's Square, S.W. The chair will be taken by the Rev. Stewart D. Headlam, B.A., at 8 p.m. precisely. Tickets for the course may be obtained from the Hon. Sec., Sydney Olivier, 180 Portersdown Rd. W.

**CHICAGO MARTYRS—COMMEMORATION MEETINGS.**—Mrs. Parsons having accepted the invitation of the Committee to come to England, they trust that all Socialists will embrace this opportunity of making propaganda by holding meetings in different parts of London and the provinces. The expenses of Mrs. Parsons' visit, with printing, hiring halls, etc., will cost at least £40. The Committee trust that all comrades will help to raise this amount. The following sums have been received:—Autonomie Club, £2 10s. Princes Square International Club, £2. Berner Street International Club, £2. 1st Section International Club, £2. United Scandinavian Club, £1 10s. East End Propaganda Committee, £1 3s. 6d. Collected a Council meeting Socialist League, 9s. 7½d. Fuller, 1s. D. Nicoll, 6d. Total, £11 14s. 7½d.—J. LANE, Treas

Just Published, post 8vo, 202 pp., 4s. 6d.

**SIGNS OF CHANGE.**

BY WILLIAM MORRIS.

Being seven Lectures, delivered on various occasions for the Socialist League.

Reeves & Turner, 196 Strand; or *Commonweal Office*

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# THE COMMONWEAL

## The Official Journal of the SOCIALIST LEAGUE.

VOL. 4.—No. 147.

SATURDAY, NOVEMBER 3, 1888.

WEEKLY; ONE PENNY.

### CHICAGO MARTYRS & BLOODY SUNDAY.

"Our silence will be more powerful than our speech."

Mrs. PARSONS has accepted the invitation of the Commemoration Committee to speak at the various meetings to be held in London and the provinces next November.

SATURDAY, NOVEMBER 10,

A Meat Tea will be provided at St. Paul's Café, St. Paul's Churchyard, E.C., at 7 p.m. Tickets 1s. 6d. each. Tickets will be issued at 6d. each for those who cannot attend tea, in order to hear an address to Mrs. Parsons and her reply. Tickets can now be obtained from Secretary, 13 Farringdon Road, any branch secretary, and all the International Clubs. All unsold tickets and cash MUST be returned by Friday, November 9, to J. Lane, 13 Farringdon Road, E.C.

CUNNINGHAME GRAHAM, M.P., in the Chair.

Songs will be sung during the evening by the Choir.

Arrangements have already been made to hold meetings on

SUNDAY, NOVEMBER 11, at 11.30 a.m., in  
REGENT'S PARK.

SUNDAY, NOVEMBER 11, at 3.30 p.m., in  
HYDE PARK.

Processions will be organised from different parts of London, and delegates from Radical clubs will speak at the platforms.

MONDAY, NOVEMBER 12, at 7.30 p.m., in  
WORNUM HALL, STORE STREET,  
TOTTENHAM COURT ROAD.

The Chair will be taken by WILLIAM MORRIS.

Speakers:—P. Kropotkin, F. Kitz, J. Blackwell, Trunk, Dr. Merlino, Cunninghame Graham, John Burns, and others, whose names will be announced next week. The whole of the Trafalgar Square prisoners released are expected at this meeting. Mrs. PARSONS will speak at Wornum Hall and Hyde Park, and probably Victoria Park.

A Choir Practice will be held on Sunday, November 4th, at 4 p.m., at the Hall of the Socialist League.

SUNDAY, NOVEMBER 18, at 3 p.m., in  
VICTORIA PARK.

The following Resolutions will be moved at the meetings:—

#### FIRST RESOLUTION.

"That this meeting commemorates the legal murder of four men which took place on November 11th, 1887 (Parsons, Spies, Fischer, and Engels), and the cruel imprisonment of three others (Fielden, Schwab, and Neebe) by the Government of the State of Illinois for the crime of supporting workmen in a labour struggle against their masters, and the further crime of maintaining the rights of free speech, and emphatically denounces the interference with these rights in all capitalist countries; an interference which is the natural result of a so-called Society founded on the robbery of labour."

#### SECOND RESOLUTION.

"That this meeting also denounces the attack on Free Speech made in London on November 13th, 1887, during which three men were killed and many sent to prison after a mere mockery of trial, and it calls for the immediate release of Harrison, condemned to five years penal servitude for being present at a political meeting which was ferociously attacked by the police."

Meantime, funds are urgently needed, and should be sent to Joseph Lane, Treasurer, at the office of the Socialist League, 13, Farringdon Road, E.C. Any information can be had by communicating with Secretary of the Commemoration Committee.

W. B. PARKER, Secretary.

### THE PEASANT AND THE MONEY-LENDER.

THE following little story is taken from a most interesting book called 'Wide-Awake Stories,'<sup>1</sup> a collection of forty-three Indian folk-tales. In reprinting it a few of the names of persons and things have been altered so as to convey more clearly what is meant, but otherwise the story is given here as it is in the book, where anyone loving folk-lore would do well to look for it, and read its companions as well. And now for the story.

There was once a peasant who suffered much at the hands of a money-lender. Good harvests or bad, the peasant was always poor, the money-lender rich. At last, when he hadn't a farthing left, the peasant went to the money-lender's house and said, "You can't squeeze water from a stone, and as you have nothing to get by me now, you might tell me the secret of becoming rich."

"My friend," returned the money-lender, piously, "riches come from God—ask him."

"Thank you, I will," returned the simple peasant; so he prepared three girdle-cakes to last him on the journey, and set out to find God.

First he met a priest, and to him he gave a cake, asking him to point out the road to God; but the priest only took the cake and went on his way without a word. Next the peasant met a holy man or devotee, and to him he gave a cake, without receiving any help in return. At last, he came upon a poor man sitting under a tree, and finding out he was hungry, the kindly peasant gave him his last cake, and sitting down to rest beside him, entered into conversation.

"And where are you going?" asked the poor man, at length.

"Oh, I have a long journey before me, for I am going to find God!" replied the peasant. "I don't suppose you could tell me which way to go?"

"Perhaps I can," said the poor man, smiling, "for I am God! What do you want of me?"

Then the peasant told the whole story, and God, taking pity on him, gave him a conch shell, and showed him how to blow it in a particular way, saying, "Remember, whatever you wish for, you have only to blow the conch that way and your wish will be fulfilled. Only have a care of that money-lender, for even magic is not proof against their wiles!"

The peasant went back to his village rejoicing. In fact the money-lender noticed his high spirits at once, and said to himself, "Some good fortune must have befallen the stupid fellow, to make him hold his head so jauntily." Therefore he went over to the simple peasant's house, and congratulated him on his good fortune, in such cunning words, pretending to have heard all about it, that before long the peasant found himself telling the whole story—all except the secret of blowing the conch, for, with all his simplicity, the peasant was not quite such a fool as to tell that.

Nevertheless, the money-lender determined to have the conch by hook or by crook, and as he was villain enough not to stick at trifles, he waited for a favourable opportunity and stole the conch.

But, after nearly bursting himself with blowing the conch in every conceivable way, he was obliged to give up the secret as a bad job. However, being determined to succeed, he went back to the peasant and said, coolly, "Look here, I've got your conch, but I can't use it; you haven't got it, so it's clear you can't use it either. Business is at a standstill unless we make a bargain. Now, I promise to give you back your conch, and never to interfere with your using it, on one condition, which is this,—whatever you get from it, I am to get double."

"Never!" cried the peasant; "that would be the old business all over again."

"Not at all," replied the wily money-lender; "you will have your share. Now, don't be a dog in the manger, for if you get all you want, what can it matter to you if I am rich or poor?"

At last, though it went sorely against the grain to be of any benefit to a money-lender, the peasant was forced to yield; and from that time, no matter what he gained by the power of the conch, the money-lender

<sup>1</sup> Wide-Awake Stories. A collection of tales told by little children, between sunset and sunrise, in the Panjab and Kashmir. By F. A. Steel and R. C. Temple. Trübner, London, 1884; 8vo.

gained double. And the knowledge that this was so preyed upon the peasant's mind day and night, so that he had no satisfaction out of anything.

At last, there came a very dry season—so dry that the peasant's crops withered for want of rain. Then he blew his conch, and wished for a well to water them; and lo! there was the well, but the money-lender had two—two beautiful new wells! This was too much for any peasant to stand; and our friend brooded over it, and brooded over it, till at last a bright idea came into his head. He seized the conch, blew it loudly, and cried out, "Oh, God! I wish to be blind of one eye!" And so he was, in a twinkling; but the money-lender, of course, was blind of both, and in trying to steer his way between the two new wells, he fell into one, and was drowned.

Now this true story shows that a peasant once got the better of a money-lender, but only by losing one of his eyes!

## THE MORAL OF THE WHITECHAPEL MURDERS.

THE upper and middle-classes are shocked. Their faithful servants, the police, are astounded and powerless. The terrible deeds of the probable maniac-murderer have shaken society to its very foundation. "What can it all mean?" is the question that all men are asking themselves, while very few seem to be able to give a satisfactory answer.

For years Socialists have thundered out against the ever-growing evils of capitalist society, both in the lecture-hall and in the street. In not a few cases, the prison cell has been the reward of those who have endeavoured to awaken the apathetic to a sense of duty. At length our masters are aroused, and behold! a Royal Commission is enquiring into the particulars of the housing of the poor. In due time the report of the labours of the Commission is submitted to public scrutiny, and—what then? "Society" goes to sleep again until aroused by the fiendish deeds of a master-murderer. And how well do the conditions which surround these vile acts prove the Socialist position, namely, that we are living in a system of slavery, the rich—the masters; the poor—the slaves.

The victims of these atrocious crimes are, after all, so many sacrifices on the shrine of capitalism. The "doss" money would have saved their lives; but our society is not founded on life, but property, and therefore their lives were not worth fourpence. If the murderer be a rich man, surely his wealth and conditions by which he is surrounded in society has driven him mad; if, on the other hand, he is a poor one, his poverty surely has robbed him of every spark of manhood.

Now, there are in London alone no less than 80,000 prostitutes, many of whom are mothers of the rising generation. The poor devils must violate their virtue, and outrage their womanhood, in order to obtain their "doss" money. What pleasant food for reflection; after nearly nineteen hundred years of Christianity, while we have reached an age of progress hitherto undreamed of! Surely we ought to be proud of our boasted civilisation, where "wealth accumulates and men decay."

Bourgeois society, just awakened, is complaining of the badly lighted slums of the East End of London, as though such things were not known before the recent atrocities occurred; so that in our age of contradictions and absurdities, a fiend-murderer may become a more effective reformer than all the honest propagandists in the world. This is by no means a pleasing deduction; but it seems the only one that can be made from the present state of affairs.

Our police, too, considering the expense incurred in maintaining the system now in vogue at Scotland Yard, cut pretty figures in this business; and that they are not kept in existence for the protection of the property and lives of the workers is made amply clear. If some Socialist had been suspected of conspiring to take the life of some capitalist tyrant, then indeed should we have witnessed the successful activity of the police in bringing the culprit to "justice." But what matters? The victims in this case were wage-slaves, of whom there is a plentiful supply; and, seeing how everything to-day is governed by the "law" of the political economist—human flesh and blood being no exception to the rule—when the supply is above the demand its price will fall, yea, even to fourpence, the price of a "doss," what may we not expect?

Well, after all, there is only one way out—the workers must become their own masters, and their present masters must be made to work for their own living instead of living on the labour of others as they do to-day.

H. DAVIS.

The Pinkerton detectives "never sleep." Of course not. While others sleep they put up jobs and then wait for the reward.—*Craftsman*.

When a Labour paper says something that does not suit the opinions of a certain subscriber, the editor receives a postal card or sealed letter bearing the inscription "stop my paper," but newspapers opposed to labour organisations can say what they please, ridicule the demands of the working-classes, hire cheap scab labour, and never hear a complaint from the party that wants his labour paper stopped. The advocate of labour's rights is forced to the wall while the enemy thrives and grows rich.—*Southern Industry*.

ECONOMY AND WAGES.—The capitalist comes home with his specific. He tells the working man that he must be economical, and yet, under the present system, economy would lessen wages. Under the great law of supply and demand, every saving, frugal, self-denying workman is unconsciously doing what little he can to reduce the compensation of himself and fellows. The slaves who did not run away helped fasten chains on those who did. So the saving mechanic is a certificate that wages are high enough. Does the great law demand that every worker should live on the least possible amount of bread? Is it his fate to work one day that he may get enough food to be able to work another? Is that to be his only hope—that and death?—*R. G. Ingersoll*.

## REVOLUTIONARY CALENDAR.

WEEK ENDING NOVEMBER 10, 1888.

4	Sun.	1789. Revolution Society of London sends congratulatory address to National Convention at Paris. 1839. Frost's rising at Newport. 1867. Garibaldi defeated at Mentana.
5	Mon.	1605. Gunpowder Plot. 1789. Distinctions and orders abolished by National Convention. 1809. Great meeting at "Crown and Anchor" tavern to celebrate anniversary of the acquittal in 1792 of Hardy, Horne Tooke, Thelwall, etc.
6	Tues.	1773. Henry Hunt born. 1793. Edinburgh Convention dispersed by force. 1830. Peasant riots in southern England. 1842. W. Hone died.
7	Wed.	1683. Algernon Sidney tried for high treason. 1817. Brandreth and others hanged for high treason. 1837. E. P. Lovejoy killed. 1852. Third Empire established.
8	Thur.	1674. John Milton died. 1793. Madame Roland beheaded. 1848. Robert Blum shot.
9	Fri.	1830. Royal visit and Lord Mayor's Show postponed; unemployed riots in London. 1856. Etienne Cabet died.
10	Sat.	1786. Trial of Woodfall for libel. 1798. Trial of Wolfe Tone for high treason. 1862. T. B. McManus buried. 1880. Trial of Nihilists at St. Petersburg for Winter Palace explosion: sentences—Kviatofski and four others, death; eight men and three women, imprisonment. 1887. Louis Lingg died in prison.

*Death of Lovejoy.*—The assassination of Elijah Parish Lovejoy at Alton, Illinois, on the 7th of November, 1837, has been one of the great landmarks in the battle for human liberty, free thought, free speech, and free action. The circumstances of his case are very instructive. Lovejoy proved that human villainy and tyrannous oppression can never allow a single honest man to exist in their neighbourhood. The conspiracy of silence must be enforced or every unjust institution totters to its foundation. Lovejoy published an obscure print in St. Louis. This could not be allowed, and, only wishing to stand on the defensive, he left Missouri to stow in its own wicked juice. He went across the "Father of Waters" to the free soil of Illinois. But Missouri could not bear such a breath of honesty blowing across her borders. A mob of St. Louis ruffians made a descent upon Alton again and again and destroyed the printing materials they feared so much. At length they destroyed the printer; but in vain. As the Chicago martyr has said, "his silence was more powerful than his speech." A tempest of wrath swept over the great race of New Englanders such as the world has rarely witnessed. At the meeting of protest in Faneuil Hall the young Wendell Phillips first lifted that never-to-be-forgotten voice against all forms of social oppression; that voice which will ring down the cycles of time as long as the English idiom leaves a fragment to be deciphered by the scholars of earth and the searchers of human endeavour.—L. W.

## LETTER FROM AMERICA.

THOMAS WARDELL, a rich coal mine-owner, Englishman by birth, has been shot, or "Watrined" as our French comrades would say. The miners in Bevier, Mo., went on strike, and "scabs" were imported from the East. This incensed the strikers, especially against Wardell, who is a "self-made man." Wardell went to the station to meet his new men; he was met by 400 strikers. He was taunted by his old men, and shouted at them, "Well, boys, I will down you yet." A stone was thrown at him; he pulled out his revolver and fired at the crowd; a volley was returned and his body was riddled with bullets. He was done to as he wanted to do unto others. The new men have been so much frightened by this that they are leaving the town as fast as possible.

The Kane County Grand Jury at Geneva, Ill., has found bills of indictment against John A. Bauereisen, Thomas Broderick, Alexander Smith, John A. Bowles, August Koegel, and George Goding. They are charged with conspiracy to injure the property of the Chicago, Burlington, and Quincy Railroad Company, by the use of dynamite at Aurora, Ill., during the last strike of locomotive engineers and firemen on that road. They are all members of the Brotherhood, and Bauereisen is Chief Engineer of Division No. 32, Locomotive Engineers.

The boss bakers of New York have raised the price of bread from 5 to 6 cents.

The trial of the Bohemian Anarchists in Chicago will begin on the 17th inst.

The past week has been very exciting for the people of Chicago. A strike was begun on the street-car system. This in itself, of course, was nothing unusual, since strikes in our days are but a common every-day occurrence. However, one noteworthy fact was clearly demonstrated—the people are becoming more and more imbued with a spirit of revolt. In spite of their protests not to be "Anarchists," they are forced to adopt tactics commonly styled "Anarchistic." The present strike was the first serious conflict between the oppressed and those in power since the glorious May days, and the scenes enacted prove conclusively that in spite of the cowardly conduct and the submissive policy pursued by the infamous gang who dared to vilify, even in the old organ of the International, the *Arbeiter Zeitung*, the principles for which our martyrs fought and died so nobly, the people of Chicago, the real working population of that city, are not willing to submit without considerable protest to capitalistic greed and tyranny. Let us look at the situation. On the one side we see about 2,500 men standing up for their rights, unfortunately stupidly advised and badly guided by their leaders, but well sustained by the honest and intelligent part of the labouring population of Chicago. On the other hand we see the mighty dollar, the brutality of capital supported by unfortunate human beings who are compelled by hunger, misery, and want, to commit treason on their own class, and in the middle we see, like the jackass in the fable, Authority—Republican in this case—fearing if acting too strong to lose the vote of their voting-cattle, and if not strong enough to be dismissed by its present ruler—King Cash. And well they fought, the people of Chicago! Aye, even the tiny little school children felt that a wrong was about to be committed on the oppressed, and with childish instinct, I feel tempted to say, they took the part of the dog who is under. Yes, if such events can happen there is hope yet for the Social Revolution even in America, never mind the cowardice and the treachery committed by those who managed to sneak snug jobs at the expense of labour.

## SCENES FROM THE CHICAGO BATTLEFIELD.

October 9th.—The men employed on the West Side street-cars went out on strike this morning. In all the strikers now number about 2,500. There were two collisions between the people and the police to-day. Near the corner of Orchard Street and Garfield Avenue the street had been barricaded by the people, but the police on arrival removed the obstruction. When the patrol wagons containing the minions of law-'n'-order started away, the crowd began to hoot and yell. Obeying the order of their chief, the bluecoats jumped at once from the wagons and began instantly clubbing the "free" citizens. One woman was terribly cut about the head, and also severely injured internally. Fully twenty people were more or less seriously wounded, and the police after this glorious deed "moved" on.

The second collision happened near the car depôt on Western Avenue. Three cars were started out here in the afternoon under the guidance of Superintendent Nagli, and were well protected by the police. When the cars returned from the trip the people began to yell and to hoot; Nagli drew his revolver to shoot amongst the crowd, but the weapon was snatched away from him. Stones and other missiles were now thrown by the infuriated people, and Nagli got his jaw dislocated. When he got out of the depôt a switchman named Newton Foster got a chance to get near him and knocked him down, thereupon the police charged the crowd with their clubs. Foster was rendered senseless by a blow from a club, and a fight began for the possession of his body. The police behaved like wild beasts, hitting at every head in sight, and finally managed to drag Foster into the depôt.

"The city reminds one of the May days of 1886," telegraphs a scribe of a capitalistic paper.

October 10th.—The Knights of Labour Council, in which all the Knights Labour in Cook County are represented, at a meeting last evening adopted resolutions endorsing the action of the striking street-car men, and promising them moral and financial support.

A fierce battle was fought to-day between the people and the law-'n'-order brutes. The officials of the car companies provoked the bloodshed. A great crowd had collected in front of the Western Avenue car-depot; all of a sudden Superintendents Kersten and Gubbins tried to leave the depot in a buggy. Gubbins, who is the willing tool of President Yerkes, of the car companies, is hated by the men like fire. No sooner did he appear on the scene than the crowd howled and shouted at him, also a few stones were thrown. Without any hesitation whatsoever the two officials drew their revolvers and fired each six shots at the crowd. Fortunately only one man, a labourer named Peter Beggan, was hit; the horse of the buggy was frightened and ran away, tearing through the dense crowd and knocking people down right and left. Western Avenue from Randolph to Madison Streets, was densely packed with people. The law-'n'-order lambs telephoned for assistance, which was sent to them from Desplaines Street police-station. Captain Aldrich took command, having about 150 policemen at his disposal. The officials, in spite of advice not to exasperate the people, resolved to run a car. To enable them to do this Police Lieutenant Shea cleared the streets. A "scab" white with fear drove the car, which was occupied as "passengers" by bluecoats and reporters—birds of a kind. The people, now fairly mad through the provoking actions of the authorities and the officials, hissed and howled and also threw stones at the car. Aldrich ordered a charge, and in an instant a battle was waged between the crowd and the police. The people fought well; every inch of ground was contested. Over one hundred bluecoats were wounded. Aldrich received a heavy brick square in the face. At least fifty citizens applied at the drug-stores in the neighbourhood for treatment. The driver dropped from the platform; a brick had struck him fair on the temple and another "scab" took his place. He whipped his horses to a gallop, and the police-wagons in front and in the rear of the car went also a-galloping. The spectacle of the police flying from the people induced the crowd to cheer loudly, and the car continued its journey toward the lake. On the way the bystanders tried several times to stop its progress, but the police always drove them back with clubs. Lieutenant Shea once fired at the people with his revolver, fortunately, however, hitting nobody. When the car on the return trip reached Western Avenue, a huge barricade was found erected on the track. The car had to be lifted from the rails, and to be drawn over the pavement to the depot.

Yerkes says he will try to run cars as usual.

On the North Side, the tracks at several points had been piled high with stones and all sorts of obstructions. The officials had the obstructions removed and started the cars, but the people threw some stones at the track-cleaners. The commanding police officer ordered an attack with clubs at the people. The bluecoats used their clubs very freely, and over fifty citizens were hurt, some very badly indeed.

October 11th.—Mayor Roche, who had been asked to arbitrate, made to-day the following statement to a reporter:—

"A man connected with the West Side Company called at my office this morning and asked if I would not like to see the West Side men. The result was that a committee of ten called at my office and had a long talk with me. I stated to them that all I could do would be to conciliate the opposing parties, but that I was powerless to speak in behalf of the absent party. They said they did not care to meet Mr. Yerkes, but told me just what they could do. While it would not be fair, at this stage of the negotiations, to say what their propositions were, I say that they showed a disposition to yield—in fact, they did yield two or three points. With that as a basis for further guidance, I sent word to the attorney of Mr. Yerkes, and told him that I would like to see Mr. Yerkes. A room at the Union League Club was secured, and there Mr. Yerkes and I talked matters over for several hours. I urged him to make some concessions and a proposition, but I could not get him to do it. He said he thought more of the fact that he would have to discharge some of his men than he did of the money. He said that the West Side men would first have to show a willingness to go back. He told me that he did not contemplate any reduction of wages on the West Side, and even went so far as to say that he would agree to make no reduction, but I could not get him to make any proposition in regard to the North Side men that would come up to what he had said before. I do not mean what he said at the former conference, for he renewed that proposition of 20, 21, and 23 cents. After the other conference I went up to his house, and he seemed disposed to yield more at that time. He would not go beyond his former offer for the North Side men. That is all I could get out of him."

At midnight a crowd gathered at the corner of Oak and Margaret Streets and barricaded the tracks. Bonfires were also built at various places along the tracks of the North Side, and the rails twisted out of shape by the heat. The rails were also pulled up at some places, and in some instances the rails were not only torn up but also carried away. About noon to-day, a vehicle freighted with "scabs" started from Desplaines Street station for the Western Avenue car-depot. Several patrol wagons filled with police, under command of Captain Aldrich and Lieutenant Shea, accompanied the "scabs." Near the depot a crowd had gathered, who, at the sight of the vehicles,

shouted "Scabs! scabs!" Aldrich at once ordered an attack, and eight men were arrested and carted off to Desplaines Street station. Several minor collisions occurred between the authorities and the people. The best allies of the strikers are the children, who gather by the thousands, attack the police, the "scabs," and the cars, and who also notify the strikers of the arrival of new "scabs."

A striker named Julius Kaeseberg has been jailed, under the accusation of having placed a package of dynamite on the street car track, corner of Sedgwick and Schiller streets.

Yerkes said, "All negotiations are off. The mayor has promised me ample protection. I will make no more offers nor receive any."

The Yerkes Syndicate owns also street-car lines in New York, Philadelphia, and Pittsburgh, and if the Chicago strike is not speedily settled probably the employes of these will also go on strike.

Oct. 12th.—Several trips were made to-day on Madison Street from the Western Avenue depot, but as the rain was coming down in streams the streets were quite deserted. Also on the north side some cars were run, but here the children took a hand in the matter. When seven Garfield Avenue cars were passing the school situated corner Centre and Burling streets, the school children set up a howl, yelled at the drivers and scared the horses by waving their hats. The tremendous noise created by the youngsters brought quite a crowd together. A car jumped the tracks. Instantly about 500 children crowded round, yelling at the top of their voices "Scab, scab! sneak! traitor! murderer!" and so forth. A few of the resolute haters of law-'n'-order began throwing stones, thereby presenting an opportunity to the minions of law-'n'-order to render an attack on the youngsters plausible, of which they speedily availed themselves. The little sympathisers with the strikers were knocked about in the most brutal fashion. The clubs were freely used, and finally the urchins had to take to their heels.

Captain Schaack and ex-assistant attorney Furthmann (both notorious for the part they played in the trial of "Our Eight") "tested" the dynamite alleged to be found yesterday on the tracks, and declare it to be strong enough to blow up anything and everything. Thomas H. Nicholson was locked up to-day under the charge of being an accomplice of Kaeseberg. Both men were put under bail of 10,000 dollars each.

Oct. 13th.—Yesterday evening the strike committee had a conference with Yerkes in the office of mayor Roche. Yerkes is reported to have said to the west side men, "Well, boys, what are you striking for?" One of them replied, "We are afraid, if you succeed in beating the north side men in their strike, that you will cut our wages down." "But I won't do it. I'll give you any kind of security in reason not to try to reduce wages on the west side for five years," answered the cunning capitalist. After some further conversation he announced to the full committee that if the west side men went to work to-day he would meet the north side committee at his office and arrange the trouble with them. The committee submitted Yerkes' proposition to a mass meeting held late last night, which finally agreed that the west side men should go to work to-day, and also adopted the following resolution:

"Resolved, That if Yerkes does not concede the following rate of wages, which we think is just—namely, twenty-one cents an hour for horse cars, twenty-two cents an hour for trail cars, and twenty-five cents an hour for grip cars—the West Side conductors and drivers run their cars through the day and turn out on Sunday morning, not to return unless the settlement be arrived at."

The west side men returned to work this morning. The north side committee called on Yerkes, but of course he would concede nothing. The excitement in Chicago has calmed down. Yerkes' cunningness seems to have granted him a victory. Cars were running to-day as usual even without a blue-coat bodyguard.

In addition to the two men arrested under the pretext of having put dynamite on the tracks, a third man named Peter D. Thompson was locked up to-day. They were brought before the court for having in their possession dynamite for illegal purposes. The "punishment" runs from not less than five years to no more than twenty-five years. On motion of the prosecutors the case was continued. All the men are out on bail—10,000 dollars each.

Oct. 10th.—The strike is over, and is calculated to have caused the syndicate 100,000 dollars. The men wanted to go out again, but receiving one communication after another from mayor Roche, begging them not to stop work and to await the result of another conference with Yerkes, they agreed to wait. The ultimatum of the men was an increase for the north side men of 8 per cent., the abolishment of the "set car system," pay by the hour, and the return to work of all the old men. Yerkes agreed at once to all demands except the increase of the pay. At last the conference arranged an increase of 6 per cent. Lyman J. Gage, vice-president of the First National Bank, who as a member of the Citizens' Association clamoured for the blood of our martyrs, has been selected arbitrator and will fix the new schedule of wages.

Oct. 15th.—The north side men will probably strike again. "I don't care a d—n if the men do strike again," said president Charles T. Yerkes; "if they do, I'll fill every d—d one of their places." "Will they strike again?" he was asked by a reporter. "Ye-e-e-s," answered the dictator of Chicago, "I shouldn't wonder if they did."

The whole trouble now is that the new men, the "scabs," are still kept on. Yerkes is determined to stand by the new men, of which about 200 had been engaged during the strike. The people once or twice attacked the cars, but nothing of a serious nature occurred.

Newark, N.J., October 16, 1888.

HENRY F. CHARLES.

METROPOLITAN PAUPERISM.—The weekly return of metropolitan pauperism shows that the total number of paupers relieved in the second week of last month was 93,545, of whom 57,185 were indoor and 36,360 outdoor paupers. The total number relieved shows an increase of 2,104 over the corresponding week of last year, 5,209 over 1886, and 6,125 over 1885. The total number of vagrants relieved on the last day of the week was 1,307, of whom 1,057 were men, 218 women, and 32 children under sixteen.

A great deal of attention is now given to our poor working men. The quacks and demagogues and cheats are all talking for them and praising them to the skies. And with unblushing effrontery they tell them that their condition is much better than that of the European workers. In other words they say: "In many industries the workers of Europe are half-starved; in the same industries in America you are not quite half-starved. You get a few more picks than they get in Europe." Go, ye serfs, and be thankful that ye just live. Your earnings here, as in Europe, are stolen from you, under the laws of the wage system, and your only safety is in the power of organisation.—Paterson *Labour Standard*.





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

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

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

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

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

**T. MUSE (Carlisle).**—We have found ourselves unable to publish the Calendar in book-form this year; it will be run through 1889 as it has been for 1888, undergoing constant revision, and we hope during the year to get it complete enough for collected publication. Your article is unsuitable.

**D. Y.**—Tobolobampo seems to have surmounted, for the present at least, the difficulties that at one time threatened to swamp it. Postal direction is "Tobolobampo, Sinaloa, Mexico, via Fuerte, Overland." The organ of the colony is now published there; terms, 1 dollar a-year, subscriptions to be sent to the New York office, 32 Nassau Street.

**V. M.**—The book you mention, "1848; Historical Revelations," by Louis Blanc, was written in England, while the author was an exile in London, and published by Chapman and Hall, 1858, 8vo, 10s. 6d. It was translated into French and published next year at Brussels.

*Periodicals received during the week ending Wednesday October 31.*

<b>ENGLAND</b> Caslon's Circular Justice Labour Tribune Norwich—Daylight Our Corner Radical Leader Railway Review Social Demokrat Telegraph Service Gazette To-Day Worker's Friend	<b>LIBERTY</b> Chicago (Ill)—Vorbote Milwaukee—National Reformer Paterson (N J) Labor Standard San Francisco Arbeiter-Zeitung	<b>ITALY</b> Turin—Nuova Gazzetta Operaia
<b>INDIA</b> Bankipore—Behar Herald Madras—People's Friend	<b>FRANCE</b> Paris—Cri du Peuple (daily) Le Parti Ouvrier (daily) La Revolte Le Coup de Feu Le Proletariat Lille—Le Cri du Travailleur Sedan—La Revolution St.-Etienne—La Loire Socialist	<b>SPAIN</b> Barcelona—El Productor Seville—La Solidaridad
<b>UNITED STATES</b> New York—Der Sozialist Freiheit Truthseeker Volkszeitung Workmen's Advocate Boston—Woman's Journal	<b>HOLLAND</b> Hague—Recht voor Allen	<b>PORTUGAL</b> Lisbon—O Protesto Operario
	<b>BELOIUM</b> Ghent—Vooruit Liege—L'Avenir Antwerp—De Werker	<b>GERMANY</b> Berlin—Volks Tribune
	<b>SWITZERLAND</b> Arbeiterstimme	<b>AUSTRIA</b> Wien—Gleichheit Brunn—Volksfreund
		<b>SWEDEN</b> Stockholm, Social-Demokraten Malmo—Arbetet
		<b>NORWAY</b> Kristiania—Social-Democraten
		<b>WEST INDIES</b> Cuba—El Productor
		<b>MEXICO</b> Sinaloa—Credit-Foncier

**SPECIAL NOTICE.**

In our Issue of November 10, an Article will appear by Cunningshame Graham, M.P., on "Trafalgar Square," and, it is hoped, one by Mrs. Parsons on "Chicago Martyrs." A splendid Life-like Lithographed Portrait of Mrs. Parsons will also be issued as a Special Extra Supplement to the "Commonweal." Price, with paper, 2d.; single copies, without paper, may be had. Orders should be given at once, as a large sale is expected and the supply is limited.

**NOTES.**

THE growth of "trusts" is going on merrily; the "Salt Union" is already making an enormous fortune to be shared among its members. When it began there was "only going to be a moderate rise in prices, just to bring them up to paying level"; whether they have reached that or not we cannot say, but they have already doubled and trebled former figures and are still rising! So tempting is this field for plunder that capitalists not in the "Union" are organising a rival organisation to compete with it and work salt mines not held by it. This they do (on their own authority) to protect the public against the rapacity of the original ring.

What will happen will be either one of two things. It may be that the second gang will prepare to compete with the first, threaten low prices and a war of rates, and after going far enough to frighten the others into offering a good price, will be bought off, and dropping all show of enmity, join in a big monopoly that shall comprise the whole trade. Or the competition may be real, though not enough to cut prices below good paying figures; in which case there will be a continuance of the boom now going on, more and more capital will be put in and production extended until the limits of the world-market are passed, and then there will be a crash. Fortunes will have been made

by the lucky capitalists, but the workers will have been earning only subsistence all the time and will be then left destitute.

Meanwhile the doubling and trebling of prices will have brought untold misery to millions throughout the world. In India alone it will act like an epidemic, bearing disease and death to thousands. All this in order that a few people already over-rich may heap up further piles of wealth.

Coal-prices are still growing; even if the 10 per cent. for which the men are asking were granted all round, the mine-owners would be making an extra profit of three times that. As it is, the large stocks of coal hewn and raised at the old prices are being sold at a large advance, every penny of which is clearly pocketed by the proprietors. At the same time they, aided by the reptile press, are trying all they can to set the rest of the working class against the miners, calling them "selfish" for "benefiting themselves at the expense of their fellows," and so on. In that, however, they are meeting with little success, as the position of affairs is beginning to be understood. S.

Mr. W. H. Smith has been once more endeavouring to enlighten the thick-headed workman. At the dedication of the sea-wall at the mouth of the Tees, on Thursday, he demonstrated the self-sacrificing nature and benevolent motives of our capitalists (of whom he is one), and, referring to this piece of work, said that "but for the enterprise and energy of the capitalist in providing employment, the labour expended would not have been required," thereby implying that the workmen would otherwise have starved. It is quite true that the energetic enterprise of the good capitalist has an extraordinary tendency to compel the workman either to do about four times as much work as is either necessary or useful or else to remain in a state of enforced idleness and starvation. He also said that monopoly was not beneficial to society, and was fraught with destruction to the monopolist. How about his newsvending monopoly?

Referring to the *Daily News*, we find that gentlemen are suffering the excruciating agony of finding that it is often hard to distinguish between one of them in evening dress and a *café* waiter. They therefore, with the aforesaid benevolent intent, have been trying to make a difference which the *café* waiter shall not be capable of imitating. They have tried stockings and knee breeches, but failed; short jackets also fail, and they are going to try expensive lace edging; but the *Daily News* says they are doomed to disappointment, for cheap imitations have no limit. Poor fellows! As a Socialist, one cannot fail to sympathise in their efforts not to look like working men of even the most useless kind; if they be idle bloodsuckers, it is right they should look it and mark it in their dress. T. C.

"RENT OF ABILITY."—The honorarium won by the financial engineers of the Salt Syndicate has been pretty high. It is said that £200,000 will be the reward of these experts who have so successfully piloted the Syndicate. HOW IT GOES.—Here is a little contrast:—A collier who had worked hard all his life, and had reared a large family, but always appeared moderately respectable, has died worn out, and must either find respectful interment by public subscription, or, to be more plain, by his neighbours begging the money for the purpose, or must be borne to a pauper's grave on the workhouse bier. On the other hand the will of a deceased managing director of a colliery was recently proved, showing his personal estate to be £33,900. The producer's personal estate was *nil*, while wealth and luxury has crowned the manipulator of capital.—*Labour Tribune*.

WAGES AND THE PRICE OF COAL.—A correspondent of the *North British Daily Mail* of 24th inst. says:—I observe in your issue of the 18th inst. a paragraph announcing that according to the Lanarkshire Associated Coal-owners' returns for September the price obtained was 3s. 4d. ton. The employers, with their usual generosity, have conceded an advance of 2½ per cent., and the advance in coal "does not warrant any more." I deny that, and maintain that the advance in coal does warrant more than a 2½ per cent., or even a 7½ per cent; it warrants the full amount of 10 per cent. asked by the workmen. I believe that by the sliding scale at present in operation in Lanarkshire wages are to be ruled by the selling-price of tripping in the market, and for every 1½d. of an advance upon tripping the workmen get 2½ per cent. Such a monstrous proposition could scarcely be conceived. Now, in regard to the amount asked by the men, I ask any impartial man, Is it an unreasonable demand? I say the claims of the men to a signal advance of wages are very great, their demands extremely moderate, when, for instance, the advance that has been put upon coal in the market is more by 20 per cent. than the employers would have us believe. Is it to be wondered at that the men should make an immediate demand for higher wages? Is it not a fact that the masters are getting an increased profit of 2s. per ton to-day over what they were getting when the conference took place in Glasgow two years, or nearly two years, ago between employers and employed? If such is the case, are the men not entitled not only to a 2½ per cent., but to at least to a 15 per cent. advance in wages? At that conference they admitted that the men were entitled to a sixpence per day upon their wages, and with an increased profit of 2s. per ton they say the men are only entitled to 2½ per cent on the price of tripping in the market. But I ask the question, what is tripping? Travel over the whole of Lanarkshire, and ask any practical miner what is meant by tripping. He cannot tell. Take, for instance, the colliery I am employed at, and during the two years I have been there they have not sold one waggon of what is known as tripping. And yet they (the employers) would have the audacity to rule poor men's wages upon an article they know nothing of. I call this ruling of men's wages nothing more nor less than a gigantic scale of wholesale robbery and confiscation, and it ought to be put down. Now is the time for the men to assert their manhood and spurn with contempt the paltry advance offered. I deprecate a strike as much as any man, but the callous way in which they are being used by the employers will do more to provoke the men to strike than anything else that can be conceived.

## FAITH'S DEATH IS HOPE'S BIRTH.

FRIEND, thou sayest the Gods are vanished,  
And the Helper helpless grown ;  
That the Hope of Life is banished,  
And we stand, at last, alone.  
While in sorrow we are learning,  
Nature cannot heed our tears,  
Though we, to her throne returning,  
Plead our cause, our hopes, our fears.

Yea, 'tis true. Yet still, meseemeth,  
He who on himself relies  
Stronger grows, than he that dreameth  
Of a Help "beyond the skies."  
And that strength shall yet avail him  
To o'ercome all force and fraud ;  
Time fights for him, nor can fail him  
Battling ignorance and the sword.

Gods are gone, yet human sorrow  
Human joy and love is here,  
And our hearts yearn toward the morrow  
With the Hope now drawing near.  
Courage ! then, though Gods be vanished,  
And the Helper, helpless grown ;  
Hope is ours and fear is banished,  
While we fight the Fight alone.

C. J. G.

## SOCIALISM IN AUSTRALIA.

COMRADES,—It is nearly six months since we wrote you last as to the progress of the movement out here. In future we intend to supply you with a monthly summary of the movement out here, if possible. The date on which I write is the anniversary of the inauguration of the League. Since our formation we have done good work, and have brought Socialism well under the notice of the Australian public. Henry George's movement in favour of a single land tax has taken a firm footing here, which is a good sign. The Georgeites have a paper called the *Australian Land Nationaliser*, which is edited by John Farrel. The articles are good, but when it supported Interest it showed itself in rather questionable guise ; after a deal of bandying words, the editor frankly admitted that he may be wrong, and so he no longer supports Interest. We have received fair play from the Liberal portion of the press, the opposition to us being mostly from a state-socialistic standpoint, and from the atheistic Torquemada, Joe Symes. The Tory advertising rags have of course cried out bitterly against us, but have failed to do us any harm. As you are aware by our own journal, the *Australian Radical*, we have survived, and are likely to survive, all the opposition brought against us, whether it be from the "Freethought" or Tory camp. Our membership has increased considerably, Socialism spreads like wildfire, and we have been able to obtain permanent quarters. The *Radical* has been twice enlarged, and is fast becoming a factor in Australian life. The *Republican*, after being twelve months under that title, has changed its name to the *Australian Nationalist* ; it is well written, and oftentimes contains strong Socialistic articles. About level with its London namesake, we have the *Australian Star*, a well edited evening paper, which is at times pretty socialistic in its advocacy of reform, and is the only paper out here which gives fair play to the workers and their grievances, which latter are quite as many as those of the workers in England. The *Sydney Bulletin* is strongly socialistic in its tendency. In Victoria the *Ballarat Courier* (daily) has a regular contributor, "Tom Touchstone," who preaches undiluted Socialism. In Queensland there are the *Boomerang*, the *Normanton Chronicle*, and the *Darling Downs Gazette*, all advanced Radical papers coming our way.

This country and colony in particular seem to be the home of worn-out politicians, and the debauched and degraded members of the British aristocracy. For all this, the people are kept from losing all interest in politics by an occasional set-to between two or more of their representatives (when bare knuckles, varied by water-bottles and copies of 'Hansard,' are freely used) on the floor of the Macquarrie Street rogues' refuge. Of course this does a certain amount of good to our movement, showing up parliamentary representation, and helping to break up the theory of good parliamentary government.

Since we last wrote, there has been another spree and outburst of loyalty to England's mythical constitution. I refer to the centennial farce. We had the unveiling of a statue to that good lady who is so condescending as to rule over us, Mrs. Guelph, in Chancery Square, the rendezvous of the Sydney unemployed ; the dedicating of a large tract of waste land to the public as a centennial park ; the laying of the foundation-stone of the Trades Hall, and a lot of the usual bunkum was gone through. The only celebration of the whole farce that was of any importance was the feeding of ten thousand of the starving poor, five shillings' worth of provisions being doled out to each applicant. As an example of the hard times and scarcity of work in this land that is flowing with milk and honey, where gold is picked up in the streets (emigration-agent sayings), I need only state the significant fact that four thousand five hundred applicants received their "five bobs' worth of tucker" before noon on the first day. Workers in England should take particular notice of this fact, and not let themselves be gulled into coming out here. We want some good speakers and workers in the cause, then we would be able to spin ahead even faster than you in England ; but I would advise any who think seriously of coming out to be prepared for every hardship and trial that they are used to at home. One example of the scarcity of work out here : The *Australian Star* states that seven thousand men are out of employment in New South Wales alone, and it is estimated that the cost of the unemployed relief works, a dead loss to the tax-payers, last year was £300,000.

An important event in connection with the unemployed was the formation of a Labour Organisation. The inaugural meeting was held in the Sydney Town Hall—more than would be allowed even to "respectable" Radicals in England, that land of freedom, where the unemployed are not allowed to meet even in Trafalgar Square. The prime movers in the formation of this co-operative labour organisation were actually Socialists. The principal resolution was : "That, viewing the continued strife between labour and capital, this meeting deems it desirable to form a co-operative labour organisation, with the object in view of giving the labourer the full reward of

his labour and making him his own employer and master." Moved by J. E. Anderton (Socialist League), seconded by J. Fairbank, and supported by W. H. McNamara (Socialist League). The resolution was carried unanimously. The organisation has been a grand success ; Government and municipal contracts are taken up by them, and the members working for it receive as much as 11s. a-day of eight hours, against 5s. a-day of twelve hours under the private enterprise system.

In politics there are two important questions engaging public attention besides the Protection and Free-trade cries—the Chinese Question and Imperial Federation. The former is a very important subject to all reformers here, and one which claims a good deal of sympathy. Although our ideal is the brotherhood of man, we here are compelled to allow that there is a good deal of ground for objection to this yellow-skinned race. They are willing tools in the hands of capitalists, to reduce the wages of the workers in this country : that is the principal objection. They seem incapable of taking part in reforms, and are noted for treachery and cowardice. Sometimes even we are tempted to join the hue and cry, but of course we do not, knowing that if the land and labour questions were settled, there would be no need for crying down any unfortunate race of men, whoever they were. Time will tell its own tale, but for the present those on the spot must be left to settle this matter for themselves. As education spreads, even the Chinese may yet be counted in the army of progress.

Imperial federation is a question which we oppose tooth and nail. We wish to join hands with the workers of the world, we wish to join the common cause of the workers of England, we wish for the brotherhood of man : but we are satisfied that if we favour this project, imperial federation, we are only sharpening the knife which will be used to cut our throats. Already they are trying to drive in the thin end of the wedge in the shape of a naval defence bill ; but every blow that is struck breaks off a large piece of the wedge, and there is a likelihood of even the thin end being withdrawn. We are told that if we separate from England we will not be able to hold our own against those enemies of peace, China, Germany, Russia, France, etc. This is the same old cry, Nationality. We are, however, wide awake, and know that in separating from England we are only separating from her usurers and land-grabbers. We would yet be joined hand and heart with the workers of England—aye, with the workers of the world. We know that so long as we support these usurers, so long will we hold back reform in England, their stronghold. The Naval Defence Bill has been ignominiously rejected by the Queensland Government, and is likely to be rejected in sunny New South Wales. Whether it is rejected or not is a matter of indifference ; the great majority of the people of New South Wales are at least Republicans, and as such they would not think of federating with England's monarchy. We have seen a dog wagging its tail, but we have never yet come across a tail wagging a dog : such would be something like the case if Australia federated with England and allowed a little island 16,000 miles to the westward to govern this vast continent. The idea is ridiculous in the extreme, and it is only a few title-hunters, absentee landlords, one or two Australian "statesmen," and a couple of hundred Orangemen, who even dream of the project.

Strikes and rumours of strikes is the cry of the day, but very little comes of them. The Federated Seamen's Union struck work in New Zealand, and the consequence is, they are now running a line of steamers there of their own. The Shipowners' Association are subsidising the Northern Steamship Company of New Zealand, the offending company, and the trades unions in general are supporting the Federated Seamen's co-operative line. So the war between justice and injustice, labour and capital, continues, and as yet there is no likelihood of either side giving in. If the union wins, other trades will soon follow suit, and will adopt the co-operative principle ; several trades, particularly the iron-workers and coal-miners, have already got the project of starting co-operative works under consideration. If there was a man here who thoroughly understood the co-operative question, and had the time to spare, grand results would follow. However, we must be thankful for small mercies, and will make the best of them. A few more ardent workers would make the cause spin ahead out here ; as it is, most of the work is thrown on the shoulders of about a dozen or so. However, with the aid of our paper the *Radical*, and the staunch support of its editor, W. A. Winspear, we have made ourselves felt. Several attempts have been made to keep the *Radical* off the table of the mechanics' institutes and reading rooms, and out of the municipal libraries and reading-rooms, but in most their efforts have failed. Several members have joined the local literary and debating societies, of which there are a good many, and are bringing forward socialistic subjects for discussion. Several well-known secularists show their teeth now and again, but as yet their efforts to do us harm have resulted in our gain. We have opened a reading-room in connection with the League, and have about two hundred and fifty different papers filed, from all parts of the world, and representing all opinions, from Anarchistic Socialism to Primrose Leagueism. Strangers can come and read the papers on the payment of one penny. In this way we get a little help to pay our rent, which is very stiff. If any London or provincial comrades could supply us with local papers we would be very thankful, and in doing so they would help the cause onward out here. The reading-room draws up many who are at present afraid of the very name of Socialist, and who couple it with murder. Once they are aware that our principles are humanitarian, we will gain their support ; until we get their support we are powerless. The *Commonweal* is eagerly watched for and bought by those who can afford it, whilst those who cannot, visit the reading-room and eagerly peruse it.

Wishing every success to the cause, with fraternal greetings,

A. E. ANDERTON.

Aug. 26, 1888, A. S. S. Reading-room, 533 George Street, Sydney, N.S.W.

The working people fought the battles of the nation, they developed its resources, while the speculator was planning how to rob them. Monopoly now has a mortgage on the bodies of three-fifths of the working people, because they refuse to unite, and the other two-fifths have a hard battle before them to educate the three-fifths who are the slaves of monopoly, and prevent the monster from enslaving them also. Unity is their only safeguard.—*Industrial Vindicator*.

The man who gambles in the necessities of life gambles in human flesh and human souls, and the government that permits it is guilty of every crime known, even to murder. To make a nation of slaves is only to forestal the markets. Our government is legalising the acts of a band of pirates who wreck and rob the producer on his road to the consumer, and wreck and rob the consumer on his road to the producer. Why do not Protectionists talk of protecting American labour from thieves at home?—*Industrial West*.

# THE LABOUR STRUGGLE.

BRITAIN.

**DUNDEE ENGINEERS' WAGES.**—At a meeting on Oct. 24 of the engineering trade in Dundee, it was resolved to ask an advance of 2s. per week.

**GREENOCK JOINERS.**—Messrs. Russel's joiners resumed work Monday, the employers having agreed that all feather and groove awning decks are henceforth to be laid by joiners.

**SEAMEN'S WAGES.**—The fact that a Glasgow liner had to engage a crew at Dundee is not to be taken as a proof of the scarcity of men in Glasgow. The reason is to be found in the Glasgow men's demand for higher wages—£4 per month being asked for western ocean traders, and £3 10s. in other steamboats.

**STAFFORDSHIRE NAIL-WORKERS.**—A meeting of the nail masters of South Staffordshire was privately held at Dudley on Oct. 24, and after two hours deliberation they informed the spike and nail delegates that the late advance of 25 per cent. was so recent that another advance could not be recommended. The men's representative thought the advance might be forced, and that a strike will probably ensue.

**TYNE SEAMEN'S WAGES.**—The following notice has been posted at South Shields: "The seamen of Shields have resolved that from October 16 the wages of the port shall be £4 for seamen and £4 5s. for firemen. Sailing vessels—southward £3, Mediterranean £3 10s., Baltic and Quebec £3 15s. per month. Seamen are requested to stand out for this money, as the seamen of Hartlepool have had this rate for two months."

**IRONWORKERS' WAGES.**—A meeting of ironworkers was held at Brierley Hill on Monday, 29th, to consider wages question. Nine works were represented, and resolutions passed approving of the sliding scale recently submitted by the district representatives and in favour of notice being given for the reconsideration of the rate of wages, with the view of obtaining the remainder of 12½ per cent. originally asked for by the men.

**MIDDLESBRO' BLAST-FURNACEMEN.**—The men employed by Wilson, Pease, and Company, Tees Ironworks, have sent in fourteen days' notice. All but one are members of the Cleveland Blast-furnacemen's Association, and this one has been taunting them, saying that he got the same wages as them while being a rat. So they will strike unless the man either joins their ranks or is dismissed by the firm. The Association will support their men if the above measures fail.

**WOMEN'S TRADE UNION FOR GLASGOW.**—At a meeting of the Glasgow Trades' Union held on Oct. 24, Mr. Eddy reported that the committee appointed to consider the formation of a women's trade union in Glasgow had met, and that Miss Black, of London, had approached several ladies in the city in order to obtain assistance in the matter, and had been successful in getting several influential ladies to promise their support. It was also stated that at a meeting at which several working-girls were present, arrangements were made for holding a meeting of girls on November 5th, when a union will be formed.

**WAGES IN SPIKE-NAIL TRADE.**—On Wednesday, 24th, a meeting of nail-masters was held at the Dudley Arms Hotel, Dudley, to consider an application from the men employed in 'spike-nail trade for an advance. After a prolonged sitting, the following was communicated to the men and the press:—"Considering that it has been so short a time since the last advance of 25 per cent. was given, and during that time most of the workpeople have been in the harvest-field, we don't think any further advance would be generally adhered to by the trade; and we strongly advise the workpeople to get a re-arrangement of the factory prices." A strike is expected.

**NUT AND BOLT MAKERS.**—On Friday, 26th, a meeting of nut and bolt makers was held at Cross Guns, New Street, Darlaston, to consider advisability of asking for an advance. Some of the largest employers in the trade were inclined to concede an advance if other employers would do the same. After discussion it was carried unanimously:—"That this meeting instructs their secretary to notify each employer in the Darlaston district that the workmen have decided to ask for an advance in wages, and that the representatives of the Workmen's Association will be prepared to meet the employers on the 16th of November, to give reasons why an advance is demanded."

**STRIKE OF WEAVERS AT CLIVIGER.**—This village is about two miles from Burnley, in the Todmorden Valley. There are 780 looms in the shed. A strike took place a fortnight since against a reduction of 5 per cent. in addition to 5 per cent. they were underpaid before the strike, making 10 per cent. below the Burnley list. Some three years ago these weavers belonged to the Weavers' Union, but threw out. Since that time they have had to pay dearly for their folly. At the present time there are only about seven who have stuck to the society, and these have now found the benefit, being paid their scale pay. The others having found to their cost the mistake they made, have now asked the society to take them in again. For this purpose a meeting was held in the village school. Nearly the whole of the weavers were present, and it was unanimously decided to again become members. Steps will be at once taken to enrol them.

**GREENOCK AND PORT GLASGOW RIVETERS.**—About 700 riveters belonging to Greenock and Port Glasgow, met in Greenock on Oct. 24 to consider the prices of work, with the view of laying the matter before the Council of the Association. The meeting lasted from 12 noon till 10 p.m. A few days will elapse before a reply is obtained.—The dispute which has existed for some time between the riveters and their employers in Greenock and Port Glasgow has come to a decided issue. The employers have recently formed an Association to resist the demands of the men, and at a meeting held lately it was (of course) decided that the riveters' demands were greater than they could pay. The men have submitted several scales for the master's approval without reaching a settlement, and they have at last submitted a list of prices which they are prepared to sign as an agreement to work on for six months. They have issued an ultimatum that unless the terms are complied with at an early date, all classes of tradesmen—riveters, platers, and caulkers—will be withdrawn from the yards.

**MINERS' WAGES.**—The selling prices of coals for September last, as quoted by the *Colliery Guardian*, the official organ of the coal and iron trades of Britain, show that, according to the Scotch masters' own sliding scale, the colliers are entitled to the 10 per cent., not speaking of the larger increased prices now obtained. The collieries in England who are working on the advance are doing a "roaring trade." The coals are bringing to the masters an increase of 4s. per ton on the prices got immediately before the strike, and as 10 per cent. represents only 2d. per ton, that means "good business" to

business to the firms who have given the advance. Manufacturers are generally provided for a month's stoppage of the pits, but the poor workmen in the towns, who buy their fuel in hundredweights, are not provided. At a meeting of Lanarkshire district delegates, held at Hamilton on Saturday, it was the unanimous opinion that the offer of 2½ per cent. by the masters was a deliberate insult or challenge to the miners. The majority were in favour of striking to force the 10 per cent. advance, the final decision to be made on Nov. 1st. The Fife colliers have unanimously resolved to demand the 10 per cent. advance. They have resolved on this owing "to the advance of wages other miners are receiving throughout the country." It was reported that at some of the pits the weighing machines do not count less than half a hundredweight. The chief colliery-owners in Derbyshire, Lancashire, Leicestershire, Shropshire, Notts, North Wales, and Worcestershire have resolved to grant the 10 per cent. advance. The South Stafford men, who lately got 5 per cent., have now received the full advance—10 per cent. The advance has also been conceded by the South and West Yorkshire firms; and the amount of concession already reported is an assurance of victory for the men all along the line. The concessions also prove the hard swearing of the masters.

AMERICA.—OCTOBER 16.

The strike of yardmen in the New York Central Railroad yard at West Albany, was ended by the company acceding to the demands of the men for an increase of wages.

The Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labour will be held at St. Louis, Mo., on December 11.

The hide dealers of the North-west are forming a leather trust for the purpose of controlling the hide market.

James J. Coogan, a former furniture dealer on the instalment plan, has been nominated by the United Labour Party (Henry George's old party) for Mayor of New York. Coogan is rich, and paying the "labour-leaders" well for the honour of having nominated him.

The General Executive Board of the disintegrating Knights of Labour are in monthly session at Philadelphia.

Delegates to the 25th Annual Convention of the Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers are gathering in Richmond. H. F. C.

## INTERNATIONAL NOTES.

FRANCE.

At the last meeting of the Paris Municipal Council comrade Vaillant has strongly protested against the decree of the Government concerning the foreigners residing in France. He has very clearly pointed out that this scandalous piece of reactionism has been concocted by Floquet and his Radical confederates in order to get rid of the Socialists and revolutionaries who are compelled, by the prosecutions they have to undergo in their countries, to seek a refuge abroad, and he energetically asked for the repeal of that decree, as well as for the repeal of the old law of 1849, enabling the Government to expel foreigners from the French territory.

Comrade Vaillant has also strongly protested against the cruel and ferocious behaviour of the police at the funeral of citizen Emile Eudes, and plainly demonstrated that Floquet and Co. had really made up their minds to organise on that very day what is usually called in Paris "une journée"—i.e., a bloody day, in the shape of our Trafalgar Bloody Sunday. After a pitiful defense of the "law and order" men by M. Lozé, the actual Prefect of police, the Municipal Council has adopted, by 46 against 16 members, a resolution energetically condemning the brutal and violent conduct of the police. Comrade Vaillant at the same time asked for the very suppression of the Prefecture of Police itself, but his motion was not put to the vote of the Municipal Assembly.

BELGIUM.

The co-operative society *Vooruit* at Ghent will inaugurate on the 1st of January next their new buildings, and on that occasion the central committee of the working-men's associations of that town have decided to hold an international exhibition of Socialist papers, magazines, and reviews of every description. A section of the exhibition will be devoted to the exposition of portraits and manuscripts of Socialists, both dead and alive. Another section will contain cartoons, photographs, caricatures, etc., with democratic and Socialist tendencies. To that view, the Federation of Ghent makes an appeal to all Socialists, in every country, promising all exhibitors that the greatest care shall be taken of all goods sent to their address: Ed. Anseele, *Vooruit*, Garenmarkt, Ghent (Belgium).

Our comrades of Ghent have just published their ninth annual popular almanack. It is illustrated by the portrait of our late comrade, H. Gerhard, of Amsterdam, the founder of the International Working-men's Association in Holland, and contains several good articles, as, for instance, a brief sketch of Gerhard's life and work, a posthumous article of Gerhard on production and consumption, an episode of the June days, 1848, at Paris, by Iwan Tourgeniev, a tale entitled "The Unlucky Crown Prince" (nothing about Germany); the Rights of Man, by Jean Paul Marat; Darwinism and Socialism, by Silvia; and several pieces of poetry, of which "Rousseau in the Bastille," a translation from the French of Clovis Hugues, is certainly the best. The almanack of our friends is a handsome little book of sixty-four pages, with illustrated covers, and costs only three-halfpence.

Some months ago comrade Louis Bertrand published a book entitled 'The Lodgings of the Poor and of the workers in Belgium,' with an introduction on the hygiene of the workers by comrade César De Paepé. We are now very glad to hear that this book has been awarded the golden medal at the International Exhibition of Hygiene at Ostend.

RUSSIA.

Some months ago, in connection with the last attempt made on the life of Alexander III., the despot, and the display of fresh prosecution methods that followed that attempt, a paper of Moscow, *Moskovskaja Wjedomosti*, told us that peace and order were restored in Russia, anarchy and discontent, plotters and criminals, were outrooted, and that the times once more were nigh when Russia should be happy. It seems to us that the paper referred to must have dreamed at the time, because matters there are not at all so bright. Plots and attempts happen nearly every fortnight, arrests are made on a wholesale scale all through the vast country, and the Czar is so far from being "out of fear," that he prevents, as much as he can, all divulcation of every revolutionary movement or attempt made on his "precious life." The Russian papers are even compelled to ignore such deeds as those which



occur in open daylight, and in the very presence of hundreds of people. However, in order to show how the Russian revolutionary movement grows and increases, we need only give to our readers the following facts and figures concerning the repression of the Socialist work and propaganda during last year. In 1887 there have been four accomplished attempts on the life of the Czar and nine unaccomplished—i.e., detected by the police before their actual commission; seven hundred and seven "crimes" committed against persons near to the throne and against State officials, and two thousand eight hundred and fifty persons arrested for political offences. During the same period no less than seven secret printing offices have been discovered and destroyed. These figures show well enough how the revolutionary movement has "vanished" there.

#### SWITZERLAND.

Up to the present date there has not existed in Switzerland a distinct Socialist party, the Swiss workers being all mixed up in the various revolutionary bodies created by comrades who were driven to that country by the oppressive laws of their respective lands. That state of things is going to be altered, and at a Congress held a few weeks ago at Berne it was decided to form throughout Switzerland a Swiss Socialist organisation and party. Strange to say, this new organisation owes its existence indirectly to Bismarck and the Swiss federal authorities. Bismarck for some time past has pressed upon the so-called Republican authorities of the country to watch more carefully in the future the "criminal" doings of the Swiss and foreign Socialists, and the Federal Council at Bern have at once instituted a large body of Swiss political police. Our Swiss comrades have thought that, in the face of that reactionary creation, they ought to go at once to work; and they have started their organisation. That is certainly a good answer to Bismarck and the Federal Council, with a vengeance too.

On the 20th inst. the workers of Zurich buried one of their sincerest and truest friends, Solomon Vögelin, professor at the University in that town. He died after a long and painful illness, only fifty-two years old. He has vigorously helped to give to the canton of Zurich a free and democratic constitution, a *pendant* of which does not exist anywhere else in the world, and his ambition would have been to extend the same to the other parts of his native country. In his opinion, however, political freedom was only a means to secure the social emancipation of the people, and therefore he aided the workers in their revindications whenever he could do so. To his incessant and hard struggling it is due that democratic-framed Factory Acts have been introduced in the Swiss legislation, and he was at the same time one of the most energetic supporters of the *internationalisation* of these laws. When, last year, Bismarck had succeeded in endangering the future existence of the right of asylum in Switzerland, Vögelin stood by the side of the political refugees and publicly protested against the miserable measures that were taken against them. We therefore fully associate ourselves with the eloquent and much affected article which, in the last issue of *Der Sozialdemokrat*, has been devoted to the memory of the late Professor Vögelin.

#### ITALY.

When kings and emperors travel, honest folk are evidently in danger of being imprisoned. This was shown again during the recent visit of William II. to Italy. Not only has there been a whole army of German and Italian detectives in motion for the double purpose of protecting the precious visitor and of acting the part of the enthusiastic public, but the festivities were inaugurated by wholesale arrests of Socialists, and Republicans in Rome and Naples, in fact of all those who are suspected of possessing brains and energy. The carnival over, most of them were graciously released, only a few are charged with an "attempt on the security of the State," bringing them artificially in connection with some anti-German manifestations during the Imperial visit.

In Varese, a small town near Milan, the female silk-spinners and weavers of eight factories struck work for an increase of wages on October 22nd. The police, supported by the mayor, arbitrarily arrested thirty-eight of the ringleaders, whereupon the strikers tried to rescue them, and made a most determined assault on the prison. During the night and the following day a large number of soldiers were drafted into the town to protect the frightened manufacturers, and to restore law-and-order. The women were released, but will of course be charged—heaven knows with what!

#### SPAIN.

BARCELONA.—The Marble-cutters' Association of this city and the neighbourhood, following the instructions of its three sections of polishers, turners, and chisellers, held a meeting here last month with the object of demonstrating to their fellow-workers in this trade the many advantages of association for resistance against the encroachments of their exploiters. The meeting was successful, and brought many new names to the association.

TARRAGON.—The Federation of compositors have held their fourth Congress in this town, the different sections of Barcelona, Valencia, Madrid, etc., etc., being fully represented. The reforms presented by the central committee to their colleagues were passed by the Congress, and it was determined to hold the next Congress at Saragossa.

MADRID.—At the end of last month the Association of printers here numbered 672 individuals, and they have a considerable fund at their command.

According to the official organ of the National Union of the workers in iron and other metals, the Union numbered 968 members last month.

CADIZ.—There is a strike of journeymen bakers announced here. They have issued a manifesto describing the conditions under which they have had to work, which are said to be well-nigh insupportable, and await the answer of their employers peaceably. Notwithstanding their quiet attitude however, the authorities have thought fit to arrest some of their number, which arbitrary act has greatly enraged them.

VALENCIA.—The Anarchists of Valencia have recently held a large propagandist meeting, which the journals say was attended by between two and three thousand persons. A discussion was invited with the bourgeoisie, but it seems the latter were slow to respond.

The situation of the working-classes in parts of Andalusia is just now as bad as it can be. Misery weighs down the poor and the desolation is general.

#### PORTUGAL.

OPORTO.—A large meeting of working-men was held in Oporto last Sunday, with the object of starting organisations of a purely proletarian character, which should work for the emancipation of the working-classes, and enable them at the present time to show some resisting force against the opposing forces of the capitalist class.

M. M.

## SONG OF THE DAY-LABOURERS.

ERNEST JONES.

SHARPEN the sickle, the fields are white;  
'Tis the time of the harvest at last.  
Reapers, be up with the morning light,  
Ere the blush of its youth be past.  
Why stand on the highway and lounge at the gate,  
With a summer day's work to perform?  
If you wait for the hiring, 'tis long you may wait—  
Till the hour of the night and the storm.

Sharpen the sickle; how proud they stand  
In the pomp of their golden grain!  
But I'm thinking, ere noon 'neath the sweep of my hand  
How many will lie on the plain!  
Though the ditch be wide, the fence be high,  
There's a spirit to carry us o'er;  
For God never meant his people to die  
In sight of so rich a store.

Sharpen the sickle; how full the ears!  
Our children are crying for bread;  
And the field has been watered with orphans' tears  
And enriched with their fathers' dead;  
And hopes that are buried, and hearts that broke,  
Lie deep in the treasuring sod:  
Then sweep down the grain with a thunder-stroke,  
In the name of Humanity's God!

## THE SOCIALIST LEAGUE.

OFFICES: 13 FARRINGTON ROAD, E.C.

The Offices of the Socialist League will be open for the sale of *Commonweal* and all other Socialist publications from 8.30 a.m. to 9 p.m. every day except Sunday. The Secretary will be in attendance from 10 a.m. to 9 p.m. daily.

**Executive.**—The Council of the Socialist League disclaims any responsibility for the East End Bill *re* Lord Mayor's Show.

**London Members' Meeting.**—The next monthly meeting of members will take place on Monday, Nov. 5, 1888, at 13 Farringdon Road, at 9 o'clock sharp.

**Strike Committee.**—Collected at last Council Meeting, 5s. 1½d.

J. LANE, Treasurer.

### "COMMONWEAL" PRINTING FUND.

T. Muse (Carlisle), 1s.

F. Charles, Sec.

### CHICAGO MARTYRS COMMEMORATION FUND.

Already acknowledged—£11 14s. 7½d. Received—East End Propaganda Committee, 11s. 9d.; collected at Hyde Park, 5s. 10½d.; by Concert (Clerkenwell branch), 5s. 6d. Total, £12 17s. 9d.

J. LANE, Treasurer.

## REPORTS.

LONDON (OPEN-AIR).—*Leman Street.*—Large meeting Sunday morning. Mrs. Schack and Parker spoke. Several songs sung. *Hyde Park.*—Immense crowd, addressed by Cantwell and Parker, Sunday afternoon. Chants were eagerly bought and singing much appreciated. Some 500 men marched out from park through Oxford Street to *Broad Street, Soho*, in spite of an unsuccessful attempt to break through, and, on arrival, Cantwell, Parker, and Dalchiel spoke. After leaving Broad Street, the procession went to *Clerkenwell Green*, but the heavy rain prevented any meeting. *Regent's Park.*—Meeting Sunday morning, addressed by Nicoll and Cantwell. *Broadway, London Fields.*—Good meeting on Wednesday by McCormack and Davis. *Philpot Street, Commercial Road.*—Splendid meeting, Friday, held by members of Berner Street Club, addressed by Parker, McCormack, Hicks, Davis, and Turner. Revolutionary songs sung, and good impression made. 'Weal sold well. *Victoria Park.*—Usual meeting on Sunday, our foreign comrades turning up well, displaying red flag and a board with revolutionary inscription and *Commonweal* contents bill. Addresses by members of the League and several of the S.D.F. Slight opposition. Good sale of 'Weal'.

CLERKENWELL.—On Sunday, Oct. 28th, successful concert held for Chicago Commemoration Fund. Songs, recitations, etc., were given by members and friends. 5s. 6d. collected for fund.—B.

HAMMERSMITH.—Meeting held at Latimer Road on Sunday. Bullock, Maughan, and Fox spoke to good audience, assisted by members of the choir. Fifteen *Commonweals* sold. Good meeting at Weltje Road also. In evening, at Kelmscott House, Mr. Morrison lectured on "India."—G. M.

MILE END AND BETHNAL GREEN.—After Park meeting on Sunday, members and friends of Branch and some of the S.D.F. met at 26, Cawley Road, the residence of our hospitable comrade Mrs. Schaak, who provided an excellent tea, for the purpose of forming a Socialist Club in district. Power (S.D.F.) elected to chair. After discussion, resolved *nem. con.*, "That the formation of a Socialist Socialist Club in the East End is necessary as a local centre from which Socialists of all shades of opinion can carry on the work of propaganda." The meeting then adjourned until Thursday, Nov. 8th, when the subject will be further considered at the Monarch Coffee Tavern, Bethnal Green Road. Members and friends of the S.L. and S.D.F. invited; 8.30 prompt.—H. D.

ABERDEEN.—Good meeting at Correction Wynd, Monday, by Leatham. Choir sang "Marseillaise" and "Hymn of Labour." At indoor meeting Leatham read lecture on "Social Reconstruction, and how to set about it." Discussion by Semple, Barron, McIntyre, and Leatham. (Report of social meeting unavoidably held over.)

IPSWICH.—Creed held good meeting at Stutton on Thursday. On Sunday, in Pioneers' Hall, J. Thomas lectured on "The Position of the Worker" to an attentive audience.—J. T.

LEEDS.—Last month, in addition to our usual outdoor meetings, we commenced a series at the Branch which were fairly well attended. The lectures for the next two months will be notified in the Lecture Diary.—T. P.

NORWICH.—Saturday evening, Branch opened new open-air station on Haymarket; very good audience; Cores and Mowbray spoke. Sunday morning, meeting in Market Place; in afternoon usual meeting was well attended, addressed by Cores and Mowbray. Open-air meeting not held in evening, owing to wet. At Gordon Hall Mowbray lectured on "Socialism: what it is and what it is not." Good sale of literature during the day; 8s. 1d. collected for propaganda.

## LECTURE DIARY.

## LONDON.

**Bloomsbury.**—This Branch is now actively working. Socialists resident in this locality should send their names in at once to 13 Farringdon Road.

**Clerkenwell.**—Hall of the Socialist League, 13 Farringdon Road, E.C. Sunday, November 4, at 8.30 p.m., Social Evening by Members and Friends; free admission. Sunday November 11, at 8.30 p.m., R. L. Allen, "Man in Relation to Life and Matter."

**Fulham.**—Our rooms, 8 Effie Road, Walham Green, will in future be opened on Thursday evenings at 7 o'clock to all persons interested in social matters.

**Hackney.**—Secretary, E. Lefevre, 14 Goldsmiths Sq., Goldsmiths Row, Hackney Road. The Business Meeting of Branch will be held in the Berner Street Club on Tuesday November 6th, at 9 p.m. Members please attend.

**Hammersmith.**—Kelmescott House, Upper Mall, W. Sunday November 4, at 8 p.m., J. Bullock.

**Hoxton.**—Persons wishing to join this branch are requested to communicate with H. D. Morgan, 22, Nicholas Street Hoxton.

**London Fields.**—All communications, etc., to Mrs. G. G. Schack, 26 Cawley Road, South Hackney.

**Merton.**—Club-house, 3 Clare Villas, Merton Road, Singlegate. Lecture on Sunday evenings at 8.30.

**Mile-end and Bethnal Green.**—95 Boston St., Hackney Road.

**North London.**—Secretary, Nelly Parker. Business meetings held on Friday evenings at 6 Windmill St., Tottenham Court Road, after open-air meeting at Ossulton Street.

**Whitechapel and St. Georges in the East.**—40 Berner Street. Meets Saturdays at 7.

## PROVINCES.

**Aberdeen** (Scottish Section).—Secretary, P. Barrow, 14 Ann Street. Branch meets in Oddfellows Hall on Monday nights at 8. Choir practice at 46 Marischal Street on Thursday evenings at 8.

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

**Carnoustie** (Scottish Section: Forfarshire).—Meeting every Tuesday, at 8 p.m., in the Carnoustie Restaurant. Samuel Wilson, Secy.

**Dundee** (Scot. Sect.).—Meetings every Sunday in the Trades Hall, opposite Tay Bridge Station.

**Edinburgh** (Scottish Land and Labour League).—35 George IV. Bridge. Meetings for Discussion, Thursdays at 8 p.m.

**Galashiels** (Scot Sect.).—J. Walker, 184 Glendinning Terrace, secy.

**Gallatown and Dysart** (Scottish Section: Fife).—Meet every Tuesday at 7 p.m. in Gallatown Public School. Secretary, A. Paterson, 152 Rosslyn St.

**Glasgow.**—84 John Street. Reading-room (Draughts, Chess, etc.) open 10 a.m. till 10 p.m. daily. Weekly meeting of members on Thursday evenings at 8. French Class meets every Sunday at 11.

**Ipswich.**—Pioneer Hall, Jacket Street. Meets on Sunday evenings.

**Kilmarnock.**—Secretary, H. M'Gill, 22 Gilmour St.

**Leeds.**—Clarendon Buildings, Victoria Rd. and Front Row. Open every evening. Business meeting Saturdays at 8 p.m. communications to T. Paylor, 11 Sheldon St., Holbeck, Leeds. Sunday Nov. 4, at 7.30, G. Roby, "Coal-mining and its Political Aspects." Sunday 11th, J. Greevz Fisher, "Starvation in the Midst of Plenty." 18th, Mr. Chippendale, "How we Live and How we Might Live." 25th, P. Bland, "The Right of Resistance."

**Leicester.**—Hosiery Union Offices, 11a Millstone Lane. Fridays at 8 p.m.

**Norwich.**—Sunday, at 8.15, Lecture in Gordon Hall—subject, "The Unemployed." Monday, at 8, Concert, admission free, collection for Branch funds. Tuesday, at 8.30, Members' Meeting. Wednesday, at 8, Educational Class. Saturday, 8 until 10.30, Co-operative Clothing Association.

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

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

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

All persons who sympathise with the views of the Socialist League are earnestly invited to communicate with the above addresses, and if possible help us in preparing for the birth of a true society, based on equality, brotherhood, and freedom for all.

## OPEN-AIR PROPAGANDA.

## SUNDAY 3.

11.30...Latimer Road Station ...Hammersmith Branch  
11.30...Mitcham Fair Green .....The Branch  
11.30...Regent's Park .....Mainwaring  
11.30...Walham Green, opp. Station.....The Branch  
11.30...Weltje Rd., Ravenscourt Pk .....Hammersmith  
3.30...Hyde Park .....Nicoll  
7.30...Broad Street, Soho .....Brooks  
7.30...Clerkenwell Green .....Brooks  
7.30...Mitcham Fair Green .....Turner

## Monday.

8 ...Wimbledon Broadway .....Mainwaring

## Tuesday.

8.30...Fulham—back of Walham Green Ch. ...Branch

## Friday.

7.30...Euston Rd.—Ossulton Street.....Parker

## EAST END.

## SUNDAY 3.

Leman Street, Shadwell 11 ...Kitz.  
Victoria Park ... 3.15...Kitz & Parker.  
Broadway, London Fields 8.30...Mainwaring.

## TUESDAY.

Mile-end Waste ... 8.30...Davis.

## WEDNESDAY.

Broadway, London Fields 8.30...McCormick.

## FRIDAY.

Philpot St., Commercial Rd. 8.30...McCormick.

## SATURDAY.

Mile-end Waste ... 6 ...Parker.

## PROVINCES.

**Aberdeen.**—Saturday: Castle Street, at 7 p.m.

**Glasgow.**—Sunday: Jail's Square at 2 o'clock; Paisley Road at 5 o'clock.

**Ipswich.**—

Sproughton, Wednesday evening.

Westerfield, Thursday evening.

Needham Market, Sunday morning and evening.

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

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

**Norwich.**—Sunday: St. Mary's Plain, at 11; Market Place, at 11, 3, and 7.30.

Corner of Silver Road, Thursday at 8.30 p.m.

St Catharine's Plain, Friday at 8.30 p.m.

Haymarket, Saturday at 7.45 p.m.

**WALWORTH AND CAMBERWELL.**—Socialists living in this district who desire to join a Branch now being formed, should communicate with K. Henze, 41, Bolton Street, Thomas Street, Kennington Park, S.E.

**THE SOCIALIST CO-OPERATIVE FEDERATION.**—The Committee will meet at the Socialist League Offices, 13 Farringdon Road, E.C., on Saturday Nov. 3rd, at 7.30 p.m. Subscriptions received and members enrolled at 9 p.m.

**COMMUNIST ARBEITER-BILDUNGSVEREIN,** 40, Tottenham Street, Tottenham Court Road, W.—On Sunday, November 4th, a Concert and Ball will be given by the Dramatic Section of the C. A. B. V., with kind assistance of the East-end Propaganda Company. Programme 6d. The proceeds will be transferred to the Chicago Commemoration Committee.

**FABIAN SOCIETY.**—The Fabian Society is giving a course of lectures on "Socialism: its Basis and Prospects." The first part of the course, dealing with "The Basis of Socialism," was concluded on Nov. 2. The second part of the course will deal with "The Organisation of Society": Nov. 16, (1) "Property under Socialism," Graham Wallas; Dec. 7, (2) "Industry under Socialism," Annie Besant; Dec. 21, (3) "The Outlook," Hubert Bland.—The meetings will be held at Willis's Rooms, King Street, St. James's Square, S.W. The chair will be taken by the Rev. Stewart D. Headlam, B.A., at 8 p.m. precisely. Tickets for the course may be obtained from the Hon. Sec., Sydney Olivier, 180 Portsdown Rd. W.

**ARTS AND CRAFTS EXHIBITION SOCIETY.**—The First Arts and Crafts Exhibition is now open daily, Sundays excepted, at the New Gallery, 121, Regent St., from 10 a.m. to 7 p.m. Admission 1s., Season Tickets 5s. The Exhibition comprises specimens of design and handicraft in textiles, gold and silversmiths' work, including enameling; metal and iron work; filigree; decorative painting and design; wall paper; book-binding; printing; glass; stained glass; wood and stone carving; cabinet-making; modelling. On and after Saturday, the 10th Nov., with the exception (1) of Tuesday evening, the 13th Nov., and (2) of Thursday (lecture) evenings, the Exhibition will be open on weekday evenings from 7 p.m. to 10 p.m. Admission 6d. Packets of 25 tickets, each ticket entitling to a single admission, may be had at the reduced charge of 10s. On Thursday evenings in November a course of lectures, in connection with the Exhibition, will be given in the North Gallery. Admission by ticket. For particulars see Syllabus of Lectures. On Sunday the 4th November, and Sunday the 18th November, the Exhibition will be open free (by ticket) from 3 p.m. to 9 p.m. Tickets to be had of Mark H. Judge, Esq., Hon. Sec. Sunday Society, 8, Park Place Villas, W. The Revised Catalogue is now issued, price 1s., and may be had at the Gallery. The Exhibition closes finally on Saturday, December 1.

WALTER CRANE, *President.*  
ERNEST RADFORD, *Secretary.*

## RADICAL RHYMES:

STREET SONGS BY W. C. BENNETT.

No. 1 now ready, price 1d.

Hart and Co., 22, Paternoster Row, E.C.

## VIVE LA COMMUNE!

A CARTOON BY WALTER CRANE.

PRINTED ON FINE PAPER, FOR FRAMING.

Size, 14 inches by 10.

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OF THE

LABOUR MOVEMENT  
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The Book will be brought out in the same elegant and substantial style as 'ANARCHISM,' and will be a book of between three and four hundred pages, and will be beautifully illustrated.

## AN APPEAL

TO FRIENDS AND THOSE INTERESTED.

The importance of the work I am undertaking will be readily appreciated by all who love justice and humanity. Future generations will prize every detail in the history of these fast-moving years. The movement towards a higher civilisation needs a correct presentation of facts; and the veil of prejudice, which an unrelenting ruling class has woven about the events of the past two years, must be torn aside before it shades into tradition. Much of the matter presented is of the deepest interest, and can be obtained from no other source.

In order to bring out this work as it should be done, heavy expenses will be entailed, and it is unnecessary to mention that my means are limited. I, therefore, ask all who feel interested in seeing this work carried out, to send in subscriptions, or parts of subscriptions, or contributions from the financially able and willing. It is impossible at this date to give the exact size and price of the book, but subscribers may be sure that besides getting the full worth of their money in interesting information and good reading, they will be aiding a good cause, and assisting in the support of two children made orphans by the State. I have chosen this work rather than to take up any of the ordinary occupations open to women, because I believe I can best finish the labour my beloved husband laid down, and at the same time care for the innocent children he left helpless.

The price of the book will probably be about 1 dol. 50 c. Parties sending in clubs of five or over will obtain wholesale rates. It will be out at the latest by December 1, 1888, if friends will contribute promptly. Without your generous aid it may be impossible for me to accomplish this great task I have undertaken.

With fraternal greetings, yours,

MRS. A. R. PARSONS.

785 MILWAUKEE AVE., CHICAGO, ILL., U.S.A.

## SOCIALIST LEAGUE LITERATURE.

- Chants for Socialists. By William Morris. . . . . 1d.  
Organised Labour: The Duty of the Trades' Unions in Relation to Socialism. By Thomas Rianing (London Society of Compositors). . . . . 1d.  
The Commune of Paris. By E. Belfort Bax, Victor Dave, and William Morris. . . . . 2d.  
The Aims of Art. By Wm. Morris. . . . . 1d.  
Bijou edition, 3d.; Large paper, 6d.  
The Rights of Labour according to John Ruskin. By Thomas Barclay. . . . . 1d.  
The Tables Turned; or, Nupkins Awakened. A Socialist Interlude. By William Morris. In Wrapper . . . . . 4d.  
The Manifesto of the Socialist League. Annotated by E. Belfort Bax and William Morris. An exposition of the principles on which the League is founded. . . . . 1d.  
Useful Work v. Useless Toil. By William Morris. . . . . 1d.

"All for the Cause!" Song. Words by William Morris; Music by E. Belfort Bax. 4to, 4 pp. 6d.  
per dozen, 4s. 6d.

"Vive la Commune!" Cartoon by Walter Crane. Best paper. . . . . 2d.

Mrs. Grundy (Cartoon). By Walter Crane. Fine hand-made large paper. . . . . 6d.

# THE COMMONWEAL

## The Official Journal of the SOCIALIST LEAGUE.

VOL. 4.—No. 148.

SATURDAY, NOVEMBER 10, 1888.

WEEKLY: ONE PENNY.  
INCLUDING SUPPLEMENT: TWOPENCE.]

### CHICAGO MARTYRS & BLOODY SUNDAY.

"Our silence will be more powerful than our speech."

Mrs. PARSONS has accepted the invitation of the Commemoration Committee to speak at the various meetings to be held in London and the provinces during current month.

#### SATURDAY, NOVEMBER 10,

A Meat Tea will be provided at St. Paul's Café, St. Paul's Churchyard, E.C., at 7 p.m. Tickets 1s. 6d. each. Tickets will be issued at 6d. each for those who cannot attend tea, in order to hear an address to Mrs. Parsons and her reply. Tickets can now be obtained from Secretary, 13 Farringdon Road, any branch secretary, and all the International Clubs. All unsold tickets and cash MUST be returned by Friday, November 9, to J. Lane, 13 Farringdon Road, E.C.

CUNNINGHAME GRAHAM, M.P., in the Chair.

Songs will be sung during the evening by the Choir, which meets for final rehearsal at 13, Farringdon Road, at 5 o'clock on Saturday 10th.

Arrangements have already been made to hold meetings on

SUNDAY, NOVEMBER 11, at 11.30 a.m., in  
REGENT'S PARK.

SUNDAY, NOVEMBER 11, at 3.30 p.m., in  
HYDE PARK.

Processions will be organised from different parts of London, and delegates from Radical clubs will speak at the platforms, which will be announced in the daily and weekly press.

MONDAY, NOVEMBER 12, at 7.30 p.m., in  
WORNUM HALL, STORE STREET,  
TOTTENHAM COURT ROAD.

The Chair will be taken by WILLIAM MORRIS.

Speakers at the various meetings:—P. Kropotkin, F. Kitz, J. Blackwell, Trunk, Dr. Merlino, Cunningham Graham, M.P., John Burns, C. A. V. Conybeare, M.P., Rev. S. D. Headlam, H. A. Barker, F. Charles, D. Nicoll, S. Mainwaring, Wm. Blundell, J. Macdonald, J. E. Williams, H. H. Sparling, R. Hicks, T. Cantwell, J. Turner, A. Brooks, H. Davies, J. Tochaty, S. Bullock, McCormack, J. Lane, W. B. Parker, and others. The whole of the Trafalgar Square prisoners released are expected at these meetings. Mrs. PARSONS will speak at Wornum Hall and Hyde Park, and probably Victoria Park.

SUNDAY, NOVEMBER 13, at 3 p.m., in  
VICTORIA PARK.

Further details next week.

The following Resolutions will be moved at the meetings:—

#### FIRST RESOLUTION.

"That this meeting commemorates the legal murder of four men which took place on November 11th, 1887 (Parsons, Spies, Fischer, and Engels), and the cruel imprisonment of three others (Fielden, Schwab, and Neebe) by the Government of the State of Illinois for the crime of supporting workmen in a labour struggle against their masters, and the further crime of maintaining the rights of free speech, and emphatically denounces the interference with these rights in all capitalist countries; an interference which is the natural result of a so-called Society founded on the robbery of labour."

#### SECOND RESOLUTION.

"That this meeting also denounces the attack on Free Speech made in London on November 13th, 1887, during which three men were killed and many sent to prison after a mere mockery of trial, and it calls for the immediate release of Harrison, condemned to five years penal servitude for being present at a political meeting which was ferociously attacked by the police."

Meantime, funds are urgently needed, and should be sent to Joseph Lane, Treasurer, at the office of the Socialist League, 13, Farringdon Road, E.C. Any information can be had by communicating with Secretary of the Commemoration Committee.

W. B. PARKER, Secretary.

### In Memoriam.

Murdered by law, Nov. 11, 1887.

GEORGE ENGEL

ADOLPH FISCHER

ALBERT R. PARSONS

AUGUST SPIES

Killed himself in prison, Nov. 10.

LOUIS LINGG

Imprisoned for life.

SAMUEL FIELDING

MICHAEL SCHWAB

Fifteen years' imprisonment.

OSCAR NEEBE

It is just one year since the tragedy of Chicago: enough time does not yet intervene to enable us to realise fully the meaning of the event we celebrate. Saddened by the yet fresh memories of our comrades' long struggle in the toils of bourgeois law, and the pain we felt when they at length fell victims to the deferred vengeance of outraged respectability; so many things combining to obstruct our view and distract our attention; we cannot for awhile see clearly the causes and the outcome of their death. Those things that have deepest significance when afterwards read in the light of history are rarely recognised by those who see them and pass by. It was not until negro slavery had been swept away in the fiercest civil war that was ever waged, not until the cause they died for was triumphant, that men understood why Lovejoy was assassinated and John Brown hung. Just as retribution overtook, and that not slowly, the great organised wrong of negro slavery; just as the martyrs whom it slew were avenged in its fall; so also will its doom come to the wider evil of wage slavery, and the upholders of monopoly be called on to account for the wrongs they have done in its defence.

The great god Commerce that rules wellnigh the whole world with an iron rod, is from one cause and another even more powerful in America than in the older countries of this continent. Reckless greed and sordid wealth are confronted by a larger and more desperate proletariat. There are less of social gradations that here mask and seem to bridge the gulf between the millionaire on the one side and the pauper on the other. The masses are more educated and the classes less refined, the revolt against their rule more conscious and direct. The tramp of the men who struck down slavery still echoes in the ear of their sons. As America is to Europe, so is Chicago to America. There the social war is waged with greater fury, and its fruits are more apparent, than in any city of the world save London, and here it is not brought into so small a compass; in Chicago the opposing forces face one another within a narrower area.

There is no space here to re-tell the story of what happened, and there are but few words needed in which to explain it. The labour struggle was passing through an acute phase, and in all parts of the States there were strikes and lock-outs and threats on either side. Years before, the movement for an eight-hour day had become so strong that several States had fixed that limit for all governmental work, and Congress had followed their example throughout the whole country. But the law was not extended to the general body of trades, and an immense number of workers determined that it should be so; most of these recognised also that the law would be useless without an organisation to enforce it; that, given an organisation, the law did not much matter. In 1885 the general conference of the National Labour Union determined that next year the eight-hour day should be introduced all over the States by a universal strike on May 1st, and great preparations were made to that end. The agitation was hottest in Chicago, and the Socialists and Anarchists there were called on to take their places in the front of the battle. Seeing quite well that nothing short of the full resumption of the means of labour would benefit the workers for any length of time, but knowing also that any effort on their own behalf would elevate the masses and give them at least a passing relief, they encouraged the eight-hour movement by all means in their power; pointing out meanwhile the great ultimate goal that might by no means be lost sight of. So successful were they that it became plain to both sides that the real question at issue was little



likely to be settled or even much affected by the immediate outcome of the eight-hour strike.

As May-day approached the excitement grew, and strike after strike took place. At last the day came, and many thousands of workmen left their work; trade was paralysed; many employers grew frightened and made concessions; for awhile it almost seemed as if the cause were triumphant. But capitalism had not lost its cunning; it relied, and with reason, on its police, their weapons and their spies. The American Republic was to show that not Russia itself could surpass in treachery and brutal violence the behaviour of the ruling class of the "land of the free." A meeting of strikers on May 3rd was attacked by the police, who fired on men, women, and children alike, leaving six dead and many wounded. Next day a meeting of protest was held in the Haymarket, and this was again attacked; as the police advanced upon the meeting with loaded rifles and in fighting formation, a bomb was thrown by some one, traitor or fool, which killed one of them and threw many others to the ground. Firing began at once, and the flying unarmed crowd was followed in all directions by the police, who fired indiscriminately on all they saw. What followed is well known; how houses were ransacked and crowds arrested; how with small excuse or with none everybody was indicted who anyway could be; how a jury was packed, and how they earned the blood-money they afterwards received from the bourgeois of Chicago; how testimony was bought and witnesses made; how the whole "legal" machinery was set in motion and well oiled with enormous bribery. It went for nothing that no connection whatever could be shown between the prisoners and the bomb; they were in the grip of the money-changers whom they would have "scourged out of the temple," and like their legendary prototype were condemned. Month after month dragged on, and appeal after appeal was rejected; the bourgeois would sate their anger on the men who had dared to teach the slaves to revolt. The one last appeal, to the workers of the world, was not fruitless; in their millions they responded, in vain as it seemed then, for unorganised right could not cope with organised wrong, and our martyrs died. But the appeal was not in vain, for the millions looked toward that gallows in Chicago on which four men had died for their fellows, and their "silence was more powerful than speech."

That silence has for us a message, the message of the Commune, the message of all the seeming failures that line the path of human progress: "Agitate! Educate! Organise!" Agitate, that the workers may be stirred and awakened to a sense of their position. Educate, that they may know the reason of the evils that they suffer. Organise, that we and they may overthrow the system that bears us down and makes us what we are; that there may be no futile waste of individual effort, but that the army of the revolution may move forward united, steadfast, irresistible, "for the Freedom of the Peoples and the Brotherhood of Man."

EDITORS.

## BLOODY SUNDAY.

(TO THE EDITOR OF THE "COMMONWEAL.")

EXCEPT the facts already known to the public, I fear I can tell little of the occurrences in Trafalgar Square last November. As to the reason why three men were killed, many sent to prison, three hundred or so arrested, and several condemned to penal servitude; the retail trade of the metropolis thrown into disorder, the troops called out; as to why many men and women were beaten and brutalised in the public streets, the wherefore that the powers that be chose to expose their capital to the chance of being sacked and burnt by an angry populace,—I confess I am still in the dark. The more I think, the more I cannot tell. It may be that Sir Charles Dogberry had heard of, and wished to imitate, the behaviour of the negro pilot who came aboard a ship in the West Indies, and immediately gave the order, "Haul um jib up, Mr. Mate," and then, amidst the curses of the crew, instantly remarked, "Haul um jib down, Mr. Mate;" giving as his reason that he wished to show his authority.

What I can tell you is merely this, that I was in Birmingham and read in the morning papers that a meeting having for its object to petition the Government for the release of Mr. William O'Brien, M.P., had suddenly been proclaimed without rhyme or reason. At that time I was a newly elected Liberal member. I had heard members of my party, men who at that time I respected and believed to be in earnest, talking big at meetings and telling lies about what they intended to do in Ireland that autumn. I had read Mr. Gladstone's speech at Nottingham, in which he had expressly said that coercion would not be confined to Ireland, but would also be applied to England if the people were supine. I had read this, and—fool that I was—I believed it; for at that time I did not know that Liberals, Tories, and Unionists were three bands of thimble-iggers. I did not know that the fooleries of Harcourt and the platitudes of Morley were anything else than the utterances of good dull men, who at least believed in themselves. I was soon to be undeceived.

To return to my meeting. I came up to London, hearing that the meeting was held under the auspices of the Radical clubs of London, in conjunction with the Irish National League. Now one would have thought that I should have met at every political club in London the local Liberal member encouraging his constituents. One would have thought that the boasters and braggars from the country constituencies would have rushed up to town to redeem their vaunts on public platforms. I expected that it would be thought as cruel and tyrannical to break up a meeting at which thousands of Irishmen were to be

present, in London as it would be in Ireland. I thought that freedom of speech and the right of public meeting were facts in themselves, about which politicians were agreed. I did not know the meanness of the whole crew even at that time. I was not aware that freedom of speech and public meeting were nothing to them but stalking-horses to hide themselves behind, and under cover of which to crawl into Downing Street. I soon found, however, that the Liberal party was a complete cur, that what they excelled in doing was singing "Gloria Gladstone in excelsis," and talking of what they intended to do in Ireland. You see the sea divided them from Ireland, and one is always brave when no danger is at hand. However, no political capital was to be made out of London, it appeared, therefore Mr. Shaw Lefevre thought better to vapour and obtain a cheap notoriety in Ireland, where he knew he was quite safe, than to help his fellow townsmen—he is, I think, a Londoner—in London, where there might have been some incurred.

Finding myself deserted by all my colleagues, with the exception of Messrs. Conybeare and Walter M'Laren, who would have been at the meeting had they been able, and at that time not knowing many of the Radicals, I turned to the Socialists, some of whom I did know, and hearing their procession was to arrive at St. Martin's Church at a certain time, I determined to join it.

What happened is known to all: how no procession reached the Square; how they were all illegally attacked and broken up, some of them several miles from the Square; how in despite of every constitutional right, and without a shadow of pretext, banners and instruments were destroyed, and not a farthing of compensation ever given, though the loss fell on poor people. It will be remembered, too, how the police, acting under the orders of Sir Charles Dogberry, the Christian soldier (*sic!*) felled men and women, and in some cases little children, to the ground. I wonder if Mr. Henry Matthews, the pious Catholic Home Secretary, approved of this, and how he broached the matter to his priest when he went to confession? It will not be forgotten the sort of bloody assize that followed, and how Judge Edlin wrote himself down ass by the folly of his sentences. No one will forget the trial and condemnation of George Harrison, and his sentence to five years' penal servitude on the oath of one policeman, eleven independent witnesses being of no avail to save him. Then the pantomimic trial of John Burns and myself, and our condemnation by Mr. Justice Charles Shallow, also on the testimony of professional witnesses, and for an obsolete offence. It is still, I think, fresh in the memory of all, how with the help of all the professional perjurers in London, all the arms collected from that vast crowd amounted to three pokers, one piece of wood, and an oyster-knife. How I failed to join the procession, and having met Messrs. Burns and Hyndman by accident, proceeded to the Square; how we were assaulted and knocked about and sent to prison, is matter of notoriety in London.

I can tell no more of the incidents of the day than can any other spectator. I walked across the street with Burns, was joined by no one as far as I remember, and found myself a prisoner in the Square with a broken head. Whilst in there though I had ample time to observe a good deal. I watched the crowd and the police pretty carefully; I saw repeated charges made at a perfectly unarmed and helpless crowd; I saw policemen not of their own accord, but under the express orders of their superiors, repeatedly strike women and children; I saw them invariably choose those for assault who seemed least able to retaliate. One incident struck me with considerable force and disgust. As I was being led out of the crowd a poor woman asked a police inspector (I think) or a sergeant if he had seen a child she had lost. His answer was to tell her she was a "damned whore," and to knock her down. I never till that time completely realised how utterly servile and cowardly an English crowd is. I venture to say that had it occurred in any other country in the world, the man would have been torn to pieces. But no! in England we are so completely accustomed to bow the knee before wealth and riches, to repeat to ourselves we are a free nation, that in the end we have got to believe it, and the grossest acts of injustice may be perpetrated under our very eyes, and we still slap our manly chests and congratulate ourselves that Britain is the home of Liberty.

Other things I saw that pleased me better than this. I saw that the police were afraid; I saw on more than one occasion that the officials had to strike their free British men to make them obey orders; I saw that the horses were clumsy and badly bitted, and of no use whatever in a stone street; and lastly, I am almost certain I observed several of the police officers to be armed with pistols, which I believe is against the law. I saw much too, to moralise on. The tops of the houses and hotels were crowded with well-dressed women, who clapped their hands and cheered with delight when some miserable and half-starved working-man was knocked down and trodden under foot. This I saw as I stood on almost the identical spot where a few weeks ago the Government unveiled the statue of Gordon, not daring to pay honour to the memory of one of our greatest latter-day Englishmen because they feared the assembling of a crowd to do him honour; because, I suppose, for both political parties the comments on the death of a man sacrificed to their petty party broils would have seemed awkward. As I stood there, as I saw the gross over-fed faces at the club and hotel windows, as I heard the meretricious laughter of the Christian women on the housetops (it is a significant feature of the decadence of England, that not one woman of the upper classes raised her protest by pen or on platform to deprecate the treatment of her unarmed fellow-countrymen; no, all their pity was for the police), I thought yet, still—I have heard that these poor working-men, these Irishmen and Radicals have votes, and perhaps even souls, and it seemed impossible but that some day these poor

deceived, beaten, down-trodden slaves would turn upon their oppressors and demand why they had made their England so hideous, why they ate and drank to repletion, and left nothing but work, starvation, kicks, and curses for their Christian brethren? Somewhat in this style I thought; this I saw as I stood wiping the blood out of my eyes in Trafalgar Square. What I did not see was entirely owing to the quietness of the crowd. I did not see houses burning; I did not hear pistols cracking. I did not see this—not because of any precautions the authorities had taken, for they had taken none, but because it was the first time such a scene had been witnessed in London during this generation.

Now, whilst thanking the *Commonweal* for giving me so much space, I can only say that I do not contemplate the renewal of such a scene with much pleasure. "You can beat a cow till she is mad," says the old proverb; and even a Londoner may turn at last. I hope that there may be no occasion for him to turn in my life-time, but I know that if he is not forced to do so he will have only himself to thank for having avoided it. No party will help him, no one cares for him; rich, nobles, City, West End, infidels, Turks, and Jews combine to cheat him, and he stands quiet as a tree, helpless as a sheep, bearing it all and paying for it all. This, then, is all I can tell you of the great riots (*sic*) in Trafalgar Square, where three men were killed, 300 kicked, wounded, and arrested, and which had no result, so far as I can see, but to make the Liberal party as odious and as despised as the Tory party in the metropolis. All honour to the Socialists for being the first body of Englishmen in the metropolis to have determined that the death of three Englishmen, killed by the folly of Sir Charles Dogberry, and worthy Mr. Verges, the Home Secretary, shall not go unregarded, and I hope unpunished.—I am, Sir, your obedient servant,

R. B. CUNNINGHAME GRAHAM.

### AMILCARE CIPRIANI AND THE UNION OF THE LATIN RACES.

A FEW weeks ago our heroic comrade Amilcare Cipriani launched amidst the peoples of Europe an energetic appeal for the union of the Latin races, and his idea has so far met with approval that a provisional committee has at once been appointed at Paris, including amongst their members, besides Cipriani, the founder of the League, Benoit Malon, ex-member of the Paris Commune and chief-editor of the *Revue Socialiste*; Achille Caille and Xavier de Carvalho, publicists; A. F. Parmentier, Venerable of the Lodge "The Link of the Peoples"; Millerand, Achille Boyer, Camélinat and Ferroul, Socialist deputies of the French Legislative Assembly; Darlot, chairman, and Daumas, member of the Paris Municipal Council. This provisional committee will in the course of a few days convene a general meeting of all those who already have adhered to the League, issue a manifesto and a programme, lay down the rules and regulations of the new body, and proceed to the election of an executive council.

The idea of trying to reconcile the French and Italian democracies is certainly well worthy of our consideration; but at the same time we cannot help thinking and feeling that there lies at the bottom of Cipriani's proposal some kind of national jingoism, that can hardly be held consistent with the principles of international revolutionary Socialism, and therefore we ask leave to lay before our readers some of the reasons, at least, why we disagree with the proposed scheme of a mere Latin union. Far be it from us to doubt the good faith of our comrade Cipriani, or to accuse him personally of chauvinistic or jingoist sentiments, for all who know his life and have followed his career are aware that there has never been even a shade of one-sided nationalism in any of his revolutionary enterprises. As far back as 1860, scarcely a youth of sixteen, he fights with Garibaldi at Milazzo and at Madalloni, and being compelled, after the battle of Aspromonte, to emigrate, he soon reaches Greece, where he takes part as an insurgent on the barricades of Eolo Street, at Athens, in the last struggle against King Otho. Soon afterwards he starts for Egypt, forming at Alexandria a secret society in order to overthrow the Egyptian government. In 1866 he organises at his own expense that Egyptian legion which did duty so valiantly in the Austro-Italian war. Then he goes to Crete, where he fights, along with Gustave Flourens, in the ranks of the insurgents. After a short stay in London, he devotes all his efforts to the Socialist uprising in Tuscany. As soon as Napoleon's empire is torn to pieces at Sedan, Cipriani becomes at Paris one of the most energetic supporters of the French Revolution; on the 31st of October 1870 he is with Blanqui and Eudes among those who try to take possession of the Hotel de Ville. During the Commune he acts as Flourens' chief staff officer, and at the sortie of April the 4th he is taken prisoner by the Versailles and afterwards sentenced to imprisonment for life in the galleys of New Caledonia. The general amnesty of 1880 only relieves him from ten years' sufferings in the peninsula of Ducos to throw him again into the murderous dungeon of Portolongone, the court of Ancona having sentenced him on the 28th of February 1881 to twenty-five years hard labour for the forgotten affair of Alexandria. At last the Italian government, urged by the irresistible pressure of public opinion, the electors of Ravenna and of Forli having returned Cipriani nine times as their deputy in Parliament, were compelled to grant a full amnesty to that valiant champion of the revolutionary cause, who may truly be said to belong to the family of Buonarrotti, of Garibaldi, of Blanqui, of Barbes, of Gustave Flourens. A man of that description and of such indomitable energy is not and cannot be a mere jingo-nationalist.

Cipriani's appeal nevertheless seems to us inconsistent with the traditions of revolutionary Socialism. It runs as follows: "The kings of Europe are taking aim at France, that grand focus of revolution and liberty, the very intellectual centre of the world: France is threatened to be invaded, trampled down, dismembered. Day after day Bismarck, Crispi, Kalnoky are striving to provoke her in the name of their masters; they would like that the centenary of the great Revolution that inaugurated the Rights of Man should become the last day of her freedom; that the tocsin of revolt which swept away the crowned heads of monarchy should ring the death-knell of peoples; that the "Marseillaise," that sublime hymn that raised the oppressed against their oppressors, should be the funeral song of revolutionary France and Europe. The *finis Poloniae* may teach us of what crimes kings are capable: let us not wait until a second crime be perpetrated, let us not wait until beside the coffin of unhappy Poland that of heroic France also lies on the ground. *Finis Gallie* would mean the mourning of the world, the end of liberty, of fraternity, and of the hopes of all peoples.

"The Italian Government, born from the Revolution, has assumed the infamous rôle of an *agent-provocateur*, has become the slavish tool of the German Chancellor, has come forward as the vanguard of William's armies to overthrow a brother-people. Slavery of the French people means slavery for the Italians and for all their brethren of Latin race. It behoves thus to these peoples, to all who have kept alive in their hearts the remembrance of the Revolution, to all lovers of justice and freedom, to combine in order to resist the monarchical conspiracies, and to avoid that two brother-peoples who fought heroically on the same battle-fields should be used for the consolidation of the thrones of their most terrible foes.

"Nay, that cannot be and will not be. The blood that has been shed at Magenta, Palestro, Solferino, Dijon, Nuits, and Talant, has created between these peoples a link never to be unknotted, and lays on us the sacred duty of uniting all our endeavours to dispel a threatening conflict.

"To this effect a Central Committee of the Latin Union has been sitting at Paris. Its outspoken aim is to wage war against the Jesuitic manoeuvres of our common enemies, to dispel the misunderstandings already brought about by these manoeuvres, to maintain the indissoluble union of the peoples of Latin race by an unceasing propaganda, and, if needs be, by an energetic action to be carried on by all means, even the most extreme.

"Danger is imminent, arms are ready, tinders are alighted. Let us not wait until the orders to give fire be given. Let us organise ourselves, close our ranks, be ready in arms to fight, lest we should become an easy prey to the kings. The Italians should not wait until their government has dishonoured them by dragging them off into a war that would stain their history, their heroic quests, their future. To the conspiracy of the monarchs let us oppose the union of all the oppressed, and above all, the union of the peoples of Latin blood!—AMILCARE CIPRIANI."

The union of the Latin races in order to be effective, as far as it is intended in Cipriani's scheme, must include bourgeois and workers alike, and become a kind of Society of the Friends of Peace, such as that presided over by M. Lemonnier, of Geneva. But nowadays the International Revolutionary Socialists are far ahead of the theories that prevail in that and similar bodies. We do not want to overthrow a Government, be it what it may, because by the smashing to pieces of a Monarchy and its possible replacing by a Republic, even a very advanced one, we have done nothing whatever in the way of Socialism. We are aiming at the overthrow of society at large, inasmuch society is actually based on commercialism and exploitation, and in that work bourgeois and politicians of every shade struggle and fight against us, because their privileges are at stake, not only in Italy or France, but in every country all over the wide world. The union of the Latin races is quite useless if it is intended to avoid war. War will not be avoided, but will become more inevitable the more the revolutionary and Socialist ideas permeate the masses of the people, and the supporters of commercialism and exploitation will have no other means but war to resist our ideas and their fulfilling into practice. War must be in the long run the necessary outcome of our respective positions, with the understanding that it will be a social and not a political war, one of the oppressed of all sorts against the oppressors of all kinds—dynastical, economical, and religious.

Again, for that war, which means nothing more or less than the Social Revolution, the union of the Latin races, instead of being a step forward, is rather one backwards, because it limits the solidarity of the workers and excludes those who are not of Latin blood. Are not our friends of the German proletariat suffering under the same pressure of their tyrants, oppressors of the political machinery and masters of the capitalistic workshops? Are not the Slavonic races labouring under the same hard and mischievous evils? Why then should we go back to the particular idea of a Latin union, whereas we know that only the universal brotherhood of the proletariat of all countries shall enable us to carry out our ideas, in spite of all reaction and all despotism? In a letter written some days ago by comrade Cipriani to his friends at Brussels he says, "There can be no revolution possible without union, without harmony, without the most entire concord." Well, then, let us bring about concord and harmony between the pariahs of the whole world, whatever be the race they belong to, and the curse of commercialism will soon give way to a society of free men, wherein life will be worth living for all, there being no longer a class of rich idlers entertained on the everlasting draining of the starving masses.

VICTOR DAVE.



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

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

All articles are signed, no special significance attaches to them because of their position in these pages. None to be taken as more than in a general manner expressing the views of the League as a body, except it be so explicitly declared by the Editors. Rejected MSS. only returned if a stamped directed envelope is forwarded with them. Subscriptions.—For Europe and United States, including postage, per year, 6s. six months, 3s.; three months, 1s. 6d.

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

ARTICLES unavoidably held over: "Endowments"; "Reflections"; and conclusion of "Humours of Propaganda." UNSUITABLE: T. J.; K. O.; R. S.

Periodicals received during the week ending Wednesday November 7.

ENGLAND Blackburn Times Church Reformer Die Autonomie Freedom Justice Leicester—Countryman Labour Tribune Norwich—Daylight Postal Service Gazette Railway Review Social Demokrat Yorkshire Post Worker's Friend	CHICAGO—Knights of Labor Vorbote Detroit—Der Arme Teufel Fort Worth (Tex)—South West Milwaukee—National Reformer Paterson (N J) Labor Standard Coast Seamen's Journal	SWITZERLAND Geneva—Przedswit
INDIA Madras—People's Friend	FRANCE Paris—Cri du Peuple (daily) Le Parti Ouvrier (daily) La Revolte Le Coup de Feu Le Proletariat Lille—Le Cri du Travailleur Sedan—La Revolution St. Etienne—La Loire Socialiste	ITALY Turin—Nuova Gazzetta Operaia Florence—La Question Sociale Turin—Il Muratore
UNITED STATES New York—Der Sozialist Volkszeitung Alarm Workmen's Advocate Boston—Woman's Journal	HOLLAND Hague—Recht voor Allen	SPAIN Barcelona—El Productor Barcelona—Tierra y Libertad Madrid—El Socialista Seville—La Solidaridad
	BELGIUM Ghent—Vooruit Liege—L'Avenir Antwerp—De Werker	PORTUGAL Lisbon—O Protesto Operario Porto—A Revolucao Social
		GERMANY Berlin—Volks Tribune
		SWEDEN Stockholm, Social-Demokraten Malmo—Arbetet
		WEST INDIES Cuba—El Productor

NOTES ON NEWS.

MRS. PARSONS left New York on the "Arizona," which reaches Liverpool on Thursday morning, 8th, after we have gone to press, so that we cannot announce when she will arrive in London, but she is expected to do so the same evening. Her public reception on Saturday promises to be a great success, but all comrades should still work their hardest to ensure it being so. S.

The *Echo* has been kind enough to advertise our approaching celebration of the Chicago martyrs and Bloody Sunday by a ferocious attack upon us, in which all the old calumnies against our comrades have been new burnished for the occasion, and we are held up to public reprobation as "enemies of society." All this is chiefly meant as an attack on Cunninghame Graham for his having the courage to be prepared to express in public what not only all Socialists, but all democrats who have enquired into the matter, must feel in their hearts. For the *Echo* believes Cunninghame Graham, though an opponent, to be on the same plane of politics as itself; in which idea it will I feel sure find itself mistaken.

Meantime let us say once more what was the real state of the case. Our comrades, the *Echo* says, were tried and found guilty of being privy to the throwing the bomb. By whom? By the declared enemies of the people, who for long had no word in their mouths but "shoot them down." And on what evidence? On evidence rather less valuable than what would suffice for the condemnation of an English labourer before his squire of poaching a rabbit. There was no real evidence offered or required for the condemnation of our comrades: their guilt was clear already—they were the friends and fellow-agitators of the workmen on strike; that was enough.

Does the editor of the *Echo* know anything of that redoubtable weapon in defence of "society," the Law of Constructive Murder? It is a comprehensive one and by means of it any obnoxious person may be "removed" by "society" at a pinch. Any one taking part in a meeting at which loss of life occurs may be indicted for this wide-reaching crime. Supposing at some not very distant date the editor of the *Echo*, taking part in some Unionist meeting at which the audience gets too excited and shots are fired and someone is killed: how sad it would be if he was put on his trial for constructive murder!

"Enemies of society"? Of what society? Of the society which enables friends and kindred and fellow-workmen to live together in peace and good-fellowship, helping one another through all the dif-

ficulties of life; the society which gives every one an opportunity for living as well as the nature surrounding him will allow him to live? We are not enemies of this society, we are now devoted soldiers of it, and some of us may yet live to be happy members of it. For are we not Socialists—i.e., people who want to realise true society?

But I suppose the *Echo* is thinking of another society; the society of classes: the society which insists that most men shall be poor in order that some may be rich. The society which as its culminating success in our own days takes care that poverty shall no longer mean, as it once did, mere rudeness of life and scantiness of possessions, but utter degradation of body and soul; the society which produces in one country, in one city, living under the same "equal" laws, the coster's barrow and the duke's palace; the culture of the Whitechapel slum-dweller, and the "culture" of the university superfine superior person. In a word, the "society" that produces the rich and the poor,—that is to say, the suffering of the world.

Of such a "society" as this—or rather of such a band of robbers and heap of corruption usurping the holy name of Society—every honest man must be the enemy, even if he is not conscious of it.

Mr. Balfour in his speech at Wolverhampton was very emphatic in showing that the difference between the Irish rebels of the present and the past, was that those of to-day were engaged in a socialistic agitation; the *Daily News* in commenting on the speech was naturally anxious to disprove this, pointing out that several of the Irish leaders are strong Anti-Socialists, that Mr. Davitt is not supported in his land nationalisation by his countrymen, and the Irish peasant is a fanatic for property in land.

All this is true enough on the surface; nor could it be otherwise, since the Irishman is conscious of having been thrust off the land by mere foreigners. The capitalist as he knows him is either an alien in blood or at least the representative of alien domination. Nevertheless Mr. Balfour is more nearly right than the *Daily News*, more nearly right than he knows himself probably. The agrarian agitation in Ireland is an attack on property, though its immediate results may be the establishment of a peasant proprietorship, a thing which in itself all Socialists condemn. The claim for Home Rule is an attack on the centralised bureaucracy, which is the palladium of the present robbery sham-society; although its realisation may lead at first to the establishment of another bureaucratic centre, which will be rotten long before it is ripe; and although the principle for exclusive nationality is abhorrent to all true Socialists.

But the Irish are being educated into Socialism by the force of circumstances whether they are conscious of it or not, and whether they like it or not. This is what Mr. Balfour means, and he is perfectly right.

We need not trouble ourselves about Mr. Vizetelly's "punishment." He offered his back to the lash, and is of course a mere capitalistic publisher engaged in bringing out what will sell, irrespective of other considerations. But a word or two may be said on the scene of ridiculous hypocrisy in which he played an unwilling part. M. Zola's books are horrible. Granted—but are they as horrible as the corrupt society which they picture? What is good enough to be done is good enough to be told of; and I think it is but fair to assume (since the books are undoubtedly powerful) that he is not merely wanton in writing them, but wishes to show modern Society what a foul beast it is. On these grounds he may claim at least the pardon accorded to the hearty good-humoured grossnesses of Shakespeare and Chaucer; and, as a matter-of-fact, the outspokenness of his books is not so provocative of lust as the veiled corruption of the ordinary erotic novels of the day.

As to whether all this is due material for art—that is another affair. But an affair to come before a judge and jury? Preposterous! Why the very reading of detached passages from the book as a method to found criticism on, shows how entirely outside the judgment of a law-court such things must needs be. Really I think the position of the ordinary newspaper critic as compared with that of the author on whom he lives is already sufficiently imposing, without dressing him up in a gown and wig and giving him the power of sending his literary opponents to prison. In short, this trial of M. Zola (for he was the real person tried) is another indication, if but a small one, of the way in which our laws represent the worst side and not the best of modern life. WILLIAM MORRIS.

METROPOLITAN PAUPERISM.—The weekly return of metropolitan pauperism shows that the total number of paupers relieved in the third week of last month was 94,950, of whom 57,728 were indoor and 37,222 outdoor paupers. The total number relieved shows an increase of 1,330 over the corresponding week of last year, 5,444 over 1886, and 6,303 over 1885. The total number of vagrants relieved on the last day of the week was 1,263, of whom 1,027 were men, 204 women, and 32 children under sixteen.

ARTICLES OF INTEREST to Socialists in the November magazines:—*Quarterly*: "Technical Education and Foreign Competition." *Murray's Magazine*: "The Police of the Metropolis," Sir Charles Warren. *Atlantic Monthly*: "Studies of Factory Life: Black-listing at Fall River," Lillie B. C. Wyman. *Century*: "The Guilds of the City of London," Norman Moore; "Political Exiles at Tomsk," George Kennan. *Fortnightly Review*: "Modern Handicrafts," William Morris. *National Review*: "Remedies for the Sweating System," Arthur A. Baumann, M.P.



## REMEMBER CHICAGO.

(Tune: "THE MEETING OF THE WATERS.")

THEY were slain, our true comrades and yoke-fellows dear,  
They were slain in the fury of Hatred and Fear;  
But the seed that our foes in their blindness have cast,  
It shall spring to a harvest of vengeance at last.

With what pride did our martyrs their torment endure,  
For the hope of the helpless, the cause of the poor!  
They loved not their lives, they were lost for our gain;  
Oh, say, could such heroes have perished in vain?

Where they lead let us follow; they fight in the van,  
For the honour of labour, the freedom of man;  
Shall we fail of the faith which those strangled ones preach?  
By their silence a thousand times stronger than speech?

Like the snow-swollen torrent when winter is gone,  
Is the strength of a people whose will is as one;  
Take heart, then, ye toilers, have done with despair,  
And who shall gainsay when ye break through the snare?

C. W. BECKETT.

## NOTES.

A WRITER in the *Radical Leader* contrasts Lassalle and Prince Bismarck; Lassalle was reckless and passionate; Bismarck possesses all the ordinary bourgeois virtues, and is evidently a thoroughly admirable character. It is rather curious, this admiration of a certain school of Radicals, for the man who has done more to make military despotism an exact science than any man in Europe. Suppression of newspapers, imprisonment of men for their opinions, a crushing and brutalising tyranny which destroys alike the mind and the body of its victims. This is the policy of Bismarck, and we are to admire and worship him because of his industry in this damnable work. Is this the latest development of the Radicalism of the Hall of Science?

For my part I say I prefer Lassalle with all his mad passions, which were only the accompaniment of a warm and noble heart, to the so-called personal virtues which gild Bismarck's grinding tyranny. How comes it that the editor of the *Radical Leader*, Mr. G. W. Foote, who was once an ardent admirer of Mirabeau and Danton, who were certainly not remarkable for their observance of the ordinary profanities, praises Bismarck to the skies because he is so respectable, and can find only terms of depreciation for Lassalle. Is it because Lassalle was a Socialist, and that Mr. Foote doesn't love Socialists, for reasons best known to himself.

Mr. Foote takes occasion to declare in correction of Sir Charles Warren, that Socialists had no more to do with the Trafalgar Square demonstration of the 13th of November than "the man in the moon." Then, I suppose, the red flags so prominent on that occasion belonged to Radical club-men, and that John Burns, Cunningham Graham, and Mrs. Besant are followers of Mr. G. W. Foote? It happens, however, that Mr. Foote, with the prudence which characterises that eminent leader of Freethought, was not present at the demonstration, and had no more to do with it than "the man in the moon." Its rather mean of him to endeavour to deprive us of our share of the glory.

We won't rob Mr. Foote of his share. We fully admit that it was only his eloquent exertions that kept the London Radicals from going to the Square on the succeeding Sunday, and thereby prevented them from obtaining an easy victory. Mr. Foote deserves the thanks of every upholder of law and order for his great exertions in thus preserving the peace of the metropolis. Perhaps this is the reason Mr. Foote is now so generally popular among metropolitan Radicals?

D. N.

It has long seemed probable that the *Daily News* employed upon its staff a writer brilliantly qualified for immediate consignment to Colney Hatch. The probability has now become a certainty, for this keeperless lunatic has been again expatiating on matters economic with his usual felicity. In an article, written, as one of the paragraphs clearly proves, to allay the alarm which capital has been thrown into through the result of the coal strike, he gravely informs us "that the houses we live in and in which we receive water for consumption are made by labour," and furthermore he informs us that "the very bricks and mortar are the products of labour applied to otherwise useless dust."

Does the idiot imagine that anyone beside himself ever forgets that labour is the important factor in all these things, and that the other elements in production merely assist labour? But in case we should think that labour, after making the before-mentioned articles, had retired on a competency or else had become fatigued and had decided to rest awhile and watch capital making itself, he explains that "the dress which keeps out the cold involves labour," "that in fact nothing that we eat, drink, use, or enjoy can be obtained without labour." Truly the latterday Daniel is a prodigy, for he also aspires to be a prophet like unto his namesake. He assures us that "a general strike is too great an absurdity to contemplate," because it would be "designed for the imposition of excessive prices." These are but samples of his ravings, the whole of which must be read to fathom the depth of his imbecility.

C. C.

## INTERNATIONAL NOTES.

## ITALY.

The process against the suspected leaders of the striking silk-weavers of Varese and its outlying districts, whose arbitrary arrest had caused a riot, came off on the 26th of October. As was to be foreseen, many of them were convicted, though not a vestige of evidence was brought against them. There were thirty-five defendants, nearly all girls from fifteen to twenty-five years, and one male weaver indicted for "intimidation." The public prosecutor called the interested manufacturers, who posed as benevolent masters, and the police did in perjury more than is even expected of this noble profession. But the chief witnesses for the prosecution, the intimidated girls, amongst them a poor child of thirteen years, not only denied the tale of the police, but accused the authorities of threats and physical violence. A factory was closely besieged by soldiers, to hinder the working women, who had decided to strike, to join their comrades in the street. The defendants—who in Italy, unlike in England, are allowed to speak—told a heartrending story of their misery and sufferings. They work fourteen hours a-day and are piece-workers. The price of a metre of silk fabric varies from 2d. to 6d., and they are able to do from two to three metres daily. A good worker contrives to earn from 8d. to 10d. daily, out of which she has to pay for the lamp-oil, which the humane masters pretend to sell them at cost price. A fiendishly elaborate system of reductions and fines lessens these wages considerably. The material given is often of the worst kind. Nevertheless every defect of the work arising therefrom is punished with heavy reductions. Speaking, singing, and laughing is strictly forbidden, and on the offender a fine of 5d. is inflicted. One of the witnesses, who is able to earn 10d. daily, had to record three such robberies in one day for speaking to one of her fellow-workers! The evidence concluded, the public prosecutor made a most ridiculous speech, in which he expressed his fervent hope that the manufacturers would in future treat their workers as human beings, and the like nonsense. The girls, he admitted, had not used physical but "moral violence," and he proposed therefore, with cruel irony, a fine of five francs each. The court, who couldn't quite see how to make these poor starvelings pay five pence, much less five francs, sentenced twenty-six of them to terms of imprisonment from one to three days, and acquitted the remaining eight. The strikers are not intimidated, but cannot hold out much longer, having no means of resistance. After a futile discussion with their masters, they have accepted to refer the dispute to arbitration. Poor sheep, expecting justice from the butcher!

All over the kingdom arbitrary arrests and confiscation of revolutionary newspapers continue. Amongst others, the printer of *La Questione Sociale* has been arrested and the publication of this courageous writer has been suspended.

In consequence of the wholesale arrests at Rome and Naples our comrades in Umbria have issued an appeal to form a "League of Resistance" against the frequent violation of the laws by the authorities.

In the south the misery is indistinguishable. Near Palermo and Trapani starving agricultural labourers and sulphur-workers form themselves in bands, that live on thefts and robberies with violence; they are hunted down like wild beasts by an increased force of police and gallant soldiers.

H. SCH.

## REVOLUTIONARY CALENDAR.

WEEK ENDING NOVEMBER 17, 1888.

11	Sun.	1640. Trial of Strafford for high treason. 1864. J. R. McCulloch died. 1865. Capture of James Stephens and other Fenians. 1887. Murder by law of Engel, Fischer, Parsons, and Spies.
12	Mon.	1795. Meeting of the London Corresponding Society at Copenhagen House. 1798. Trial of Wolfe Tone for high treason. 1880. Mr. Boycott "boycotted"; origin of term.
13	Tues.	1848. Trial of Scotch Chartists. 1861. A. H. Clough died. 1871. Richard Pigott sentenced to four months' imprisonment for libel in the <i>Irishman</i> . 1887. Bloody Sunday.
14	Wed.	1831. Hegel died. 1842. Strike "outraged" at Sheffield. 1882. J. G. Kinkel died. 1886. Socialist demonstration at Madrid.
15	Thur.	1816. Meeting at Spa-fields (see Dec. 2) to vote an address from the distressed manufacturers to the Prince Regent. 1848. Count Rossi killed at Rome. Messenhausser shot at Vienna.
16	Fri.	1819. Carile sentenced for publishing 'Age of Reason.' 1872. Mutiny of Metropolitan police. 1880. Kviatofski and Priessnakoff hanged.
17	Sat.	1794. J. Horne Tooke tried for high treason. 1798. Wolfe Tone died. 1830. Revolt of Warsaw. 1858. Robert Owen died.

BENEVOLENT MEN!—Workmen who think that the capitalists only employ their capital for the benefit of their fellow-men should read, mark, learn, and inwardly digest the following extract from the prospectus of the Oriental Lace and Embroidery Company, Cheapside, London, E.C.: "The factories are situate at Saxony in the midst of a cheap labour district . . . where there are no trade unions and the hours of labour are unrestricted."

POLICEMEN'S POSSIBILITIES.—Superintendent McDonald, of the Glasgow police, says that "He could say for the chief constable that it was his desire that the men under him should act towards the citizens in a civil and obliging manner." "It were a large economy for (slops) to do the like." Civility forms no part, at present, of the Glasgow policemen's assets. The shoes and the shout, the grumble and the growl, are the chief characteristics of the Glasgow police, and they are the nearest possible approach of the men to the desire of the chief constable.—G. McL.

It seems the eminent vocalist, Madame Neilson, was once a factory girl, but doesn't appear to have been a brilliant success in that line. A Sydney paper says that when Adelaide Neilson was aged ten she was ignominiously sacked by her first employer, a factory owner, near Leeds, who had ascertained by experiment that she wasn't worth 3s. 6d. a-week in the weaving business. If he hadn't sacked her, she might have risen by this time to 10s. a-week, and have married a light porter. This incident proves for the thousandth time that we should be content in the station to which Providence has called us, even if it calls us to work twelve hours a-day for 3s. 6d. a-week.—*Labour Tribune*.

## THE LABOUR STRUGGLE.

### BRITAIN.

A branch of the Scottish Ploughmen's Union has been formed at Aldbar.

A branch of the Bakers' Federal Union of Scotland was instituted at Galashiels on November 3.

Female cigarmakers met on Thursday 1st at St. Jude's Schools, White-chapel, to form a trade union.

The blacksmiths of the Dundee shipyards struck work on the 2nd inst. for an increase of 1s. per week in their wages.

**SEAMEN'S WAGES.**—The steamship owners of Grangemouth have advanced the seamen's wages 1s. 6d.—viz., from £1 6s. 0d. to £1 7s. 6d. per week.

The operatives at Chapel Works, Montrose, were informed on November 1, that a rise of 5 per cent. on their wages would be given, to take effect at once.

**ENGLISH BOILER-MAKERS.**—The boiler-makers employed at Sunderland and the Tyne gave notice on the 2nd inst. for an advance of 2s. per week on wages. Several thousand men are affected.

**FORFAR FACTORY WORKER'S WAGES.**—The employers intimated to a deputation from the Factory Worker's Union that they had resolved to grant an advance of 5 per cent. to take effect last week.

**LEITH GASWORKS.**—A considerable number of the men employed in the Leith Gasworks have intimated that they will leave off at the end of this week if their wages are not raised to the same rate as is paid at Edinburgh.

**DALRY IRONSTONE MINERS.**—At a meeting on the 2nd inst., these miners passed a resolution declining to accept the 2½ per cent. advance offered by the masters—which did not come to a penny per day—and renewing their demand for 10 per cent.

**DROYLSDEN COTTON STRIKE.**—The strike of minders at Victoria Mill continues, neither side evincing any disposition to come to terms. The men say they are determined not to submit until they obtain what they contend they are justly entitled to.

**DISTINGTON IRONWORKERS.**—The ironworkers employed at the Distington Hematite Ironworks, near Workington, have given notice to terminate all engagements unless the masters agree to certain alterations in sliding scale arrangements in force at works.

**DUNDEE JUTE WORKERS.**—At meeting on Nov. 1, of the Executive of the Dundee Mill and Factory Workers' Association, it was resolved to agitate for another rise in wages. A number of the workers came out on strike at Ashton jute works on Thursday, November 1.

**CLIVIGER WEAVERS' STRIKE.**—Since the meeting of weavers on strike at Cliviger last week upwards of 200 have sent in their names to become members of the Association, but they are not yet strong enough to do anything, and have resumed work at the old rate of wages. They have got a practical lesson this time, and it is hoped will stick to the society.

**DARLINGTON MOULDERS.**—On Monday 29th the moulders employed at Messrs. Summerson's came out on strike. The men gave notice for a rise from 29s. to 31s., on the plea that other shops were paying that amount. The advance, however, was refused, "for the present," and the men were asked to "wait till Christmas"; but this they refused to do, and left.

**A SAMPLE OF "FREE CONTRACT."**—Ten men in the employ of the Clyde trustees at Dalnair, who have been on strike for a week for an additional ¼d. per hour, returned to work on the 1st inst. Their request has not been acceded to, and for want of funds they have been compelled to give way. Their present wage is 3 d. per hour, being about 16s. 10d. per week, while the Clydebank hammermen have from 18s. to 19s., and the Dumbarton men from 19s. to 20s.

**ENGLISH AND WELSH MINERS.**—As was anticipated in this column last week, the miners have at last been successful in forcing the masters to concede the 10 per cent. advance in wages. There are some insignificant collieries still trying to hold out against the men, but these are of no account, as the men can easily remove to those works working on the advance. The bad grace with which the masters yielded to an advance, which is more than justified by the prices they are receiving, is very significant.

**GLASGOW UNITED TRADES' COUNCIL.**—At a meeting on Oct. 31st, the iron-dresser's delegate stated that the employers had conceded the demand lately made for a ¼d. advance of ¼d. per hour. In connection with the quay-labourers, lock-out, a letter had been received from Mr. Reith on behalf of the Clyde Traders, granting Messrs. Gilmartin and Connelly a stevedore's license, who will now be at liberty to act for the quay-labourers connected with the union. The licenses, however, in the meantime, are restricted to those in the ore trade.

**DOCKERS' STRIKE.**—The men on strike at Tilbury hold out gallantly; they hope that, if supported sufficiently, they may be enabled to win, as a number of ships are expected in a fortnight which will require unloading, and men are scarce in consequence of the strike. We appeal to the readers of the *Commonweal* to help these poor men, who have held together with a solidarity which gives great hope for the future of the English unskilled workers. Subscriptions may be sent to the editors of this paper, at 13, Farringdon Road, or Benjamin Tillet.

**IRONWORKERS' WAGES.**—Mr. D. Jones, secretary of employers' section of Midland Iron and Steel Wages Board, has received following notice from Mr. J. Capper, secretary of operatives' section: "Midland Iron and Steel Wages Board, 13, Bloxwich Road, Walsall, November 2, 1888. Dear sir,—In accordance with the terms specified in clause (d) of the president's award, dated October 5, 1888, I hereby give notice on behalf of the operatives that they will require the Board, in the presence of the president, to reconsider the rates of wages fixed by the said award with the view of claiming an advance.—Yours respectfully, JAMES CAPPER, Operatives' Secretary.

**THE COLLIERY STRIKE IN NEW SOUTH WALES.**—SYDNEY, Oct. 29.—The strike among the Newcastle colliers still continues. Another conference of masters and men is, however, being held, and there appears to be a prospect of the present negotiations ending in a settlement. The three men who were arrested last month at Adamstown on the occasion of the great disturbance, when the strikers interfered with labourers loading coal and the military had to be called out to restore order, have been acquitted of the charge of rioting. Nov. 2.—The miners' representatives and the colliery masters, who have been conferring, have drawn up an agreement for submission to the miners. It is expected that the men's lodges will accept the compromise thus framed, and the strike be brought to an end.

**INTERNATIONAL TRADES CONGRESS.**—The sitting of the International Trades Congress opened on November 6th, and continued over three following days, at St. Andrew's Hall, Newman Street, forty foreign delegates being present. The subjects for debate were: 1. The most efficacious means for removing the obstacles to free combination in foreign countries. 2. The best methods of combination amongst the workers in various countries. 3. The limitation of production by means of the reduction of the hours of labour. 4. The desirability or otherwise of State regulation of the hours of labour. There was a reception of the foreign delegates by the British trades on Monday evening previous to the opening of the Congress.

**SPRING-BAR MAKERS.**—A meeting was held on Wednesday 31st at Albion Inn, Wolverhampton Street, Walsall, to consider an advance, they having had to submit to reductions of from 80 to 100 per cent. during last few years. After hearing address from a representative of Midland Counties Trades Federation, following resolutions were unanimously carried: (1) "That we, members of the spring-bar trade present, pledge ourselves to join the Midland Counties Trades Federation at once"; (2) "That, considering the enormous reductions to which we have been compelled to submit in the past, and the state of trade at the present time, we do ask our employers to give us a portion of that which has been taken from us—namely, 40 per cent. on all cast work and 20 per cent. on all forged work." Some of the masters have already intimated their willingness to give the advance.

**BOLTON WEAVING DISPUTE.**—The weavers in employ of Pearson and Son, Victoria Mill, have struck, and the dispute assumes considerable importance for the weaving industry of the town. The weavers have a special list for "honeycombs" and Alhambra quilts and covers, which is based on a certain number of picks to be woven for an eighth of a penny, in a certain width of cloth. The firm has not adhered to this list and has been paying so much below it that to a person with one loom it means nearly 4s. and with two looms over 7s. per week. The hands have complained repeatedly, and on Tuesday week they gave the usual week's notice to leave unless the price-list was paid up to. Since then the employers have advanced the prices, but have not fully complied with the weavers' demands, so they left work on Tuesday 30th, and have not resumed, over 100 being affected at present.

**IRONWORKERS.**—On Sunday 28th a large meeting was held in Star Theatre, Stockton, to consider wages question. It was said ironworkers had been kept down more than any industry throughout the country. They had submitted to reductions out of number, and now they were entitled to have something returned to them. The men could not support their wives and families on the 6s. 3d. per ton now paid. If they paid a half-penny per week each, the men of the combined trades of this country would be able to maintain 15,000 men on strike at 15s. per week each, and the masters would not be able to resist an organisation like that. Ultimately it was agreed to have nothing but an advance of 10 per cent. without any condition. Meetings were also held at Consett and Blackhill, and the men were determined on a substantial advance, without any conditions. North of England ironworkers appear to agree to have no sliding-scale, evidently thinking that it would slide all one way—namely, downwards. At Sheffield and Rotherham there is an advance expected. At Brierley Hill a meeting on 29th endorsed new sliding-scale, condemned the last wages award, and resolved to demand the remaining 7½ per cent. asked for.

**SCOTCH MINERS.**—A mass meeting of miners was held at Hamilton on 1st inst., when it was reported that 10 per cent. had been conceded generally in the Holytown district; at Dixon's, Blantyre; at the Clyde, Hamilton; Douglas Park, Bellshill; and 5 per cent. in some places at Wishaw. It was resolved to adopt a four days per week policy at the pits where the full advance of 10 per cent. had not been conceded, and to request all those who had got the full advance, and those who had never been reduced, to come to the five days per week, and also to intimate to the Lanarkshire masters, who are in union against the claims of the men, the repudiation of their privately-concocted sliding scale, to which the miners were no party, as any such scale can only be recognised when mutually agreed upon. Comrade Small supplemented the district reports by stating that Mr. Cunningham, of Merry and Cunningham, had told a deputation to hold off till November 5th, and that the employers were going to arrange a new sliding scale. At a meeting of the Ayrshire men, held also on 1st inst., it was reported that the full demand of 10 per cent. had been conceded both to the iron and coal getters in the Kilmarnock district. The Airdrie miners have also received the full advance, and have resolved to hold every Thursday as an idle day, in order not to glut the markets. The Dalry miners, having been offered only the 2½ per cent. advance, have resolved on restricting the output until they get the 10 per cent. When one reflects on the power the miners have within their own body, provided they could consolidate it—and they could if they would—this higgling to get a paltry 10 per cent. of the 100 per cent. which is really their right becomes contemptible and unworthy of the heroism of men.

**THE BAILIE KNOWS!**—Glasgow bailies have of old been credited with a "guid conceit" of their own wisdom and importance. Bailie McFarlane says that the offences dealt with at the police courts "are often trifling; and the greater part seem to be due to the fact that the working men had too much in their pockets on Saturday nights and did not know what to do with it." In that remark there seems to be some sense dimly twinkling through. The policeman when he is cognisant of money in the pocket sees therein a good case and the sure payment of a fine although the working-man's offence may be "trifling," and these cases count to the policeman. A working-man with too much money in his pocket is as rare in Scotland as the Conservative working-man.—G. McL.

**THE PUBLIC GOOD.**—At the customary mutual congratulations at the expiry of the Glasgow non-paid-Nupkins' terms of office, a police superintendent said that "the citizens were under great obligations to the magistrates for the great amount of arduous work they performed for the city's good." A glance at the class of people operated upon by the bailies in the police courts will clearly demonstrate that the "arduous" work is done at the wrong end of any good. The victims of the police court are poor, and when a solitary swell happens, by mistake, to be tried by a bailie, the unusual event is sure to cause a sensation. Does this not prove that poverty supplies the bailie with material for his "arduous work"? If so, the responsibility of the "crimes" of the police court rests with those economical geniuses who, finding the people poor, contrives to keep them so. A doctor who muddles away at a local affection without enquiring into the general health of the body, just adopts the same method of doing good as is practised in our police courts. Their good is evil.—G. McL.

## THE FISHERMAN.

ERNEST JONES.

THREE fishermen sat by the side  
Of the many-toned popular stream,  
That rolled with its heavy-paced tide  
In the shade of its own dark dream,—

Now sullen and quiet and deep,  
Now fretful and foaming and wild;  
Now calm as a Titan asleep,  
And now like a petulant child.

First, sat there the fisher of France,  
And he smiled as the waters came,  
For he kindled their light with a glance,  
At the bait of a popular name.

Next, the fisher of Russia was there,  
Fishing for German States;  
And throwing his lines with care,  
He made his own daughters the baits.

Next, the Austrian fisher-boy set  
His snares in the broad river's way,—  
But, so widely he stretched his net,  
It half broke with the weight of his prey.

And next, on an island I saw  
Many fishermen catching with glee,  
On the baits of "Peace," "Freedom," and "Law,"  
Slave-fish, while they christened them "Free."

And still, as they hooked the prize,  
They cried with a keen delight,  
And held up the spoil to their eyes,  
"The Gudgeon! they bite! they bite!"

But the hooks with time grow dull,  
And the lines grow weak with age,  
And the thaw makes the rivers full,  
And the wind makes the waters rage;

And spoilt is the fishermen's trade,  
And the zest of their bait is past,  
And those on the fish who preyed,  
Are the prey of the fish at last.

## RELIGION AND MORALITY ACCORDING TO HEINE.

FRIEND, conciliate the Devil;  
Think how brief the course we run!  
And the Everlasting Blazes  
Is no vulgar pulpit-fun.

Friend, pay up the debt thou owest!  
'Tis a weary course we run;  
And you'll often have to borrow,  
As before you've often done.

ERNEST RADFORD.

A BAILIE'S BOW.—In his valedictory address from the bench in Glasgow Southern Police-court, Bailie Gray said that the work that came before a magistrate "would often touch the heart of the most callous." The records of the police-court "led one often to wonder if this was really a Christian land—a land of human brotherhood and friendly care." To unprejudiced minds there is no wonder or doubt about it. Practically this is not a Christian land, although professionally it appears to be so. Egoism is as much supreme in this land now as it was in Rome immediately previous to its downfall. The same disregard for the workpeople by the propertied class which ruined Rome is "the rule" in this land, and the bailie's "wonder" is a guarantee that he, at least, is cognisant of a like doom approaching "the powers that be" of this land.—G. McL.

## NATIVE LABOUR.

J. ROSEVEARE AND CO.  
Will have  
200 NATIVES  
for disposal  
On Monday next, 6th inst.

They have been specially selected and engaged to work for a term on the  
GOLD FIELDS.

It is quite a mistake to suppose that the African slave trade is confined to the east and the centre of the continent. It flourishes much nearer the centre of civilisation. The accompanying is an advertisement which we cut from the *Eastern Star*, a journal circulating in the South African Republic. Read "Slaves" instead of "Native Labour," and the above will exactly resemble the advertisements which used to appear in the West Indian newspapers fifty years ago. As for the results and the antecedents of the sale, the correspondent who sent us the newspaper writes as follows:—"The result of the sale or disposal resulted in their fetching from 10s. to 25s., as in the former case the 10s. ones being the tired and dying. It is nothing to see a dead Kafir lying on the main road. For instance, between the towns of Middelburg and Pretoria, a distance of seventy-two miles, there were a fortnight ago nine Kafirs lying dead, and also they were left unburied for three weeks; and now, at time of writing, there is a Kafir who has been lying dead for the past five weeks, and the sight is simply horrible, and this only fifteen miles from Middelburg. I myself have seen twenty dead, and a more horrible scene never before have I witnessed, or am I desirous of. Bones protruding from the skin, flesh they had none whatever; and these are the Kafirs brought down to be sold to the gold-mining companies, and those that are not sold to the companies are sold to the Boers, who expect them to work the day they buy them, and if they don't they tie the poor Kafirs to a waggon-wheel and thrash them well, which in nearly nine cases out of ten kills them, or makes them so ill that the Boer drives them away from the house, fearing that he will have the trouble of burying them."—*Pall Mall Gazette*.

## A REVOLUTIONARY "SOCIAL" IN ABERDEEN.

THE charge sometimes made against the people of this island, that they take their pleasure a little sadly, is supposed to be specially true of Scotsmen. But I will give any of you Englishmen a chance of writing articles half as funny as those that Glasgow Glasier has of late been furnishing us with. If any one is doubtful as to whether Scotsmen can really laugh, sing, and generally enjoy themselves, let me inform him that the fact that they can do so was to us placed beyond all doubt by the hearty social gathering held by the Aberdeen branch on the evening of Saturday, October 27th.

Although no attempt had been made to push the sale of tickets, and although we had many things to work against us, over forty people sat down to tea. The chair was occupied during the first half of the evening by the Rev. Alexander Webster, and during the other half by comrade Leatham, who, as organiser, reported that over sixty people had joined the branch during the year; that they had brought down seven different lecturers from England and the South of Scotland; and that more than 100 meetings had been held during the year. After paying all expenses, they started the year with a respectable balance in the hands of their treasurer to assist in extending their operations, and if the funds prospered as well during the present as they had during the past year, the branch committee would be looking about them for a hall and club-rooms of their own. He hoped ere long to see "a brawny breed of orators" at work in all the open spaces about the city.

The proceedings began about seven o'clock and lasted till pretty near Sunday morning. A programme of revolutionary chants, songs, and readings, perfectly dazzling in their number and excellence, was gone through. There was an hour's dancing at the close, and before a meeting broke up three rousing cheers were given for the Social Revolution.

J. L.

## THE SOCIALIST LEAGUE.

OFFICES: 13 FARRINGDON ROAD, E.C.

The Offices of the Socialist League will be open for the sale of *Commonweal* and all other Socialist publications from 8.30 a.m. to 9 p.m. every day except Sunday. The Secretary will be in attendance from 10 a.m. to 9 p.m. daily.

**Executive.**—Next Monday being the date of the meeting at Wornum Hall, the next meeting of the Council will take place on Monday, Nov. 19th.

**London Members' Meeting.**—The next monthly meeting of members will take place on Monday, Dec. 3, 1888, at 13 Farringdon Road, at 9 o'clock sharp.

## "COMMONWEAL" PRINTING FUND.

M. P. H., 2s.

F. Charles, Sec.

## CHICAGO MARTYRS COMMEMORATION FUND.

Already acknowledged—£12 17s. 9d. Received—Comrade Mauer, 10s.; H. Holt, 6d.; by Concert (Clerkenwell branch, 2nd donation), 3s. 7d.; collected at Regent's Park, 11d.; Berner Street Club, 3s. 9d.; Berner Street concert, 6d. Total, £13 17s. 0d.

J. LANE, Treasurer.

## REPORTS.

LONDON (OPEN-AIR).—Large meetings at *Clerkenwell Green*, *Regent's and Hyde Parks*, *Leman Street*, and *Broad Street, Soho*, *Victoria Park*.—Two splendid meetings on Sunday, addressed by Kitz, Hicks, and a comrade of the S.D.F. The other was a debate between H. Burrows (S.D.F.) and the Rev. E. Edwards on the population question. When whistles sounded a procession formed of about 1,500 and marched out singing the "Marseillaise," and had another meeting outside, addressed by Hicks and Burrows, afterwards singing the "Starving Poor" and other revolutionary songs on way to Mile End Waste. *Mile End Waste*.—Good meeting on Tuesday, addressed by Davis and Palmer (S.D.F.) *Stainsby Road*.—Meeting Sunday morning, addressed by Parker and John Wood.

CLERKENWELL.—On Sunday, Nov. 4th, successful concert held for Chicago Commemoration Fund. Songs, recitations, etc., were given by members and friends. 3s. 7d. collected for fund.—B.

FULHAM.—Tuesday evening, back of Walham Green Church, Bullock, Beasley, Groser, and a member of the S.D.F. spoke to good meeting. Sunday morning, Tochatti and Morris had excellent audience opposite the railway station, and in evening J. Turner lectured inside rooms on "The Sweating System: cause and cure." Several questions and some discussion.

HAMMERSMITH.—Meeting held at Latimer Road, Sunday morning. Speakers: Davis, Dean, and Maughan, assisted by members of choir. Audience good; 14 *Commonweals* sold. In evening, S. Bullock lectured at Kelmscott House on "Want of Employment."

ABERDEEN.—The usual open-air meeting, held in Correction Wynd, on Monday, 29th October. The choir sang two revolutionary songs, and Leatham spoke. At the indoor meeting, on the same night, lecture, "An appeal to the Capitalists," read. Discussion by Leatham, Duncan, McIntyre, and Barron.

GLASGOW.—Sunday, at 4 o'clock, Joe Burgoyne, Tim Burgoyne, and McCulloch spoke at usual meeting at Paisley Road Toll. While Joe Burgoyne was speaking, a knot of Orangemen disturbed the meeting by their rude behaviour. The Orangemen will find that, if they intend bullying Socialism in this way, they have made a mistake.

IPSWICH.—Creed held good meeting at Stutton last week. G. Reed lectured at the Pioneers' Hall, Ipswich.—J. T.

NORWICH.—Tuesday, large meeting of members; important business discussed; officers appointed; secretary re-elected. Several meetings had to be dropped owing to the wet. Sunday afternoon and evening, good meeting in Market Place, conducted by Mowbray and W. Moore; special reference made to death of Chicago Anarchists. At Gordon Hall Cores lectured on "The Unemployed"; meeting opened with "No Master," concluding with "The March of the Workers."

## Chicago Martyrs and Bloody Sunday Demonstration in Hyde Park.

A procession with band, flags, and banners will leave Limehouse on Sunday November 11th, at 12 o'clock, calling at Mile-end Waste at 1 o'clock; Clerkenwell Green at 2 o'clock; Fitzroy Square at 2.30; and thence to Hyde Park at 3.30 p.m.

## Bloody Sunday Anniversary.

A Torchlight Demonstration will be held on Tuesday, November 13, on Clerkenwell Green, at 8 p.m., by the Finsbury Liberal and Radical Federation, the Socialist League, and the local branches of the Social Democratic Federation and Irish Nationalist League. A procession with band and banners will start from the Triangle, Hackney Road, at 7.30. Comrades are asked to be at the Offices of the League at 6.30 p.m., in order to take banners to the Triangle, as the Radicals want plenty of red flags in the procession.



LECTURE DIARY. LONDON.

Bloomsbury.—This Branch is now actively working. Socialists resident in this locality should send their names in at once to 13 Farringdon Road. Clerkenwell.—Hall of the Socialist League, 13 Farringdon Road, E.C. Sunday, Nov. 11, at 8.30 p.m., Free Concert; collection to be made for the Chicago Commemoration Fund. Sunday Nov. 18, at 8.30, R. L. Allen, "Man in Relation to Life and Matter." Deptford.—Persons wishing to join branch now forming are requested to communicate with G. W. Leach, 72, Gosterwood Street, Deptford, S.E. Fulham.—8 Effie Road, Walham Green. Committee meetings are held on Sunday evenings at 7 o'clock sharp. All members are earnestly requested to attend. Hackney.—Secretary, E. Lefevre, 14 Goldsmiths Sq., Goldsmiths Row, Hackney Road. Hammersmith.—Kelmescott House, Upper Mall, W. Sunday November 11, at 8 p.m., J. Brailsford Bright (Fabian Society), "Division of Labour the True Basis of Organisation." Hoxton.—12, Basing Place, Kingsland Rd. Business meetings of this branch are held every Friday evening at 9 o'clock. London Fields.—All communications, etc., to Mrs. G. G. Schack, 26 Cawley Road, South Hackney. Merton.—Club-house, 3 Clare Villas, Merton Road, Singlegate. Lecture on Sunday evenings at 8.30. Mile-end and Bethnal Green.—95 Boston St., Hackney Road. North London.—Secretary, Nelly Parker. Business meetings held on Friday evenings at 6 Windmill St., Tottenham Court Road, after open-air meeting at Ossulton Street. Walworth and Camberwell.—Socialists living in this district who desire to join a branch now being formed should communicate with K. Henze, 41, Bolton St., Thomas Street, Kennington Park, S.E. Whitechapel and St. Georges in the East.—40 Berner Street. Meets Friday at 7.

PROVINCES.

Aberdeen (Scottish Section).—Secretary, P. Barrow, 14 Ann Street. Branch meets in Oddfellows Hall on Monday nights at 8. Choir practice at 46 Marischal Street on Thursday evenings at 8. Bradford.—Read's Coffee Tavern, Ivegate. Meets Tuesdays at 8. Carnoustie (Scottish Section: Forfarshire).—Meeting every Tuesday, at 8 p.m., in the Carnoustie Restaurant. Samuel Wilson, Secy. Dundee (Scot. Sect.).—Meetings every Sunday in the Trades Hall, opposite Tay Bridge Station. Edinburgh (Scottish Land and Labour League).—35 George IV. Bridge. Meetings for Discussion, Thursdays at 8 p.m. Galashiels (Scot Sect.).—J. Walker, 184 Glendinning Terrace, secy. Galloway and Dysart (Scottish Section: Fife).—Meet every Tuesday at 7 p.m. in Galloway Public School. Secretary, A. Paterson, 152 Rosslyn St. Glasgow.—84 John Street. Reading-room (Draughts, Chess, etc.) open 10 a.m. till 10 p.m. daily. Weekly meeting of members on Thursday evenings at 8. French Class meets every Sunday at 11. On Saturday November 10, at 8 p.m., a meeting will be held in our rooms to commemorate the Chicago Martyrs. Ipswich.—Pioneer Hall, Tacket Street. Meets on Sunday evenings. Kilmarnock.—Secretary, H. McGill, 22 Gilmour St. Leeds.—Clarendon Buildings, Victoria Rd. and Front Row. Open every evening. Business meeting Saturdays at 8 p.m. communications to T. Paylor, 11 Sheldon Street, Holbeck, Leeds. Sunday November 11th, at 7.30, J. Greevz Fisher, "Starvation in the Midst of Plenty." 18th, Mr. Chippendale, "How we Live and How we Might Live." 25th, P. Bland, "The Right of Resistance." Leicester.—Hosiery Union Offices, 11a Millstone Lane. Fridays at 8 p.m. Norwich.—Monday, at 8, Concert in Gordon Hall, admission free, collection for Branch funds. Tuesday, at 8.30, Members' Meeting. Wednesday, at 8, Educational Class. Saturday, 8 until 10.30, Co-operative Clothing Association. Sunday next, at 3 p.m., in the Market Place, a great Demonstration will be held, to commemorate the legal murder of our Chicago comrades; several speakers will take part, and resolutions will be moved. Oxford.—Temperance Hall, 25½ Pembroke Street. Wednesdays, at 8.30 p.m. Walsall.—Lecture Room, back of Temperance Hall. Mondays at 8 p.m. West Calder (Scottish Section).—Sec., Robert Lindsay, West Calder.

All persons who sympathise with the views of the Socialist League are earnestly invited to communicate with the above addresses, and if possible help us in preparing for the birth of a true society, based on equality, brotherhood, and freedom for all.

OPEN-AIR PROPAGANDA.

SUNDAY 11.

11.30...Latimer Road Station ...Hammersmith Branch
11.30...Mitcham Fair Green ...The Branch
11.30...Regent's Park ...Demonstration
11.30...Walham Green, opp. Station...The Branch
11.30...Weltje Rd., Ravenscourt Pk ...Hammersmith
3.30...Hyde Park ...Demonstration
7.30...Clerkenwell Green ...The Branch

Monday.

8 ...Wimbledon Broadway ...The Branch

Tuesday.

8.30...Fulham—back of Walham Green Ch. ...Branch

Friday.

7.30...Euston Rd.—Ossulton Street ...The Branch

EAST END.

SUNDAY 11.

Leman Street, Shadwell 11 ...East-end C'mittee.

TUESDAY.

Mile-end Waste ... 8.30...East-end C'mittee.

WEDNESDAY.

Broadway, London Fields 8.30...East-end C'mittee.

FRIDAY.

Philpot St., Commercial Rd. 8.30...East-end C'mittee.

SATURDAY.

Mile-end Waste ... 6 ...East-end C'mittee.

NOTICE.—All the speakers at liberty on Sunday morning will meet at Berner Street Club at 11 o'clock sharp, to hold short meetings throughout the East-end and announce afternoon Demonstration, etc.

PROVINCES.

Aberdeen.—Saturday: Castle Street, at 7 p.m.
Glasgow.—Sunday: Jail's Square at 2 o'clock; Paisley Road at 5 o'clock.
Ipswich.—
Sproughton, Wednesday evening.
Westerfield, Thursday evening.
Needham Market, Sunday morning and evening.
Leeds.—Sunday: Hunslet Moor, at 11 a.m.; Vidar's Croft, at 7 p.m.
Leicester.—Sunday: Russel Square, at 11 a.m.
Norwich.—Sunday: St. Mary's Plain, at 11; Market Place, at 11, 3, and 7.30.
Corner of Silver Road, Thursday at 8.30 p.m.
St Catharine's Plain, Friday at 8.30 p.m.
Haymarket, Saturday at 7.45 p.m.

HAILSHAM NATIONAL SCHOOL.—Mr. W. F. Crowther (G.S.M.), "Dives in the Slums." Mon. Nov. 12.

HATCHAM LIBERAL CLUB, 98, New Cross Road.—Mr. F. Verinder (G.S.M.), "A Churchman's Plea for Free Schools." Sunday, November 11th.

SOUTH PECKHAM LIBERAL CLUB, 19, Linden Grove.—Mr. W. Steer (E.L.R.L.), "Tinkering the Land Laws." Wednesday Nov. 14, at 8 p.m.

THE SOCIALIST CO-OPERATIVE FEDERATION.—The Committee will meet at the Socialist League Offices, 13 Farringdon Road, E.C., on Friday November 9, at 8 p.m. Subscriptions received and members enrolled at 9 p.m.

NORWICH BRANCH S.L.—A course of sixteen lectures will be delivered in the Gordon Hall on Thursday evenings, by C. W. Mowbray, beginning Thursday November 8th, at 8 p.m. prompt. The Choir will sing selections before each lecture. Admission, the general public 1d. each or 1s. for the course; members admitted free. Tickets to be had of the Secretary and at all meetings. Proceeds on behalf of branch funds. Lectures in November:—15th (second lecture), "The Age of Bronze." 22. "Universal History from a Socialist Standpoint, by E. B. Bax." 29. Ditto.

FABIAN SOCIETY.—The Fabian Society is giving a course of lectures on "Socialism: its Basis and Prospects." The first part of the course, dealing with "The Basis of Socialism," was concluded on Nov. 2. The second part of the course will deal with "The Organisation of Society": Nov. 16, (1) "Property under Socialism," Graham Wallas; Dec. 7, (2) "Industry under Socialism," Annie Besant; Dec. 21, (3) "The Outlook," Hubert Bland.—The meetings will be held at Willis's Rooms, King Street, St. James's Square, S.W. The chair will be taken by the Rev. Stewart D. Headlam, B.A., at 8 p.m. precisely. Tickets for the course may be obtained from the Hon. Sec., Sydney Olivier, 180 Portadown Rd. W.

ARTS AND CRAFTS EXHIBITION SOCIETY.—The First Arts and Crafts Exhibition is now open daily, Sundays excepted, at the New Gallery, 121, Regent St., from 10 a.m. to 7 p.m. Admission 1s., Season Tickets 5s. The Exhibition comprises specimens of design and handicraft in textiles, gold and silversmiths' work, including enameling; metal and iron work; fictiles; decorative painting and design; wall paper; book-binding; printing; glass; stained glass; wood and stone carving; cabinet-making; modelling. On and after Saturday, the 10th Nov., with the exception (1) of Tuesday evening, the 13th Nov., and (2) of Thursday (lecture) evenings, the Exhibition will be open on weekday evenings from 7 p.m. to 10 p.m. Admission 6d. Packets of 25 tickets, each ticket entitling to a single admission, may be had at the reduced charge of 10s. On Thursday evenings in November a course of lectures, in connection with the Exhibition, will be given in the North Gallery. Admission by ticket. For particulars see Syllabus of Lectures. On Sunday the 18th November, the Exhibition will be open free (by ticket) from 3 p.m. to 9 p.m. Tickets to be had of Mark H. Judge, Esq., Hon. Sec. Sunday Society, 8, Park Place Villas, W. The Revised Catalogue is now issued, price 1s., and may be had at the Gallery. The Exhibition closes finally on Saturday, Dec. 1st.

SOCIALIST LEAGUE LITERATURE.

Chants for Socialists. By William Morris. 1d.
Organised Labour: The Duty of the Trades' Unions in Relation to Socialism. By Thomas Binning (London Society of Compositors). 1d.
The Commune of Paris. By E. Belfort Bax, Victor Dave, and William Morris. 2d.
The Aims of Art. By Wm. Morris. Bijou edition, 3d.; Large paper, 6d.
The Rights of Labour according to John Ruskin. By Thomas Barclay. 1d
The Tables Turned; or, Nupkins Awakened. A Socialist Interlude. By William Morris. In Wrapper. 4d.
The Manifesto of the Socialist League. Annotated by E. Belfort Bax and William Morris. An exposition of the principles on which the League is founded. 1d.
Useful Work v. Useless Toil. By William Morris. 1d.
"All for the Cause!" Song. Words by William Morris; Music by E. Belfort Bax. 4to, 4 pp. 6d. per dozen, 4s. 6d
"Vive la Commune!" Cartoon by Walter Crane. Best paper. 2d.
Mrs. Grundy (Cartoon). By Walter Crane. Fine hand-made large paper. 6d.

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By W. MORRIS. On good paper. Twopence.

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BY WILLIAM MORRIS.

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# THE COMMONWEAL

## The Official Journal of the SOCIALIST LEAGUE.

VOL. 4.—No. 151.

SATURDAY, DECEMBER 1, 1888.

WEEKLY; ONE PENNY.

### A REPLY TO MRS. BESANT.

“SOCIALISM AND DYNAMITE.”

MRS. BESANT has thought it necessary to issue in the *Link* a sort of manifesto against the Commemoration of the Chicago Massacres and Bloody Sunday, in which we have been greatly engaged during the last fortnight. This is much to be regretted, since Mrs. Besant has often of late been working so hard and so harmoniously with the League and its members; and on the present occasion we cannot let this article in the *Link* pass without comment. Mrs. Besant says that “the union of the two memories was strongly protested against by the majority of representative Socialists.” Such protest has not yet reached us. The Social Democratic Federation, when invited by us to take part, did indeed decline to do so officially, but did nothing further. A member of the Fabian Society appeared as a delegate of that society at one of the preliminary meetings. At the meeting in Store Street, which was the central meeting of the demonstration, members of the S.D.F., John Burns and Blackwell, spoke on our platform, and were quite sympathetic with the meeting; as well as a delegate from the German Collectivists in London, our comrade Lessner; and Mr. Cunninghame Graham, who has taken throughout an active part in the Commemoration. Mrs. Hicks was present, and prepared to speak had time allowed. Furthermore, letters of sympathy were received at that meeting from persons who can by no means be counted as Anarchists, such as Vaillant and Lavroff. In short, the whole tone of that meeting was that of protest against the judicial murder of innocent men engaged in championing the workers in a labour struggle. Mrs. Besant says that she does not know if the Socialist League officially approved of the Commemoration; she could easily have found out by looking into this paper that they did so.

Mrs. Besant's name was, she says, advertised as a speaker, though she had refused to go. This mistake happened at the meeting on Clerkenwell Green on the 13th, with the organisation of which the Commemoration Committee had nothing to do.

After careful re-examination of all the circumstances, we find that in no single case was a name advertised in connection with the Commemoration meetings without its owner's consent. A line did appear on the announcements that the presence of the Trafalgar Square prisoners was expected, but it was Mrs. Besant herself who deliberately thwarted the intention of the committee to invite these friends, by repeated refusals to give their names and addresses, which she alone holds.

As to what might have been said at any of the meetings, it is clear that the promoters of a meeting cannot be responsible for every word that is said on such occasions; nor can one see why Mrs. Besant should condemn the whole commemoration for a few words which she considers rash, when, as above said, the spirit of it was a protest against a peculiarly base and cruel instance of the injustice of the false society against which all Socialists, of whatever section they may be, are daily struggling.

Last year Mrs. Besant entered heartily into our protest against the murder of these men before it was accomplished. Few amongst us at that time hoped that our protest would be of any use except as a protest: since then Bloody Sunday has intervened to show us that we were more nearly concerned with the violent suppression of opinion in America than some would have had us think; otherwise the situation is unchanged, and what was good to protest against then, is still good to protest against, and we fail to see why Mrs. Besant should have objected to make that protest in common with Cunninghame Graham, Burns, Blackwell, Lessner, Vaillant, Lavroff, and many others (including a great many of the members of the Social Democratic Federation present at our meetings), who are not Anarchists, but who think themselves bound to protest against the worst consequences of capitalistic tyranny whenever the chance offers.

*Signed on behalf and by order of the  
Council of the Socialist League,*

F. KITZ, *Secretary.*

### JOHN BROWN.

On the 2nd of December, 1859, John Brown was hung at Charlestown in Virginia, a few miles from Harper's Ferry, amid the derisive yells and ribald songs and jests of thirty million fools inhabiting the North American continent, and with the applause of all such portion of Europe as heard of the death of the pestilent “agitator.” A few wiser heads were shaken in solemn warning, and a still smaller remnant of reckless admirers cried “Hail to the coming hero!” All the infant fools from Maine to Texas were carefully instructed by the greater fools to heap odium on his name. In less than a year and a-half those thirty million fools were flying at one another's throats in a deadly struggle. About what? “About nothing,” still babbled the fools and humbugs and hypocrites. “John Brown and slavery? Pooh, pooh! nothing to do with it!” In less than another year, five hundred thousand men were invoking the memory of John Brown, not now in ribald jest or contemptuous mockery, but with all the noblest and truest elements of the human soul, to lead them on to death where death was worth the dying. They did not invoke the name of cheap-jack presidents of the Cleveland and Harrison type, not even the scholarly genius of Jackson nor the copy-book morality of Washington. These are not the sort of people who inspire us to die nobly and unselfishly. Inspiration came not from very clever men who sat at home and thought very fine things and then only wrote about them, or from very nice people who never did any wrong for fear their neighbours would cry fie upon them. No, the heart and soul of a great legion of desperate men went out to the memory of a man who dared to think and dared to act before and above all others. John Brown of Ossawatimie! The noblest, fullest, roundest, completest hero the great Anglo-Norman race has ever produced. He lives in the hearts of the people as no one else can or will ever live. He was fortunate in his very name. Its simplicity and common ring has a charm which no affected accents of territorial possessions can ever possess. John Brown! Many men have owned the name, and many have risen to notoriety with it, and especially is it of recent years connected in England with anything but ennobling associations. But all this by-play of meaner John Browns will pass into oblivion, and John Brown of Ossawatimie, John Brown of Harper's Ferry, John Brown who was hung, John Brown who gave his life for liberty, will forever shed a reflected lustre upon whoever claims the name in future years. Perverse and ignorant humanity have very absurd notions about names. They think a name must be without honour because it is common, and forget that in names as in all else nature decrees the “survival of the fittest.” John is the most common of names because John the Baptist braved everything in the cause of human emancipation, not that the worthless kin of his murderers have adopted his ideas, but because his noble blood has, from a tiny stream, spread over the globe, and refined all meaner currents with its superlative essence. This is why there are so many Johns, Joneses, and Johnsons. So with surnames. There are so many John Smiths because John Smith has hammered out the English race on his anvil, not because there were originally many smiths. The cousinry of the earls of Derby in the north country bred that army of English billmen, whose strong right arms could bend a bow no other race could approach, and send those shafts with unerring aim which laid the armoured chivalry of France and Spain low in the dust, long before Cervantes had the opportunity to “laugh them away.” The English archer has given the novelist his theme. John Smith has won the pre-eminence of the English-speaking race. Superior skill begets manly confidence and independence; independence begets generous compassion for weaker ones. In other words, complete manhood, self-reliant, able to do all things for itself and for others as well, taking orders from no one and giving orders to no one. This is real manhood. This is the real John Smith, the truest and noblest born of England. The helpless, foppish idlers and bloodsuckers of society are but the lice and fleas, whom John Smith will brush aside when he wakes to their dangerous proximity.

As with the Smiths, so with the Roberts, the Robertsons, and Robinsons. They owe their name as they owe their blood to the fair Heloise, the tanner's daughter of Falaise, washing the linen in the brooklet. It is because young Robert of Normandy, in the truth and strength and courage of youth, clasped the fair vision at once to heart,

and said that this woman, and this woman only, should sway his destiny and bear child for him. The fruit of that law-defying alliance was the greatest master of men since "the mighty Julius fell." Among the whole hundred thousand warriors who swooped down upon Hastings, proud above all other things of their lineage, their commanding capacities, and independent rank, not one but knew the bastard scion of the brooklet of Falaise was the greatest genius and most commanding mind and body of the whole. The Conqueror we call him, and conqueror he is to this day, but his untamed spirit is conqueror not in the small minds and sickly bodies of rent-robbers and dividend-eaters, and cheating buyers and sellers, who set up as cheap aristocrats on the strength of a stolen name, furbished with ancient polish, to back up a silly story about one among many millions of our ancestral lines who "came over with the Conqueror" and then squatted like an ugly toad upon some sheltered nook, and there, toad after toad, poisoned the air with mischievous wickednesses, century after century. No, no! The conquering spirit of the Conqueror is in the breasts of his courageous sons and daughters, numbered by hundreds of millions, who are working out their destiny by breaking the bonds of artificial restraint and claiming the rights which nature gives all who have the courage to seize their own. All Europe, most of the Americas, great germs in Asia and in Africa, are descended from that bastard of Falaise, many in thousands of ways and through thousands of daring souls: they are working out the grand idea that social slavery must be swept away to preserve the master and not the slave. This is often miscalled the "spirit of the common people." It is really the spirit of very un-common people, but yet nature's assertion of equal rights and equal liberties. Another of the full-rounded, self-reliant, freedom-loving houses of the Norman race have been the Fitz-Geralds. In the "survival of the fittest" the Fitz-Geralds far distanced all other Irish houses. Half the Irish people would be named Fitz-Gerald to-day had they not in sheer self-defence split this paternal name into a thousand variations, while all the Irish race have far more Fitz-Gerald blood than of any other. All the world has heard of the fascinating beauty of Irish women, but Irish women are only beautiful because the Fitz-Geralds have made them so. For the Fitz-Geralds have, almost without exception, possessed the only germs of true human loveliness, brains and poverty, virtue and capacity, intolerance of shams and generous regard for our fellows. Cheap-jack politicians, seeking votes and offices, jabber about the centuries of oppression of "Ireland" by "England." Milk for babes! Flattery for fools! What is "England" and what is "Ireland"? The war against social shackles has gone on in each island hand and hand. The race of one is the evolving mixture as in the other, discarding its weaker and meaner elements, portion by portion. The house of Fitz-Gerald is nominally one of the much-mouthed-about "foreign oppressors." Yet again and again, and again and again, have the greatest and noblest of the Fitz-Geralds dared all in the cause of the people against usurping authority, leading desperate ventures in the fields and facing axe and halter times without number for man and true manhood, women and true womanhood.

Now all the Browns of the English-speaking race are but a branch of the Fitz-Geralds. In Ireland the name was invented, and from Ireland the name has spread over both islands and over the globe. And there is significant appropriateness in the fact that the greatest of all our race's martyrs for human freedom should bear this name. Common as it is, there is a grandeur in its simplicity, a portentous ring to its historic connection. But Londoners perhaps above all others have good cause to reverence the oft-derided names of Smith and Brown. It would leaven with nobility an ocean of insignificant Smiths to recall young Henry of the Silver Tongue, who has hallowed the Church of the Vikings in the Strand with his immortal onslaughts upon usurers and luxurious livers and filchers from the industrious poor. No wonder the modern commercial crowd often chatter about removing this reproachful monument as an obstruction to their filthy traffic. No, no! take away London and leave us St. Clement Danes! Honest humanity can better spare the one than the other. And as with Smith so with Brown, scoffed at by fools. To London the name of Brown begins with a Lord Mayor who did not cadge for ostentatious "subscriptions," but himself literally obeyed the injunction "sell all thou hast and give to the poor," when in a time of real, and not artificially manufactured, famine, the poor were fed by the bread his utmost credit could procure from afar. Most of those arch-humbugs, the "titled" aristocrats, start their pedigrees from the lives their progenitors destroyed; the London Browns begin by the tale of the lives their founder saved. But John Brown of Ossawatomie was not the first of his family who alone and by force of all-pervading energy kept a whole nation in beneficent commotion. His great ancestor, Robert Brown, founder of the Independents, flying for fifty years over England, Scotland, Wales, and Ireland, daring and defying all the pains and penalties of established privilege, sowed the seeds of our intellectual freedom. Yes, a name like that of John Brown is uncommonly common. But it is the commonness of Nature's best and truest qualities. The sunlight is common, the air is common, the whirling storms and the thunders of the heavens are common, but they are inspiring and great and glorious. Such was the commonness of John Brown of Ossawatomie, his name, his ancestry, his life, his character, his death. It took the best of many climes to produce his matchless parts. The best of the Netherlands and the Rhine, of Italy and Spain, wherever true manhood finds its truest expansion, and high thoughts and high actions have been engendered, thence came inspiration by right of descent to plain John Brown. Every section of the British Isles lent him strength and courage and intellectual and physical superiority. His physical perfection came from those grim soldiers of

English freedom whose unyielding valour hurled back the myrmidons of Romish despotism in the long war in the Low Countries—those matchless soldiers whose masses of mouldering bones are still pointed out with whispered awe by the Dutch countrymen even to this day. But John Brown's superlative brain came direct through many strains from the miraculous family connection which furnished all the intellectual giants of the London of the Virgin Queen; and in John Brown's veins was found the descent from the closest kin both of the author of "King Lear" and of the "Novum Organum," about whose respective personalities foolish scribblers have lately wasted so much good paper. But the preponderance of John Brown's nature, after all, came from the Welsh mountains, that last and surest stronghold of human freedom, and to the noble house of Owen, name dear above most others to social reformers, was he most indebted. Owen Glendower's soul looked from his very eyes, and his father bore the name, and to his father he owed his inherited avocation of Chain-Breaker.

This was our John, and thus he was begotten; for it is only by knowing who he was that we can appreciate what he was. Sorry indeed is the spectacle of the product of noble lineage in corruption and decay. The glory of John Brown and all such as he, is that they come from the noblest the earth can furnish and are greater than all their progenitors. His life was a poem and his death was a psalm. It was the noble self-control which could scorn the scurvy politician's tricks and the wretched money-grubber's ideal of heavenly bliss. John Brown lived and died a simple, useful, honest citizen, bowing to none, cheating none, cajoling none; using no one for his selfish benefit and doing his best to prevent all others from being thus exploited. From his birth on the 9th of May in the last year of the eighteenth century, in Connecticut in New England, as a pioneer on the plains of Ohio, or in the fastnesses of the Adirondacks—above all, as John Brown of Ossawatomie in far-off Kansas—terror and torment to every slave-master of the South, and finally in the last scene of all, he was, above all things, honest; not with the cheap conventional honesty of commercial complacency, but with nature's rugged honesty of exact fairness to all. The commercial crowd, with that uneasy sense of their overshadowing by such a neighbour which always induces them to attempt his corruption, tried again and again to make a tool of John Brown, but in vain. He might have been rich in worldly plunder had he swerved one jot; but he preferred the wealth of innate nobility. This made him an element in life on the American continent which had to be reckoned with,—

"Strong of faith, how weak a hand  
Can turn the iron helm of fate."

Others might truckle, others might compromise, others might keep silent, but John Brown made this truckling, this compromising, this silence, all in vain. He simply stood on his right to utter his thoughts, and assist others who claimed their rights. Thus all the Southerners came to know John Brown, the homespun tiller of the soil at Ossawatomie, as the one man who could not be bribed or silenced. They, however, gave away their case into his hands. Negro slavery fell because the slave-holders insisted upon bringing all freemen down to the dust beneath them. They invaded Kansas, and were hurled back in humiliating ignominy by the dauntless courage of John Brown, of Ossawatomie. Then John Brown saw his opportunity to punish these over-reaching autocrats. Acting upon the very arguments and lines which the slave-holders had used for invading Kansas, John Brown invaded the "sacred" slave-ridden soil of Virginia, simply to claim the right to help such negroes as chose to renounce their bondage, enforcing Jefferson's law that "all men are created free and equal." Of course, the attempt was "absurd," but the logic was invincible. They hung John Brown for the attempt; but the logic hurled down negro slavery from the gallows tree above him. Such was John Brown of Ossawatomie, one of those honest breaths of human character which occasionally brush aside the hackneyed sham and humbug of life. What a contrast to the pet heroes of the commercial ideals. Take the cheap hero of the hour in commercial England! At this moment he is fittingly closing his career as he began it, by one of those schemes of gigantic corruption which rot out the heart of a nation. He began his public life by engineering a job for heavy plunder for the loss of his father's slaves. To-day, he is practically engineering a most insidious network of chicanery for abolishing landlordism in name, and making it really more oppressive. "Compensation! compensation!" has been the shrieking burden of his life. He wishes to let the Irish rent-robbers have a grand drunken debauch before they shift their ground. Compensation for what, forsooth? For the robbery of the past? For the rotten useless lives of the past? For the helpless vacuity of to-day? Not only is compensation immoral, it is impossible. There can be no compensation for a man who claims to live upon the labour of others, except to continue the same privilege. Rent or usury, it is all the same; these self-confessed imbeciles must be told that, if they cannot support themselves, they can go to the almshouse and live at our expense, and we will be more humane than they, the black-hearted scoundrels, have been in the past. They shall have a fair living and no tasks, for we are well able to support them in common charity if they will only rid us of their leprous presence.

"Shall we upon the footing of our land  
Send fair-play orders, and make compromise?"

Denounce the scheming wretch who advises it. No wonder the great spokesman of this wicked policy is the pride and glory of the social scabs. All the riff-raff bred by the commercial corruption, the hum-bailiffs and pap-fed parasites of the exploiting system, the counter-



Socialism at least has gained; our principles have obtained a far wider circulation, and the heroic deaths of our martyrs have taught men how to die. Tyrants tremble when they think of the 4th of May: they are scarcely likely to do so when they think of the Birmingham programme of the Liberal party.

We have gained much here, and in America the cause has gained still more. The whole trial of our brave comrades was one long propaganda of Socialist principles, and the fruits of that propaganda are already appearing in the defiant attitude of the American people towards the "law and order" of their grinding monopolists. Another thing it has done, it has proved Republicanism to be a delusion and a snare, so long as capitalism flourishes beside it. Thus in every way the 4th of May has advanced the cause of the Social Revolution. Political humbugs do well to deride it; but it will prove too strong for them; and they are beginning to find it out—witness the boycotting of our meetings by the "advanced" press of this free and happy country. I have an important question to ask, and that is,—Please, Mr. T. P. O'Connor, how much nearer are we to Trafalgar Square through this new-found enthusiasm for the law and the constitution?

D. N.

### JONES' BOY AGAIN.

"SAY, pa, I heard a couple of men talking stocks the other day. What's stocks?"

"Stocks, my son, are shares. You see, when a number of men form a company each subscribes so much money, and then he is given so much stock in the company. Sometimes it's a bank, sometimes a mercantile or manufacturing concern. Do you understand?"

"Well, no; I don't think I hardly do. Have you got any stocks?"

"Yes; I have got some shares in a coal company."

"Oh, I've heard folks talking about a coal ring! Is that it?"

"Not exactly. Our company is a member of the coal section of the board of trade; that's what some rascally fellows have been calling the coal ring."

"The men I heard talking about it said the coal ring were a gang of thieves who ought to be in jail. Did they mean you?"

"No; they couldn't mean me, for I am only a stockholder in my company, and my company is in the section or ring as they call it; so even if the ring did wrong and were extortioners, my company is only one part of it and I am only one in twenty in the company; so, you see, I can't be personally responsible."

"I don't hardly see that; but if you say so, I guess it's so. The men said that the ring kept up the price of coal unfairly, and one man said that, as they took advantage of the people's necessities to force them to pay more than was right, they were all the same as highway robbers."

"Oh, he was some crank. Why, all business is done that way! Anybody who didn't take all the chances that offered would get left. He'd be a fool."

"If you got a chance to get hold of a man's pocketbook when he wasn't looking, would you hook it?"

"No, certainly not; that would be stealing."

"But it would be a chance, wouldn't it?"

"That is not what I mean by chance. I mean a fair chance in the way of business."

"Well, if the man was so cold that he was just going to die, and you made him give you his pocketbook before you would let him into the house to get warm, would that be a fair chance?"

"No; that would be most uncharitable; most un-Christian."

"Would it be stealing?"

"Morally it would; in the sight of God it would be."

"Well, if you knew that ever so many people were almost dying of cold, and you had all the coal there was, and you said you wouldn't let them have any till they gave you ever so much more than it is worth, would that be a fair chance?"

"It wouldn't be right for me to charge more than the market price, I suppose."

"Well, but if you had all the coal, whatever you said would be the market price, wouldn't it?"

"I suppose it would; but one man can't own all the coal."

"But the men, anyway the one you said was a crank, said that the ring had all the coal. So they could make the market price, couldn't they?"

"Yes, I suppose they could."

"Well, didn't they?"

"Oh, I don't know."

"Are the ring fools?"

"Well, hardly; they're about the sharpest that's going."

"Then of course they took all the chances in the way of business, didn't they?"

"Oh, well, it's pretty generally admitted that the rings do things which it would not do for private individuals to do."

"I guess if anyone did, they'd think he wasn't much of a Christian, wouldn't they?"

"Yes, I suppose so."

"But if your company is in the ring then it is as bad as the rest."

"Well, maybe it is."

"Then, if you are one of your company, you are just as bad as the ring, too. Ain't you much of a Christian?"

"Oh, nonsense, boy! A man can't be blamed for what a company does because he happens to hold stock in it."

"Well, your company gets a share of what the ring squeezes out of the people, don't it?"

"Yes, I suppose it does."

"And you get your share of what your company gets, don't you?"

"I'm not supposed to know how every dollar of my dividends is made."

"Say, pa, my Sunday-school teacher says Moses was the greatest law-giver; I guess he wasn't very smart, was he?"

"Yes, my son, Moses was the greatest law-giver that ever lived."

"Well, I guess he didn't know everything, for all that."

"What do you mean? Don't you know it's wicked to talk that way?"

"Well, it wasn't very smart to tell us we musn't steal, when all we have to do is for a lot of us to get together in a company, and then the company can steal all its likes and nobody to blame."

"Oh, you are talking nonsense."

"Why is it nonsense? Isn't getting a man in a fix, and then making him pay more for his coal than it's worth, stealing? You said it was. Then if a company can do this without the members being thieves, don't that get 'round Moses' laws? I guess Moses didn't know much about companies."

"Oh, bother; don't talk so much!"

"Say, pa, I read in the paper the other day about a band of thieves away out in the west, and the people got guns and went after them and killed them all. Was that true?"

"I think likely it was."

"Well, it wasn't right, was it?"

"Oh, out there, where the courts are not regularly established, the people have to take the law into their own hands sometimes."

"But the members of the thieves' company were not responsible for what the company did, were they?"

"Why of course they were."

"But you said that even though the coal ring were extortioners that didn't make you an extortioner. If a member of a ring isn't to blame for what the ring does, how is a member of a thieves' company to blame for what the company does?"

"Oh, bother! you chatter too much."

"Say, pa, you told me once that the majority of people can make any laws they like; can they?"

"Yes; to be sure they can."

"Well, suppose the people who think that members of rings are just the same as thieves and highway robbers get to be the majority, would they get their guns and go gunning for you and the other members of the ring, like the folks out west did for the thieves?"

"Oh, drop it; I'm tired of your senseless jabber."

"SPOKESHAVE," in *Toronto Labour Reformer*.

### CORRESPONDENCE.

#### "MISREPRESENTATIONS."

Mr. Nicoll's rejoinder only makes the matter worse. My letter was a brief one, but his reply is based upon a misconception of everything I said. One of us is at fault. I may be incapable of expressing myself clearly, or he may be incapable of understanding me. In either case our controversy is futile. For my part, I am content to stand by what I wrote, which I do not wish to add to or amend. I have only to say, in conclusion, that I am not "crying out for toleration." In asking any one to be tolerant I merely ask him to be a gentleman. Whether he is so or not is of less importance to me than to himself.

G. W. FOOTE.

#### MRS. PARSONS' VISIT TO ENGLAND.

ON Tuesday 19th Mrs. Parsons lectured in the Pioneer Hall, Ipswich, meeting with an enthusiastic reception. A little opposition was splendidly disposed of.

On Wednesday Mrs. Parsons visited Norwich, speaking in evening at St. Augustine's School. Mowbray in chair; subject of lecture was "The Labour Movements in America," closing with an urgent appeal to the workers to support our movement. On Thursday, open-air meeting of some four or five thousand persons in Market Place at 7.45 p.m., Mowbray in chair. Mowbray moved resolution which appeared in *Commonweal*, seconded by W. Moore, supported by Mrs. Parsons. The resolution was carried unanimously. Mrs. Parsons then proceeded to Gordon Hall, which was filled to overflowing with members and friends who had assembled to welcome her. Chair taken by Houghton. Mowbray moved and Mole seconded in name of the Branch, "That this the Norwich Branch of the Socialist League heartily welcomes our comrade Mrs. Parsons to this city, and hopes she will convey our deepest sympathy with herself and the wives and children of our comrades Spies, Engel, Fischer, Neebe, Schwab, Fielden, and the mother of Louis Lingg, and pledges itself to work to the utmost of their power for the cause for which our brave comrades laid down their lives and are suffering imprisonment at the hands of a universal band of exploiters." Chairman then presented Mrs. Parsons with an illuminated address. Mrs. Parsons acknowledged her reception and made a most pathetic appeal to audience to do all they could to help the cause. The meeting concluded with singing "Annie Laurie," "No Master," and the "Marseillaise." A large quantity of literature was sold during the meetings.

Mrs. Parsons returned to London on Friday. After a much-needed rest, she visited Berner Street Club on Sunday evening, and delivered a vigorous address. In the course of her remarks she strongly denounced the article written by Mrs. Besant in the *Link*.

On Monday she went to Edinburgh and spoke to a very successful meeting, returning to London next day.

On Thursday evening, after this paper is published, a farewell meeting will be held in South Place Chapel.

Mrs. Parsons leaves England on Friday.

## THE LABOUR STRUGGLE.

BRITAIN.

The Sheepbridge puddlers are still out.

The callenderers of Dundee have unanimously resolved to obtain 5 per cent. advance in wages or strike.

THE weavers' strike at Lower Heyes Mill, Macclesfield, has now lasted over four months, and seems likely to last.

At a meeting in Dundee, on Saturday, of the recently formed Bleachfield Workers' Union, it was reported that the membership already amounted to 415, these being all connected with the bleach-fields in the neighbourhood of Dundee.

CLEVELAND IRON-WORKERS.—The moulders employed at Cochrane and Co., Middlesborough, have sent in a claim for an advance, and the men employed at the North-Eastern Steelworks have waited on their manager with a similar object.

WOMEN'S TRADE UNION.—A women's trade society has been formed in Glasgow, 89 names having been enrolled, and committee and officials elected. The need of effort was shown by a girl who worked last fortnight for 112 hours, and had as wages 2s. 7½d.

SEAMEN'S SOCIETY.—Mr. Darby, from South Shields, who for the past fortnight has been organising a society in Glasgow amongst the seamen and fremen, has enrolled over 270 members, and he has also been successful in getting large accessions to the society in Greenock.

WALSALL SPRING BAR MAKERS.—At a meeting of the Spring-bar Makers held on Tuesday Nov. 20 it was stated that the whole of the masters had consented to give the advance asked for by the men, and the whole of the men have now commenced work at the advanced prices.

DUNDEE MILLWORKERS.—A demonstration of Dundee millworkers was held in the Barrack Park on Saturday for the purpose of pressing on the employers the necessity of granting the further increase of 5 per cent. on their wages on the 1st December instead of 1st January.

PORT-GLASGOW LABOURERS.—The labourers employed by the ironworkers on piecework have come out on strike for an advance on wages. The rate paid was 6d. per hour, the demand is for 6½d. The rate paid to the ironworkers when they themselves are on a time job is 6½d. per hour.

MILLWORKERS' STRIKE.—About 200 of the spinners employed in the Tay Works, Dundee (Gilroy, Sons and Co.), came out on strike 19th December. They demand that the resolution of the employers to concede an advance of 5 per cent. on their wages, should take effect at once instead of at the New Year.

DOCKERS WAGES.—The secretary to the Dock Labourers' Union before the Select Committee of the House of Lords on the sweating system, said there were more dock labourers than there was work for. Sixteen years ago they could earn on an average 24s. or 25s. per week, now they could only average 7s.

OLDHAM TWISTERS AND DRAWERS.—The twistors and drawers at Derker Mills have now been on strike nearly three months against a reduction of 10 per cent. They have appointed four deputations, but have been unable to bring the dispute to a close. They are prepared to accept the master's terms for plain calicoes, but they want to make arrangements for all heavy goods—viz., all fustians.

CALENDERERS' STRIKE.—At a meeting on 24th November at Dundee the calenderers at present on strike for 5 per cent. on their wages were informed that two of the employers had intimated they would give the rise demanded on 1st January, but the men resolved that unless they got it on 1st December they would not resume work. The men in Victoria Road Calender, who previously remained in, came out in the afternoon.

EAST-END "WAGES."—The following figures are given in a recent pamphlet: Brushmakers work ten hours for 7d. Artificial flowers, 144 violets for 1d. Matchbox-making, 144 for 1½d. Paper bags, 4½d. to 5½d. per thousand. Umbrella-making, 10d. per dozen. Shirts, 2d. each, worker finding her own thread; can make six between 6 a.m. and 11 p.m. Better class shirts, 5d. each; a good worker, by sitting close, can make one each day. Pill-boxes, 1s. for 36 gross—5184 boxes. Ladies fur tippets (sold at £20 each) 3s. a-week.

GLASGOW TRADES' COUNCIL.—At a meeting held on November 21st, a letter was read from the committee of the House of Lords in connection with the inquiry on the sweating system, intimating that the scope of their enquiry is now extended to the United Kingdom, and desiring to know in what trades in Glasgow it was alleged the sweating system existed. The executive could have honestly replied "All," but it was agreed to allow the letter to lie over in order to give trades so affected time to communicate with the Council.

MIDLAND COUNTIES MINERS' FEDERATION.—The Executive Committee held their monthly meeting at the Staffordshire Coffee House, Five Ways, Wolverhampton, Monday 26th. It transpired that there were still a few cases in South Staffordshire where thin-coal miners and ironstone workers had not gained the full 10 per cent. advance, and a resolution was carried urging upon the employers in those instances to act up to their resolution passed at Queen's Hotel, Birmingham, on October 22nd, when it was agreed to concede the workmen a 10 per cent. advance.

SEAMEN'S WAGES.—At Dundee on Wednesday eleven A.B.'s were engaged for the Anchor Line steamer *Devonia*, in the Clyde, at £3 15s. per month. Nine firemen were also engaged, but they held out and obtained £4, being 5s. more than what has been paid up to this time to the men engaged at Dundee for the Anchor and Allan Liners. Seamen shipping at Greenock are able to secure an advance on former rates of pay, and the crew of the *batque Neophyte* were engaged for a voyage to Cape Town via Cardiff at £3 per month—an advance of 5s. per month on the rate given a few weeks ago.

OTLEY STATUTE HIRINGS.—The annual statute hirings were held at Otley on the 16th, when the streets were thronged with persons in quest of servants and servants in quest of situations. There was a scarcity of female servants, but males were numerous. Young girls were engaged at from £5 to £10, and older and experienced hands commanded from £10 to £15. Strong lads obtained from £5 to £9, and higher prices had to be given to older and more experienced servants, though there was a slight tendency downwards owing to the advanced state of farm work at this time of the year.

RAILWAY SERVANTS' WAGES.—We drew attention a few weeks ago in this column to the dilemma of our contemporary the *Economist* in not knowing how the Scotch railways could pass an enormous increase of traffic without increasing their working expenses, and suggested the workers would likely know. A signalman writing to a Glasgow paper states that at Glasgow Central the signalmen are paid 24s. per week, or the fraction of a farthing for every two trains they pass, not including shunting, and the signalmen at Newton and Rutherglen, who have 300 trains daily, get for every four of them the sum of ¾d. Verily these companies spare no expense in securing the safety of their passengers or the welfare of their workmen, and that's how it is done.

DARLINGTON ARBITRATION AWARD.—This award which has now been issued, determines that the wages of the men, other than fitters, moulders, roll-turners, carpenters, pattern makers, and boiler and other smiths employed at the Darlington Steel Works, shall remain as they are until the end of the year 1888, and from the 1st of January, 1889, until the operation of the award is determined by either party giving to the other three calendar months' notice, which notice, however, may not be given before the 30th of September, 1889, so as not to expire earlier than the 31st December, 1889. The wages shall be regulated by a sliding scale on the following basis:—The standard rates to be those prevailing on the 12th of May last and continued to the present time, namely, £3 16s. per ton, the wages to advance half per cent. per 1s. increase in the net average invoice price of steel rails of 40 lbs. and upwards, until the sum of £4 10s. is reached, when the advance is to be increased to 1 per cent. per 1s. rise, without maximum or minimum. A corresponding deduction of half per cent. per 1s. is to be made when the price of rails falls below £3 16s.

INDIA.

WORK HOURS IN INDIA.—"Ever since I have been in Bombay city, twenty-three years, the trade-custom in the building trades has been eight hours work per day—just what you are agitating for. Up country, in the country districts, the system has always been ten hours per day—viz., 7 to 12 a.m., 1 to 6 p.m. It gets dark about 6 all round the year here. In Bombay the trade hours are 9 to 1, and 2 to 6—eight hours. The reason is that up country the men have their wives to cook for them and work near their homes. In Bombay they have to walk two to four miles to their work, which is mostly piecework, and having to cook their own meals, refuse to start work till 9 a.m. This does not apply to the spinning-mills, where they have to work from sun-dawn to sunset—from 13½ hours actual standing in summer to 12 hours in winter. This last is terrible slavery, and ought to be stopped by legislative enactment."—So writes a friend.

## INTERNATIONAL NOTES.

FRANCE.

On the 2nd of December there will be at Paris a manifestation organised by the Municipal Council and all the revolutionists of the French capital, on the grave of the Socialist deputy Baudin, who fell on the barricades of the rue St. Antoine, on December 3, 1851, whilst defending the Republic against the criminal *coup d'état* of Napoleon. The manifestation will be all the more important because of the present political situation of France, which is certain to lead the country into a revolution. Next week we will examine the condition of things, as they result from the treason of Floquet and the other leaders of the sham Republic, stating at the same time what hopes the Socialist revolutionary cause might expect as to the possible overthrow, in the very nearest future, of the reactionary institutions upheld by the so-called "republican" rulers of France.

GERMANY.

At Düsseldorf and at Hamburg a number of comrades were tried for secret conspiracy and, as usual, sent to prison. Some other friends of the cause met with the same fate at Constance. In a few days the same justice-farce is to go on at Freiburg in Baden. Another one, always of the same description, is coming on at Berden (Hanover). Then we will have the secret conspiracy trial at Elberfeld: more than two hundred persons have already been interrogated in connection therewith, including comrades Harm and Schumacher, Socialist members of the Reichstag for Elberfeld and for Solingen respectively.

Comrade Etter has been tried at Stuttgart, in Germany, because he had in his possession at Zürich, in Switzerland, a box containing some dynamite, which he handed over to the notorious police spy Schröder, of Zürich fame. Etter got two years and six months' hard labour for that "offence" which at any rate he did not commit in Germany. William II., the Crank, is safe.

During last week several new Socialist publications have been prohibited, among which a pamphlet entitled "To the Indifferent," and another headed "To the Agricultural Labourers." The last named is an exceedingly well-written one. In spite of the prohibition, thousands have been spread all round and the distribution is still continuing.

At a meeting held at Essen, where M. Krupp reigns supreme, the Socialist delegates of the mining districts have decided to issue a *daily* paper, which will be devoted to the defence of the interests of the working people. In spite of all the reactionary measures of Bismarck and his clique, things are going on pretty fairly at Essen and in the neighbouring places. Let us hope that they will become better still, with the help of William and Bismarck, who really work very well for the cause.

BELGIUM.

Our Belgian comrades have begun a new departure in their propaganda. At Brussels, a member of the *Parti ouvrier*, Laurent Verrycken, has spoken in the open-air. For Englishmen, of course, this is not new; but in Belgium, although the Constitution does not prohibit open-air gatherings, the Socialists have always been in-door workers. In spite of the absolute legality of these meetings, our Belgian comrade has at once had to face a kind of minuscule Charles Warren, in the person of the burgomaster of Schaerbuk, a suburb of Brussels. That silly phenomenon of a burgomaster has ordered his commissioner of police to disperse the meeting, and comrade Verrycken is now to be tried for "obstruction," exactly as the Trafalgar Square speakers have been. In the meantime, some more open-air meetings have been arranged, at which Verrycken, Volders, and others again intend to speak, and they have resolved to stand and fight out their case against the "authorities."

In the province of Hainault the miners are busily engaged in the achievement of their organisation, because it is pretty certain that ere long they

jumpers and tally-keepers, schemers and traffickers, who impudently purloin the noble name of "clerk" (which is a gift, not an occupation), every sort of cheap human foppery which lives by taking and never making, howl themselves hoarse at such a sententious trader's tin-pot deity as the Grand Old Compromiser of to-day. Upon such a spectacle, with what contempt looks such a complete man as John Brown of Ossawatimie, he, who above all others, knew that,—

"They enslave their children's children,  
Who make compromise with sin."

LOTHROP WITHINGTON.

## LETTER FROM AMERICA.

Two years ago all America was startled by the number of votes Henry George polled in New York as candidate for the Mayoralty of New York City. Not that I mean to say that the politicians and capitalists were much terrified by the voting in itself, but no American exploiter of labour previously believed that there existed so large a number of discontented people in New York City. Anarchism, Socialism, antagonism to capital, were believed to be all very well in Europe, but it was never thought possible that revolutionary doctrines, however indistinct and moderate, could spread to and get hold of the people of a country with "free institutions." I know that the Henry-George-for-mayor-of-New-York-City movement did not identify itself with any particular school of the labour movement, and that it rather represented the discontent of the "lower classes" of New York. It was a momentary crystallisation of the discontent. The discontent was proved to be there, and could not be disputed away. Among the wage-workers Henry George was looked upon as the heaven-sent messiah of the toilers. The formation of a party was the result of the movement: the United Labour Party, with George's land-tax as the principal plank in the platform. Henry George, Dr. McGlynn, John McMackin, and Gaybert Barnes were the leading spirits. The New York politicians having recovered from their "terror," took stock of the new party, "sized" it up, and resolved to try the boodle policy. As a result, the Social-Democrats were expelled at the first convention. Henry George was put up as Secretary of State for the State of New York, but his candidacy proved a complete failure. He then openly stated he would work hand in hand with the Democratic party. The whole United Labour party was already disintegrating. Glynn, McMackin, and Barnes became, or were already, an annex of the Republican party. The toilers had lost all confidence in the old leaders. The United Labour party evolved into one mass of corruption. The tactics—i.e., boodle—of the united politicians and capitalists had been most effective. Looking out this season for new boodle, McMackin found in James Coogan, a retired furniture-dealer on the installment plan, a man possessing many millions, a fool willing to spend a good deal of money for the "honour" of being put up as a candidate for the mayoralty of New York City. He received 9,000 votes. Here is what a capitalist paper says of the result:—

"CHEER UP, MR. COOGAN.

"Ex-candidate Coogan seems to be the sorest of all the defeated aspirants for office on Tuesday. He went into the contest, he says, with assurances of support from all the united labour leaders, and fully expected to win. Listen to Mr. Coogan:—

"Mr. McMackin assured me repeatedly on his honour that I would get the entire labour vote. Even on last Sunday he told me that if I should not come in first I would certainly be a good second in the race. The lowest number of votes which he said he could swing into line was forty thousand, and I felt sure of getting enough more to elect me. Barnes also told me several times that he had no doubt whatever of my victory. The demands for money made by McMackin and his lieutenants were of daily recurrence and urgency. They said it was required to keep up the needed enthusiasm."

"In the fond expectation that his election was thus assured and that the honours of the chief magistracy of the metropolis were surely to be his, Citizen Coogan cheerfully 'paid out during the short campaign not less than a hundred thousand dollars' to 'keep up the needed enthusiasm.' What was the result? Hear Mr. Coogan:

"I have been informed that these men, after getting my money and solemnly assuring me that they would strain every nerve to bring out a large vote for me in their districts, deliberately pocketed my money, destroyed my ballots and betrayed me at the polls."

"Don't take the matter too much to heart, Mr. Coogan. There is a bright side to it. The people that got the hundred thousand dollars doubtless needed it and enjoyed it. The poor labour vote in New York that was so exultant and resonant in 1886, where is it in this campaign? Then, the terror of its coming compelled Tammany and the Republicans to drop their political favourites and nominate Roosevelt and Hewitt. This year the labour vote is never mentioned. It is as dead as Julius Cæsar. The halls and conventions ignore it. Yes, the labour party is dead. But the sixty-eight thousand men who voted for Henry George, where are they?"

Truly, that is a good question to ask: what has become of the 68,000 votes? Well, some of them, the least in number, the Social Democrats, have formed a party of their own, and their candidate for mayor, Alexander Jonas, obtained during this last campaign 2,000 votes all told. Some of the others have gone back to the old parties, but most of them have turned somewhat pessimistic, partly believing that a new messiah, but a more honest one than the little red man had proved to be, was to come, partly having come to the conclusion that American politics are too corrupt a business to meddle with. These are on the right track.

The result of the presidential election, the turning out of the Democrats and the turning in of the Republicans, had been forecast by me in my letters to the *Commonweal*. The large mass of the American voting cattle, the farmers and the aristocrats of labour, want to be protected, and they certainly are in favour of building a Chinese wall round the States. They are apparently less afraid of trusts and combinations than of "pauper labour" and pauper labour products. "Mostly fools."

The General Assembly of the Knights of Labour meets to-day in Indianapolis, Ind. This meeting will probably settle the Order. The "kickers"—that is, the people who object to the administration and the general policy of the Order—are well organised and they intend to make things lively for Powderly and his crew. On the other hand Powderly has used all his influence to get a good many delegates elected from the different assemblies who will stand firm to him, come what may. In his last annual address Powderly said that under no circumstances would he accept office again. He has said so before, however, and afterwards he changed his mind.

The Sugar Trust has closed another factory. The Boston Sugar Refinery at East Boston, Mass., has shut down on the 10th inst.

The Idea of November have been well remembered over here. Commemoration meetings were held in nearly every one of the large towns in the United States, but it must be confessed that the audiences everywhere consisted principally of foreign born citizens. Americans seem as yet totally incapable of grasping our ideas.

I have travelled and lived in a good many countries on either of the two hemispheres, and have had in consequence many opportunities to study the ways and customs of most of the prominent races and nations, but I must confess that nowhere have I met with a greater absence of idealism, of culture, and of refinement than in the United States of America. Mutual goodwill between the citizens is an unknown quantity. The whole country appears to be corrupt to the core, eaten up by materialism in its worst sense. The only *raison d'être* of Americans can be summed up shortly in making money and breeding money-makers. Every American has but one ambition—to get rich. And this ruling passion is not restricted to the non-producing class only, but from the worst paid unskilled labourer, aye even down to the tramp, up to the man commanding previously in history undreamt of fortunes, every one has but one idea: How can I make money? And the harlot of competition makes fools of them all. Nowhere in the whole world is less consideration shown to the weak, to the good-hearted, to the true humanitarian; and this cannot be wondered at. People who come to the United States have left their countries, not because they fled from oppression, not because they desired to develop their better qualities in a "free country." No! They had but one motive—to make money, to become rich, to rise in the world. They have preserved all the worst qualities of their respective mother countries, and not one of the perhaps somewhat conciliatory characteristics. Brutality, vulgarity, and coarseness, undisguised and unmasked, reign supreme in the land of the dollar. One look at the "charitable institutions" ought to be sufficient to convince even a European bourgeois of this. Yesterday I found in a *capitalist* paper an article about the lunatic asylum in Flatbush, near Brooklyn, King's County, in the State of New York. Here are a few extracts:

"How many of the eight hundred thousand people of Brooklyn ever think of their fellow beings who are insane enough to be cooped up in the asylum Flatbush?"

"And yet in that great city of ostentatious charities—the 'City of Churches,' which fairly bristles with the spires of pretentious church architecture—there is as cruel an exhibition of man's inhumanity to man as can be found anywhere. There is nothing on earth so pitiful as the mind bereft of reason. Even the animals respect the helplessness of such afflicted ones among their own species. The wild Indian whose mind is gone is free to roam the forests at will. He will be cared for by every passing group, friend or stranger. A 'higher' and more cruel civilisation insists that persons insane shall be confined to prevent their doing injury to themselves or others."

"The overcrowded condition of the Kings County Insane Asylum would not be tolerated by a humane community. If the unfortunate inmates of the institution were sane criminals they would tear down the walls and escape, and their friends in the outside world would assist."

"'Shall we begin at the bottom or top?' asked Dr. J. J. Shanks, the medical superintendent, to whom I had expressed my desire to go through the wards."

"The bottom," I replied.

"Leading the way the doctor went down a pair of stairs to the basement, and then another to the second basement. Most people would call it the cellar, and most people would be right."

"This place was not intended for such use," said my guide, as he unlocked a heavily barred door and motioned me to enter. It would have been, indeed, a cruel matter to suspect that the original constructors of the building had ever intended this cellar for human habitation, and yet to-day there are huddled in this underground hole 120 women and 36 men!

"Is it damp down there?"

"Well, I put my hand against the shining wall and the water trickled through my fingers. The poor souls who lived there did not know what made them sneeze and cough, and start with pain and ache, and grow weaker daily; but the doctor did, and his face grew grave when I showed him my wet hand."

"The air was laden with dampness and the exhalations of many people. It was not cold, yet I shivered as I turned to go upstairs."

"Surely," said I to one of the attendants, "people—even crazy people—cannot live here long?"

"They don't," was the laconic reply.

"This interested me, and I stopped and continued: 'I should think they would get rheumatism, consumption, fevers of all sorts, pneumonia, and die rapidly.'

"They would die if we left them down here, but as soon as they get very bad we move them upstairs, where it is a little dryer."

"And move somebody else down to get sick?"

"Yes."

"Keep them rotating in and out of this pest-hole?"

"Yes, sir."

"But do not their friends make a fuss?"

"Some of them do make a good deal of trouble about it, but we try OUR BEST TO SEND DOWN THOSE WHO HAVE NO FRIENDS, OR WHOSE FRIENDS DO NOT CALL TO SEE THEM!"

"This is going on to-day!"

I repeat, the foregoing is not written by a revolutionary paper, but by the capitalistic *New York Herald*. When capitalistic papers are obliged to publish such horrible revelations it must be bad indeed!

Newark, N.J., November 13, 1888.

HENRY F. CHARLES.

UNEMPLOYED MEMBERS OF THE LEAGUE.—In the Hammersmith Branch there are two painters, two carpenters, and one builder out of work.

METROPOLITAN PAUPERISM.—The weekly return of metropolitan pauperism shows that the total number of paupers relieved in the first week of last month was 97,581, of whom 58,834 were indoor and 38,747 outdoor paupers. The total number relieved shows an increase of 981 over the corresponding week of last year, 5,878 over 1886, and 6,806 over 1885. The total number of vagrants relieved on the last day of the week was 1,212, of whom 1,022 were men, 170 women, and 20 children under sixteen.

A contemporary remarks that labour rebelled in 1877, broke away in 1879, went to work in 1880, has organised considerably since, and yet now seems to have forgotten that there ever were 3,000,000 tramps in the United States. Aye, men, you have forgotten. You may be forcibly reminded of it yet. Panics return under our false system of society. We had desolating panics in 1818, 1837, 1857, and 1873, and wealth has all the time steadily accumulated in the hands of the few. When will the next crash come? Take care, men! Be prepared for it; don't take things too easy. Political excitements won't help you.—*Paterson Labour Standard*.





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

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

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*Periodicals received during the week ending Wednesday November 28.*

<b>ENGLAND</b>	San Francisco Arbeiter-Zeitung	<b>SPAIN</b>
Glasgow Herald	Coast Seamen's Journal	Cadiz—El Socialismo
Justice		Madrid—El Socialista
Labour Tribune	<b>FRANCE</b>	Seville—La Solidaridad
London—Frete Presse	Paris—Cri du Peuple (daily)	<b>PORTUGAL</b>
Norwich—Daylight	Le Parti Ouvrier (daily)	Lisbon—O Protesto Operario
Railway Review	La Revolte	<b>AUSTRIA</b>
Sozial Demokrat	Le Proletariat	Brunn—Volksfreund
Telegraph Service Gazette	La Revue Socialiste	<b>HUNGARY</b>
Worker's Friend	Lille—Le Cri du Travailleur	Arbeiter-Wochen-Chronik
<b>UNITED STATES</b>	St. Etienne—La Loire Socialist	<b>ROMANIA</b>
New York—Der Sozialist	Sedan—La Revolution	Jassy—Muncitorul
Freiheit	<b>HOLLAND</b>	<b>DENMARK</b>
Truthseeker	Hague—Recht voor Allen	Social-Demokraten
Volkszeitung	Ghent—Vooruit	<b>SWEDEN</b>
Alarm	Liege—L'Avenir	Malmö—Arbetet
Workmen's Advocate	<b>SWITZERLAND</b>	<b>WEST INDIES</b>
Boston—Woman's Journal	Arbeiterstimme	Cuba—El Productor
Liberty	Bulletin Continental	<b>MEXICO</b>
Chicago (Ill)—Vorbote	<b>ITALY</b>	Sinaloa—Credit-Foncier
Detroit—Der Arme Teufel	Rome, L'Emancipazione (daily)	
Fort Worth (Tex)—South West		
Faterson (N J) Labor Standard		

## NOTES ON NEWS.

THE Government have passed their bill for the relief of the Irish landlords to the extent of five millions, as they were quite sure to do in the teeth of all opposition, but their victory is not very likely to do them permanent service. Compensation to the Irish landlords at the expense of the British tax-payer is just the rock they are likely to split on, but they cannot help steering in that direction; so that before long they will probably have to make way for their opponents to try their scheme for peasant proprietorship in Ireland; or more plainly, for making a number of small landlords in Ireland instead of a few big ones. Needless to insist on the fact that this also will have to be done at the expense of the British tax-payer, whatever hanky-panky may be used to conceal the fact.

"The flowing tide is with us" (the Liberals) cries the *Pall Mall Gazette*. From the election agents' point of view that is probably true; that is, at present the chances of a Gladstonian success at the next election are brightening. But another metaphor more accurately describes the process by which the change of ministries is being brought about: "The pendulum is swinging to our side again," is the due figure of speech. That is not so encouraging perhaps to some of the members of the "Liberal party," that curious creature with a Whig head and a Radical tail; though I fear a very great many of them are much better pleased that so it is. When the "flowing tide" of really advanced opinion sets in, these gentry will skip out of the way of it with all the nimbleness they are capable of.

Mr. Henry George has come to England once more with his old pretensions to Socialism abandoned, but clinging obstinately to his old economical heresies, with which in past days he used to weave a veil of vague socialistic aspiration and eloquence. Free trade and the single-tax, *i.e.*, what he used to call land nationalisation, but which he now more accurately describes as the taxing of land values, is his platform. He says it is but a step from free trade to the single tax, with a very curious oblivion of the not very recondite fact, that England has been a free-trade country for many years and is not very far on the road to the "single-tax."

Mr. George combats the cry of the land for the cultivator with the cry of the land for the people; but, unhappily, it is but a cry. What he really means is "the land for the money capitalist"! And how he proposes to separate the land-capitalist from the money-capitalist passes human ingenuity to imagine. Is it possible for a man to be sincere, who with plenty of people teaching him, has not been able to learn this through all these years? To be a forward politician; to make a

great agitation, clamouring for a great change which would change nothing in the life of the toiling people; but which happily cannot by itself be attempted even. This seems now Mr. George's career, after all his big words.

The frightful case of injustice perpetrated by "justice" against the two poor men, Murphy and Branaghan, and the case mentioned by Mr. Bernard Coleridge, in which no pretence to remedy a similar injustice has been made (though, indeed, how can you "remedy" the murder of so many years of a man's life?), shed a lurid light on all the ways and manners of our criminal law. For who can doubt but that many and many such cases have happened, and will happen as long as our sham society lasts, and calls for such a system of defence?

One remark in the papers about this shameful affair struck me particularly. It was stated that there were serious doubts at the time of conviction as to the guilt of the men, but that they were overborne by the sympathy felt for the victims of the burglary. Does not this show how the whole feeling of the public is corrupted by our laws? An offence is committed, and straightway in the interests of society a man-hunt is set on foot; some one is arrested, and the public will be so bitterly disappointed if nobody is caught that if the guilty person cannot be convicted, at least convict somebody; and then the whole machinery of the law is set at work to get a conviction, of the guilty man if possible, but at least of some one. A theory of prosecution is started, and the whole mass of circumstantial evidence is manipulated by it; a sham jury give a verdict which purports to be theirs, but is in fact nothing but a deduction from the judge's summing-up—and, as far as they are concerned, the play is over and the public speedily forgets it, while the unhappy victims of its idiotic thirst for theatrical revenge are rotting in jail if they have not been hanged. The word *rotting* being no figurative word, let us remember, but a literal expression of a fact.

Mr. Pyke, in his interesting volume on the 'History of Crime,' notes that in the height of the Middle Ages in England juries were very unwilling to convict. There is no more significant token of the servile condition we have dropped into than the ease with which convictions are got now-a-days; *per contra*, when juries begin to think about their position, and the Courts complain of the difficulty of getting convictions, we may begin to lay some claim to be of the same blood as our stout ancestors.

W. M.

What trifles will throw some people into rapturous ecstasies. A week or so ago that very advanced *Star* went almost insane with joy over Mr. Gladstone's Birmingham programme. This perhaps should not occasion any remark, for that organ of London Radicalism, having its due share of Celtic impetuosity, takes very little to excite it; but when the Able Editor of the *Star* asks comrade Morris what the people in America have reaped from the bomb at Chicago compared with what the people of London have gained from the peaceful and constitutional action of the *Star* editor, the time has come, I think, to make some reply.

What in the name of all that is wonderful is there in this Birmingham programme for the people of London to rejoice and be thankful for? What above all is there for the poor wretches who hardly know where to get their next meal, who are starving for want of work, and who see the grim demon of hunger advancing to devour them?

Leasehold enfranchisement! This may make the heart of the small shopkeeper and house-farmer leap with joy within him, because he will have no ground landlord to share the spoils he wrings from his rack-rented tenant; but it will hardly afford much comfort to the unemployed workman who is going to be turned into the street by the house-farmer because when he is out of work he cannot pay the exorbitant rack-rent which his landlord wrings from him.

"Such changes in the land laws as would prevent the dreadful overcrowding of the poor in London." What does this mean? As far as I can see it may mean *anything*, from free land to some form of land nationalisation; but those who know the Liberal party may well guess that it does not mean the latter.

It means "free land," then—that is, expropriation of the encumbered aristocratic landlord in favour of the arrogant plutocrat of the towns. Capitalism may then own the land as well as the factories. A grand advantage, truly; but how this will diminish over-crowding I will leave my readers to find out.

Then again "something" is to be done to provide the working classes with decent dwellings, but concerning *what* is to be done the great chief of the Liberal party is commendably reticent.

On the whole, nothing has occurred to justify the enthusiasm of the *Star*, or to give London workmen any notion that the great Liberal party has changed its character. It is still the miserable sham it has been in times gone by, and those who trust to it will reap their reward.

The workers of London have gained nothing but promises, and very poor promises. But it may be objected that the American workmen have gained as little from the events at Chicago. This may be, but

will once more resort to a gigantic strike, which this time might become a general black strike. Already some partial strikes have occurred at Carnières, Hornu, and other places. In the province of Liege also the miners of Tilleur have struck, and it is expected that this and next week work will be stopped in various other localities. Never have the toilers been so badly paid as nowadays in Belgium, and the misery of the wealth-producers seems at last to have become unbearable.

ROUMANIA.

The Socialist propaganda makes very great progress indeed in Roumania; day after day our friends form new groups, which carry on the work in a systematical way. There, as elsewhere, there are Parliamentarians who go in for what is called constitutional means; comrade Mortzun, one of those who believe in legislation, has been re-elected member of the Roumanian Chamber; comrade Nadetje, formerly Professor at the University of Jassi, and one of the ablest propagandists of Socialism, has been returned in the capital of Moldavia. At Galatz and at Suceava also, Socialist candidates are likely to win legislative seats. At the municipal elections a number of Socialists have been chosen in some places, as for instance at Cuenteni, the Socialist candidates securing five times as many votes than the candidates of the landowners.

A new Socialist paper has been issued, which appears daily under the title of *Drepturile Omului* (the Rights of Man) and the editorship of comrade C. Millé, who has formerly written very interesting articles on the Roumanian peasantry in B. Malon's *Revue Socialiste* (Paris). The Socialist party has now in Roumania one daily paper, one monthly magazine, and two weeklies.

Along with the Socialist movement there is also a strong propaganda made, almost in the rural districts, in favour of the Anarchistic view of Socialism, and it will not be long before a new organ, a daily one too, will come to light in defence of the principles of Anarchical Socialism.

V. D.

SPAIN.

VALENCIA.—The saw-mill employés of this city are occupied at present in taking preliminary steps for the formation of a trades' union among themselves.

GRAZALEMA.—The situation of the working-class in this part is one of the most extreme poverty and wretchedness. Many of the labourer's wives find themselves obliged to go out to domestic service so as to keep body and soul together. Not a few of the men on returning from their work in the fields at night fail to find a crust of bread in the house. At the same time money has been provided by a capitalist to the extent of 12,000 or 13,000 crowns for church reforms and alterations.

SABADELL.—A meeting was held here lately, organised by the "Union of Resistance." The attendance was numerous, almost filling the theatre where the meeting was held. The speakers laid stress upon the necessity for union and organisation among the working-classes for the forwarding of the emancipation of labour and the Social Revolution.

CUBA.—HAVANNAH.—The tobacco strike in Havannah has terminated with the victory of the employés in the majority of the factories. It will be remembered that what they demanded was a rise in price in certain departments of the industry, besides complaining of the quality of the tobacco they had to manipulate. We hear that the solidarity among the workers during the strike has been most satisfactory, help being received from other associations in the island and in the United States.

SANTIAGO.—*El Productor* (Havannah) says that the working-class movement is decidedly progressing in this town. In December next, the employés in the tobacco factories intend to organise a movement whose object is to obtain for themselves higher pay and certain necessary improvements in the workshops.

M. M.

REVOLUTIONARY CALENDAR.

WEEK ENDING DECEMBER 8, 1888.

2	Sun.	1816. Spa-fields riots. 1851. <i>coup d'etat</i> in Paris. 1852. Frances Wright died. 1859. John Brown hung. 1872. Strike of 2,400 gasmen in London. 1887. First victim of Bloody Sunday (Linnell) died.
3	Mon.	1871. Amalgamated Society of Railway Servants formed. 1882. Arabi Pasha banished to Ceylon.
4	Tues.	1795. Thomas Carlyle born.
5	Wed.	1806. Trial of "Thrashers" at Sligo.
6	Thur.	1793. Trial of Thomas Briellat for seditious words. 1882. Louis Blanc died.
7	Fri.	1683. Algernon Sydney beheaded. 1795. Meeting of London Corresponding Society at Jews' Harp House. 1879. Jón Sigurdsson died.
8	Sat.	1643. John Pym died. 1837. Faneuil Hall meeting on Lovejoy's assassination; Wendell Phillips' first speech.

If wage-workers hope to succeed in their struggle for justice, freedom, and honest pay, they must aid their labour papers. The papers which are subsidised and supported by capital will not defend capital. Why should they? Are they not well paid to defend capitalism?—*Labour Standard*.

The Manchester, Sheffield, and Lincolnshire Railway Company would seem to have been ill-advised in appealing against the award of £4,500 made by a Sheffield jury, a few weeks ago, to Mr. Vernon, who lost his leg and sustained other injuries in the Hexthorpe collision, seeing that after appealing to the Queen's Bench the company agreed to a reduction of the amount to £4,000. After the costs that the company has incurred in prosecuting this appeal have been met, and the limbs of the law are satisfied, it is to be feared there will not be much of the £500, withheld from the injured man, left to find its way to the coffers of the company. £4,000 is a large sum to pay for taking off a man's leg compared with what a railway company pays for taking one of its own workmen's legs off, which by the new Employers' Liability Bill would be compensated for with a paltry £250. This is an example of the laws we have for rich and poor respectively. We venture to say that the £4,000 would be of much more service to a working man than to one in the position of the gentleman alluded to above, but our laws give the most to those who have and the least to those who haven't.—*Railway Review*.

KETTLE AND POT.

("This Helmet, I suppose."—SULLIVAN.)

"THE landed class, said Joe,  
"Will clearly have to go;  
Their wealth to win,  
They never spin,  
And do they toil? oh, no.  
So off those gentry go."

The game-preservers groan,  
"Oh, leave the land alone!  
The employers who  
Apply the screw,—  
With *them* go pick your bone;  
But leave the land alone."

"Accept our thanks, we pray,"  
The working folk may say,  
"From each in turn  
This truth we learn:  
*We work that you may play.*  
Be off, and clear the way!"

C. W. B.

They can reduce it to a fine point at Buchan. They have not yet reached the single straw, but the current report of the managers of the New Maud Poorhouse, shows that the inmates are fed (!) at the rate of 2½ per head per day. The managers no doubt believe in the golden rule, but they hold it as some sentimental socialists do their belief—true, but, under present circumstances, unpracticable. The managers of the Scotch poorhouses are generally men who have been enriched by the poverty of the poor, and so it is pleasing and proper to them that the poor should slip their skins as soon as practicable, in accordance with "law and order," the god of the pillars of present-day society. The poor, with the increased education now forced on them, will not for long be content to "fold their tents like the Arabs and silently steal away."—G. McL.

DISCRIMINATING CRUELTY.—Every one knows, I presume (writes a correspondent), that there is a society of ladies in London, presided over by the Princess of Wales, which aims at the abolition of the cruel and foolish fashion of wearing stuffed birds as ornaments for female attire. I had the curiosity the other day to inquire of a fashionable Bond-street vendor of ladies' hats how the principles of this society affected her trade. "I don't find that it makes much difference," replied Mdme. L.—. And, indeed, nearly all the smartest hats in her window were adorned with the skins and feathers of brilliantly coloured birds. "I suppose the ladies who belong to the society do not deal here?" I queried. "Oh, yes, they do," said Madame. "I have ten or a dozen of them on my books; but when I sell one of them a hat trimmed with birds, *I have to cut the heads off; they don't mind wings and tails, but they think it cruel to wear the heads.*" Alas, poor humanity!—*Pall Mall Gazette*.

THE SOCIALIST LEAGUE.

OFFICES: 13 FARRINGDON ROAD, E.C. •

The Offices of the Socialist League will be open for the sale of *Commonweal* and all other Socialist publications from 8.30 a.m. to 9 p.m. every day except Sunday. The Secretary will be in attendance from 10 a.m. to 9 p.m. daily.

Notice.—All letters on League business, except those intended for Editors of *Commonweal*, to be addressed to me. No other person is authorised to sign any official communication.  
FRANK KITZ, Secretary.

Propaganda Fund.—H. Samuels, Is.

London Members' Meeting.—The next monthly meeting of members will take place on Monday, Dec. 3, 1888, at 13 Farringdon Road, at 9 o'clock sharp.

CHICAGO MARTYRS COMMEMORATION FUND.

The expenditure in connection with this commemoration having greatly exceeded the estimate of the Committee, and a wish having been expressed that the Committee should pay Mrs. Parsons' return fare to Chicago, this will bring the expenditure up to about £70. The Committee up to the present have received about £40. All those having monies in hand from collections, sale of tickets, or donations, are urgently requested to pay them in to the Treasurer the latest.

Already acknowledged—£31 2s. 2½d. Received—United Scandinavian Club, 10s. F. F. M., 5s. Total, £31 17s. 2½d. J. LANE, Treasurer.

REPORTS.

HAMMERSMITH.—Good meeting Latimer Road, Sunday Morning, Astbury, Dean, Lyne, and Tochat, speakers; choir sang several songs, and were well received. Weltje Road, 11.30, Catterson Smith and S. Bullock spoke, moderate meeting owing to weather. Same place at 7 o'clock, Mordhurst and Hall held meeting, at conclusion inviting audience to Kelmscott House to hear William Clarke (Fabian), lecture on "Growth of Capitalism in the United States." Good lecture, full of information, audience much impressed by it.

ABERDEEN.—No report last week owing to misunderstanding. On 18th, large meeting in Castle Street, by Aikens, Duncan, and Barrow. On 20th, at indoor meeting, Leatham lectured on, "An Individualist's Nightmare," criticising the article "Socialism Seen Through American Spectacles," by General Buycy, in *The Nineteenth Century* for September (the lecture will be published by request). On 25th, largest and most enthusiastic meeting of season, addressed by Aiken, Duncan, and Leatham.

IPSWICH.—Sunday, Read lectured in Pioneer Hall, Woodhouse in chair, upon "Co-operation as it is, and as it Should Be." Read will continue his discussion on Thursday night at 8 o'clock, sharp, in the Pioneer Hall.—J. T.

NOEWICH.—Sunday, meetings in Market Place, addressed by Mowbray in morning, evening by Poynts and W. Moore. At Gorden Hall, Mowbray lectured on the "Anti-Statist Manifesto."

**LECTURE DIARY.**

**LONDON.**

**Bloomsbury.**—This Branch is now actively working. Socialists resident in this locality should send their names in at once to 13 Farringdon Road.

**Clerkenwell.**—Hall of the Socialist League, 13 Farringdon Road, E.C. Sunday, December 2, at 7 p.m., Adjourned Business Meeting. At 8.30, Free Concert by Members and Friends.

**Fulham.**—8 Effie Road, Walham Green. Committee meetings are held on Sunday evenings at 7 o'clock sharp. All members are earnestly requested to attend.

**Hackney.**—Secretary, E. Lefevre, 14 Goldsmiths Sq., Goldsmiths Row, Hackney Road. The next meeting of members will be held at 28 Percy Terrace, Victoria Road, Hackney Wick, on Sunday Dec. 9, at 5.30 p.m. All members are requested to attend.

**Hammersmith.**—Kelmescott House, Upper Mall, W. Sunday December 2, at 8 p.m., A Lecture. Wed. Dec. 5, at 8 p.m., Graham Wallas (Fabian Society), "Property under Socialism."

**Hoxton.**—12, Basing Place, Kingsland Rd. Business meetings of this branch are held every Friday evening at 9 o'clock.

**London Fields.**—All communications, etc., to Mrs. G. G. Schack, 26 Cawley Road, South Hackney.

**Merton.**—Club-house, 3 Clare Villas, Merton Road, Singlegate. Lecture on Sunday evenings at 8.30.

**Mile-end and Bethnal Green.**—95 Boston St., Hackney Road.

**North London.**—Secretary, Nelly Parker. Business meetings held on Friday evenings at 6 Windmill St., Tottenham Court Road, after open-air meeting at Ossulton Street.

**Whitechapel and St. Georges in the East.**—Meets at the International Club, 40 Berner Street, Commercial Road, on Saturdays at 7.30 p.m.

**PROVINCES.**

**Aberdeen** (Scottish Section).—Secretary, P. Barrow, 14 Ann Street. Branch meets in Oddfellows Hall on Monday nights at 8. Choir practice at 46 Marischal Street on Thursday evenings at 8.

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

**Carnoustie** (Scottish Section: Forfarshire).—Meeting every Tuesday, at 8 p.m., in the Carnoustie Restaurant. Samuel Wilson, Secy.

**Dundee** (Scot. Sect.).—Meetings every Sunday in the Trades Hall, opposite Tay Bridge Station.

**Edinburgh** (Scottish Land and Labour League).—35 George IV. Bridge. Meetings for Discussion, Thursdays at 8 p.m.

**Galashiels** (Scot Sect).—J. Walker, 184 Glendinning Terrace, secy.

**Gallatown and Dysart** (Scottish Section: Fife).—Meet every Tuesday at 7 p.m. in Gallatown Public School. Secretary, A. Paterson, 152 Rosslyn St.

**Glasgow.**—84 John Street. Reading-room (Draughts, Chess, etc.) open 10 a.m. till 10 p.m. daily. Weekly meeting of members on Thursday evenings at 8. French Class meets every Sunday at 11.

**Ipswich.**—Pioneer Hall, Tacket Street. Meets on Sunday evenings. All members are earnestly asked to meet Sunday morning at 10.30. A Concert will be held on Saturday November 9, at 7.30; members and friends please turn up and make it a success.

**Kilmarnock.**—Secretary, H. McGill, 22 Gilmour St. Branch meets on every alternate Tuesday.

**Leeds.**—Clarendon Buildings, Victoria Rd. and Front Row. Open every evening. Business meeting Saturdays at 8 p.m. communications to T. Paylor, 11 Sheldon Street, Holbeck, Leeds. Sunday Dec. 2, at 7.30, F. Corkwell, "Two Systems: A Contrast." 9th. T. Paylor, "What we Want, and How to Get It." 16th. T. Maguire, "Leeds and its Inhabitants" (with lime-light illustrations).

**Leicester.**—Hosiery Union Offices, 11a Millstone Lane. Fridays at 8 p.m.

**Norwich.**—Sunday, at 8.15, Gordon Hall. Monday, at 8.30, Members' Meeting. Tuesday, at 8, Meeting in Gordon Hall. Wednesday, at 8, Educational Class. Thursday, at 8 p.m., Lecture by comrade Mowbray in the Gordon Hall, subject "An Enquiry into the Life of Christ according to Strauss and Renan"; tickets 1d. each. Saturday, 8 until 10.30, Co-operative Clothing Association.

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

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

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

All persons who sympathise with the views of the Socialist League are earnestly invited to communicate with the above addresses, and if possible help us in preparing for the birth of a true society, based on equality, brotherhood, and freedom for all.

**OPEN-AIR PROPAGANDA.**

**SUNDAY 2.**

11.30...Latimer Road Station...Hammersmith Branch  
 11.30...Mitcham Fair Green...The Branch  
 11.30...Regent's Park...Mainwaring & Parker  
 11.30...Walham Green, opp. Station...The Branch  
 11.30...Weltje Rd., Ravencourt Pk...Hammersmith  
 3.30...Hyde Park...Mainwaring & Parker  
 7.30...Eroad Street, Soho...Mainwaring & Parker  
 7.30...Clerkenwell Green...Nicoll

**Monday.**  
 8 ...Wimbledon Broadway...The Branch

**Tuesday.**  
 8.30...Fulham—back of Walham Green Ch. ...Branch

**Friday.**  
 7.30...Euston Rd.—Ossulton Street...The Branch

**EAST END.**  
**SUNDAY 2.**  
 Lemn Street, Shadwell 11...Nicoll

**TUESDAY.**  
 Mile-end Waste ... 8.30...East-end C'mittee.

**FRIDAY.**  
 Philpot St., Commercial Rd. 8.30...Whitechapel Bch.

**PROVINCES.**  
**Aberdeen.**—Saturday: Castle Street, at 7 p.m.  
**Glasgow.**—Sunday: Glasgow Green at 2 p.m.; Paisley Road at 5.30.  
**Ipswich.**—  
 Sproughton, Wednesday evening.  
 Westerfield, Thursday evening.  
 Needham Market, Sunday morning and evening.  
**Leeds.**—Sunday: Hunslet Moor, at 11 a.m.; Vicar's Croft, at 7 p.m.  
**Norwich.**—Sunday: Market Place, at 11, 3, and 7.30. St Catharine's Plain, Friday at 8.30 p.m.

**CHELSEA BRANCH S.D.F., Pelham Rooms, Kimbolton Row, Fulham Road, S.W.**—Sunday Dec. 2, at 8 p.m., Daniel McEwen, "Irish Land and Labour." THE SOCIALIST CO-OPERATIVE FEDERATION.—The Committee will meet at the house of S. Oliver, 139 Trafalgar Street, Walworth Road, on Saturday Dec. 1 and Dec. 8, at 7.30 p.m., to receive subscriptions and enrol members. Friends in South London particularly requested to be present.

**FABIAN SOCIETY.**—Willis's Rooms, King Street, St. James's Square, S.W. December 7, at 8 p.m., Annie Besant, "Industry under Socialism." December 21. Hubert Bland, "The Outlook." Tickets may be obtained from the Hon. Sec., Sydney Olivier, 180 Portsdown Rd. W.

**LEICESTER.**—A course of lectures on "Socialism, its Aims and Principles" is being delivered in Leicester Secular Hall. The third lecture will be delivered on Sunday Dec. 9 by William Clarke—subject, "The Industrial Aspect." Dec. 30. Sydney Olivier, "The Moral Aspect."

**SOUTH LONDON.**—Friends who are willing to form a Branch of the Socialist League in South London will please place themselves in communication with C. Henze, 41 Bolton Street, Thomas Street, Kennington Park, S.E., or by letter to H. Hopkins, 17 Gairloch Road, Shenley Road, Peckham, S.E.

**SOCIALIST LEAGUE LITERATURE.**

- Chants for Socialists. By William Morris. . 1d
- Organised Labour: The Duty of the Trades' Unions in Relation to Socialism. By Thomas Binning (London Society of Compositors). . . . . 1d.
- The Commune of Paris. By E. Belfort Bax, Victor Dave, and William Morris. . . . . 2d.
- The Aims of Art. By Wm. Morris. Bijeon edition, 3d.; Large paper, 6d.
- The Rights of Labour according to John Ruskin. By Thomas Barclay. . . . . 1d
- The Tables Turned; or, Nupkins Awakened. A Socialist Interlude. By William Morris. In Wrapper . . . . . 4d.
- The Manifesto of the Socialist League. Annotated by E. Belfort Bax and William Morris. An exposition of the principles on which the League is founded. . . . . 1d.
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# THE COMMONWEAL

## The Official Journal of the SOCIALIST LEAGUE.

VOL. 4.—No. 152.

SATURDAY, DECEMBER 8, 1888.

WEEKLY; ONE PENNY.

### NOTES ON NEWS.

THE School Board election for London has passed over, leaving behind it the usual electioneering dregs of defeated ambitions, empty boasts, compromises which no one believed in when they were made, and which will be sorely regretted hereafter by many who made them. As for the results, they are little except the dregs. For what does it all come to, this virulent storm in a saucer? In any case the children will be taught something; in no case can there be any satisfactory education under our present sham society; and the whole theory of School Board education is a bad one, even for our present system.

Setting all other considerations aside, is it worth the wear and tear for Socialists, who have so much work before them in merely putting before people the bare elements of their creed, to spend their energies, first in electioneering and next in the committee-room grind, in doing work which would be done quite as well, if external pressure were put upon them, by Radicals and Secularists, who otherwise hinder the work of propaganda?

The one thing of any real importance which could be done at once for the children is getting them the free meal, and it seems to me that with moderate pushing from the outside this could be got; not, of course, from pedants of the Lyulph Stanley kind, but from Radicals or even Tories not desperately committed to party shibboleths. The late cartoon in that very bourgeois print, *Punch*, in which the poor little advanced scholar claims something to still the cravings of hunger before going on with his "intellectual" work (save the mark!), is sufficient indication that the suggestion of this piece of elementary humanity and common-sense is not so terrifying to the general public as it used to be.

Lord Salisbury has been bidding high for Whig abuse, and will probably have his belly-full of it in these current days. And indeed he may be always trusted at a crisis to say the most snobbish thing that can be said, and his "Black-man" utterance quite comes up to the standard expected of him. The jeers at the Irish members, though rather stale now, and the heads on Temple Bar, are also reasonably good in the blackguarding line, and probably show that the most noble is not very hopeful of the coming election (when it does come).

But attack on this stupid reactionary "splitting of the ears of the groundlings" does not come with a good grace from journals which are revolutionary in Ireland and Whig in England. Until the *Daily News* breaks the conspiracy of silence on the judicial murder of Socialists or Anarchists who were slain for their opinions in a crisis that coward society thought dangerous, it ought to hold its tongue on Lord Salisbury's ferocious but harmless hints. Until its brother Whig the *Star* has learned that the whole duty of man is not limited to the returning of Gladstonian Whigs to Parliament at any cost, it ought also to hold its tongue; unless it is prepared to admit the fact that as to morals and principles it heartily agrees with Lord Salisbury's "short way with revolutionists" though the exigencies of party warfare compel it to pretend to be his opponent. W. M.

Replying to a protest against his slanders upon the Chicago martyrs, the editor of the *Star*, Mr. Thomas Power O'Connor, says of them: "They did not deny that Lingg handed about his consignment of bombs at their meeting, just as they did not deny that they shot the policemen before the policemen shot them." Now, it is not too much to say that of all the fictions and forgeries of the *Times*, over which the *Star* has been shrieking so pitifully, not one is so gratuitously mean and false as this. Neither of these things were denied, because neither of them were asserted. Until the *Star* took it in hand, there was not found a creature foul enough to father such a lie. Even the Chicago blood-hunters and Pinkerton thugs recoiled from such a task; it has been left to the magnanimous, the enlightened Thomas Power O'Connor, parasite of the Liberal party and editor of the *Star*.

As he has made an assertion never made before, as he has gone even beyond the disproven indictment, will he now condescend to give some rag or scrap of reason for saying what he does?

Will he also condescend to reconcile the apparent contradiction between his notes on the Chicago affair with the following note, cut from his consistent columns?—

"It is difficult to feel angry with a man who, so to speak, 'gives himself away' like this. But let it not be forgotten what a light this throws upon the true inwardness of coercion, upon the animus which actuates the present rulers of this country towards their political opponents. A line further on Lord Salisbury is speaking of 'political murderers,' and the usual mode of dealing with them. Whether he has any particular political murderer in his eye at this moment is left in doubt, but we cannot forget the inquiry proceeding simultaneously with this speech, the efforts of Lord Salisbury's Attorney-General to fix on the Irish Parliamentary party the responsibility for the crimes of the Moonlighters. Political murderers! Yes; in the eyes of Lord Salisbury and those of his school of political thought, whenever the opposition of the privileged classes to a movement of the people has resulted in bloodshed, the leaders of the people (not the leaders on the other side) are 'political murderers.' Mazzini was a political murderer; John Hampden and George Washington were political murderers, and had they been unsuccessful would doubtless have been condemned by the Salisbury of the day to lose their heads or be blown from guns."

S.

It is asserted by a Glasgow paper that sailors *can be well fed* for 11½d. per head per day, and an instance is quoted of a long voyage where it was done for 10½d. The editor did not say what the men, for whom the sailor toils and risks his life, "can be well fed for," but it is obvious that his code of right would allow as much to the ship-master's dog as to the sailor. Sailors take note.

Railways are the favourite investment of clergymen in Scotland for their surplus "earnings." To put their spare cash in such a safe investment is better, in their eyes, than lending it to the Lord (giving it to the poor), for they are certain it will return to them *before* many days. It gives them also the soothing satisfaction that they are providing work for working-men. The providing of wages is another matter.

Those clergymen who grow rich and important by speculations of divers sorts never think of providing work for themselves. Neither are they concerned whether the employments their pious investments provide are profitable to the workers, or whether their dividends are not the transformed life's-blood of the workers they allege to benefit; thus making such clergy accessories to slow murder, which is more cruel than sudden death.

When I hear, as I have done, those clergymen, with their safe investments, denouncing from their pulpits the victims of their dividends for their scanty church collections, and the pulpit unctuously assuring the pew that the latter by its want of practical enthusiasm is undermining the power of the former for "good," I cannot refrain from letting the sun go down upon my wrath.

A glance at the wages paid to the people in the pews and the dividends paid to the parsons in the pulpits, will explain the scantiness of the church collections and the decay of pulpit power for "good." By the bye, the church-door collections of the parish churches in Scotland belong by law and right to the poor of the parish, and, as these collections never reach the poor, it would be of interest to know who annexes them, and why they are diverted from their legitimate and lawful object.

But, to enquire into the nature of these clergymen's railway dividends, we find it stated by a booking-clerk that he has to work 12 and 13 hours a-day, and be responsible for the several hundreds of pounds that pass through his hands daily, for the handsome salary of 19s. 3d. per week. Signalmen are boxed in a cabin for 12 hours daily, constant duty, taking their meals as best they may, passing (including shunting) 500 trains a-day, and for each train having from three to six levers to draw and put back; also block and bells to mind, book marking, and seeing that every train that passes is in proper running condition, all for a salary of 22s. per week. A railway porter on the line between Glasgow and Carlisle says he does 15 hours a-day, no

time allowed for meals, for 17s. per week. He has been seven years at the same hours and pay, and has a house, wife, and family to provide for.

We can form an estimate from the above instances, which are a fair and exact criterion of each of their kinds, how much time and money the railway dividends of the clergy permit the workers to spend for the good of their families or the sustenance of the church. Nay, does not the pulpit's conspiracy of silence account for far more than the decay in pulpit power, and is not its appropriation of such ill-gotten dividends the very essence of Antichrist?

G. McL.

### MISSIONS, COMMISSIONS, AND OMISSIONS.

THESE three are members of one family. Missions and commissions are the parents of omissions. Our rural and city missions divert a certain energy and enthusiasm which might be directed to a more practical purpose, and our Government commissions but delay reforms which otherwise could not be successfully resisted. I grudge the missions and commissions the wealth, power, and time they consume, because what they divert and delay makes the omissions of society cruel, ugly, and unjust. I do not doubt the earnestness and honesty of purpose of those pious men and women engaged in mission work, and I think few who are cognisant of the motives of the creators of commissions will say as much for the creatures engaged in them.

It is becoming a favourite pastime of evangelical enthusiasts in Scotland to hold forth in the back courts and alleys of the slums of our cities, and also at the huts of navvies engaged on public works in the country. The Rev. Mr. McNeill, the preaching "star" of Edinburgh, who is wanted by the London Regent Square Presbyterian Church, if haply they may get him, told a large audience in Glasgow the other Sunday, on the condition that they would not tell anybody, that he used to go into the slums of Glasgow when younger and shout up to the windows, telling the women to put their ham on the fire and their heads out of the windows and he would give them the gospel. The women of the slums appeared to give more attention to the ham than the gospel, and now Mr. McNeill pipes to the well-fed women of mediocrity, and they flock to him in thousands to hear pulpit jokes like the above one, which was worn bare by Henry Ward Beecher. Whether Mr. McNeill's popular piping results in any practical good is another matter. The sum of the success towards real effective good of all the evangelical energy of the various sects is not encouraging, because they apparently fail to recognise the cause which creates the effect they wish to remove. It is as if they endeavoured to clear a muddy spring by laving the water into a surface stream which flowed back into the well. If the evangelists who are in earnest to help the poor and helpless could be made to see the root of the evil they combat, and to reflect on the waste of time and energy occasioned by their present methods, they might be enlisted on the side of those who seek first to stop the inflow of the muddy stream and so permit the natural law to restore the spring to purity and wholesomeness. There is something latent in the affections and passions of healthy men and women which makes for purity and nobility, provided they be not affected by surface influence. The conditions of present society create the influence which makes cowards of us all. In a society based on chance and cunning, where honest worth is too frequently submerged and humiliated, it is hard for the bravest to be free from the fear of the chance of being reduced to the lowest level of opportunity to gain the means of existence. This fear has a place and force in all our plans and efforts even when we do not suspect it. Evangelists report that in their mission to the navvies employed at the works at Ardrossan they came across men amongst them who had received a university education! These men surely could not be convicted of a want of a knowledge of "the truth" as it is in evangelicism. "The spouting rant of high-toned declamation" would sound strange in their ears and leave an aching void in their hearts. The evangel of the emancipator, who would free them from the social law and order which binds them to their ugly, unhealthy and degrading surroundings, would, I think, be more acceptable and profitable to them. The remembrance of what-might-have-been, or the looking forward to what-yet-may-be, can never fulfil the functions of what-ought-to-be. The water-lily can never grow towards perfection in a dry sandy soil, and neither can true nobility of character be perfected in a society which gives its rewards, and right of existence, to the selfish. The most beautiful and valuable of flowers will assume an ugly and worthless appearance if planted in a soil and atmosphere unsuited to its nature; and need we wonder, when we reflect on the traits of character conducive to success in present society, if men and women of the noblest natural temperament are found in its lowest and ugliest places and abandoned to its worst influences.

A glance at the soil and atmosphere where present society plants its most laborious workers in city, town, or village, will at once show the hopelessness of improving them morally until their physical conditions are improved and set on a better basis. When the kingdom of justice and of brotherhood is found, all the other things will naturally be added thereto, with as little trouble as the spring clears itself when the inflow of surface impurities is stopped.

So much has been said of late about the number and brutalising effects of the one-roomed houses in our cities, that I need not now notice them; but the hovels of the workers who reside in our villages and hamlets are no better conditioned, unless it be by a freer inroad for the wind, rain, and cold. The colliers' rows of our large colliery com-

panies, whose accumulated fleecings are proverbial, are as disgraceful and unhealthy as any city cesspool, and the huts provided for the navvies are even worse. In case it may be imagined I exaggerate the horribleness of the huts, I will give you what a writer in the *Christian Leader* says regarding them: "In connection with the bringing in of a larger supply of water to one of the largest towns of the kingdom, you could have seen forty men huddled together in one hut twenty feet square, and this the only place for cooking, washing, dressing, and sleeping in. The stench and dirt were past description. The hut-keeper, with wife and family of five, in a small place boarded off from the larger hut; and this woman, with her girl about fifteen years of age, to look after all these men—to cook and wash, etc., for them all, and pass through this floor where all the men are either dressed or undressed, as there is only one outside door for the lot of them." A residence in that hut, with the heavy exhaustive toil of a navvy, would be enough to set Sir Wilfred Lawson to drink; and can it be wondered at that these men should seek to exchange the huddling in the hut for the stupefaction of the spirit shop. It is sickening to see those who profit by the brutalising of the workers going to them as evangelical philanthropists, and finding therein a soothing satisfaction which is as superficial as their exhortations are worthless in effecting any good. These missions usurp the power and place of a more beneficial and practical propaganda, and serve the same purpose to social reforms as the Government commissions serve to legislative—viz., the perpetuation of cruel omissions.

GEORGE McLEAN.

### LETTER FROM AMERICA.

GREEK has met Greek. The Sugar Refineries Company (Sugar Trust) controls the sugar interest in the East, and Claus Spreckels, jun., the California sugar king and dictator of the Sandwich Islands, in the West. There is not room for two such rivals in the States in these days of concentration, and one will eventually have to be merged in the other. Claus, cunning and daring native of Pomerania, has entered the warpath first, and what's more, has in some way played his trumps so well as to compel the people of New York State to fight his battles for him. On the 11th of November, the Attorney-General Tabor in the name of the people of the State of New York, as the phrase goes, opened proceedings in the Supreme Court of New York against the North River Sugar Refining Company. This company is a corporation organised under the General Manufacturing Act of the Legislature of 1848, and now forms part of the trust. It has been selected to establish the precedent necessary to attack the other corporations. The Sugar Trust consists of eighteen refining companies, capital of 50 million dollars. Notwithstanding the excessive valuation at which the refineries were taken into the monopoly—the share was taken as equivalent to three—the trust pays dividends of 2½ per cent. for five months. The indictment summarised reads as follows: "The North River Sugar Refining Company ceased in violation of the law as to the exercise of its franchise to manufacture refined sugar, transferred all its stock and plant to the Sugar Refineries Company, and about the 1st of October, 1887, became a member of that combination." Another cause of action against the North River Company was that during the year 1888 it had wilfully neglected and failed to make or file a public report of its business during the preceding year, as all corporations are required to do annually under section 12 of the Laws of 1848. The third count was that the defendant in December, 1887, went out of business and ceased its operations, and thenceforward ceased to sell or manufacture sugar or to do any business, and that from that date to the present the company has not done any business whatever or exercised its corporate powers. The Attorney-General, who was in possession of the original agreement which the members of the trust have signed, submitted the following analysis:—

"That the Sugar Refineries Company is controlled absolutely by a Board of Trustees.

"That each corporation surrenders outright its entire capital stock.

"That the entire capital stock of such corporation is transferred to the Board.

"That the Board holds this stock as trustee.

"That the voting power of the stock is lodged with the Board.

"That no director in a corporation can be chosen without the consent of the Board, for they alone can transfer stock so as to qualify a person to be a director.

"That having the entire voting power as shareholders in each corporation the Board have absolute control of the directory and management of each corporation.

"That competition between the Board and the corporations is prevented by the prohibition against members of the Board being interested in the purchase and sale of sugar.

"That within the sphere of the operations of the refineries in the combination the production and price of sugar are absolutely under the control of the Board—that is, *pro tanto*, the Board is a monopoly.

"That since the capital stock of the several corporations is vested in the Board undistinguishably, since the stockholders in each corporation are, as such, stockholders in the others, and since the certificate holders receive a profit, whether the corporation whose stock has been exchanged for their certificates make a profit or not, virtually here is a consolidation of the several corporations.

"That since the shares of corporation stock are held by the Board in trust for the benefit of its owners, and the Board cannot dispose of that stock, the Board has no capital stock.

"That the Board are but bailees of the corporation stock, and the certificates issued were only evidences of the interest of the holders in the corporation stock held by the Board.

"That the Board is charged with no duty but to hold the corporation stock for its owners and to collect and distribute the profits made by the corporation refineries.

"That not the Board nor the certificate holders, but the several corporations, are engaged in the business of buying, refining, or selling sugar.

"That the Board usurps these corporate functions:

"To have a corporate name and a seal; to create offices and appoint officers; to issue transferable certificates of stock; to have perpetual succession; to make byelaws, and to sue and be sued as a collective entity."

It may be observed that the Sugar Trust is very similarly constructed to the Standard Oil Trust. Several members and officials of the Board of Trustees were called as witnesses and gave important testimony, confirming in every particular the statements made by the Attorney-General. The case was then adjourned to the 27th inst.

The General Assembly of the Knights of Labour began business at Indianapolis, Ind., on the 13th of November, Powderly presiding. It is essentially a Powderly friendly delegate meeting, and either he or one of his tools will be elected to the first position in the order. T. B. Barry, the seceded member of the executive, was present at the opening, and when his right to be present as a delegate came up he attempted several times to speak, but Powderly always rapped him down. He finally called out, "Well, if I cannot be heard here, I will be heard at the bar of public opinion," and left the hall. His case was referred to the committee on appeals.

The report of treasurer Turner is not at all of an encouraging nature to the Knights. The income amounted in the last fiscal year, from 1st of July 1887 to 30th of June 1888, to 222,507 dols. 9 c., and the expenditure to 222,342 dols. 23 c.; balance in hand, 164 dols. 86 c. The expenditure is chiefly composed of expenses for administration. The general officers, about half a dozen in all, drew 37,700 dols. 69 c. Here is the account of A. A. Carlton, a member of the executive and by no means the best salaried: Hotel allowance, 1,116 dols.; salary, 1,488; railroad fares, 1,190 49 c.; postage, telegrams, and messenger, 47.40; telegrams, 138.27; messenger, 12.77; bank discount, 1.50; postage, 9.91; amount advanced on account, 165.73; total, 4,170 dols. 7 c. General Master Workman Powderly drew 5,955 dols. during the last fiscal year. The expenses of the General Executive Board department were 2,302 dols. 62 c.; expenses of the General Secretary's office, 22,717 46 c.; General Secretary's supply department, 34,758 72 c.; postage, 8,151. The payment of the *per capita* tax shows a great falling off. For July, August, and September of 1887 the receipts under this heading amounted to 32,839 dols. For the same months this year they were only 15,354 dols. This indicates a membership of less than 200,000.

The report of General Secretary Hayes is equally gloomy. The total membership on July 1st, 1887, was 259,518, or a falling off against the year previous of 300,000 members. In his annual address Powderly accounts in many ways for the decline of the order, but the most remarkable passage is the following:—

"These attacks upon the Knights of Labour come from the persistent opposition which has been shown to the idea of allowing other organisations to control the Knights of Labour. . . . I do not mean the trade unionists. Their cause and ours are one in the main. The organisation . . . is the International Workingmen's Association, which passed resolutions three years ago to secure the election of its trusted agents as general officers of the Order of the Knights of Labour. The proofs are in my possession. The plans of these men met with but little success, and from that time to the present the members of that organisation have secretly and untiringly worked for the ruin of this order. There are members of that society who are members of this, who do not favour the schemes of the warring factions of the International Workingmen's Association, but they are few and far between, for those who are known are intent only on destruction."

This remarkable utterance is the exact reverse of the truth. Many members of the International are also Knights. The International as an organisation has never attacked the Knights, and the most friendly feelings between Knights and Internationalists have always existed. But what has been attacked and will be attacked is not the labour organisation known as the Knights of Labour, but the policy of their general officers—the men who have no other purpose but to fleece poor hard-working men and to live as pleasant a life as any "bloated capitalist" at the expense of working men who desire by combination to better their condition. There are hundreds of thousands of working men in the States and elsewhere desiring to join the Knights if the order could be purified. By the way, brother Powderly, was not Parsons—A. R. Parsons—also a Knight, and a true one, as true as there is one in the order? Was he not also a member of the International? Or are we to take your remarkable utterance as an explanation why you joined the mob who clamoured for the blood of a brother Knight? Speak up, brother Powderly!

The committee on the state of the order presented an unfavourable report on a resolution from District 49 (New York) providing that no action should be taken by the General Assembly in regard to the question of immigration. George Schilling, of Chicago, introduced an amendment to the effect that the General Assembly was opposed to narrow prejudices which objected to any kind of immigration. Then Mr. Powderly took the floor against the admission of "that class of immigrants who by reason of their degraded condition were able to work for lower wages than American workmen can live on, and who have to be tagged with numbers to tell one from another." When a vote was reached Mr. Schilling's amendment was lost and the report of the committee, which favours action on the question of immigration, was adopted by a majority.

The meeting of the delegates will probably last all through next week.  
Newark, N.J., November 19, 1888. HENRY F. CHARLES

### A VOICE FROM THE GRAVE.

At the commemoration meeting held by our Chicago comrades at the grave of "our five" in Waldheim Cemetery, George Schilling, Master Workman of District Assembly 24 Knights of Labour, read the following letter from our comrade A. R. Parsons:—

"TO A. R. PARSONS, JR., AND HIS SISTER, LULU EDA PARSONS,  
FROM THEIR FATHER,

With a request not to open and read this letter till November 11th, 1888.

"DUNGEON NO. 7, COOK COUNTY JAIL, CHICAGO, ILL., NOV. 9, 1887.

"To my darling, precious little children, Albert R. Parsons, jr., and his sister, Lulu Eda Parsons:

"As I write these words I blot your names with a tear. We never meet again! Oh, my children, how deeply, dearly your papa loves you! We show our love by living for our loved ones; we also prove our love by dying, when necessary, for them. Of my life, and the cause of my unnatural and cruel death, you will learn from others. Your father is a self-offered sacrifice upon the altar of liberty and happiness. To you I leave the legacy of an honest name and duty done. Preserve it, emulate it. Be true to yourselves, you cannot then be false to others. Be industrious, sober, and cheerful.

"Your mother, oh, she is the grandest, noblest of women! Love, honour, and obey her, my children, my precious ones. I request you to read this parting message on each recurring anniversary of my death, in remembrance of him who dies not alone for you, but for the children yet unborn. Bless you, my darlings. Farewell!

"Your father, ALBERT R. PARSONS."

### MINER'S WAGES.

The "Special Commissioner" of the *Labour Tribune*, from whose useful and instructive articles we have several times made quotations, has been looking up the Black Country miners, and his article in the "wee green" of Oct. 17th gives the result. After seeing the work and what it required, he thought the wages of the miner should be exceptionally high, but when he came to inquire into the facts of the case, to his surprise he discovered that they were exceedingly low. The pikeman is the man who gets the coal. He is in strictness the miner. He bores by the aid of pick and shovel, and chisel and wedge, and hammer into the coal seam, and so "gets" the coal. It is very laborious work, though not more laborious than many other kinds of work, except that it is carried on with much greater risk, inasmuch as the miner is so far from the surface of the ground. And the best of ventilation will leave a pit, and especially the cavities in which the men regularly work, much less healthy to work in than any workshop above ground. Customs vary a good deal in different parts of the Black Country. Some men work by the "stint," that is, by piece-work, some by the ton, and some by the day, but the general wage of the pikeman now, that is since the advance of 10 per cent. recently obtained, is 4s. 7d. per day, reckoning the day as beginning at 7 a.m. and finishing at 4 p.m. Among the miners this 4s. 7d. is called a day-and-a-quarter's wage; that does not mean a larger day, but only the difference between the wages paid to the pikeman and that paid to the man next in rank, viz., the loader. The wage of the loader is 3s. 8d. in the thick coal. To get the wage of the pikeman you have to add a quarter, which gives the latter 4s. 7d. for the day of the same length. If the pikeman could work six days a week all the year round, he would get £1 7s. 6d. a-week. But, as a matter of fact, four days a week the year round is a high average, which gives 18s. 4d. per week. The loader takes the coal from the pikeman and puts it into the tubs or small trucks that run along the narrow gauge tramways from all parts of the workings to the foot of the shaft. Of course there is no skill worth speaking of required in shovelling coal into a waggon. Nevertheless it is hard work, and is carried on, of course, under the same risks. The wage of the loader varies. They work, as do the pikemen, by the stint, the ton or the day, but their average wage is 3s. 8d. per day—nine hours down the pit—in the thick coal, and 3s. 6d. per day in the thin coal. It is difficult to see what justification there is for this difference. There is supposed to be less risk in working the thin coal, but at all events it is just as hard work to load a wagon of thin seam coal as to load one of thick seam coal. As in the case of the pikemen four days a week the year round is a high average, thus a loader would get from 14s. to 14s. 8d. per week, taking one week with another—rather less than more. Then come the drivers. There is much variation here. In some pits the wagons are small, and strong boys can manage them, but in other pits the wagons are large, and then strong young men are required, for of course the ponies only draw the wagons, and much handling of the wagons is called for on the part of the drivers. Wages begin at 2s. and range from that up to 3s. per day, and taking again four days as the normal week, wages range from 8s. to 12s. per week the year round. It is very common for drivers to be married men. Next come the horse fettlers or hostlers. These, as a matter of course, are in the pit much longer hours than other men. For whether the miners work or not the horses have to be looked after, and they require fettle on Sundays as well as any other days. The occupation, moreover, is perhaps the least agreeable of all. The stables are constructed in a big hole in the workings, and are not the sweetest places in the world. These men accordingly get 18s. or a guinea a week. Then there are the small boys called door-minders. It is their business to open and close the doors, which are set in the roadways of the pit, at stated intervals, and must be kept closed. The object is to protect one part of the pit from any danger which may arise in another part. These lads begin work at an early age, and get 1s. a day. Other boys are employed as metal cleaners, and clean the dirt from the ironstone in ironstone mines. Others again run errands. Women and girls are not now employed in the pits or on the pit banks in the Black Country—at least not at all generally. If there are any employed at all it is in cleaning the stone, that is removing the dirt from the ironstone. As to how the men live, the article says that a pikeman taking home 18s. 4d. per week would pay 3s. or 3s. 6d. per week rent for a house in a town, and this house would be very small, in most cases consisting of one room downstairs and two smaller ones above it; and frequently opening on a small court. In the country, rents range from 2s. 6d. to 3s. or 3s. 6d. In the latter case there would be a small bit of garden, but the accommodation in the house itself would not greatly differ from that of a house in a town. Now, suppose such a man has a family of five children and three of them have to go to school, 9d. per week would be required for school pence, or perhaps 6d., and this would leave say, at the very outside, 15s. a week out of which to find food and clothing for a man, his wife, and five children. A loader would live in much the same house and have much the same expenses. The drivers, of course, being younger men and frequently youths, live with their fathers and mothers. A youth of 17 or 18 living at home, would perhaps give his mother 6s. 6d. or 7s. a week and find his own clothes. But it is most usual for the youth to give his mother all he earns, save perhaps 1s. which he keeps for pocket money, and the mother somehow finds the clothes. It is the habit of the men to take a snack—that is a bit of bread and butter (generally margarine)—before going down the pit. Then at 11 o'clock they stop for a time and have a meal, which sometimes consists of bread and bacon, but most commonly of bread and cheap lard and butter (margarine) with coffee or tea. Sometimes the employers provide "small beer." This is the only meal taken in the pit. Dinner is taken at home after four o'clock, and generally consists of potatoes and bacon, sometimes there is cheap beef, mutton, or pork. But in very many cases dinner consists of bread and margarine, and tea. Later, say about eight or nine o'clock, some men will have a crust of bread and cheese.

It was land monopoly that declared war with France, and trade fought the battle. Napoleon was struck down by no eloquence of the House of Commons, by no sword of Wellington. He was crushed and ground to powder by the steam-engines of James Watt.—*Wendell Phillips*.

Go to, now, ye rich men, weep and howl for the miseries that shall come upon you. Behold the hire of the labourers who have reaped down your fields, which is of you kept back by fraud, crieth; and the cries of them which have reaped are entered into the ears of the Lord of Sabaoth. Ye have lived in pleasure on the earth and been wanton; ye have nourished your hearts as in a day of slaughter. Ye have condemned and killed the just, and he doth not resist you.—A text unpreached on.





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

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

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

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CORRESPONDENTS are specially asked to address all literary communications to the Editors, all business letters to the Secretary, and to write only on one side of the paper.

P. R.—Mazzini's article on the International appeared in the *Contemporary Review* for 1872 (p. 155), and George Howell's in the *Nineteenth Century* for 1878 (p. 19).

The editor of the *Alarm* complains in issue of Nov. 24 that the exchanges of *Commonweal* have not reached him. They have been sent, however, and there must be some reason for non-delivery, which perhaps the U.S.A. postal authorities could explain.

#### Periodicals received during the week ending Wednesday December 5.

ENGLAND	Alarm	SWITZERLAND
Church Reformer	Workmen's Advocate	Arbeiterstimme
Christian Socialist	Boston—Woman's Journal]	ITALY
Die Autonomie	Chicago—Knights of Labor	Turin—Nuova Gazzetta Operaia
Justice	Baecker Zeitung	SPAIN
Labour Tribune	Vorbote	Barcelona—Tierra y Libertad
Labour Elector	Detroit—Der Arme Teufel	Barcelona—El Productor
London—Freie Presse	Milwaukee—National Reformer	Madrid—El Socialista
Norwich—Daylight	San Francisco Arbeiter-Zeitung	Seville—La Solidaridad
Postal Service Gazette	Coast Seamen's Journal	PORTUGAL
Railway Review	FRANCE	Lisbon—O Protesto Operario
Social Demokrat	Paris—Cri du Peuple (daily)	GERMANY
To-Day	Le Parti Ouvrier (daily)	Berlin—Volks Tribune
Worker's Friend	La Revolte	AUSTRIA
NEW SOUTH WALES	Le Proletariat	Brunn—Volksfreund
Hamilton—Radical	Le Coup de Fen	Wien—Gleichheit
INDIA	Lille—Le Cri du Travailleur	HUNGARY
Bankipore—Behar Herald	St. Etienne—La Loire Socialist	Arbeiter-Wochen-Chronik
UNITED STATES	HOLLAND	WEST INDIES
New York—Der Sozialist	Hague—Recht voor Allen	Cuba—El Productor
Freiheit	BELGIUM	ARGENTINE REPUBLIC
Truthseeker	Ghent—Vooruit	Buenos Ayres—Herald
Volkszeitung	Liege—L'Avenir	
Jewish Volkszeitung	Antwerp—De Werker	

## ENDOWMENTS.

THE extent to which the general body of the people lack the most elementary knowledge of true economics may be estimated from some remarks made the other day at the opening of Prinlaws Church bazaar by a man of note and prominence—Principal Cunningham of St. Andrews. He said the object of the bazaar was "to provide a stipend for the minister for ever and ever," and maintaining that this was a laudable aim, he took occasion to castigate those who, on the ground that they should do nothing for posterity because posterity did nothing for them, objected to the endowment of the church.

It is apparent that both Dr. Cunningham and those he was taking to task believe honestly that the burden of supporting the men, who will in all years yet to come minister to the spiritual needs of certain of the citizens, may be wholly borne by the people of the present day. It is a striking sign of the prevalent superficiality of observation and of thought in economics that it is necessary to point out the physical impossibility of a vicarious sacrifice of this kind. A little consideration will make it evident that nearly all the wealth consumed by clergymen and by everybody else living at any given period, must be produced by the workers co-operating with them. The wealth of the community is continually being used up and having to be replaced. Some kinds of capital, but very few indeed, may, it is true, be regarded as having somewhat of a permanent character. But all kinds of capital must be constantly kept in repair, and most kinds are used up very rapidly, and have to be renewed at very short intervals. Not only is this so, but nearly all the wealth that satisfies directly the material wants of man must by its very nature be used but a short time after its production. Of this nature are, along with many other forms of wealth, all food and clothing which alone constitute such a large portion of the products of labour.

Each generation, then, is dependent for the supply of its wants almost wholly on its own efforts. Of course it is, as it were, started in life by the previous one, and is the heir to the sifted knowledge and experience of all the past; yet, for all that, without the labour of its own hands it could not exist. It is therefore incorrect to suppose that by the endowment of a church or of any other institution we can

lighten appreciably the labours of posterity, except perhaps to a slight extent those of our immediate successors.

To endow a church is to devote to the payment of all, the expenses connected with it the income derived from the users of a certain quantity of capital lent in the church's name. It is to secure for the church a share of the land or of the capital—of something which the workers cannot do without—and employ for church purposes the rent or the interest which the workers are forced to pay for the use of it. Believers in certain doctrines who make provision for an endless succession of teachers of these doctrines by a scheme of endowment, simply shift thereby the toil and trouble of supporting these teachers from themselves and their successors in the faith to the great body of workers, who perhaps care nothing for the teaching or even think it false and harmful to society. No matter how pernicious some may regard the beliefs, they as workers will have to contribute their share towards the expenses incurred in propagating them, for no other reason than that the endowment trust has in its possession a quantity of wealth, in some shape or form, which is absolutely necessary for the subsistence of man, and which it is legally entitled to refuse the community the use of, if the community does not make it a payment in the form of rent and interest. The trust is thus able to extract from the workers a very large portion of the product of their labour without giving an equivalent for it. That is what we Socialists call robbery. And this huge injustice will last as long as private ownership of land and capital is permitted. It will not cease until the people place under public control everything necessary for the production of wealth. Whenever private individuals or corporations are allowed, as at present, to appropriate mines, lands, railways, factories, workshops or machinery—in fact, anything which is required to provide man with the means of subsistence and of enjoyment—they invariably take advantage of their position to force those who own none of these things, and yet are in absolute need of them, to work hard and to deliver up all the products of their labour except what is necessary to maintain them as efficient machines and to rear others to replace them when worn out.

It is clear, then, that the endowment of any institution implies that the general body of workers are compelled to provide it with funds. There could be no objection to such an arrangement if the institution were regarded by the workers as beneficial to them and if it were really devoted to their use. Few endowed institutions, however, in the present day are such as would benefit the workers, and those that might do so are generally monopolised by the well-to-do. Under Socialism certain institutions would of course be maintained by the whole community, but only those that would be certain to benefit everybody. In no case would the community support institutions which, like churches, happen to exist for the satisfaction of the wants, real or imaginary, of mere sects or classes, however large. Of course if any workers have real wants originating solely in the nature of the work they do for the consumers, it would, I think, be but wise and just that provision should be made to satisfy these wants, not, however, by the State or community as a whole, but by those consumers for whose benefit the particular kind of work is done.

It will have been seen from the foregoing that we Socialists object not only to State churches, but to all endowed churches, of whatever denomination they may be, for the reason that *all* of them rest on the exploitation, on the robbery of the workers. Under Socialism there would be the utmost freedom of thought and of speech, and there would be no hindrance to the propagation of any kind of religious belief; but it would be rendered impossible for religious bodies to have their paid teachers supported by any but those who chose voluntarily to lend their aid.

J. HALDANE SMITH.

## FAREWELL TO MRS. PARSONS.

SOUTH PLACE INSTITUTE was very well filled on Thursday evening, 29th ult., considering that within a few streets' distance there was the Holborn election in full swing, with all its attendant attractions and circuses. H. Davis took the chair, and said a few introductory words as to the occasion of our meeting there that evening—to bid farewell to a comrade who had come among us for a very brief while, but who had endeared herself to us in so doing. The Hammersmith Choir then sang "No Master"; after which Mrs. Wilson read the description of some of the anniversary meetings in the States and elsewhere, and spoke at some length on the meaning and progress of the labour movement in America, and the part our comrades had played in it. William Morris reviewed the position of the workers for the world's advancement, and eloquently set forth their aims and methods. Kropotkin dealt with the decentralisation of social life and the increased scope for development of the individual that Socialism would bring about, and insisted on the elevation of character that would result.

The choir then sang "Down among the Dead Men," and David Nicoll, speaking next, alluded in strong terms to the ill-treatment he considered Mrs. Parsons had received, and begged her not to allow the ill-doing of individuals to mingle in her memories of England and the Socialist party here. Sparling summed up the objects of the meeting, and asked Mrs. Parsons to convey the greetings of Old World Socialists to those of the New.

Mrs. Parsons then replied; she spoke of her position, and deprecated any personal merit or importance; circumstances had made her to some extent the mouthpiece and representative of others. Her position had been a difficult one, and not rendered easier by certain things that had happened; but on the whole she could look back upon her English visit with pleasure, and speak in high terms to her friends of the progress we were making.

After singing the *Marseillaise*, and cheering for the Revolution, Mrs. Parsons, Morris, and Kropotkin, the meeting dispersed.

Mrs. Parsons left St. Pancras Station Friday night for Liverpool, whence she sailed on Saturday for New York. The platform was crowded with Socialists of all opinions and nationalities. "Annie Laurie" was sung, and addresses were presented. Mrs. Parsons thanked those present for their enthusiasm, and said her visit to England had met with good results. She was pleased to see that the working classes were combining to put an end to their misery. She was determined never to rest until the wage slaves were free, labour emancipated, and Socialism triumphant. The train left the station amid cheers and the strains of the *Marseillaise*.

## TO WORKING WOMEN AND GIRLS.

COMRADES,—We Socialists want a word with you. Perhaps you, into whose hands this has fallen, are the wife of a working-man and mother of children, and unless yours is an exceptional case your daily life is as sad and troublous as thousands of your sisters in so-called Happy England to-day. The rack-rented room, the inconvenient, nay often pestilential house, the struggle to be decent and self-respecting amid miserable surroundings, the fight to make both ends meet, and to know that illness, death, or want of employment on the part of the breadwinner will plunge you and yours into utter destitution. A life filled with sordid cares and anxiety for the morrow, its prime spent in a futile struggle with poverty, its end possibly the punishment of poverty—the workhouse and the pauper's ditch.

Your husband, when out of employment has to endure the heart-sickening tramping search for work, and when in to sell his independence and manhood over the pay-desk of his employer; to have the fear of starvation as a whip to drive him into compliance with his master's will and price. He is robbed over that pay-desk in the first instance, and you, when pestered in the market-place how to lay out the scanty wage to the best advantage, are robbed again by the hucksters of the shop-counter, who buy cheap and sell dear. Does it ever come into your mind, when paying a cheating price for poor and adulterated food, and anxiously limiting your outlay to the barest necessities, that there is in this country not only enough for all but a superabundance of all that can make life happy? and, furthermore, that this wealth is created by the working-class to which you and your husband, brother, and sweet-heart belong. Who enjoys it, the bees or the drones, the workers or the idlers? Look around you and see.

Whilst your life is a scene of anxious care, theirs is one of varied pleasures. Are you and yours less than they that you should bear a heavy burden through life? Because we denounce creeds you are told that we are without religion. How do they reconcile their profession of belief in a state hereafter, where all shall be equal and poverty a passport to it, when they squander untold wealth produced by the blood, sweat, and tears of the toiling masses? They prate of justice and humanity, and treat their animal pets better than their fellow-creatures.

Doubtless you have also been told that the Socialists are immoral, and would destroy family life and home-like associations. What destroys the family but the wretchedness of the mass? "Whom God has joined together," says their marriage service, "let no man put asunder"; but at the workhouse-gate, man, wife, and child are separated because of their poverty.

Emigration and war again do their work to destroy the family; but we are immoral; and yet the West-end thoroughfares are at night nearly impassable with harlots and their rich patrons. The wealth wrung from the labourer is used to debauch his daughters, and these, with the alternative of starvation wages or vice presented to them, too often choose the latter. Remember also, that if all the fallen sisterhood of the pave, and all the victims of society in jail, were to try and lead what is hypocritically termed lives of honest toil, it would mean the cheapening of labour and the increase of the sweater's gains.

And so we Socialists say with truth that the present system, which denies the right of the workers to the means of existence except upon the terms of spoliators, breeds its own crime, poverty, and prostitution, and then claims the right to punish its victims in jail, workhouse, and penitentiary. Can you look in the faces of your children and feel assured that they will not swell the ranks of pauperism, prostitution, and crime? You give them up now as wage-slaves, or as soldiers to be shot down in cruel and useless wars with peoples with whom they have no quarrel; to work or fight in the interest of labour robbers, land thieves, and usurers. Surely if you can give up all that is nearest and dearest for the present abominable system, you will not stand in opposition to a newer and better life?

"What would you have us women do," say you, "even if we agree with you that all is not as it should be?" We ask you to come and help us in the work we are engaged in, to make the now despondent people look up and see the possibility of a brighter and better life, now and for the future. Educate your children to believe that the daily shifts and early labour to which they are put is in order that the children of the idlers may have their college training and foreign travel, their pictures, books, and ease. Urge husband, father, brother, and sweetheart forward on the path of Socialism.

We are a party composed of men and women of no regard to nationality, and looking upon men and women as equals. Wherever so-called civilisation with human misery and woe exist, there is up-raised the red banner of our movement. We declare that the fruitful soil of the earth should be cumbered with no land robber, but should sustain all its children; that the means of production shall be for the benefit of all, and not to enrich a class; that our children as the future race shall be free from grinding care, and their education and physical welfare shall be the care of a free and happy community. To achieve this noble ideal we want your help. Our aim is the extinction of poverty and its necessary consequences, crime and misery. You can assist. Will you, we ask again in conclusion, give us your help?

[It is intended to issue the above article as a leaflet by the Propaganda Committee. Readers are asked for criticism, and might suggest improvements.]

D. J. NICOLL, Secretary of Propaganda Committee.

All that the labourer asks is justice, not charity; all that woman asks is justice, not pity; and all that the negro asks is justice, not humanity.—Wendell Phillips.

## THE RED FLAG O'ER US FLYING.

Air: "The Trumpet Sounding Loudly" (Y GADLYS).

We have no tyrant ruler  
To drive us on our way,  
No leader or befooler  
To blind us or betray.  
But each with each is vying,  
In battle fierce against the wrong;  
And to the fray we march along,  
The Red Flag o'er us flying.

We let no sea divide us,  
No frontier make a foe;  
All people stand beside us,  
One flag alone we know.  
For all men's freedom trying,  
For liberty in every land,  
In arms arrayed for fight we stand,  
The Red Flag o'er us flying.

Who comes, with heart high beating,  
To struggle for his own,  
To fight without retreating  
Till Wrong be overthrown?  
Who comes, the foe defying,  
With us to work in word and deed,  
Until shall float o'er all men freed,  
The Red Flag o'er us flying?

AN GEALBHAN GARAIHDH.

## REVOLUTIONARY CALENDAR.

WEEK ENDING DECEMBER 15, 1888.

9	Sun.	1789. John Stockdale tried for a libel on the House of Commons. 1793. Trial of John Lambert, James Perry, and James Gray for seditious libel. Trial of William Hudson for seditious words. 1824. Battle of Ayacucho.
10	Mon.	1805. W. L. Garrison born. 1839. Trial of Monmouth Chartists begun. 1855. Aug. Spies born.
11	Tues.	1858. Leigh colliery explosion.
12	Wed.	1653. Cromwell made Protector.
13	Thur.	1204. Maimonides died. 1799. Heine born. 1867. Clerkenwell explosion. 1884. London Bridge explosion.
14	Fri.	1799. George Washington died. 1831. Affray at Carrickshock. 1873. Agassiz died. 1883. Herr Hlubeck killed.
15	Sat.	1794. J. B. Carrier guillotined.

*Battle of Ayacucho.*—Lord Salisbury and the *Pall Mall Gazette* are forever dining in our ears the present tendency of the world to centralisation and the consolidation of great empires. My lord especially has been preaching the undesirableness of looking back into the past for information. He does well. We might get a glimpse of the foul dunghill from whence the sneaking Cecils derive their blood, their titles, and the estates. Such people as my lord poison the air, like some venomous toad, by their presence amongst us: they have no lessons from the past and no hope for the future. The great battle by which the gallant rebels of South America hurled down forever the overgrown and outgrown "imperial federation" of Spain in the early years of this century might be a lesson to these chipper and self-sufficient Cockneys of to-day, who talk so loudly about the "British Empire" which they and people like them could never have helped one jot to form, and which they only possess in the sense that oft-quoted hive of bees (or rather drones) monopolise the noble helmet of a dead warrior giant of the past. Such pretentious frauds as the British empire, the German empire, and the United States of America (kept up for the sole benefit of thieving stock-jobbers) are beginning to stink in the nostrils of honest humanity. We are only awaiting a favourable opportunity to wipe away all such frippery and foppery from the face of the globe. The Romans were great and self-sacrificing and brave, and yet they failed. The British and German shopkeepers are small and ignorant, selfish and cowardly, and not likely to make a better job than their Roman predecessors.—L. W.

The following notes relate to last week's Calendar:—

*Death of Algernon Sidney.*—The judicial murder of this chiefest pride of English history is particularly interesting at the present moment, when the London social reformers are being disgusted with the shameless apostacy of such timeservers as Mrs. Besant, Henry George, and T. P. O'Connor in regard to the equally infamous judicial crime of our own day. All the trucklers in 1683 in London joined in the parrot cry and said Sidney should be hanged because he had tried to assassinate the king at the Rye House. When confronted with the fact that there was no evidence of such a design, they replied, "Oh, well! he is a republican, and has advised violent methods. He is just as responsible!" The rats are of the same sleek coat in every age.—L. W.

*Death of Pym.*—Lucy Percy, Sidney's aunt, only saved Pym's life by her timely warning long enough to give the death blow to unlimited tyranny in England. We can only fondly dream what England might have been if Pym and Hampden had lived to fight the swarm of Scotch Presbyterian plunderers who wrecked the people's republic and sold out to George Monk when the game was up.—L. W.

Stop talking politics; begin talking less hours and higher wages. Have sense. Labour is a long way yet from its economic emancipation. But it must keep on all the time trying to reach it.

You cannot make a nation with one half steamboats, sewing-machines, and bibles, and the other half slaves.—Wendell Phillips.

A trade union cannot, should not, and must not be a political party club. The trade union is of greater importance to the wage worker than all the political parties in the world.—Paterson Labour Standard.

## THE LABOUR STRUGGLE.

### BRITAIN.

**PORT GLASGOW LABOURERS' STRIKE.**—This strike was settled Dec. 1st, the men resuming work on the old terms until March, when the advance in wages is promised to be conceded.

**DUNDEE JUTE-WORKERS.**—The jute-workers of Dundee have been promised 5 per cent. advance by the middle of this month. This is the second advance within two months, but was not given till bitterly needed.

**MARYPORT IRONWORKERS.**—It is reported that early on Nov. 30th, the men employed at the Maryport Hematite Iron and Steel Works left work without notice. The furnaces were in full blast at the time.

**NORTHUMBERLAND COAL DISPUTE.**—At the Northumberland coal-owners' and miners' conference, held at Newcastle on Saturday 1st, the miners agreed to accept the offered advance of 5 per cent. on hard and 2½ per cent. on soft coal. The dispute is thus settled.

**IRON TRADE WAGES.**—On Friday 30th the award in the claim of the operatives in the North of England manufactured iron trade was issued at Middlesbore. It grants 6d. per ton on puddling and 5 per cent on other wages, or half of the advance claimed.

**THE NEWPORT (MON.) PILOT.**—The *Railway Review* gives the following list of hours worked on the notorious Newport pilot on the dates as under: Sept. 25th, 22 hours 40 minutes; 26th, 26 h. 5 m.; 27th, 23 h. 10 m.; 28th, 22 h. 40 m.; 29th, 21 h. 5 m.; Oct. 2nd, 22 h. 25 m.; 3rd, 20 h. 30 m.; 4th, 19 h. 40 m.; 5th, 24 h.; 6th, 25 h. 10 m.

**LOCK-OUT AT BARROW.**—The men employed at the blast furnaces, Barrow, left off work in a body on Dec. 2nd, their notice for an advance of wages having expired. Eleven furnaces are standing idle. The Steel Company have in consequence closed both the iron and steel works, over three thousand men being locked out. It is expected the dispute will be of short duration.

**NORTH OF ENGLAND IRONWORKERS.**—The award of Dr. Spence Watson, of Newcastle-on-Tyne, in the matter of the wages in the North of England iron trade, was received in Middlesbrough on Nov. 30th. He decides that from and after Nov. 24th there shall be an increase of 6d. per ton on puddling, and 5 per cent. on all other tonnage rates and wages governed by the decision of the board.

**SOUTH WALES MINERS.**—According to the sliding-scale in operation, as things stand, the miners get 1-16th of the price of a ton of coal, but when the price increases, their wages do not go up in proportion. £6 represents 15 tons at 8s. per ton. The workman gets £1 out of the £6; but when the price increases he only gets 1½d. on every 1s., so that when 15 tons realises £12 his proportion is 50 per cent. The average wage is 3s. 4d. per day of 9½ hours.

**WORKINGTON IRONWORKERS.**—The Hematite Ironworks are idle in consequence of a strike. The barrowmen received notice for alterations to be made in certain of their duties. These they would not agree to carry out, and were accordingly discharged, other men being engaged in their places. The employment of the new hands displeased the furnacemen, and they refused to work any longer. There is no likelihood of a settlement being come to at present. About 500 men are affected.

**RIVET-MAKERS' WAGES.**—An appeal has been issued to masters in rivet trade in Blackheath and Old Hill districts to convene a meeting with a view of placing the trade on a better basis. There appears to be a disposition on the part of some of the employers to concede a portion of the 4s. list until the end of the present year, and then if the trade warrants it, to consider whether the operatives should receive a further advance. Should the whole of the employers agree to this proposal, it is anticipated that the rivet-makers will accept the offer.

**CALENDERERS' STRIKE.**—The strike at Dundee has been settled by the acceptance of both parties of the compromise submitted by Provost Hunter that the 5 per cent. advance be conceded on 14th December. The masters wanted to delay the advance till after the new-year holidays, and the workers demanded it for 1st December. The girls working in Dundee calenderers have formed a union to protect their interests. The Dundee and District Mill and Factory Operatives' Union have also accepted the compromise suggested by Provost Hunter to accept 5 per cent. on 14th December.

**EDINBURGH TRADES COUNCIL.**—At the fortnightly meeting, Nov. 27th, Mr. Bell called attention to the strike settlement at Leith Gasworks. He also referred to the pensioning of officials in contrast to the treatment of the workmen, who were dismissed after spending the best of their days in the laborious work of the trust, and Mr. McLean expressed the opinion that working men should bear in mind what had been done by the officials they return to their councils. Mr. Noble thought the matter showed immorality on the part of the officials representing them, who ought never to set their faces in a church as Christians. It is but natural officials should victimise workers and favour other officials with undue rewards, for "a fellow feeling makes us wondrous kind."

**STEAM-COAL HEWERS' WAGES.**—The standard wage per day of Northumberland coal hewers previous to last strike was 5s. 2d.—that is to say, that was the average made on the whole, for all men do not make alike. They are paid by the quantity they hew. The wages at the end of the strike were reduced 12½ per cent. at the steam-coal pits, so that they now are 4s. 6½d., or about that sum. "stowers" and "shooters" and other off men receive from about 3s. to 4s. per shift. Men living rent free in colliery houses (and the greater number do), and having coal supplied to them, receive what is estimated to be equal to 11d. per shift added to their wages. The men who do not live in colliery houses are allowed from 1s. 6d. to 2s. per week by the coalowners towards the rent they have to pay. There are generally fairly large gardens connected with colliery houses from which industrious men raise a good deal of produce. An average of about 8 days per fortnight out of a possible 11 days is what may be estimated throughout the year. This would give 208 working days per annum. Some pits have worked from 9 to 10 days per fortnight during the past two years, most have been working about full time recently, but 8 days per fortnight seems a fair average all the year round. Deductions: School fees, 6d.; doctor, 6d.; house and coals, 1s.; for weighman, 3d.; pick sharper, 3d.; permanent fund, 7d.; powder and candles, etc., 2s. 6d. Total during fortnight, 5s. 7d. There might be added to this a small amount paid to union, but not more than half the miners, indeed less than half, belong to the association. The men living in rented houses are supplied with coal free.—*Colliery Guardian*.

**DUNDEE BLACKSMITHS.**—The blacksmiths in the shipbuilding yards, who have been on strike for three weeks, resumed work 27th November. They asked an advance of 2s. per week, and struck because the employers only offered 1s. They went in on 1s. 6d. per week advance.

**ABERDEEN COTTON MILLS.**—In accordance with the decision given by Sheriff Wilson in the question submitted to his arbitration in September by the managers and employes of Bannermill Cotton Works, the directors decided on December 3rd to give a general advance of wages from the beginning of this month.

**MIDLAND WAGES BOARD.**—This seems to be in a bad condition, but efforts are being made to pull it together again. A recent meeting resolved: "That the operative members of the Wages Board shall request the President to convene, at the earliest possible convenience, a meeting of the whole board, to consider its present position, and supply information to the operatives as to the actual number of works where employers and workmen are jointly or otherwise subscribers to the funds and amenable to the awards of the Board, and to take such steps as may be necessary by broadening the basis of representation, or alteration of present constitution, to induce the majority of both employers and workmen in the district to become members of and subscribers to the board."

**SCOTCH MINERS.**—The Airdrie miners have unanimously passed a resolution for another advance of 5 per cent., in addition to the 10 per cent. already conceded, and to abide by the five days per week policy. The Fife miners have been offered 5 per cent. advance by the masters, not, as the latter say, on their being warranted to do so by the state of trade, but in the hope that their attempt to raise prices would be successful. This 5 per cent. offered is only half of the advance conceded by the masters in other districts. At a delegate meeting of Lanarkshire miners, Nov. 29th, a statement of selling prices was submitted, which, it was argued, gave proof that the men are entitled to a 20 per cent. advance (1s. per day) from September prices. 131 works in the country have received the 10 per cent. advance, and 61 the 7½ per cent. Deputations waited on the masters, and the latter, of course, replied that no advance could be given in the meantime.

**NOTTINGHAM TAILORS.**—A dispute has occurred here with the firm of Dixon and Parker. They do a large "slop" trade, and have a factory and about half a dozen sale shops. They have one shop (the most recently opened) which is advertised as a first class trade, and where good workmen are employed and very little machine work done. Of course they ought to have paid the best price of labour; but no. The coatmakers managed to get paid 4½d. per hour to the log of the town (5d. is paid by other first class firms), but the trouser-makers could not even get that. When a deputation waited on the manager of this particular shop, he refused to recognise the trade union, and said he would pay what he liked. Of course the men all came out then, and when they had been out a week he yielded thus far—to pay to the 4½d. log, but would not take back the same trouser-makers. And since, he has discharged three coatmakers, who will all be supported by the society till they get work. So as matters stand the dispute is not yet ended, and will be reopened at a more convenient time.—W. D.

## INTERNATIONAL NOTES.

### FRANCE.

The manifestation which was held on December 2nd in commemoration of the death of the Socialist deputy Baudin, who was killed December 3, 1851, on the barricades of the rue St. Antoine, has passed off very quietly indeed, the Government having prohibited the entrance to the cemetery of Montmartre and also the making of any speeches. Floquet and Co. thought that their treasonable conduct would have been explained to the assembled masses of the people, and therefore they ordered that no speech was to be allowed. And strange to say, all the revolutionists gathered before the gates of the cemetery kept silent, and the manifestation was a completely *mute one*, which sounds rather hard for a Paris demonstration. Anyhow, the enormous numbers of people assembled showed, even by their silence, that they were quite aware that Floquet is as much a danger to the maintenance of the Republic as Boulanger himself, and that both are equally enemies to the people and to France. So this manifestation has only been a kind of warning to them, and we hope that in a very near future France will, once for all, get rid of Boulangism and Floquetism alike, and all their supporters, who, for a long time past, have made it their sole business to trade upon the people. France has become more corrupt now than it has ever been, even in the last years of the miserable Napoleonic era, and it is wellnigh time that all those contemptible "money-changers of the temple" should be swept away by the revolutionary masses, assembled in their thousands in order to do justice—at last!

### BELGIUM.

The open-air propaganda is going on day after day at Brussels, in spite of the ridiculous decrees of some of the mayors of the suburbs, in spite also of the approval these mayors have met with from the chief burgomaster, M. Buls. The last-named gentleman thinks himself absolute master of Brussels, and gives orders broadcast to prosecute the Socialists, who very rightly laugh at him. Charles Warren has prevented meetings being held in Trafalgar Square; so he also, Buls Lilliput, proclaims them. At Liege and at Huy the workers have followed the example of their Brussels comrades and held successful open-air gatherings. They intend going on and defying at law any one of the silly magistrates who will try to make a dead letter of the stipulations of the Belgian constitution.

In the mining district of Le Centre, province Hainault, some two thousand miners are at strike, and meetings are held in several places in order to induce the workers to follow suit. It is certain that in the course of a few days the strike will become a general one. The Government, stupid as usual, have already sent their soldiery to the spot, and that is the very way to create disturbances. Revolver shots have been exchanged between toilers and gendarmes, and one of the "law and order" men has been wounded. The wives of the strikers are particularly excited; they encourage their husbands to make it this time a hard nut to crack for the capitalists. *Nous frapperons un grand coup*, is the phrase they generally use to show what they intend to do.

We have received the following telegram: "The Socialist and Republican Congress of working men assembled at Chatelet, to-day (Dec. 4th) resolved, by 35 against 17 votes, that a general strike should be commenced immediately." V. D.



## ITALY.

The strike of the silk weavers of Varese has brought some slight advantages to the workers. The principal firms have granted the small increase of 1½d. to 2d. per working day, which will be in the future 10½ hours. Fines are to be restricted to cases of wilful damage to the materials and the machinery. When the strike came to an end in Varese, it spread all over the province and town of Como. More than 4,000 silk-weavers, men and women, resolved at two enthusiastic meetings held in Como on the 18th and 19th of November, to strike for an increase of wages. The resolution arrived at shows how far these wages have gone down during the last few years; it demands the revival of the tariff of 1883, for the workers in both town and country. As an answer, the employers offered a general reduction of 10 per cent. of the tariff in question, and on the refusal on the part of the workers a board of arbitration was formed, which consisted of ten employers and ten workers, presided over by the mayor. Finally, a new tariff was drawn up and approved of by both parties, which forms a compromise between the tariff of 1883 and the present starvation wages. Our comrades of Milano, who rightly feared that the workers would be cheated out of their original position, tried to induce them to take a firmer stand against the doubtful kindness of the mayor and the obstinate spirit of the employers, but failed.

A strike of the tram-conductors of Bologna has ended in the defeat of the men, who had to submit to the conditions of the directors. The supposed ringleaders of the strike were refused re-admission to service.

A short strike of the cab-drivers of Genoa was more fortunate, the men having succeeded in some points.

The journeymen bakers of Venezia, who struck work on the 24th of November, have very little chance of carrying their points. They are not well organised, have no money, and are interfered with by the government, who have sent military bakers to take the place of the strikers, all of course to illustrate the principle of non-interference in economical matters!

In Parliament, many measures have been passed which have a direct bearing on the labour movement, as for instance, the law of public security, containing the organisation of the police, on whom it confers the power of restricting the freedom of speech, and of placing under police supervision suspicious characters. Working-men are in future saddled with a little book, a sort of passport, that is to show their movements, and will—in spite of all the protests to the contrary on the part of the government—be used to mark out the black sheep amongst them. Comrade Costa made a hopeless stand against all these reactionary proposals, much to the dismay of Signor Crispi, who on one occasion furiously retorted to Costa's protest: "We know you, we know you well. You have words, words, empty words, but no deeds." This is indeed a true and humiliating reminder to the whole Labour party, but becomes in Parliament and from the mouth of a prime minister a most vile and despicable provocation. It seems, however, as if Signor Crispi would not have it all his own perfidious way in matters of foreign policy. His vain-glorious alliance with Germany and Austria is ruining the country with taxation, and is bound to draw it into a disgraceful war with the French Republic. Hence it meets with a very strong resistance from the whole nation. Everywhere peace societies are formed. The working-men are going ahead. Independently from and unlike the middle-class combinations, they mean business. At a mass meeting in Milano, 46 labour societies have sent forth a manifesto against national wars. "The enemies we have to fight," they say in it, "are ignorance, injustice, and misery. Those who speak of national honour and dignity remind one of the *Pelagra*. This fell disease is brought on by chronic starvation through the exclusive use of *polenta* (Indian corn-cake) among the Italian peasantry." They further point to the constantly increasing emigration, the wholesale exodus of poverty-stricken people flying from their native soil. "If," they exclaim in conclusion, "Italy has a mission amongst the nations, it must be that of peace and humanity!"

H. SCH.

## CIGAR MACHINES IN ENGLAND.

I HAD occasion to comment on this subject some time ago in *Commonweal*, in order to show that in all probability machinery in this trade will, before long, nearly supplant manual labour. Many still entertain the belief that machine work will never be successful in this trade. A circular, however, has just been issued which bids fair to disappoint these sanguine workmen. I will just give sufficient extract from it to show how these machines are being developed, without advertising the firm who supplies them:—

"... It is of interest though to know that this will not be achieved at the expense of the workers, since the machines are so happily devised as to bring relief not only to manufacturers, the trader and consumer, but provide in many ways a vastly enlarged field for the employment of manual labour as well, especially for females (!) . . . To show the advantages of these machines over hand labour, we will suppose 10,000 cigars are to be covered and finished daily, the bunches being prepared already in forms, giving every advantage to skilled labour, a clever hand-maker may turn out 400 cigars per day, accordingly 25 skilled workmen would be required to do the work. To accomplish this, two sets of the improved cigar machines worked by six hands would suffice. The immense saving in wages of 25 skilled cigar makers, as compared with those paid to the more or less ordinary workers employed in the machine, we leave to the consideration of manufacturers having to depend necessarily more or less upon the condition of labour ruling in the various countries they live in. In order to put the advantages derived from the improvements in the proper light, it should be borne in mind that the machines have been worked up to the present moment advantageously without the said improvements, in both France and the United States of America. Consequently, the product of the machines being at the present juncture at least doubled, and the last shred of skilled labour done away with, they ensure the manufacturer an enviable independence."

The audacity of the firm who supply these machines becomes apparent on reading the circular, which pretends to benefit the workers by the introduction of them. But they would become a boon to the workers providing that they were the acknowledged property of the workers of the country; but while they remain in the hands of a few monopolists, who will ever use the machines to grind profit for themselves, they will grind out the lives of the workers in the process.

H. DAVIS.

**Notice.**—All letters on League business, except those intended for Editors of *Commonweal*, to be addressed to me. No other person is authorised to sign any official communication.

FRANK KITZ, Secretary.

## THE ONE THOUGHT.

ALEXANDER PETÖFI (Magyar poet of 1848).

ONE thought lies heavy on my heart,  
One only thought—that I  
On the soft bed of indolence  
May pass away and die,  
May fade, as slowly fades the flower,  
When wanes its little day;  
A beauteous, but a useless life,  
To lead and then decay.  
May pale as pales the flickering light  
Of Morning's latest star,  
When comes the Day God from the East  
In his triumphant car.  
Great Father, grant this may not be;  
Let not thy Magyar name  
Be linked with such a fate as this,  
With such a death of shame;  
A rock torn from a mountain brow,  
A storm-uprooted tree,  
A lightning struck and blasted tree,—  
No, rather let it be  
A death where meets the fettered race  
Tired with its galling chain,  
In mustered rank and serried line  
Upon the battle plain;  
With Red Flag flashing to the breeze  
Its characters of gold,  
The sacred signal there inscribed  
For despots to behold;  
The signal that sends far and wide  
The summons to be free,  
To East, to West, to North, to South,  
For the Worlds Liberty.  
There would I fight the glorious fight,  
There in my heart's blood lie,  
And battling in a glorious Cause,  
Be well content to die.

## CORRESPONDENCE.

## "ANARCHISM."

On Sunday evening, the following resolution was passed:—"That the Bermondsey Branch of the S.D.F. regrets that most of the prominent members of the Federation seem to have practically boycotted the noble wife of the heroic Anarchist Parsons, who has lately visited this country; and they utterly deprecate the latter portion of the last "Tell Tale Straw" on page 4 of *Justice*, Dec. 1st, which confounds the anarchism of the present system with the noble Cause for which Parsons and his brave comrades have died, and for which some of them are now suffering imprisonment; and they wish to state that this is not the view held by Social Democrats generally."

—Yours fraternally,

THOMAS SMALLWOOD.

592, Old Kent Road, Bermondsey, S.E.

## THE SOCIALIST LEAGUE.

OFFICES: 13 FARRINGDON ROAD, E.C.

**Executive.**—At the meeting of Council on Monday, it was resolved that none but members will be admitted to sittings of Council, and that the members be asked by steward to produce their cards.

## CHICAGO MARTYRS COMMEMORATION FUND.

Already acknowledged—£31 17s. 2½d. Received—Proceeds of Concert at Communist Club, 49, Tottenham Street, £2 6s. 4d.; collection at South Place, £1 11s. 8½d.; profit on literature at South Place, 7s. 2½d. Total, £36 2s. 5½d.

J. LANE, Treasurer.

## REPORTS.

CLERKENWELL.—On Sunday, Dec. 2, successful "social" evening held by members and friends. 2s. 6d. collected.—B.

FULHAM.—Tuesday evening, back of Walham Green Church, Bullock, Beasley, and Tochatti spoke to good meeting. Sunday morning, opposite Railway Station, Leonard Hall and Bullock, and A. K. Donald (Labour Union) spoke. In rooms at 8.30, F. Verinder (G.S.M.) lectured on "A Churchman's Plea for Free Schools." Questions and discussion followed.—S. B. G.

HAMMERSMITH.—Latimer Road on Sunday morning at 11.30, usual meeting; good number mustered. Choir sang several songs; Astbury, Davies, Lynes, and Maughan were speakers; well received. Good sale of *Weal*. Weltje Road at 11.30, meeting opened by J. Tochatti; Catterson Smith followed. Starch Green good meeting at 8 o'clock, Mordhurst and Davies speaking, making a great impression on the Radicals, who requested them to come again. Weltje Road at 7 o'clock, meeting held by Lyne, L. Hall, C. Smith, and Tochatti. Choir sang "No Master"; good sale of *Weal*; altogether a most successful meeting.

ABERDEEN.—No open-air meeting on Saturday night owing to wind and rain. At indoor meeting on 26th ult., Barrow delivered lecture on "Society as it is, and as it might be," to good audience.

GLASGOW.—Sunday no meeting at 2.30 on Jail Square owing to rain. At 5.30, Downie, Joe Burgoyne, and Glasier spoke at Paisley Road. We have started taking collections at the latter place for propaganda. The new departure has not proved an extraordinary success. Last Sunday we got 9d.; the Sunday before, 1s. Scotchmen will sacrifice their lives much readier than their purses for their convictions.

IPSWICH.—Thursday Nov. 29, Read lectured in Pioneer Hall on "Co-operation." Good discussion followed; Creed in chair. Sunday, A. Spink lectured upon "What is Home Rule?" H. Brown in chair; good discussion.—J. T.

NORWICH.—Thursday, Mowbray continued his series of lectures on "Universal History." On Sunday, in Market Place, our usual open-air meeting addressed by Mowbray. At Gordon Hall, Mowbray delivered a very interesting address upon "The Philosophy of Anarchism."

LECTURE DIARY.

LONDON.

**Bloomsbury.**—This Branch is now actively working. Socialists resident in this locality should send their names in at once to 13 Farringdon Road.

**Camberwell Green.**—3, Datchelor Place, Church St. Meeting next Monday at 7.30 p.m.

**Clerkenwell.**—Hall of the Socialist League, 13 Farringdon Road, E.C. Sunday December 9, at 7 p.m., Special Business Meeting. At 8.30, a Lecture.

**Fulham.**—8 Effie Road, Walham Green. Committee meetings are held on Sunday evenings at 7 o'clock sharp. All members are earnestly requested to attend. Sunday December 9, at 8 p.m., J. Macdonald, "Practical Socialism."

**Hackney.**—Secretary, E. Lefevre, 14 Goldsmiths Sq., Goldsmiths Row, Hackney Road. The next meeting of members will be held at 28 Percy Terrace, Victoria Road, Hackney Wick, on Sunday Dec. 9, at 5.30 p.m. All members are requested to attend.

**Hammersmith.**—Kelmescott House, Upper Mall, W. Sunday December 9, at 8 p.m., A. W. Thompson, "The Peasants' War." Wednesday Dec. 12, at 8 p.m., William Morris, "The Future of the Middle Classes."

**Hoxton.**—12, Basing Place, Kingsland Rd. Business meetings of this branch are held every Friday evening at 9 o'clock.

**London Fields.**—All communications, etc., to Mrs. G. G. Schack, 26 Cawley Road, South Hackney.

**Merton.**—Club-house, 3 Clare Villas, Merton Road, Singlegate. Lecture on Sunday evenings at 8.30.

**Mile-end and Bethnal Green.**—95 Boston St., Hackney Road.

**North London.**—Secretary, Nelly Parker. Business meetings held on Friday evenings at 6 Windmill St., Tottenham Court Road, after open-air meeting at Ossulton Street.

**Walworth and Camberwell.**—C. Henze, 41 Bolton St., Thomas Street, Kennington Park, S.E.

**Whitechapel and St. Georges in the East.**—Meets at the International Club, 40 Berner Street, Commercial Road, on Saturdays at 7.30 p.m.

PROVINCES.

**Aberdeen** (Scottish Section).—Secretary, P. Barron, 14 Ann Street. Branch meets in Oddfellows Hall on Monday nights at 8. Choir practice at 46 Marischal Street on Thursday evenings at 8.

**Bristol.**—Read's Coffee Tavern, Ivegat. Meets Tuesdays at 8.

**Carnoustie** (Scottish Section: Forfarshire).—Meeting every Tuesday, at 8 p.m., in the Carnoustie Restaurant. Samuel Wilson, Secy.

**Dumfries** (Scot. Sect.).—Meetings every Sunday in the Trades Hall, opposite Tay Bridge Station.

**Edinburgh** (Scottish Land and Labour League).—35 George IV. Bridge. Meetings for Discussion, Thursdays at 8 p.m.

**Glasgow** (Scot Sect).—J. Walker, 184 Glendinning Terrace, secy.

**Gallatoun and Dysart** (Scottish Section: Fife).—Meet every Tuesday at 7 p.m. in Gallatoun Public School. Secretary, A. Paterson, 152 Rosslyn St.

**Glasgow.**—84 John Street. Reading-room (Draughts, Chess, etc.) open 10 a.m. till 10 p.m. daily. Weekly meeting of members on Thursday evenings at 8. French Class meets every Sunday at 11.

**Ipswich.**—Pioneer Hall, Tacket Street. Meets on Sunday evenings. Members are requested to turn up on Monday at 7 p.m. sharp.

**Kilmarnock.**—Secretary, H. McGill, 22 Gilmore St. Branch meets on every alternate Tuesday.

**Leeds.**—Clarendon Buildings, Victoria Rd. and Front Row. Open every evening. Business meeting Saturdays at 8 p.m. communications to T. Paylor, 11 Sheldon Street, Holbeck, Leeds. Sunday Dec. 9, 7.30, T. Paylor, "What we Want, and How to Get It." 16th, T. Maguire, "Leeds and its Inhabitants" (with lime-light illustrations).

**Leicester.**—Hosiery Union Offices, 11a Millstone Lane. Fridays at 8 p.m.

**Norwich.**—Sunday, at 8, Gordon Hall. Monday, at 8, Meeting in Gordon Hall. Tuesday, at 8.30, Members' Meeting. Wednesday, at 8, Educational Class—subject, "International Revolutionary Socialism." Thursday, at 8, Lecture in the Gordon Hall by comrade Mowbray, subject "Life and Times of Edward III.," tickets 1d. each.

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

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

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

All persons who sympathise with the views of the Socialist League are earnestly invited to communicate with the above addresses, and if possible help us in preparing for the birth of a true society, based on equality, brotherhood, and freedom for all.

OPEN-AIR PROPAGANDA.

SUNDAY 9.

11.30...Latimer Road Station...Hammersmith Branch  
11.30...Mitcham Fair Green...Turner  
11.30...Regent's Park...Parker  
11.30...Walham Green, opp. Station...The Branch  
11.30...Weltje Rd., Ravenscourt Pk...Hammersmith  
3.30...Hyde Park...Nicoll  
7.30...Broad Street, Soho...Brookes  
7.30...Clerkenwell Green...Nicoll

**Tuesday.**  
8.30...Fulham—back of Walham Green Ch. ...Branch

**Friday.**  
7.30...Euston Rd.—Ossulton Street .....Cores

EAST END.  
SUNDAY 9.  
Leman Street, Shadwell 11 ...Nicoll.

FRIDAY.  
Philpot St., Commercial Rd. 8.30...Kitz & Parker.

PROVINCES.  
**Aberdeen.**—Saturday: Castle Street, at 7 p.m.  
**Glasgow.**—Sunday: Glasgow Green at 2 p.m.; Paisley Road at 5.30.  
**Ipswich.**—  
Sproughton, Wednesday evening.  
Westerfield, Thursday evening.  
Needham Market, Sunday morning and evening.  
**Leeds.**—Sunday: Hunslet Moor, at 11 a.m.; Vicar's Croft, at 7 p.m.  
**Norwich.**—Sunday: Market Place, at 11 and 3.  
St Catharine's Plain, Friday at 8.30 p.m.

PLUMSTEAD RADICAL CLUB, 58 Walmer Road.—Rev. S. D. Headlam. Sunday Dec. 9.

STOCKWELL.—Rev. S. D. Headlam, "Christian Socialism." Thursday, Dec. 13, at 8 p.m.

HAILSHAM, NATIONAL SCHOOL.—Mr. F. W. Crowther, "Lights and Shades; a Picture of Society." Monday Dec. 10.

ST. JOHN'S CHURCH, HAMMERSMITH.—Rev. F. L. Donaldson, M.A. (Special Sermon), "The State of Society." Sunday Dec. 9, at 5 p.m.

BERMONDSEY WORKING MEN'S INSTITUTE, Fort Rd.—Mr. H. W. Hill, "The Land Question for Townsfolk." Saturday Dec. 15, at 8 p.m.

CHARLTON LIBERAL CLUB, The Planes, Lower Rd., Charlton.—Mr. F. Verinder, "The Taxation of Ground Rents and Values." Friday Dec. 14.

CHELSEA BRANCH S.D.F., Pelham Rooms, Kimbolton Row, Fulham Road, S.W.—Sunday Dec. 9, at 8 p.m., Hubert Bland, "Nihilism."

STREATHAM LIBERAL CLUB, Broadway.—Rev. T. Hill, "The Elements of Liberalism and Conservatism in the Christian Religion." Tuesday Dec. 11, at 8.

The Mitcham Branch is about to be reconstituted. All desirous of helping in the work of the S. L. in and around Mitcham, Merton, and Streatham should communicate with comrade J. Campbell, 98 Wellfield Road, Streatham.

EAST-END PROPAGANDA COMMITTEE.—The discussion on Saturday evening, 8.30, at Berner Street Club, will be opened by W. E. Parker—subject, "Mrs. Parsons' Visit to England: What it has effected." All members should turn up.

LEICESTER.—A course of lectures on "Socialism, its Aims and Principles" is being delivered in Leicester Secular Hall. The third lecture will be delivered on Sunday Dec. 9 by William Clarke—subject, "The Industrial Aspect." Dec. 30: Sydney Olivier, "The Moral Aspect."

THE SOCIALIST CO-OPERATIVE FEDERATION.—The Committee will meet at the house of S. Oliver, 139 Trafalgar Street, Walworth Road, on Saturday Dec. 8 and Dec. 15, at 7.30 p.m., to receive subscriptions and enrol members. Friends in South London particularly requested to be present.

SOUTH LONDON.—Friends who are willing to form a Branch of the Socialist League in South London will please place themselves in communication with C. Henze, 41 Bolton Street, Thomas Street, Kennington Park, S.E., or by letter to H. Hopkins, 17 Gaisloch Road, Shenley Road, Peckham, S.E.

SOCIALIST LEAGUE LITERATURE.

Chants for Socialists. By William Morris. . 1d

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

The Commune of Paris. By E. Belfort Bax, Victor Dave, and William Morris. . 2d.

The Aims of Art. By Wm. Morris. Bijou edition, 3d.; Large paper, 6d.

The Rights of Labour according to John Ruskin. By Thomas Barclay. . 1d

The Tables Turned; or, Nupkins Awakened. A Socialist Interlude. By William Morris. In Wrapper . 4d.

The Manifesto of the Socialist League. Annotated by E. Belfort Bax and William Morris. An exposition of the principles on which the League is founded. . 1d.

Useful Work v. Useless Toil. By William Morris. . 1d.

"All for the Cause!" Song. Words by William Morris; Music by E. Belfort Bax. 4to, 4 pp. 6d. per dozen, 4s. 6d

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BOOKS FOR SALE.

History of American Socialisms. (Noyes). Quite new. 8s. 6d. (published at 15s.).

Life of William Lovett. New. 3s. 6d. (pub. 5s.).

Men of the Time. A useful Dictionary of Biography. 5s. (pub. 12s. 6d.).

Manual for Co-operators.

Co-operative Agriculture.

Hone's Ancient Mysteries.

Burke on the Evils of all State Governments. 1s., post free.

Secret Societies of the European Revolution. (Frost.) 2 vols., newly bound, 7s.

Volney's Ruins. 2s.

Corbett's Life and Grammar. New, 3s. 6s.

Work and Pay. (Levi.)

Four Civilisations of the World. (Wikoff.)

Fors Clavigera. (John Ruskin.) Unbound numbers early.

Wanderings in North and South Wales. (Roscoe.) 2 vols., neatly bound. Full of Engravings. 50s.

Harriet Martineau—History of England, 1800-1815. 1 vol. History of the Thirty Years' Peace, 1816-1846. 4 vols. 12s. 6d. (pub. 17s. 6d.)

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Country friends will be well advised to write for particulars. THOMAS SHORE, jun., 33 Newington Green Road, Balls Pond, London, N.

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# THE COMMONWEAL

The Official Journal of the  
**SOCIALIST LEAGUE.**

VOL. 4.—No. 153.

SATURDAY, DECEMBER 15, 1888.

WEEKLY; ONE PENNY.

## THE DIGNITY OF LABOUR.

THE respectable middle-class man who has managed to rise in the world, perhaps never assumes so characteristically philanthropic an attitude as when he stoops to expound, to his less favoured fellow-creatures, the moral and material advantages to be attained by a close attention to business. Whatsoever thy hand findeth to do, do it with thy might: that is the text upon which he will expend his most unctuous eloquence, dilating with infectious enthusiasm and pardonable pride on the pluck and resolution, the abstinence and thrift, which have landed him in his present position of superiority. At times, in the heat of his oratory, he seems to be wafted away on the wings of fancy out of his prosaic middle-class self to a good time coming, when the whole labouring population of the globe, by a titanic effort to embody in their tasks a double portion of kinetic, and simultaneously to reduce by one-half the quantity of foodstuff hitherto deemed more or less necessary to support the animal processes, shall have all risen in the world, all become the potent grave and reverend proprietors of family mansions in Bloomsbury and pews at the Foundling, and all hold railway stock, directorships, freedom of the city, and what not.

So beautiful a dream is this of an universal sleek bourgeois prosperity within reach of the meanest, that a humane man may well pause in the act of applying the pin of criticism to the bubble of a too fervid middle-class imagination. He will at least deal with this well-meaning gentleman with more tenderness than Mr. Matthew Arnold displayed when he riddled poor "Mrs. Gooch's Golden Rule" (or the divine commandment, *Be ye perfect*, done into British) with the shafts of his malicious mockery. "Ever remember, my dear Dan," that excellent mother would say each morning, as she tied the muffler round Daniel's neck before he started to his work, "ever remember that you should look forward to being one day manager of that concern." What is this but an individual application of the theory of our middle-class idealist, that everybody can, if he will, "get on," and that, in Napoleon's phrase, every private carries in his knapsack a marshal's baton?

We live, however, in an age of criticism, and the earnest enquirer will not allow himself to be turned out of the path of free research by the dread of current prejudice, however impregnable it may give itself out to be. In the first place, therefore, we will very gently ask our middle-class prophet, whether the life that seems to satisfy his aspirations, the life of broadcloth, politeness, and first-class season-tickets, the life summed up for ever by Dickens in the one word Podsnappery—whether this life is in truth so admirable and alluring as to entice outsiders in any number to attempt the pursuit of it? We exercise ourselves with extreme diffidence in these great matters, which are confessedly much too high for us; nevertheless, at the risk of exposing our plebeian inability to comprehend the higher joys revealed unto the bourgeois faithful, we would timidly enquire whether the life which finds its daily expression in "getting up at eight, shaving close at a quarter past, breakfasting at nine, going to the City at ten, coming home at half-past five, and dining at seven," may not fall somewhat short of an ideal existence, and in fact be a trifle dull?

Having thus eased our conscience of this painful matter, and thrown out the most delicate hints that there may possibly be something lacking in the middle-class conception of life, we will henceforth assume, for arguments' sake, that the daily existence of the well-to-do family man is a thing of such transcendent charm as necessarily to stimulate the envy of all beholders. We will imagine the lower orders struggling in a body for admission into the blessed company of those who live upon dividends; but here the serious difficulty presents itself that such a wholesale invasion into the profit-getting class is an economic impossibility, seeing that no class would be left, out of whose underpaid exertions dividends could any longer be derived, and the idea of a community in which every individual should bask in the "sweet simplicity of the Three Per Cents," is untenable save by such as cull their economics from the leaders of the respectable dailies. The miserable grain of truth in this monstrous bushel of fallacies, is that the individual worker, here and there, is by no means unlikely, by servility, abstemiousness, and meanness, to better his individual position at his fellows' expense, and in some cases, by unremitting unscrupulous shrewdness, to help himself to a seat upon Commerce's Juggernaut-car, which grinds in its pitiless advance the bones of those

who should have been his comrades. But for the majority of the victims, release by this individualist, devil-take-the-hindmost method is, manifestly, quite impossible.

Now, a plain man, quite innocent of the metaphysical profundities of the Smilesian Philosophy, would probably expect the bourgeois apologist to be a little bit staggered by the very pretty discrepancy between his theory and plain facts when viewed on a larger scale. He would expect him to have some difficulty in explaining, on the basis of his dogma that "hard work pays best," the spectacle of a whole class manifestly useless, and at the same time enjoying every luxury, side by side with another class correspondingly useful, and deprived of everything except what will enable them to exist in slavery. He would imagine that the comparison as to social usefulness, say, of the sallow and stunted letter-carrier at Clanricarde's door in the Albany with the high-toned nobleman breakfasting within, would present points of considerable awkwardness to one whose object was to persuade us that it is hard work, after all, that "pays" in this world.

Well, anyone who expected such embarrassment to overtake our dear friend would only meet with disappointment. When hard pressed by a threatening array of economic certainties, there is one stronghold into which the bourgeois retires, imperturbably calm. He entrenches himself in the position that after all the material results of toil are far outweighed in importance by the moral, and that questions of mere bread and cheese must give place to considerations of ethical culture. He will maintain, at some length, that the working classes are, if they would but think so, highly fortunate in being furnished (by beneficent employers) with such ample opportunities for exercise of those faculties which otherwise would be only misdirected and abused. Human nature, says he, is so constituted that as soon as the increase of leisure was granted for which a few ne'er-do-weels are clamouring, always have clamoured, and always will clamour, the statistics of intemperance and crime would convince us of our mistake. No, Sir, let people push their own way in the world: everything goes to prove that the average man can push his way in the world pretty well. Of course there are a few who are stupid enough to have been born into this competitive world more or less ill-provided with pertinacity, more or less below the average. Well, they will have to go to the wall; but of course that's all they have a right to expect. The fittest survive, ahem! and it's perfectly fair—to the average man. As for people who pretend that the lower classes are really worked beyond their strength, they know nothing about it. Such persons are simply incapable of appreciating the moral support which the classes in question may, if not actually do, derive from the consciousness of their own social value. They evidently under-estimate the inward compensation bestowed, by approving Providence, upon labour which has unfortunately missed an adequate material return. It is truly deplorable that so many of the labouring class, owing to defective culture, are so miserably sordid in the view they take of their position, and are so much more anxious to discuss the distribution of wealth or the utility of landlords than that which should more nearly "come home to their businesses and bosoms"—the Dignity of Labour.

These counsels of well-nigh stoical perfection are pitched, we allow, in a high and dignified strain, but mere carnal considerations have an obstinate habit of declining to vanish at the bidding of rhetoric, and we have the ghost of a doubt, which our philosopher's glowing periods cannot entirely dispel, that the actual worker of flesh and blood, with aching back and empty belly, will probably, like the deaf adder that stoppeth her ears, refuse to hear the voice of this charmer, charm he never so wisely. Sad that the worker's lack of cultured interest in higher things leaves him so meanly engrossed with his bodily wants. Sad, but true; he feels the need of more rest and better livelihood, and is shockingly indifferent to the moral self-satisfaction which is his due. He asks, in a word, for bread; the bourgeois, out of the fulness of his heart, offers him a stone.

Through the hopeless jungle of apology into which the respectable plunderer has decamped with his ill-gotten booty, we will not pursue him further. In the miserable web of hypocrisy and fraud which he has spread for his professional purposes, let us leave him,—for the present. Let him make the most of the ignorance of his victims, of their fatal disunion, their impossible hopes of compensation in the sky for privation "here below," or the awful apathy which tells of their



despair. Let him hug himself a little longer at the smooth prophesying of his faithful henchmen, the professors of political economy and the oracular scribes of the press, and rejoice while he may in the security of his burglar-proof safes. What does it matter? Neither the spiritual consolation which he purveys at a cheap rate for the beggaring of the disinherited masses, nor the "charity" dust flung in their eyes, nor the mercenary bludgeons with which he is so ready to break their heads upon the first symptoms of discontent, can stave off for long the inevitable day. The Competition which has agreed so well with him, and which he therefore insists on cramming down our throats, whether we relish it or no, is fast losing its savour, and nobody seems to know wherewith it may be seasoned. The very ripeness of Individualism is turning to its destined corruption before our eyes. The results of monopoly are abundantly visible in the increasing severity of the struggle for existence in the midst of increasing wealth; the strange combination of insecurity and monotony in every occupation; and the waste and degradation of human faculties which it involves.

Even for the monopolists themselves life is assuredly not an unmixed joy, since in the pursuit of gain they must needs sacrifice the natural development of their bent for truth, fairness, and brotherliness in acquiring those habits of shrewd selfishness which are the weapons of the business man. The pleasure of gambling is doubtless intense, but, even apart from the dread of ruin, it can hardly be satisfying. But if such be the lot of the slave-drivers, what must be the lot of the slave? We know well enough what it is. Mean taskwork, repeating itself with nauseous sameness, the stifling of every human instinct in the foul atmosphere of hopeless ugliness, the slavish dread of the master's frown, the jealous distrust of our own workmates, the sneers of our "betters" who owe to our unpaid labour even the charity they begrudge us, the risk of starvation through ill-health, freaks of "trade," or the rivalry of machines; and ever looming at the end of the dreary vista, the workhouse and the pauper's grave.

It cannot last very long. To those who can read the signs of the times (and they grow daily clearer), the social edifice based upon monopoly in the means of livelihood begins to give unmistakable warning of its speedy downfall. Nothing can save it; but much mischief and confusion may be averted by careful demolition before the whole structure comes rattling about our ears. The old foundations, resting upon the treacherous soil of privilege, must be removed, and the new building planted firmly and for ever upon its immovable base, the bed-rock of Equality.

In the true Society which then, and not till then, shall spring to light, the Dignity of Labour will lose its efficacy as a hocus-pocus wherewith the workers may be conveniently mesmerised into unconsciousness of their misery, and will gain such a reality instead as by no means enters into the hopes of the officious gentlemen who rejoice in the rôle of patrons of Labour. Common ownership of the necessities of industry, by establishing practical equality in production and distribution, and thus abolishing at one stroke both the pattern of idleness set by the rich, and also the loathing of work forced into the poor by the hopeless futility and monotony of their burdens, will leave to every man room for a pleasure and an interest in his work which are necessarily lacking to the mass of the toilers of to-day. In such a society it will be no longer possible that homage should be lavished upon an individual, whose sole claim to the gratitude of his fellow-creatures consists in the fact that he consumes without producing. Such useless mouths, if indeed they persist, will then appear what they are in truth, the "enemies of society." "A day," says Carlyle, "is ever struggling forward, a day will arrive in some approximate degree, when he who has no work to do, by whatever name he may be named, will not find it good to show himself in our quarter of the solar system." That is one aspect of the day for which Socialists are striving. May it soon be here! C. W. BECKETT.

**AN APPEAL FOR THE CHAINMAKERS.**—Cuninghame Graham, who has been making himself once more "offensive" to respectable people in defence of the oppressed, replied to official folly in the following letter:—"To the Editor of the *Pall Mall Gazette*: Sir,—I see that Mr. Smith, in answer to Mr. Conybeare, asserts that the misery of the Cradley Heath chainmakers is due to the fact that "their industry is passing through an economic change." Now, a good mouth-worn platitude no doubt carries weight in the House of Commons. Luckily, however, outside of those "sacred precincts" it is soon discounted. The nailmakers are passing through an economic change, as machinery is driving them out of the field. This is not the case with the chainmakers. Small chains cannot be (or are not) made by machinery. The trade is in precisely the same condition as it was forty years ago. What affects the chainmakers is the scandalous system of sweating (fogging they call it) to which they are subjected. The small chains they make have to pay several profits before they reach the consumers' hands. A dog-chain that costs the ultimate purchaser 1s. 6d. or 2s. is made at Cradley for a few pence. The backboard chain for a car, that is sold retail for 5s., is made for 6d. or 7d. Thus it is easy to perceive that a whole pack of flesh flies are supported by the chainmakers. Hence also no plan can be successful to relieve them that does not make provision for agents, both to buy the raw material and to sell the chains when made. If "I were Government," as the Spanish peasants say, I would make no scruple to pass a short Act in order to get at the middleman in Cradley Heath and the adjoining district under the Conspiracy Laws. Let me point out that the Government has all chains tested when made in order to save life from accidents. Why should they not equally endeavour to protect the lives of those who at Cradley forge a lifelong chain? I know that the habit of striking attitudes, quoting platitudes, &c., is a catching one, and may easily spread from Home Secretary to First Lord, but why should Government money be freely spent to relieve the victims of pseudo "economic changes" in the Highlands and in Ireland, and be refused to the Black Country?—I am, Sir, your obedient servant, R. B. Cuninghame Graham.

## LETTER FROM AMERICA.

The annual reports of the superintendents of the poor of New York County for the year 1888, closing November 1st, are published. The reports deal only with paupers. The figures indicate a considerable increase of pauperism in New York City.

	1887.	1888.
Paupers in department on November 1	9,028	9,467
Paupers received	38,972	42,064
Paupers discharged	26,414	28,631
Children born in Poorhouse	511	434
Number of deaths	3,611	3,919
Lunatics in the department	4,260	4,660
Blind persons in the department	—	98
Idiots in the department	—	305
Native-born paupers supported	14,074	14,710
Foreign-born paupers supported	24,898	27,354
Male paupers supported	—	24,831
Female paupers supported	—	17,233
Received outdoor relief	—	7,607
Total number supported and relieved	—	49,671

The expenditure in connection with this service included 50,000 dollars for outdoor relief and aggregated 1,460,484 dols., as against 1,032,683 dols. in 1887.

The Charities Organisation Society in New York supported during last year about 60,000, and it may be safely estimated that about an equal number of human beings were kept above water through private help of relations, friends, etc. This shows that in a city numbering only a million and a half inhabitants, nearly 200,000 people are without "visible means of subsistence." Even in over-populated Europe matters could hardly be worse.

The Standard Sugar Refinery in Boston, Mass., will be closed shortly by decree of the Sugar Trust. "The supply must be regulated according to the demand. All for the good of the public, don-cher-know."

The Bureau of Statistics in Washington, D.C., has published the summary statements of the imports and exports of the United States for the first three quarters of this year ending September 30th. It appears that the exports have considerably decreased and the imports increased. Here are the figures:

EXPORTS for 1887,	481,464,674	dollars
1888,	445,355,256	"
Decrease,	36,109,418	"
IMPORTS for 1888,	544,511,634	dollars
1887,	535,824,664	"
Increase,	8,686,970	"
Excess of imports over exports, 1888,	99,156,378	dollars.

If these figures do not prove a most unhealthy state of trade, I know not what does.

I believe the following case is only possible in the "land of the free and the home of the brave." Charles T. Parsons keeps an employment bureau in Northampton, Mass. He gains his living by dealing in "foreign pauper labour." Every week Parsons makes a trip to New York City, where he engages about forty or fifty of the newly-arrived emigrants. He takes them to Northampton and there sells them to the farmers of the neighbourhood. For his trouble he gets about fifty dollars for each man. The poor unfortunate men, glad to get employment so quickly, are made to sign the following "agreement":—

"NEW YORK, ———, 188—

"In consideration of the employment furnished us by Charles T. Parsons, of Northampton, Mass., not over six hours' ride distant, we agree to work for him, or where he places us under this contract, for ——— months, at ——— dollars, less expenses ——— dollars, payment to be made at end of time, excepting what we need for necessaries. Understanding further, baggage to be holden for all money advanced, and if we fail to fulfil this contract we do not expect our wages. The said employer also agrees if we do well at the expiration of our time to give us extra ——— dollars.

"(Signed) \_\_\_\_\_

"(Witness) Interpreter \_\_\_\_\_

The men are promised regular wages, but the charges made against them by the farmers for board, lodging, cloth, generally cover more than the amount they have earned. On the 21st inst. Parsons caused a sensation. Here is the story as it is told by the capitalistic press:—

"At nine o'clock this morning Parsons drove to Holyoke, Mass., with one of these pauper immigrants in a wagon. His victim was bound hands and feet with a six-foot chain, which was fastened by a big padlock to the seat of the wagon. Parsons pulled up in a side street, and hitching his horse to a post, left his slave secured there while he went, it is said, to seek a purchaser. At ten o'clock Parsons had not returned, and as the mercury was only a few degrees above zero, the slave was shivering from cold. His condition was noticed and somebody went over to the wagon to invite him indoors. The tears were frozen on his face. A pair of overalls, a shirt, a coat, and an old pair of shoes made up his dress. It was then found that he was chained, and the rumour quickly went around that he was one of Parsons' slaves. Chief of Police Whitcomb and an officer were quickly on the scene, and the Chief was in the act of smashing the seat of the wagon when Parsons appeared and said, 'Hold on, I will unlock it,' at the same time taking a key from his pocket and unlocking the padlock that secured the chain. 'Are you Parsons?' enquired the Chief. 'Yes, sir,' said Parsons. 'Did you chain this man?' further enquired the officer. 'Yes, sir, I did. He is mine,' answered Parsons."

He was taken to the court-house, and the law-and-order people had difficulty in preventing the assembled crowd from lynching Parsons. A clear case was proven against him, and he was bound over to appear before the Grand Jury on the 17th of December in the sum of 2,000 dollars. The poor unfortunate Pole told the following story:—

"I landed in New York from Poland on the fourth day of last May. Next day I was hired by an agent of Parsons and taken with others to Northampton. In a few days I was hired out to a farmer on contract. I was to get 12½ dollars a month. I worked there until a few weeks ago, and never got a cent in wages. About two weeks ago I ran away. I wandered about and didn't know where I was going, as I didn't know the country. I finally found myself in Northampton, where I applied at the police-station for lodging. I stayed there over night, and the next morning Parsons came and took me away. I worked around Parsons' farm for a week. Then I asked for some money, and he struck me with his clenched fist and told me to go on and work. Yesterday morning early he told me to get into the wagon. When I was in the wagon he grabbed me and put a

chain around my feet. Then he drove to this town, stopping in four or five places on the way. I didn't know where he was bringing me to or what he was going to do with me."

Parsons is the same man who caused a sensation four years ago by making ice-water for his labourers with the ice that was packed around the dead body of his wife in a casket awaiting burial. He is a regular church-goer.

On the 17th inst., the Monongahela River coal operators at their meeting in Pittsburg decided to shut down the mines of the district for an indefinite period. This is done simply for the purpose of reducing the production and thereby increasing the price. Seven thousand miners, not to talk of a very large number of mine labourers and river men engaged in transporting the coal, are, through this arbitrary action on the part of the bosses, thrown out of employment; and this happens to them just at the beginning of a hard winter! Just think of it you labouring men! But things will be worse still shortly. Election is over now, and the votes of the voting cattle are no longer needed. The employers are preparing a general onslaught on organised labour. I believe we are just entering on the most trying period organised labour has ever been subjected to. The action of the Monongahela operators has only been a feeler, and more than likely it will be followed by an almost general lock-out or suspension of work throughout the entire anthracite and bituminous coal mining districts of the State of Pennsylvania. During the months immediately preceding the Presidential election miners had steady work; but no sooner was the result of the farce known than matters changed. In the Wyoming district of the anthracite fields, the men are at present working generally on three-quarter time; in the Schuylkill and Lehigh regions, it is from one-half to three-quarters time, and after December 1st it is said it will be even less. And all this is done in spite of the fact that the coal business has never been more prosperous. "How long, O Lord, how long will the toilers stand such barbaric treatment?"

The enemies of the Knights of Labour are victorious. Powderly has been re-elected as General Master Workman, and what is more, his power has been increased to absolute autocracy. The General Assembly now sitting at Indianapolis simply says ditto to all his propositions. Asked whether he would consent to another nomination, he made the following declaration: "I will accept the position of General Master Workman again under certain conditions. They are that the opposition party shall have nothing to do with the administration of the affairs of the order, and that I shall be given colleagues in the general officers men who are thoroughly in sympathy with me. I will appoint the officers. On these considerations and on no other will I consent to take another term." The Committee on law suggested that the General Master Workman, after his election, present to the General Assembly the names of eight delegates, and from these names the four members composing the Executive Board should be selected by the Assembly; that the General Master Workman is given power to fill all vacancies among the general officers, even to members of the Executive Board. This report was adopted, and thereby the delegates inaugurated the "one man power." Powderly and the Executive Board were also given the power to expel members without trial and without the right of appeal. It is pretty sure he will soon ride the order to destruction. The miners are already threatening to leave the organisation in a body. Master Workman Lewis, of the National District No. 135 (the United Miners), made this remark to a reporter:—

"I believe that National District Assembly No. 135 will leave the order in a body. In the position in which I stand, and the power which has been given the General Executive Board to expel without trial and without the right of appeal, my hold would not be safe for three months. If I remained in the order I would run chances of having my character blackened by being unjustly expelled. The question of whether we will remain in the order or not will be settled at Columbus, Ohio, December 5, at the meeting of the Miners' Federation."

The Committee on finance proposed that the salary for the General Master Workman should remain at its previous figure, that is, 5,000 dollars a-year; that the secretary-treasurer should receive 2,000 dols. a-year, and that the members of the Executive Board be paid 4 dols. a day besides expenses. An amendment was offered fixing the salaries of Powderly and the secretary-treasurer at 1,500 dols. a-year. The amendment was lost by a vote of 88 to 52. Powderly was re-elected by a vote of 114 to 28. After his election he presented eight names, every one belonging to one of his creatures, from which the Assembly chose the four members composing the Executive Board. It may be truly said that the general officers of the Knights of Labour have solved the social problem—for themselves. It seems that some Belgian workers are deceived about the Knights of Labour, and steps should be taken at once to inform them of the real condition of affairs, that is, that the organisation simply exists to enrich half-a-dozen individuals. M. A. Delwarte, the delegate from the Belgian State Assembly, presented his report at Indianapolis to the Assembly. The report spoke of the great good being accomplished by the Assembly in Belgium, and of the influence it was beginning to wield in political and labour circles, and in the Courts of Arbitration there.

Newark, N.J., November 26, 1888.

HENRY F. CHARLES.

**METROPOLITAN PAUPERISM.**—The weekly return of metropolitan pauperism shows that the total number of paupers relieved in the third week of last month was 98,344, of whom 59,202 were indoor and 39,142 outdoor paupers. The total number relieved shows an increase of 1,530 over the corresponding week of last year, 4,334 over 1886, and 5,634 over 1885. The total number of vagrants relieved on the last day of the week was 1,237, of whom 1,040 were men, 173 women, and 24 children under sixteen.

**"OBSTRUCTION."**—Twelve months ago all the Tories and Unionists, and not a few of the weak-kneed Liberals, were assuring us every morning and night that there was no need for open-air meetings in London excepting in the parks. To hold public political meetings in public thoroughfares was declared to be an outrage on civilisation, and quite incompatible with the necessities of traffic. This doctrine was laid down with such immense emphasis in order to justify the claim of the Government to harry the people out of Trafalgar Square. What is it that we see to-day? An election is in progress in Holborn, and in this morning's papers we have a list of no fewer than seven open-air meetings to be held on behalf of the Conservative candidate, all in public thoroughfares, and all of which will be addressed by leading members of the Conservative party, beginning with the Prime Minister's son, Lord Cranborne, who will speak at South Crescent, Store Street. Surely there could not be a more crushing *reductio ad absurdum* of the daily outcry of last year than is supplied by the list of to-day's meetings.—*Pall Mall Gazette*, Nov. 27, 1888.

## "THE PRESENT CRISIS."

JAMES RUSSELL LOWELL, 1854.

When a deed is done for Freedom, through the broad earth's aching breast  
Runs a thrill of joy prophetic, trembling on from east to west,  
And the slave, where'er he cowers, feels the soul within him climb  
To the awful verge of manhood, as the energy sublime  
Of a century bursts full-blossomed on the thorny stem of Time.

Through the walls of hut and palace shoots the instantaneous throes,  
When the travail of the Ages wrings earth's systems to and fro;  
At the birth of each new Era, with a recognising start,  
Nation wildly looks at nation, standing with mute lips apart,  
And glad Truth's yet mightier man-child leaps beneath the Future's heart.

So the Evil's triumph sendeth, with a terror and a chill,  
Under continent to continent, the sense of coming ill,  
And the slave, where'er he cowers, feels his sympathies with God  
In hot tear-drops ebbing earthward, to be drunk up by the sod,  
Till a corpse crawls round unburied, delving in the nobler clod.

For mankind are one in spirit, and an instinct bears along,  
Round the earth's electric circle, the swift flash of right or wrong;  
Whether conscious or unconscious, yet Humanity's vast frame  
Through its ocean-sundered fibres feels the gush of joy or shame;—  
In the gain or loss of one race all the rest have equal claim.

Once to every man and nation comes the moment to decide,  
In the strife of Truth with Falsehood, for the good or evil side;  
Some great cause, God's new Messiah, offering each the bloom or blight,  
Parts the goats upon the left hand, and the sheep upon the right,  
And the choice goes by forever 'twixt that darkness and that light.

Hast thou chosen, O my people, on whose party thou shalt stand,  
Ere the Doom from its worn sandals shakes the dust against our land?  
Though the cause of Evil prosper, yet 'tis Truth alone is strong,  
And, albeit she wander outcast now, I see around her throng  
Troops of beautiful tall angels, to enshield her from all wrong.

Backward look across the ages and the beacon-moments see,  
That, like peaks of some sunk continent, jut through Oblivion's sea;  
Not an ear in court or market for the low foreboding cry  
Of those Crises, God's stern winners, from whose feet earth's chaff must  
fly;  
Never shows the choice momentous till the judgment hath passed by.

Careless seems the great Avenger; history's pages but record  
One death-grapple in the darkness 'twixt old systems and the Word;  
Truth forever on the scaffold, Wrong forever on the throne,—  
Yet that scaffold sways the future, and, behind the dim unknown,  
Standeth God within the shadow, keeping watch above his own.

We see dimly in the Present what is small and what is great,  
Slow of faith, how weak an arm may turn the iron helm of fate,  
But the soul is still oracular; amid the market's din,  
List the ominous stern whisper from the Delphic cave within,—  
"They enslave their children's children who make compromise with sin."

Slavery, the earth-born Cyclops, fellest of the giant brood,  
Sons of brutish Force and Darkness, who have drenched the earth with  
blood,  
Famished in his self-made desert, blinded by our purer day,  
Gropes in yet unblasted regions for his miserable prey;—  
Shall we guide his gory fingers where our helpless children play?

Then to side with Truth is noble when we share her wretched crust,  
Ere her cause bring fame and profit, and 'tis prosperous to be just;  
Then it is the brave man chooses, while the coward stands aside,  
Doubting in his abject spirit, till his lord is crucified,  
And the multitude make virtue of the faith they had denied.

Count me o'er earth's chosen heroes,—they were souls that stood alone,  
While the men they agonised for hurled the contumelious stone,—  
Stood serene, and down the future saw the golden beam incline  
To the side of perfect justice, mastered by their faith divine,  
By one man's plain truth to manhood and to God's supreme design.

By the light of burning heretics Christ's bleeding feet I track,  
Toiling up new Calvaries ever with the cross that turns not back;  
And those mounts of anguish number how each generation learned  
One new word of that grand *Credo* which in prophet-hearts hath burned  
Since the first man stood God-conquered with his face to heaven upturned.

For Humanity sweeps onward: where to-day the martyr stands,  
On the morrow crouches Judas with the silver in his hands;  
Far in front the cross stands ready and the crackling fagots burn,  
While the hooting mob of yesterday in silent awe return  
To glean up the scattered ashes into History's golden urn.

'Tis as easy to be heroes as to sit the idle slaves  
Of a legendary virtue carved upon our father's graves;  
Worshippers of light ancestral make the present light a crime;—  
Was the *Mayflower* launched by cowards, steered by men behind their time?  
Turn those tracks towards Past or Future that make Plymouth Rock  
sublime?

They were men of present valour, stalwart old iconoclasts,  
Unconvinced by axe or gibbet that all virtue was the Past's;  
But we make their truth our falsehood, thinking that hath made us free,  
Hoarding it in mouldy parchments, while our tender spirits flee  
The rude grasp of that great Impulse which drove them across the sea.

They have rights who dare maintain them; we are traitors to our sires,  
Smothering in their holy ashes Freedom's new-lit altar fires.  
Shall we make their creed our jailer? Shall we, in our haste to slay,  
From the tombs of the old prophets steal the funeral lamps away  
To light up the martyr-fagots round the prophets of to-day?

New occasions teach new duties; Time makes ancient good uncouth;  
They must upward still, and onward, who would keep abreast of Truth.  
Lo, before us gleam her camp-fires! we ourselves must Pilgrims be,  
Launch our *Mayflower* and steer boldly through the desperate winter sea,  
Nor attempt the Future's portal with the Past's blood-rusted key.



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

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

As all articles are signed, no special significance attaches to them because of their position in these pages. None to be taken as more than in a general manner expressing the views of the League as a body, except it be so explicitly declared by the Editors. Rejected MSS. only returned if a stamped directed envelope is forwarded with them. Subscriptions.—For Europe and United States, including postage, per year, 6s. six months, 3s.; three months, 1s. 6d.

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

A. C., E. P., and others.—Reports too late; must be to hand first post on Tuesday morning.

UNDER CONSIDERATION.—J. S. (Birmingham); D. McC. (Glasgow).

CA IRA.—“Ca Ira” is said to have been first sung in Paris in May or June 1790. The “Carmagnole” became popular about two years later.

Periodicals received during the week ending Wednesday December 12.

ENGLAND Blackburn—N. E. Daily Gazette Northern Daily Telegraph Justice Labour Tribune London—Freie Presse Norwich—Daylight Personal Rights Journal Railway Review Telegraph Service Gazette Sozial Demokrat Worker's Friend	ALARM Workmen's Advocate Boston—Woman's Journal Liberty Chicago (Ill.)—Yorbote Detroit—Der Arme Teufel Milwaukee—National Reformer St. Louis (Mo.)—Die Parole San Francisco Arbeiter-Zeitung San Francisco Chronicle Coast Seamen's Journal	BELGIUM Ghent—Vooruit Liege—L'Avenir Antwerp—De Werker
NEW SOUTH WALES Hamilton—Radical	FRANCE Paris—Cri du Peuple (daily) Le Parti Ouvrier (daily) La Revolte Le Proletariat Le Ca Ira Lille—Le Cri du Travailleur St.-Etienne—La Loire Socialiste Sedan—La Revolution	ITALY Gazetta Operaia Rome, L'Emancipazione (daily)
INDIA Bankipore—Behar Herald Madras—People's Friend	GERMANY Berlin—Volks Tribune Brunn—Arbeiterstimme Wien—Gleichheit	SPAIN Barcelona—El Productor Madrid—El Socialista Seville—La Solidaridad
UNITED STATES New York—Der Socialist Freiheit Truthseeker Volkzeitung Jewish Volkszeitung	HUNGARY Arbeiter-Wochen-Chronik	WEST INDIES Cuba—El Productor
	HOLLAND Hague—Recht voor Allen	

## IN AND ABOUT COTTONOPOLIS.

ON Sunday the 2nd, I delivered my annual lecture to the Sunday Society at Ancoats to an audience larger than usual. These lectures are not followed by questions and discussion, so there was not much opportunity for finding out what the audience thought about Socialism. The audience seemed, as usual, much made up of the “lower middle-class” and the “aristocracy of labour.” But there was a sprinkling of our comrades of the S.D.F., with whom to help I engaged in a good private discussion at tea (which followed the lecture) with enquirers and carpers, which is also a usual feature of these gatherings. In the evening I went with comrade Hunter Watts to the rooms of the Manchester Branch of the S.D.F., where I addressed our comrades. The members of the branch were almost all of the non-aristocracy of labour, but many of them were as eager and earnest as could be desired. I take it that the above-said aristocracy of labour in Manchester are very shy of Socialism, though it is making very good progress among the labouring class even in Manchester itself. There is also a good deal of sympathy (as it is called) from the definitely well-to-do, who say here as elsewhere: “We agree with you, but—”

On Monday the 3rd, I went to Bolton and lectured (by request) on “Art and Socialism.” The audience was fair only, the room not being full. The chairman was a middle-class man who really seemed in sympathy, and I think the audience was in the main socialistic. The condition of labour in Bolton is very instructive; business is brisk there, very brisk; but there are among the spinners at least 4,000 out of employment, and with no hope of it. Moreover, a great deal of the “employment” that there is, is at starvation wages; the “piecers” often fathers of families work for the noble reward of from 12s. to 13s. a-week! I was told that the engineers here were in a very depressed state of mind after last year's strike, with all its excitement, and were in an attitude of abject humility before their masters; which, dismal as it is, seems to be a natural consequence of defeat in a struggle which had no ideal in it, whose aim was the usual narrow one of strikes in this country.

On the 4th, I went to Blackburn and lectured in the Spinner's Hall, which was not quite filled; our comrade Sharman took the chair. The audience were very eager, and took up all the points well. One or two of the questions asked were to the point, but it seems that these were asked by Socialists. The others were of the usual type, questions asked by persons who expect the lecturer to say so-and-so, and are perhaps put out by his perversity, but nevertheless ask the question they had intended to ask before they heard him.

The open-air meetings have been very brisk in Blackburn, where there is a good open space in which no meetings are interfered with. The branch of the S.D.F. is good here, and there is a strong branch of the S.D.F. at the neighbouring town of Darwen.

On the 5th I had to address a very different audience to these; to wit, the ladies and gentlemen gathered together for the rather mild amusement of listening to artists talking about art. I was not able to get to Liverpool in the morning, and so missed hearing Walter Crane's address; but I was told that he spoke very plainly in condemnation of the present system of production. I myself had a large audience (in the Rotunda), and of course spoke nothing but Socialism. I challenged opposition, as I had heard that some of the capitalists were going to “smash me up”; but I am sorry to say that they thought better of it; and the little that was said turned out to be of a discouraging feebleness, turning on the village-industry and technical education. The next day I heard a paper of Cobden-Sanderson on Craft-Ideals, in which he preached Communism pure and simple. Also an architect, not a Socialist, received applause for asking the question, What was the use of museums and art education if the social condition of the people remained what it is now? I shall have a few words to say about this same congress next week, so I will say no more now.

The evening of the 6th I went to Rochdale and lectured to an audience fair in numbers and otherwise good. It was followed by a long conversational debate, the questions being, as a matter of course, the usual ones, but, by the working men present, asked and stuck to with the pertinacity and in the good-natured bullying manner with which I am familiar in Lancashire and the North generally. Two or three middle-class opponents were of great use to me in enabling me to state my position again and again. One of these said that as far as Rochdale and the neighbourhood generally was concerned I had exaggerated the poverty of the workers! But this I conclude to be a conventional tradition, the birth of the history of the sham co-operation which began with the good intentions of the Rochdale Pioneers, and has now by the confession of very moderate people become a reactionary force, “Divi” being the one thing looked to, and jobbing in “Co-op” shares being a favourite occupation among the small capitalists created by the system.

Anyhow our comrades gave me a very different view of the “prosperity” of the workers of Rochdale, and told me that wages were very low and hours very long there, and that in short the masters had it pretty much their own way. The branch of the S. D. F. is strong in numbers, and has in it some very strenuous and sincere propagandists.

Altogether, except in Liverpool, where there is nothing doing, the S. D. F. branches are doing well in S. Lancashire; the drawback to their usefulness is that they are giving so much attention to electioneering matters; a course of action which, whatever else may be said about it, must trench upon the time which they ought to be giving to learning Socialism thoroughly, so as to be able to hold their own in argument with the non-Socialists around them. I say this in spite of the fact that I talked with some of our comrades who had mastered the subject by dint of very hard work done in the “leisure” which their slavery allows them.

WILLIAM MORRIS.

LIVERPOOL AND ITS POOR.—The *Manchester Guardian* lately printed the following letter from a correspondent:—A week or two ago the Clerk of the Liverpool Select Vestry called attention to the fact that pauperism was increasing in the city. In explanation of the circumstance, he asserted that the accommodation offered to paupers in the Liverpool workhouse was so good that persons who formerly shrank with horror from “the house” were now flocking in, and were even advising their friends to haste to take advantage of parish good cheer. An outsider surveying the social condition of Liverpool may perhaps find some more probable explanation of the increase of pauperism than a desire on the part of the poor to rush into what is known in the Midland counties as the “Bastille.” Two causes operate to produce in Liverpool a large amount of chronic destitution. One is its geographical position, and the other is the nature of the employment offered to its labouring population. Liverpool is the place to which the Irish peasant, driven from home by bad government and landlord rapacity, first directs his steps. It is, in fact, a kind of junction where the poor, not only of Ireland but of Europe, change trains. And a very considerable proportion of these unfortunate persons never get any further, but remain year after year to swell the large squalid population. They are tempted to make Liverpool their home because they have in most cases no technical skill, and nothing but physical strength on which to rely for their daily bread. Now Liverpool affords comparatively little scope for the skilled artisan; it has no manufactures and no great industries requiring the higher kinds of manual dexterity. But it has a great shipping trade, which affords a somewhat precarious employment for men who have nothing to turn into daily bread but brawn and muscle. Great crowds of unskilled labourers herd together in the poor quarters of the city. It is estimated that there are between ten and thirty thousand (authorities differ) dock labourers and cotton porters in Liverpool, and these men do not make, on an average, more than ten shillings per week in wages. It is obvious that a labourer who has a wife and family, whose earnings do not exceed this sum, who is always out of work during many weeks of the winter, may easily—nay, must often—be brought face to face with the alternative of starvation or the poorhouse. It is indeed surprising that there is not a greater proportion of pauperism in Liverpool than actually exists. New persons realise how enormous is the disparity in numbers between the classes which enjoy comfort and comparative security and the classes which are actually destitute or hovering about the brink of poverty. In Liverpool there are over 600,000 inhabitants, but only 17,000 of them pay income-tax on their yearly earnings. That is to say, only about 17,000 persons in Liverpool make £3 a week and over by their daily labour, and of these only 7,000 are returned as earning more than £400 a year. These striking figures show that a little increase in the price of provisions is sufficient to account for an increase of pauperism, without the existence of any consuming passion on the part of the poor to seek the sybaritic retreat of a Liverpool workhouse.



## NOTES ON NEWS.

THE Suakim business is growing, and England's hired slaughterers are lending a hand in getting rid of the Dervishes, of whose doings as much as possible has been made in order to give a fresh opportunity for pushing the fortunes of the market-mongers, and the persistent hammering at the story of this stupendous siege after the manner of the tremendous adventures of Major Geoghegan, appears likely to produce its fruits in some way or other. Only since the country is clearly not very anxious for any more "glory" in the Soudan, the gist of the plan now is to keep up Suakim as a running sore, and to push traders up the country so as to involve us in a tangle which shall end at last in a new expedition for the smashing of the Mahdi. The plan is not very new or ingenious, but it is likely to succeed.

Mr. Henry James, the American novelist, has been writing an ingenious paper on the impression made by London on his feelings; but as a matter of course, his view of the monstrosity is taken from the stand-point of the superior middle-class person, who looks upon the working-classes as an useful machine, and, having no experience of their life, has not imagination enough to realise the fact that the said machine is composed of millions of men, women, and children who are living in misery; that is to say, they are always undergoing torments, the fear of undergoing which would make many a "refined" person kill himself rather than submit to them. And to these torments they must get used, as the phrase goes; that is to say, hopeless suffering must be the element in which they live. It is this from which is born the "dreadful delight" on which clever but dull Mr. James expatiates so ingeniously. Does he ever ask himself what is likely to be the final price which his class, who have created this Hell, will have to pay for it?

I should like a view of London from a quite different kind of man from the clever historian of the deadliest corruption of society, the laureat of the flirts, sneaks, and empty fools of which that society is mostly composed, and into whose hearts (?) he can see so clearly. I should like the impressions of London given by one who had been under its sharp-toothed harrow.

But he should not be a man born and bred in the slums, nor even "used" to them, nor a man born poor anywhere, but someone who once lived in a pleasant place with hope beside him. From him I should like a true tale of the City of Dreadful Delight. If we could but have some new Defoe with the added bitterness bred of the tremendous growth of the burden of hideous tyranny to tell us such a tale! Or it may be rather that no words could tell it.

Besides, if it were attempted it would be brought into Court and judged by a jury of comfortable and respectable men, and a luxuriously-living judge, and be condemned as filthy literature, horribly indecent—in short, shocking, and its author would but add one fresh note to the song of suffering, which if it is good for nothing else, is good enough to tickle the ears of superior persons, more hypocritical and less naïve than the ogre in the Eastern story, who, when his captives awaiting the spit were lamenting and moaning, said: "Hark how sweetly my nightingales are singing!" W. M.

Some simple-minded worshipper of the cheap idols of the hour was evidently made uneasy by my note of a few weeks back about the Harrisons, and has written to the president-elect to know if it is really all a pious fraud for campaign purposes his pretending to be descended from Harrison, the regicide. As if a tricky politician ever acknowledges his little games!

The ancestors of the president-elect were in Virginia loudly proclaiming their sycophantish loyalty to the king at a time when Thomas Harrison, the regicide, was at school. As a matter of fact, such time-serving tools of "property" thieves as Ben Harrison know nothing about the man. If they did, they would scoff at him and applaud his murder, as they scoff at, and applaud the murder of, his apostles to-day, such as August Spies and Albert Parsons. They do not even know Thomas Harrison's name. It is generally given wrongly in so-called histories and dictionaries.

The last grand scene at Charing Cross on October 14, 1860, reminds us forcibly of the present time. The London mob, as usual with all mobs, was jeering the prophet and applauding the work of the dissolute rascals just installed at Whitehall. "How about the 'grand old cause' now?" yelled one smug rascal. "I go to seal it with my blood," calmly replied Harrison, and ascended the stairway.

So to-day our friend the editor of the *Star* strokes his "fair round belly with good capon lined," and cries, See what great and mighty prophets I and Mr. George and the rest of us are. How the mob cheer us and elect us to office! What a poor little affair the *Commonweal* is! *Nous verrons, says the Frenchman; nous verrons.*

If he looks at the poem in another column he will find:—

Then to side with Truth is noble when we share her wretched crust,  
Ere her cause bring fame and profit, and 'tis prosperous to be just;  
Then it is the brave man chooses, while the coward stands aside —

S.

## WE SHALL BE FREE.

ERNEST JONES.

BASE oppressors, leave your slumbers  
Listen to a nation's cry:  
Hark, united countless numbers  
Swell the peal of agony.  
Lo, from Britain's sons and daughters,  
In the depths of misery,  
Like the sound of many waters,  
Comes the voice, "We shall be free!"

Winds and waves the tidings carry;  
Spirits, in your stormy car,  
Winged with lightning, do not tarry,  
Spread the news to lands afar.  
Tell them, sound the thrilling story  
Louder than the thunder, go,  
That a people, ripe for glory,  
Are determined to be free.

By our own, our children's charter,  
By the fire within our veins,  
By each truth-attesting martyr,  
By their sighs, their groans, their pains,  
By our right by nature given,  
By our love of liberty,  
We proclaim before high heaven  
That we must, we shall, be free.

Tyrants, quail, the dawn is breaking,  
Dawn of Freedom's glorious day;  
Despots on their thrones are quaking,  
Tyrants' bands are giving way.  
Kingcraft, priestcraft, black oppression  
Cannot bear our scrutiny;  
We have learnt the startling lesson  
That we must, we shall, be free!

## REVOLUTIONARY CALENDAR.

WEEK ENDING DECEMBER 22, 1888.

16	Sun.	1687. Sir W. Petty died. 1689. Bill of Rights passed.
17	Mon.	1792. P. W. Duffin and T. Lloyd tried for seditious libel. 1830. Bolivar, liberator of Columbia, died. 1875. Violent Bread-riots in Montreal. 1881. Lewis H. Morgan died. 1883. O'Donnell, executioner of Carey, hung in Newgate.
18	Tues.	1773. Tea-riots at Boston. 1792. Paine found guilty of libel in 'Rights of Man.' 1817. W. Hone tried for publishing a parody on Wilkes' 'Catechism of a Ministerial Member.' 1876. Famous demonstration in the Kazan Place, St. Petersburg, where people were openly invited to strive for freedom and fatherland, brutally dispersed by the police. 1887. Funeral of Linnell.
19	Wed.	1817. W. Hone tried for publishing a seditious parody on the Litany. 1877. Riots at Montreal. 1879. Hanged at Odessa: V. Malinska, L. Maudsusi, J. J. Drobianky.
20	Thur.	1789. Richard Oastler born at Leeds. 1817. Trial of W. Hone for publishing a seditious parody of the Athanasian Creed.
21	Fri.	1795. Trial of James Weldon for high treason. 1830. Trial of Prince Polignac. 1883. Ten dynamitards sentenced at Glasgow.
22	Sat.	1620. Landing of the "Pilgrim Fathers." 1797. Trial of Peter Finerty for seditious libel. 1881. "Ghost of the Czar" seen in Kazan Cathedral. 1884. Sentences on Reinsdorf, etc., at Leipzig.

*Simon Bolivar.*—The great smasher of the Spanish empire in South America was an example of how quickly all men are liable to outlive their usefulness. Although it was but forty-seven years from his birth at Caracas in 1783 to his death on the Spanish Main in 1830, he had much better have died many years before for his own fame and for humanity. Imbued in his youth with personal experiences of the French Revolution, being educated in Paris, he was a daring apostle of liberty so long as the mere question of Spanish domination was concerned; but, abolishing this, he wished to introduce the "constitutional" slavery of the so-called "United States of America," where he and his fellow oligarchs could reign supreme, and practice tyranny and spout liberty simultaneously. But the climatic and racial characteristics of the South American continent were not favourable, and Bolivar was practically fleeing for his life to England, chosen home of all "constitutional" clap-trap, when he died.—L. W.

*Landing of the Pilgrim Fathers.*—On the 11th of December, 1621, or the 21st when accommodated to our present reckoning, the passengers on the good little ship "Mayflower" landed at what is now called Plymouth in New England, a waste to this day of swamp and rocks and barren woods. This was the actual foundation of those twin overgrown monsters of to-day, the British Empire and the United States of America. The previous settlements in the East Indies and Virginia were only traders' outposts, weak from their inherent formation. The Plymouth colony was the mother of the English communal settlements, self-contained, self-governing, and self-reliant, which to-day circle the globe, and which are, in all their lasting elements, united to-day in demolishing all semblance of centralised authority such as are at the bottom of all "unionist" and imperialist intrigues.—L. W.

It is no doubt a somewhat low ideal of human society which bases the respect paid to the rights of individuals or of classes, solely upon their ability to defend themselves when attacked or menaced; but in the present stage of civilisation, when combat seems to be the normal law of existence, it is simply suicidal for any class to trust to the benevolence and good feeling of its neighbours. A class or a nation which is not in a position to injure those who injure it, and that right speedily, is a class that will be trampled on.—*The Link.*

# THE LABOUR STRUGGLE.

## BRITAIN.

The coalowners of West Cumberland have granted an advance of 5 per cent. to the colliers from the 10th inst.

The Arbroath mill and factory owners have agreed to increase wages 5 per cent. The first increased payment will be made on 21st inst.

**ABERDEEN JUTE-WORKERS.**—The directors of the Aberdeen Jute Company have decided to increase on an early date the wages of their workers to the extent of 5 per cent.

The Fife miners have resolved that if they do not get the other 5 per cent. advance, which will give them the same as other districts, a fortnight's notice shall be given after the new-year holidays.

**MACCLESFIELD WEAVERS.**—The strike at Lower Heyes Mill still meanders on; it has lasted more than 20 weeks, and no settlement likely. There was a little disturbance on Tuesday week, some of the strikers going for one of the rats and smashing his windows.

**CHATHAM SWEATERS.**—These are Admiralty officials who "deduct" from the women in Government employ to such effect that in some recent cases the deduction was half the earnings (6d. from 1s.), and in others more even than that (7d. paid for 1s. 3d.).

**BARROW BLAST-FURNACEMEN.**—The blast-furnacemen who have been on strike at Barrow held a meeting on Tuesday 4th in the Amphitheatre and agreed to resume work at wages based on a sliding-scale, the advance due under the scale from October 14th to be paid in a fortnight. Thirteen blast furnaces were damped down owing to the strike. Operations were to be resumed at both the iron and steel works on Wednesday. About 3,000 men have been idle.

**DOCK AND RIVERSIDE LABOURERS.**—The secretary of the Tea Operatives and General Labourers' Association writes to the press from 19, Huntslett Street, Bonner Lane, Green Street, Bethnal Green, E.: "Will you kindly assist us in the matter of calling the attention of dock and riverside labourers that the Lords' Commission is now enquiring into the grievances under sub-contract? Any one who has any information to give that would explain the evil need not fear publicity given to their name if they will send to the above address and the matter is *bona fide*."

**TRADES' FEDERATION MEETING.**—At a meeting called to consider the question of Trades' Federation, at the New Connexion Schoolroom, Brettell Lane, on Tuesday, 4th, Mr. R. Juggins, of the Midland Counties Trades' Federation, addressed the meeting. He gave a number of instances in which trade organisation had been of signal benefit to working men, and pointed out that its principles were becoming better known and understood than they once were. He urged them to organise.—A resolution was unanimously passed in favour of the principles of trades' federation.

**RIVET TRADE.**—In reply to appeals that have been issued to the employers in the rivet trade for an advance in wages, several of the leading firms have consented to take action with a view of conceding better wages to the operatives. For a considerable time past the masters in the Old Hill district have been underbuying the Blackheath employers, and it is contended that the Old Hill firms should at once raise the price of rivets to the same standard that is being paid in the upper districts. It is stated that the Old Hill masters are paying 4d. and 7d. under the employers of Blackheath. Efforts are being made to induce employers to adopt one uniform price. The rivet makers are receiving at the present time a lower rate of wages than has ever been known.

**CHAINMAKERS' WAGES.**—The Executive Committee of the Chainmakers' Association decided on Saturday, 8th, at Cradley Heath, to call a meeting of employers and men with the view of having the recognised scale of wages established, and a Wages and Conciliation Board formed. It is stated that although there is plenty of work at the present time hundreds of operatives were never in receipt of lower wages, and unless a substantial advance in wages is conceded a general strike will be declared after Christmas. A number of employers have conceded an advance.—On Saturday Mr. T. Homer (president of the Chainmakers' Association), acting upon the instructions of the Executive Committee, sent out invitations to the chain manufacturers in the Cradley, Cradley Heath, Old Hill, Reddall Hill, and Dudley Wood districts inviting them to attend a meeting at Cradley Heath during the week for considering the desirability of forming a Wages and Conciliation Board. At the present time there are numerous complaints of a section of the employers refusing to pay the recognised list of wages, and in some instances it is asserted that the wages are now lower than they have ever been, whilst in others it is stated the employers will only pay the price on a less size than the one specified in the list, the result being that the operatives sustain a loss from 2s. to 3s. per week. Unless the price lists are rectified at many of the factories it is stated that the operatives will come out on strike. It is, however, considered that some favourable arrangements will be made, and thus obviate difficulties.

**RAILWAY SWEATING.**—The Middleton goods train, which hails from Miles Platting, on the Lancashire and Yorkshire Railway, is likely to prove a formidable rival to the notorious Newport Pilot, lately referred to. Taking its working for 24 recent dates, we find there were—one day of 21 hours, one 20 hours, and one nineteen hours. The times on the remaining days were—over 18 hours, one; 17, two; 16, four; 15, six; 14, five; only once 12 hours, and once ten minutes less, while on a solitary occasion it completed its work in a reasonable time—viz., nine hours. These last three days, it should be mentioned, were Saturdays, when the work would be lighter. So long as this order of things is allowed to continue, the L. and Y. Company must not lay claim to having much regard for the safety of its goods guards, who, after such long spells of arduous work, cannot be in fit condition to jump about among wagons without running considerable risk. What forms an additional complaint in relation to the above excessive work is that the guards, instead of being paid overtime for the extra hours, have to play the time off, and, what is worse still, they have, when so laid off, to hold themselves in readiness to be called out to come to work if required, a system we have always protested against as being an imposition. When men are laid off duty the companies have no right to expect them to be at their command unless they pay them for it, which in this case is not done.—*Railway Review*. Hadn't you better begin publishing a few names, friend? Holding up to light of day the shareholders who draw profit from and are responsible for this kind of thing would have great effect. Mere complaining will do no good.

**DOCKERS' STRIKE.**—Those men who took a prominent part in the late strike have been excluded by order of the company from their employment for the future. Messrs. Sydney Buxton and Samuel Montague, M.P.'s, protested against this, saying: "It seems a very great stretch of power thus permanently to injure men by preventing them from earning their ordinary livelihood simply because they have been prominent in a legitimate, if unsuccessful, attempt to improve the position of themselves and their fellows. So far the protest has had no effect. Who are the shareholders? Let them have some salutary publicity *a la* Bryant and May."

**CONDITIONS OF EMPLOYMENT AT FIFE AND CLACKMANNAN COLLIERIES.**—The decision in the High Court of Justiciary on Friday 7th, by which it was found that the manager of the Dunfermline Coal Company had been guilty of a contravention of the Truck Act, affects the whole of the collieries in Fife and Clackmannan, as the general regulations and conditions of employment, which were adopted in 1874, are uniform. The fourth article of these regulations, which provides for the employer, at the end of an engagement, retaining the wages of any workman occupying a colliery house until such house is vacated, and exacting a rent of 1s. per day for every day the house is occupied after the miner leaves the employment, is practically declared illegal, and will have either to be amended or deleted, while the pay ticket signed by the men will also have to be altered. This is one of the rules of which the miners have frequently endeavoured to get rid, and there is consequently much gratification felt that it has been authoritatively settled.

**ARE THE GIRLS' PUBLIC DAY-SCHOOL COMPANY SWEATERS?**—A correspondent writes to the *Pall Mall*, "to claim your interest for the ill-paid and hardly-worked teachers of the Girls' Public Day-School Company. The sweating system that exists there is quite as bad as any at the East-end, which has evoked the sympathies of the public. The head mistress gets a good salary, with a capitation fee, but with that exception the other women employed in such schools are overworked and badly paid. I know of one school in London where the classes are so large that it is impossible for the one teacher to do justice to her pupils or herself, and yet the salary paid is less than you would give a cook, of course including the value of bread. While at the present time the shareholders, I see, are taking 9 per cent., the council is lowering the number, as well as the salaries, of the teachers. In *Murray's Magazine* for December there is an able article on this very subject by Alfred W. Pollard, who substantiates all I now write. If you would draw public notice to these facts you would receive the gratitude of hundreds."

**NUT AND BOLT TRADE.**—The adjourned conference of employers and operatives in the nut and bolt trade took place on Thursday 6th, at the Queen's Hotel, Birmingham. The operatives claimed an advance in wages of 10 per cent., in consequence of the improvement in trade and the advance in prices which had taken place. They pointed out that they had been promised an advance of 5 per cent. when trade improved. It was eventually resolved that, subject to the advance being paid by the bolt and nut manufacturers in the South Staffordshire and Birmingham districts, an advance of 5 per cent. be given to the men from January 1st, 1889. It was also resolved that a Conciliation Board be formed, comprising twelve masters and twelve men, six of each from the Smethwick district and a similar proportion from the Darlaston district, for the purpose of regulating wages. The operatives retired to consider the offer of the employers, and on their return said that as the employers had now fulfilled the promise they had made to advance wages 5 per cent. when the condition of trade warranted it, the men were willing to accept the offer. They hailed with satisfaction the proposed formation of a Conciliation Board, and would do their utmost to secure the adhesion of the men, and trusted employers would secure the support of manufacturing firms. The chairman said that the desire of the employers was to work as amicably as possible with the men. There was no doubt the interests of capital and labour went hand in hand together (1). If the co-operation of the men could be obtained, a Conciliation Board would become a valuable institution for the regulation of wages questions.

**BURY AND ELTON CARD, BLOWING, AND THROSTLE ROOM OPERATIVES' ASSOCIATION.**—A special general meeting was lately held in the Co-operative Hall, Knowsley Street, Bury, to take into consideration the revised code of rules and the proposed sliding-scale of contribution and benefits. Back-tenters by paying 3d. a week if working 20 hours to a full week, and 2d. when out of work, would be entitled to 5s. a week as strike or lock-out pay, 5s. victim pay, 5s. accident pay for the first 13 weeks, and 2s. 6d. for the second 13 weeks, and 5s. for fires, failures, breakdowns, and for stoppages for bad trade, from the local funds; while the benefits from the amalgamation would be for permanent accident £20, fatal accident £6, and funeral allowance £3. Female card and throistle room operatives on payment of 4d. weekly if working 20 or more hours, or 2d. when out of work, entitled them to 7s. a week for strikes, lock-outs, fires, failures, breakdowns, and stoppages for bad trade, and victim pay, 7s. a week for accident pay for the first 13 weeks, and 3s. 6d. for the second 13 weeks from the local funds, and for permanent accident £25, fatal accident £8, and funeral allowance £4 from amalgamation benefits. Either male or female card, blowing, and throistle room operatives can participate in the following benefits: On payment of 5d. if working 20 hours or more, and 2d. when out of work, members receive 8s. 6d. a week for strikes, lock-outs, and victim pay, 8s. for fires, failures, breakdowns, and stoppages for bad trade, 8s. 6d. a week for the first 13 weeks for accident, 4s. 3d. for the second 13 weeks, while the benefits from the amalgamation fund would be £30 for permanent accident, £10 for fatal accident, and £4 funeral allowance. The rules provide that all members must pay full contributions while upon the funds of the association, and also provide that members changing from one rate of contribution to another will, until they have paid the same 26 weeks, receive the old rate of benefits, and after 26 weeks the new rates. It was resolved that the new code of rules be adopted and brought into force on the first Saturday in January 1889.

**PREPARING!**—A "Landlord" writes to the *Pall Mall* as follows: I saw to-day, in a draft lease for a West-end shop, the following new covenant, which may interest some of your friends who are agitating for a reform of the Land Laws:—"And the lessees covenant that they will pay all rates and taxes, etc. . . . and the land tax which now or shall or may at any time during the continuance of the said term be rated charged assessed or imposed on or in respect of the said demised premises or any part thereof or on the landlord or tenant for the time being in respect thereof by authority of Parliament or otherwise." It will be for those who draft any bills dealing with taxation of ground-rents or values to see that the intentions of the Legislature are not defeated by contracts of this nature.

INTERNATIONAL NOTES.

FRANCE.

The organising Committee of the Congress to be held at Troyes (Aube Department) on Dec. 23rd and following days, has issued its agenda-paper, which is very interesting indeed. It runs as follows:—1. Organisation of a great national federation of all the workers; 2. Creation of a daily collective paper, where the theories of all Socialist schools should be expounded and discussed freely; 3. National and International Congresses; 4. Strikes and their consequences; 5. Moral and physical results of women and children's work; 6. The using of peaceful means for bringing about the social transformation; 7. Necessity of uniting all the forces of the working-classes in order to resist the Radico-Opportunist reaction and the threatening dictatorship; 8. Economical and political mission of the syndicates; 9. Socialisation of the means of production; 10. Socialistic revision of the constitution; 11. Suppression of the public debt and practical means to come to it; 12. Free Communism v. State Communism; 13. Right of work; reduction of the hours of work; minimum wages; suppression of piece-work; employers liability as to accidents; institution of labour exchanges; suppression of registries' offices; society to provide for the old, children, and invalids; 14. Suggestions for social reforms after the revolution; 15. Ways and means for the application of the resolutions voted by the Congress. All communications concerning the Congress to be had from comrade E. Panne- tier, Rue du Paradis, 2, Troyes (Aube).

The Federation of the Socialist working-men of France have issued the following appeal, which we reproduce hereunder as document:—

"Citizens,—The International Conference held at Paris in 1886, at which England, Germany, Belgium, Austro-Hungary, Sweden, Australia, and France were represented, adopted during the sitting of August 28th, the following resolution:—'In 1889 an International Workers' Congress will be held at Paris, and the French Socialist Workmen's Party is entrusted with its organisation.'

"The International Trade Union Congress of London, at which delegates from England, Belgium, Holland, Denmark, Italy, and France were present, confirmed this resolution at its sitting of November 10th by coming to the following unanimous decision:—'That the international regulations of labour shall be definitely adopted at the International Congress which will be held at Paris in 1889 on the terms of the decision of the International Conference at Paris in 1886.'

"The National Committee of the French Socialist Workmen's Party have the honour to inform you that they have now commenced to organise this Congress, which will undoubtedly prove of considerable importance.

"Conformably with the decision come to at Paris, and confirmed at London, the Congress of 1889 will be the beginning of that international organisation the principle of which was voted at the sitting of Nov. 9, 1888.

"The workers of the entire world cannot remain indifferent in the presence of this Social-Democratic revival which is manifest in every nation.

"The organisation which will be the outcome of the Congress of 1889 in grouping and utilising the scattered Social-Democratic forces of to-day, will augment considerably the power of the organised workers, will ensure our witnessing in the near future the triumph of the workers and the suppression of those frontiers which separate us materially though not morally.

"We invite you then, to participate in the deliberations of this Congress.

"Circulars fixing the organisation and the business agenda will be sent in due course.

"You will oblige us by letting us know whether the groups of your organisation are disposed to send representatives to the Congress.

"Awaiting the pleasure of your reply, receive our fraternal salutations,

"THE NATIONAL COMMITTEE—Lavy, Picau, Delacour, Ribanier, Allemane, André, Augé, Barthault, P. Brousse, Colas, Chausse, Dejeanto, Dumay, Heppenheimer, Joffrin, Lamothe."

Next year also, during the Paris Universal Exhibition, an International Congress of women in the capital of France will be held. The first Congress of the rights of women was organised with zealous care by M. Léon Richer, founder and director of the journal *Les Droits de la Femme* (Woman's Rights) in 1878, and was attended by delegates from Alsace-Lorraine, France, England, America, Belgium, Brazil, Italy, Holland, Poland, Roumania, Russia, Sweden, and Switzerland. It is hoped that next year, the memorable date of the centenary of the French Revolution, a new and imposing manifestation will be made to foster the objects and aims of the Society of Women. All communications as to date, agenda, etc., can be obtained from M. Léon Richer, 4, Rue des Deuxgares, Paris, or from Madame Jeanne Deroin, 58, Cobbold Road, Askew Road, Shepherd's Bush, London.

BELGIUM.

The miners of Belgium, before resorting to a general strike, have asked from their employers an increase of their wages, which has been refused by the mine-owners, under the pretext that the situation of affairs is not so good as the workers assert it to be. Now the following figures will show that the shares in the mining business have increased in four months from 10 to 28 per cent., which fully justifies the demand of the workers:—

Names of the Mines.	Aug. 1, 1888.	Nov. 28, 1888.
	Fr. c.	Fr. c.
Charbonnages belges ... ..	135	150
Chevalières a Dour ... ..	760	810
Couchant du Flénu ... ..	169	197.50
Courcelles-Nord ... ..	580	620
Falnuée ... ..	406	420
Fontaine l' Evêque ... ..	222.50	252.50
Gosson Lagasse ... ..	1,300	1,400
Grand Bouillon ... ..	34	38
Grande Mach. à feu Dour ... ..	449	560
Hornu-Wasmes ... ..	1,800	2,100
Houillères-Unies Charleroi ... ..	159	180
Kessales-Jemeppe ... ..	1,375	1,520
Levant du Flénu ... ..	1,620	2,190
Marihayé ... ..	606	650
Monceau Bayemont ... ..	445	547.50
Monceau Fontaine ... ..	1,450	1,750
Nord de Charleroi ... ..	745	845
Produits du Flénu ... ..	2,250	2,700
Sacré-Madame ... ..	1,356	1,625
Sars-Longchamps ... ..	430	535
Ouest de Mons ... ..	172.50	196

The mining districts of Charleroi, of the Borinage, and especially of the Centre, are in a state of great excitement. Meetings are held day after day, some in the morning, and others, the most important, at night and in the most complete darkness. (Hence the denomination of *black meetings*,

where the *black strike* is organised.) The strike is already complete at Houssu, Sars-Longchamps, La Paix, La Louvière, and St. Eloi. All the miners of Morlanwelz have also struck. At Carnières, Chatelineau, Les Vanneaux, several hundred miners are on strike, and general cessation is imminent.

Dynamite has made his appearance on the spot. Last Wednesday, two explosions occurred at Morlanwelz, causing some damage to property. At once the civic guard have been drummed out, and they are now patrolling day and night. By order of the authorities the inhabitants have to shut their houses at 10 o'clock at night, and nobody is allowed to perambulate in the streets after that hour.

At Carnières and Leval-Trazagnies, other dynamite explosions have occasioned some damage, one of them smashing to pieces all the doors and windows of the house of the police commissioner. Another explosion has taken place at the house of the director of the Houssu coal-mines, causing but little damage. A portion of the mine-owner's house at Trien-Kaisin has also been smashed by the same explosive.

The governor of the province of Hainault has been ordered by the Home Office to at once reinforce the posts of *gendarmérie* at Châtelet, Charleroi, Lodelinsart, and Bascoup.

Comrades Laloi, chairman of the Congress at which the general strike has been decided; Mignon, member of the General Council of the Socialist Republican party, and Georges Defuisseaux, general secretary of the same party, have been arrested and conveyed to the prison of Charleroi, which is watched by a cordon of gendarmes and policemen. Several other arrests have been made at Dampremy. Comrades Ledoux and Adam have had their houses searched by the magistrates.

SWEDEN.

Last week the police were working hard among our Swedish comrades. Three Socialist papers, out of four that are in existence, have been confiscated, and their editors will very soon be on their trial. At Stockholm the editor of *Sozial-Demokraten* is accused of offence against religion; at Norrköping the editor of *Proletären* is to be sent to prison for the same "crime"; and at Gothenburg the editor of *Folkets Röst* has committed a lot of crimes: he insulted his poor king, and then the Reichstag of his country, and afterwards even the chief commissioner of police. Our comrade Pehr Erickson, having committed so many crimes in one and the same week, must be a very wicked man indeed! He must be hung, forsooth, if there are Nupkinses at Gothenburg. At the same time, our comrade Björk, the actual editor of *Arbetet* at Malmö (Axel Danielson being in jail), has got his sentence of four months' imprisonment confirmed by the High Court of Justice, and comrade Lyingholm is to be locked up for a couple of months because of his "riotous" conduct. Comrade Tanhakt, from Stockholm, has been arrested at Ystad while on a propaganda tour, and conveyed to Malmö, because he also offended the king at a public meeting held at Helsingborg.

By the way, all these prosecutions have helped our comrades here to carry on their propaganda afresh, and that's the fun of it. The Socialist movement, all through Sweden, goes on remarkably well, and the number of adherents grows day after day.

V. D.

THE SOCIALIST LEAGUE.

OFFICES: 13 FARRINGDON ROAD, E.C.

The Offices of the Socialist League will be open for the sale of *Commonweal* and all other Socialist publications from 8.30 a.m. to 9 p.m. every day except Sunday. The Secretary will be in attendance from 10 a.m. to 9 p.m. daily.

**Executive.**—At the meeting of Council on Monday, it was resolved that the Ways and Means Committee send out a statement of the position of the 'Weal' to all branches and ask their opinion thereon.

**Branch Subscriptions Paid.**—1888: Clerkenwell and Leicester to December, *Notice to Branch Secretaries*—Please remit to Central Office your Branch Capitalisation fees as soon as possible. A list of Branches in arrears will shortly appear.

**Notice.**—All letters on League business, except those intended for Editors of *Commonweal*, to be addressed to me. No other person is authorised to sign any official communication.

FRANK KITZ, Secretary.

CHICAGO MARTYRS COMMEMORATION FUND.

Already acknowledged—Total, £36 2s. 5½d. Received—North London Branch, 10s.; Mrs. Lockhart, 6d. Total, £36 12s. 11½d. J. LANE, Treasurer.

REPORTS.

CLERKENWELL.—On Sunday, Dec. 9, after several revolutionary songs had been sung, Blundell opened very good discussion on "The Force Doctrine." Fair sale of 'Weal. 2s. collection.—B.

FULHAM.—On Tuesday evening, back of Walham Green Church, our meeting was opened by Wolff (S.D.F.), Catterson Smith and Groser afterwards addressing a good audience. Several songs were given. On Sunday morning Lynes, jun., and Leonard Hall spoke to a capital meeting. Fair sale of *Commonweal*. In the evening, at the same station (opposite Railway Station), Lynes, jun., and Groser got together an excellent meeting for J. Macdonald, who lectured on "Practical Socialism." Tochetti and Hall afterwards spoke; several 'Weals' sold, and 1s. 9d. collected. All members are particularly requested to turn up at meetings of the branch.—S. B. G.

MITCHAM.—Good meeting, addressed by Kitz, at Mitcham Fair Green. ABERDEEN.—Good meeting at Castle Street Saturday night, addressed by Aiken, Duncan, and Leatham, Choir singing "When the Revolution Comes." At indoor meeting on 3rd, lecture read by Leatham, "Why I am a Socialist."—J. L.

GLASGOW.—Sunday, at 5 o'clock, members turned out well at Paisley Road; Glasier and Joe Burgoyne addressed a large and attentive audience. Burgoyne had to compete with a harmonium some 30 feet away playing lively Salvationist airs. 1s. 1d. collected. Later on, in our rooms, arrangements were made for having a hogmanay gathering to bring in the new year with song and dance.—Comrade J. Fisher McLaren lectured to the Cambuslang Social Union on Thursday, on "Land, Law, and Money." There was a good attendance, and a very interesting discussion followed, during which many pronounced themselves Socialists, and became at the close members of the Union. This society is doing a good educational work, there being already over 80 members, and it promises to be of some assistance to the Glasgow branch of the League. There are lectures and discussions weekly on social subjects, and they have opened reading and recreation rooms in the principal street of the town, which are open daily. A number of League members are to be amongst the lecturers throughout the winter.



**NORWICH.**—On Thursday last Mowbray continued this series of lectures, subject, "Old English Guilds." On Sunday morning a meeting was held in the Market Place; audience not so large as usual, owing to inclemency of weather. At the Gordon Hall Mowbray lectured on "All for the Cause." Questions were asked at close of lectures.

**EDINBURGH.**—On 2nd a conference of delegates from the Scottish branches of S.D.F., S.L., and Christian Socialist Society met to consider proposals for the organised and effective teaching of Socialism in Scotland. It was agreed that a committee, consisting of delegates of Scottish Socialist bodies, should be formed, and should sit in Edinburgh for the first year; that the delegates should receive instructions as to voting on important matters from the bodies they represent; and that the committee should receive the proceeds of monthly collections from these bodies to be devoted, along with a tax to be hereafter fixed, to the support of Socialist lecturers to be regularly employed, and to the payment of expenses of lecturers brought from a distance on tour.—S.

**LECTURE DIARY.**  
LONDON.

**Bloomsbury.**—This Branch is now actively working. Socialists resident in this locality should send their names in at once to 13 Farringdon Road.  
**Clerkenwell.**—Hall of the Socialist League, 13 Farringdon Road, E.C. Sunday December 16, at 8.30, H. Davis on "Anarchist Communism versus Social Democracy."  
**Fulham.**—8 Effie Road, Walham Green. Committee meetings are held on Sunday evenings at 7 o'clock sharp. All members are earnestly requested to attend. Sunday December 16, at 8 p.m., H. Halliday Sparling, "The Leprosy of Politics."  
**Hackney.**—Secretary, E. Lefevre, 14 Goldsmiths Sq., Goldsmiths Row, Hackney Road.  
**Hammersmith.**—Kelmescott House, Upper Mall, W. Sunday December 16, at 8 p.m., A Lecture. Wed. Dec. 19, at 8 p.m., Annie Besant (Fabian), "Socialism the only Hope for the Workers."  
**Hoxton.**—12, Basing Place, Kingsland Rd. Business meetings of this branch are held every Friday evening at 9 o'clock.  
**London Fields.**—All communications, etc., to Mrs. G. G. Schack, 26 Cawley Road, South Hackney.  
**Merton.**—Club-house, 3 Clare Villas, Merton Road, Singlegate. Lecture on Sunday evenings at 8.30.  
**White-end and Bethnal Green.**—95 Boston St., Hackney Road.  
**North London.**—Secretary, Nelly Parker. Business meetings held on Friday evenings at 6 Windmill St., Tottenham Court Road, after open-air meeting at Ossulton Street.  
**Walworth and Camberwell.**—This branch is now in working order. Friends in this locality are earnestly invited to co-operate, and send their names in. Committee meetings every Monday, 7.30 p.m., at 3 Datchelor Place, Church St., Camberwell Green.  
**Whitechapel and St. Georges in the East.**—Meets at the International Club, 40 Berner Street, Commercial Road, on Saturdays at 7.30 p.m.

PROVINCES.

**Aberdeen** (Scottish Section).—Secretary, P. Barron, 14 Ann Street. Branch meets in Oddfellows Hall on Monday nights at 8. Choir practice at 46 Marischal Street on Thursday evenings at 8.  
**Bradford.**—Read's Coffee Tavern, Ivegate. Meets Tuesdays at 8.  
**Carnoustie** (Scottish Section: Forfarshire).—Meeting every Tuesday, at 8 p.m., in the Carnoustie Restaurant. Samuel Wilson, Secy.  
**Dunfermline** (Scot. Sett.).—Meetings every Sunday in the Trades Hall, opposite Tay Bridge Station.  
**Edinburgh** (Scottish Land and Labour League).—35 George IV. Bridge. Meetings for Discussion, Thursdays at 8 p.m.  
**Galashiels** (Scot Sect).—J. Walker, 184 Glendinning Terrace, secy.  
**Gallatoun and Dysart** (Scottish Section: Fife).—Meet every Tuesday at 7 p.m. in Gallatoun Public School. Secretary, A. Paterson, 152 Rosslyn St.  
**Glasgow.**—84 John Street. Reading-room (Draughts, Chess, etc.) open 10 a.m. till 10 p.m. daily. Weekly meeting of members on Thursday evenings at 8. French Class meets every Sunday at 11.  
**Ipswich.**—Pioneer Hall, Tacket Street. Meets on Sunday evenings.  
**Kilmarnock.**—Secretary, H. M'Gill, 22 Gilmour St. Branch meets on every alternate Tuesday.  
**Leeds.**—Clarendon Buildings, Victoria Rd. and Front Row. Open every evening. Business meeting Saturdays at 8 p.m. communications to T. Paylor, 11 Sheldon Street, Holbeck, Leeds. Sunday December 16, T. Maguire, "Leeds and its Inhabitants" (with lime-light illustrations).  
**Leicester.**—Hosiery Union Offices, 11a Millstone Lane. Fridays at 8 p.m.  
**Norwich.**—Sunday, at 8, Gordon Hall. Monday, at 9.30, a Prize Draw will take place in Gordon Hall; several useful articles will be disposed of; proceeds towards clearing off the debts of the branch. Comrades are earnestly asked to help us out of the present difficulties. Tuesday, 8.30, Members' Meeting. Wednesday, at 8, Educational Class. Thursday, at 8, Lecture by Mowbray, subject "Democracy in Europe"; tickets 1d. each. Friday, at 8.30, Meeting in Gordon Hall. Saturday, 8 until 10.30, Co-operative Clothing Association.

**Oxford.**—Temperance Hall, 25½ Pembroke Street. Wednesdays, at 8.30 p.m.  
**Walsall.**—Lecture Room, back of Temperance Hall. Mondays at 8 p.m.  
**West Calder** (Scottish Section).—Sec., Robert Lindsay, West Calder.

All persons who sympathise with the views of the Socialist League are earnestly invited to communicate with the above addresses, and if possible help us in preparing for the birth of a true society, based on equality, brotherhood, and freedom for all.

**OPEN-AIR PROPAGANDA.**

SUNDAY 16.  
11.30...Latimer Road Station ...Hammersmith Branch  
11.30...Mitcham Fair Green .....Turner  
11.30...Regent's Park .....The Branch  
11.30...Walham Green, opp. Station.....The Branch  
11.30...Weltje Rd., Ravencourt Pk .....Hammersmith  
3.30...Hyde Park .....Hicks  
7.30...Broad Street, Soho.....Nicoll  
7.30...Clerkenwell Green .....Brookes & Hicks

Tuesday.

8.30...Fulham—back of Walham Green Ch. ...Branch

EAST END.

SUNDAY 16.

Leman Street, Shadwell 11 ...McCormick.

FRIDAY.

Philpot St., Commercial Rd. 8.30...Kitz & Parker.

PROVINCES.

**Aberdeen.**—Saturday: Castle Street, at 7 p.m.  
**Glasgow.**—Sunday: Glasgow Green at 2 p.m.; Paisley Road at 5.30.  
**Ipswich.**—  
Sproughton, Wednesday evening.  
Westerfield, Thursday evening.  
Needham Market, Sunday morning and evening.  
**Leeds.**—Sunday: Hunslet Moor, at 11 a.m.; Vicar's Croft, at 7 p.m.  
**Norwich.**—Sunday: Market Place, at 11 and 3.

WEST DEPTFORD REFORM CLUB, 31 Reculver Road. —Rev. S. D. Headlam, "The Unemployed." Sunday Dec. 16.

ST. JOHN'S CHURCH, HAMMERSMITH.—Rev. F. L. Donaldson, M.A. (Special Sermon), "The Repentance of Society." Sunday Dec. 16, at 5 p.m.

CHELSEA BRANCH S.D.F., Pelham Rooms, Kimbolton Row, Fulham Road, S.W.—Sunday Dec. 16, at 8 p.m., Sydney Olivier, B.A., "English Socialism."

CENTRAL CROYDON LIBERAL AND RADICAL CLUB, Crown Hill, Croydon.—Wednesday December 19th, at 8 p.m., Eleanor Marx-Aveling, on "Working Men and Politics." Men and Women invited.

The Mitcham Branch is about to be reconstituted. All desirous of helping in the work of the S. L. in and around Mitcham, Merton, and Streatham should communicate with comrade J. Campbell, 98 Wellfield Road, Streatham.

LEICESTER.—A course of lectures on "Socialism, its Aims and Principles" is being delivered in Leicester Secular Hall. The fourth lecture will be delivered on Sunday Dec. 30 by Sydney Olivier—subject, "The Moral Aspect."

THE SOCIALIST CO-OPERATIVE FEDERATION.—The Committee will meet at the house of S. Oliver, 139 Trafalgar Street, Walworth Road, on Saturday Dec. 15 and Dec. 22, at 7.30 p.m., to receive subscriptions and enrol members. Friends in South London particularly requested to be present.

SOUTH LONDON.—Friends who will help to establish a Branch of the Socialist League in South London will please place themselves in communication with C. Henze, 41 Bolton Street, Thomas Street, Kennington Park, S.E., or by letter to H. Hopkins, 17 Gairloch Road, Shenley Road, Peckham, S.E.

**SOCIALIST LEAGUE LITERATURE.**

**Chants for Socialists.** By William Morris. . 1d  
**Organised Labour: The Duty of the Trades' Unions in Relation to Socialism.** By Thomas Binning (London Society of Compositors). . . . . 1d  
**The Commune of Paris.** By E. Belfort Bax, Victor Dave, and William Morris. . . . . 2d  
**The Aims of Art.** By Wm. Morris. Bijou edition, 3d.; Large paper, 6d.  
**The Rights of Labour according to John Ruskin.** By Thomas Barclay. . . . . 1d  
**The Tables Turned; or, Nupkins Awakened.** A Socialist Interlude. By William Morris. In Wrapper . . . . . 4d.  
**The Manifesto of the Socialist League.** Annotated by E. Belfort Bax and William Morris. An exposition of the principles on which the League is founded. . . . . 1d  
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# THE COMMONWEAL

## The Official Journal of the SOCIALIST LEAGUE.

VOL. 4.—No. 154.

SATURDAY, DECEMBER 22, 1888.

WEEKLY; ONE PENNY.

### NOTES ON NEWS.

THE news from the Soudan is somewhat portentous, if, as seems pretty certain, Stanley as well as Emin Bey is in the hands of the Madhi. It is in any case satisfactory that Stanley's expedition has fallen through; it gives us breathing-space, at any rate. Also as a matter of course the Soudanese are in a better position, for the present, for their possession of these important hostages. But on the other hand the danger of these "pioneers of civilisation" (once called pirates) will be worked by the market-mongers and Christianity-shovers for all that it is worth, and the difficulties in the way of having a small half-responsibility expedition in the Soudan will tend to push us into a big affair in which we shall be fully responsible, and in which it would be almost too good to hope for serious defeat.

Mr. Page Hopps' "Radicals' Creed," as printed in the *Pall Mall*, is as lamentable a piece of feebleness as a well-meaning person ever produced: the opening sentence of it convicts him at once of incapacity of understanding the whole social question. Says he: "It is always foolish and wicked to set class against class, but the time has come for a resolute forward movement in favour of the toilers of our streets and fields." Indeed the time *has* come, and long ago; nor for such a movement has the time ever failed. But pray, how can "a resolute forward movement" on behalf of the toilers take place without its finding itself at once face to face with a class which says, "Thus far and no further; we have won our position by a long struggle and have overthrown our masters; but now *we* are the masters. Your resolute forward movement must stop, unless it can go forward over us."

Will Radicals of Mr. Page Hopps' kind *never* learn that whatever is done to raise the condition of the "poor" *must* be done at the expense of the rich; since the latter are only rich because the poor make them so by allowing themselves to be compelled into poverty? To waste their labour for the rich, and to be paid for their wasted labour with leave to live to waste their labour, this is what they are compelled to do. This is a fact, and there is no evading it. Let the "Radical" read his Adam Smith, and see it stated there in plain terms before the days when the modern social revolution was thought of and when there was no danger in stating it.

Who or what sets class against class? The whole evolution of society. That is, the existence of the classes. That is indeed a foolish and wicked thing, and since we now see that we can make an end of it, let us make an end of it at once. Here is a wall which hinders us from the use of a fair garden: there is the hindrance, and it is caused by the wall; which is there, whether we shut our eyes to it or not. Nor shall we be any more inside the garden because we turn round and dig in a few potatoes outside it, and pretend there is no wall between us and the garden, and that we don't want to get in if we could. Moral—down with the wall! even if it is necessary to say plainly that it exists. More of the Radicals' Creed another time.

Mr. Arthur Arnold takes the trouble to attack Mr. George, over whom he, as a defender of capitalism, could win an easy victory, if he had taken the trouble to understand what the land monopoly really signifies, and how impossible it is to separate it from monopoly of the other means of production; but such a victory would not be a victory for the champion of "free land," but for the Socialist. Mr. Arnold tells us pretty plainly what his aim is when he says: "Here, alas! the monopoly of the land is neither great nor wide nor deep; it is only narrow; I trust we shall make it great and wide and deep." Just so; Mr. Arnold's aim, like that of many others whose instinct rather than their reason drives them to seek it, is the perpetuation of inequality—*i.e.*, the misery of the many, by means of the widening of the basis of robbery. He thinks (or feels), and rightly, that the more people you can get interested in the maintenance of oppression, the safer that oppression will be from the attacks of the disinherited. Plunder by all means, but don't let the few keep the plunder to themselves: if many share the plunder they will form a stout body of men who will be as firm in their opinion that "the abolition of the monopoly is impossible" as the slave-owners of Aristotle's time were as to *their* monopoly.

Says Mr. Arnold, something or other "would be cruelly unjust to the working-classes, and would impoverish them by enhancing the value of foreign investments." How a labouring man on 15s. a-week can be impoverished by a rise in prices in foreign investments, is surely beyond the ken of anybody but a very wise financier—or a very great fool.

Mr. Arnold makes a curious quotation from J. S. Mill: "'The monopoly of land,' says Mr. Mill, in words which no accurate thinker can repudiate, 'is a natural monopoly . . . which cannot be prevented from existing.'" Well, I cannot, I fear, claim to be an accurate thinker, but I am in the habit of weighing the value of language, and I should say that a man who would use such a phrase as "natural monopoly" might presently talk about "dry water" without astonishing us much. To such a man I should deny the title of an "accurate thinker," were he Mr. Mill, or the Pope, or even Mr. Bradlaugh.

In plain words a monopoly can be maintained as long as the monopolists have fraud and force enough to hoodwink the most of men and bully the rest; failing that sufficiency of fraud and force, it is scattered to the winds.

But will Mr. Arnold, or any other Free Land Leaguer, tell us *why* the abolition of the monopoly of land (or say the means of production generally) is impossible? He might as well say that it is impossible for a man to touch his toe with his hand. It is impossible as long as his hand is tied behind his back.

Mr. Morley has been making what is conventionally called a "great" speech in Clerkenwell. To judge by the reports and their many columns, it was at least a big speech; but there was in it little or nothing to note. Leasehold enfranchisement was the chief part of the song; and it is to be hoped that even advanced Radicals are not blind enough to see it as, what Mr. Morley half hinted he considered it, a step to the abolition of the land-monopoly. A measure to increase the number of landlords is about all that its supporters can claim it to be. But, as a matter of fact, it means merely aggrandising the capitalist, big or little, at the expense of the land-owner; and it is only meant to stop people's mouths, a make-believe of energy on the part of the "Great Liberal Party."

Mr. Morley put before Liberals an ideal quoted from Shakespeare: "I earn that I eat: I get that I wear: owe no man hate: envy no man's happiness; glad of other men's good." Very pretty sentiments, but to whom are they addressed? To the workers? Well they certainly earn what they eat and get that they wear, but also what other people eat and wear. To the possessing classes? well, when they can say that with truth it will be a changed world indeed. For they would be both naked and hungry if they only ate and wore what they earned; and if they were glad of other people's good, how about the Soudan, and Imperial Federation, and the whole disgusting war of the market, and oppression of that great tyranny the British Empire?

The *Star* has been doing a little bit of canonisation of Mr. Brunner as the worker's friend, which under all the circumstances it was bound to do, for where would the *Star* have been without Mr. Brunner, or rather without Mr. Brunner's money? But Mr. Brunner is a Gladstonian, so the *Evening News*, which is no doubt quite prepared to canonise a Tory or Unionist employer of labour, has taken the part of the Devil's Advocate, and has taken pains to show that Mr. Brunner is just about as good as might be expected from his position, *i.e.*, a man belonging to a class which compel other men to keep them gratis against their will, and competing (*i.e.*, fighting) with other members of his class for the biggest share he can get of this plunder. The motto of the *Star* is, "a Gladstonian can do no wrong even if he is one of our owners," and the *Evening News* has done some service to us (unwittingly) by attacking this "eternal truth" or infernal lie. Let the *Star* do as much for the *Evening News* another time, and so do honour to an ancient proverb.

W. M.

In reference to what I have said about the new President of the United States and his descent from the great regicide, a genealogical friend sends me the following:—

"It seems that the new unco' guid President (who never so much as

smiles on the 'Sabbath') has no excuse of ignorance for endorsing this audacious lie, since his ancestors have been always cheap-jack aristocrats, and are well known to him and others, and the impossibility of his descent (very much of a descent it would be) from Thomas Harrison is obvious. Benjamin Harrison, of Indiana, the president-elect, is the son of Senator John Scott Harrison, of Ohio, son of President William Henry Harrison, of Ohio, son of Congressman Benjamin Harrison, of Virginia (signer of the Declaration of Independence and the cowardly opponent of Patrick Henry), son of Benjamin Harrison (speaker of the Virginia House of Burgesses), son of the 'Hon. Benjamin Harrison, Esq.', who was born in Surrey, Virginia, in 1645, whose epitaph loudly proclaims he was 'always loyal to his prince.'

Now even a Philadelphian lawyer, much less one from Indianapolis, cannot cram down our throats the tale that the great Leveller, Thomas Harrison, who in 1645 was winning his spurs in the flush of youthful prime on the battle-fields of England, had a "descendant" born in far-off Virginia at the time, and one, too, "always loyal to his prince"!

The fact is that Thomas Harrison is the one Englishman about whom more infamous lies have been told than any other. He was one of the simplest in demeanour, most honest in action, most brave in endurance, most advanced in intelligence, and clearest-headed in understanding. That he was deeply imbued with the doctrines of the Bible is most true. But all those alleged rantings and ravings we have heard so much about, are the dust his enemies designedly kicked up to hide his real character. Carlyle has a justly savage tirade against the cowardly stupidity of the English people in allowing the one great heroism of their history, the uprising of the Puritan democracy, to be lied down.

In his single person, Thomas Harrison represents the lion's share of this martyrdom. From the pamphleteers and balladists of 1660 down to that bigoted Tory, Sir Walter Scott, every use of Thomas Harrison's name has been coupled with an outrageous invention. The few fragments of his utterances preserved to us, and every authentic fact recorded of him, prove him to have been the unswerving, incorruptible apostle of the rights of man. Among a phalanx of thieves, who had stabbed the fair form of English liberty and sold the English Republic to stuff their own insatiate maws (and whose descendants are revelling in that plunder to this hour), it was Thomas Harrison's boast when, as first martyr of the Restoration, he mounted the scaffold at Charing Cross, that he left nothing to his wife and babes but the Bible he had held as his text-book. No wonder the land, and tax, and usury-eating thieves, who had just partitioned England among them, had to lie down such a reproach to their iniquity!

S.

## JONES' BOY ONCE MORE.

"SAY, pa, what is that big place over there?" asked the inquisitive boy, as he was taking a walk out on Sunday afternoon.

"That is the central prison, my son."

"What is it for, pa?"

"Oh, for putting bad people in; thieves and such."

"What are thieves, pa?"

"A thief is a man who takes things that belong to other people."

"Oh, yes, I mind now. When Bill Fisher went into Mr. Shortweight's grocery store and bought some things, and then, when Mr. Shortweight was not looking, put a whole lot of other things in his basket, they said he was a thief. He was sent to prison, wasn't he, pa?"

"Yes, my son. Everybody said it served him right, too."

"No, not everybody, pa; I heard one man say that the judge should have considered that Bill's wife was sick, and he hadn't any money except what he had just paid the grocer, and had no work, and that the things he stole were just what his wife and his little baby needed. He said the jury should be strung up. You was on the jury, wasn't you, pa?"

"That man was some socialist, or something. It would not do to allow sentiment to interfere with justice."

"I heard a man say that Bill's wife had died of a broken heart; that two of his girls had turned out bad, and that it was more than likely all the others would, as no one would hire them because their father was a thief. He said, too, that Bill would come out of prison a regular criminal."

"You see, my son, the way of the transgressor is hard; and the sins of the parents are visited on the children."

"If ma was sick and me and the rest were starving, and you had no money and couldn't get work, and had a chance to steal a loaf of bread, and couldn't get it any other way, what would you do?"

"I'd— Why do you ask such foolish questions?"

"Because I think you'd be too mean to live if you didn't steal it. And if I had been on the jury, Bill wouldn't be in jail and his girls wouldn't be gone bad."

"But stealing must be put down."

"Then it's really and truly stealing if a man takes two dollars' worth of goods and only pays for one of them, is it; even if he does it to keep his family from starving?"

"To be sure."

"Say, pa, is Sam Jones working in your brick-yard now?"

"Yes, and he is a pretty good man; about as good as I've got."

"How much do you pay him?"

"A dollar a day."

"How much do you pay the other men?"

"Just the same; a dollar a day."

"Well, I heard you tell ma that Sam did more work than three men; does he?"

"Yes, he's a first-class man."

"Why does he work for the same as the men who don't do as much work? Why don't he quit?"

"He's hired by the year, and his time is always up in the slack time, when he couldn't get another job. Then he has a lot of children, and his wife is sick mostly, so he can't risk losing his job."

"My! you got him in a fix, didn't you, pa?"

"Oh, well, business men have to make the most of their opportunities."

"I guess Bill Fisher thought he was making the most of his opportunities when he took his chances when the grocer wasn't looking."

"What do you mean?"

"Oh, nothing; only I was thinking whether there was much difference between you and Bill Fisher. He took more things from the grocer than he paid for; you take more work from Sam Jones than you pay for. Is taking more work than you pay for stealing, pa?"

"No, stupid! What I make off Sam is profit; it is perfectly legitimate!"

"What's legitimate?"

"Legitimate is legal; sanctioned by law. Anything the law allows is legitimate."

"Oh, I see. Taking a man's work without paying for it is profit, because it's legitimate; taking a man's groceries without paying for them is stealing, because it isn't. That's the way, is it?"

"Oh, don't bother; you make me tired."

"Say, what's law? What makes anything law?"

"Why, the voters; that is, those who have votes elect men to Parliament, and then Parliament says what is to be law. Do you understand?"

"Have you got a vote, pa?"

"Yes, I vote for four members."

"Has Sam a vote, too?"

"Yes, he has one."

"Does he vote for the same men as you do?"

"Well, I expect him to. If I found he didn't I might discharge him."

"I guess men who work like Sam have not much to say in making laws, have they?"

"Well, they have their votes, but intelligence counts. We generally fix things so they can't do much harm. Last election our side nominated Mr. Straddle and the other side put up Mr. Jumper, and so, whichever was elected, we knew that the laws would be all right anyhow."

"I guess if Sam and his set had the making of the laws they would send men to prison for the legitimate stealing just the same as the other kind. How would you like to be sent to jail, and have ma die and your children go bad, like Bill Fisher, and when you couldn't say that you stole Sam Jones' work to keep your sick wife and children from starving, either?"

"Tut, tut, boy; don't be so silly."

"Say, pa, I heard the minister telling you that Sam and his wife are real Christians; are they?"

"I believe they are."

"He said that though they were very poor, and had no carpets and pictures, and no furniture to speak of, and hardly enough to eat, they were content and piously thankful to God. Do you believe that?"

"Why, of course."

"Are you piously thankful, too?"

"I hope so."

"Well, you ought to be. If Sam is thankful for one dollar when he works for three, you ought to be pretty thankful for two when you don't work for any."

"Run away now, and play. Here's ten cents to go into the zoo and see the monkeys."

"I don't want to see the monkeys; I'd rather talk to you and amuse you. The minister said it was the devil that tempted Bill Fisher to take the things from the grocer; was it him that put you up to making that bargain with Sam?"

"Oh, don't bother me; you're talking nonsense."

"Say, pa, will Sam Jones go to heaven?"

"Likely: he's a good Christian."

"Will you go, too?"

"I hope so."

"What will you say if he asks you about that two dollars a day, and begins to talk about doing unto others as you'd like them to do to you?"

"Oh, don't chatter so; you make my head ache."

"And suppose they ask you about being on that jury, and about Bill Fisher and his girls?"

"Stop talking, I say."

"Say, pa, have they got dictionaries in heaven?"

"What a question! What would they do with dictionaries?"

"Oh, I just thought it would be lucky for you if they had, or they mightn't know the difference between legitimate stealing and the other kind."

"Quit, now! Not another word or I'll send you right home."

SPOKESHAVE, in *Labour Reform*.



## THE RECENT INTERNATIONAL TRADES CONGRESS.

The Trades Union Congress Parliamentary Committee report as follows to the trades unions of the United Kingdom, on the International Trades Union Congress, held in London on November 6th, 7th, 8th, 9th, and 10th, 1880. We think that our readers will find it interesting, though hardly in the way it was intended:—

### TO THE OFFICERS OF TRADE SOCIETIES AND TRADES COUNCILS.

Gentlemen,—In obedience to the resolution passed at the Bradford Congress, appointing us its representatives, we attended the International Trades Union Congress, held in London, in November, 1888. In addition to ourselves, there were 77 delegates from the Unions of the United Kingdom, 17 from France, 10 from Belgium, 9 from Holland, 2 from Denmark, and 1 from Italy, making a total of 115 delegates present. Mr. George Shipton, our chairman, was elected chairman for the week, Mr. Slatter, treasurer, and Mr. Broadhurst secretary. In consequence of the publication of a report of the Congress, it is unnecessary here to dwell on the details of its procedure and results. The initial difficulty of international gatherings is the confusion of language. However efficient the interpretation, it can never serve the purpose of direct verbal intercourse. Having regard to this great barrier, we may with reason say that less confusion was felt than might have been expected. Mr. A. Smith (the committee's interpreter) is a writer for the *Proletariat*, one of the organs of the Paris workmen, and in an article immediately preceding the Congress, used language in respect to the British trade unionists calculated to lessen their influence in the Congress, and to hold them up in a disparaging, if not odious, light to their fellow delegates from the Continent. Mr. Smith was questioned by us with regard to his conduct, and made what we considered to be a very unsatisfactory reply. After a careful perusal of the report of the Congress you will be enabled to form your own opinion as to the resultant value of the meeting. In order to assist you to arrive at a sound judgment we present the following points for your consideration:—1. Has the cause of labour in the United Kingdom been advanced by the Congress? 2. Has the cause of trade-unionism (as we understand it) been advanced on the Continent? 3. Has the Congress done anything towards cementing the friendship of the workers of different nationalities? We cannot undertake the responsibility of saying no to these questions, but, notwithstanding our present inability to discern that any good has been accomplished, we trust that seed may have been sown and germs engendered which may in the distant future grow and ripen into solid gain and advantage to the cause of labour. It must always be remembered that the Continental worker starts upon a basis not yet adopted in this country—that with regard to labour it is the duty of the State and the Municipality to do nearly all that has been done and is being done in this country by private and individual or associated effort. On the other hand, the Anarchists—the extreme party—disbelieve in governments and corporations, and advise universal strikes at a given time, throughout the world, in order to bring about a revolution and to starve capital. It was not shown at the Congress whether labour was or was not to starve also at the same time. Curiously enough the majority of the British section was driven to vote for a resolution proposed by an Anarchist in preference to a Socialist resolution. In this case we only voted for certain words, and were entirely opposed to the reasons which prompted the resolution. This incident illustrates the difficulty and danger of going into such diverse councils without appearing to support resolutions which we really condemn in order to escape from what we consider to be greater evils. We shall, however, take no action on any of the resolutions passed unless instructed so to do by the Dundee Congress next September. As an appendix to the Congress report, we publish the agenda of business, which contains the whole of the resolutions that were prepared on the four questions contained in the programme upon which the Congress was convened, in order that you might see what possibility there was of any practical decisions being arrived at. The people represented by the continental delegates are engaged in the same industries as those represented by the British delegates; and in many cases are manufacturing goods which come into competition, both at home, our colonies, and abroad, with the goods manufactured in this country. Continental workmen are toiling 60 or 80 hours per week for about half the wages obtained by Trade-unionists in Great Britain for 40 to 60 hours' labour per week. Yet, so far as we are aware, little or no notice was taken of this vast difference of condition. No inquiries were made as to how we had obtained this advantage; nor was any tribute paid to the organisations and the means by which our present position had been attained. We were advised that it was our duty to obtain by law a further approach to a national eight hours a day. Of course, the foreign delegates gave the same advice to their own countrymen, but we would rather see them reduce their own excessive hours down to our level, and bring their wages somewhat nearer to our standard, before we enter into an agitation for the establishment of an eight hours law in this country. We think eight hours' work per day is long enough for any man, much less a woman, and we are glad to know that many British workmen have practically reduced their working time to that limit, and in some cases to even less. This might be even more extensively accomplished if the workers would join trade unions in greater numbers. The general outcome of our observations is that we think there is little substantial advantage to be gained by the British trades in taking part in an international conference while such conditions prevail. If the Continental workers would organise and make a determined stand against their low wages and long hours, it would be our duty to help them in every possible way; but until they accomplish something solid in this direction, it is open to grave doubt whether much practical good can come out of conferences the constituent parts of which are so dissimilar and unequal. We do not at present intend to express any definite opinion on the question of future International Congresses, as we have no desire to prejudice the trades on the subject. The voting at the late Congress was by nationality, and as all the Continental delegates almost invariably voted one way, the British were destined beforehand to be out-voted in most cases by five to one. It was the desire of our friends that the foreign delegates should have every opportunity of making speeches and inquiries, consequently the British delegates occupied but little of the time of the meeting, many not speaking at all during the whole week. The Parliamentary Committee gave a reception, at the Westminster Palace Hotel, on the eve of the Congress, to the whole of the delegates, both British and foreign. The London Trades Council gave a princely (*sic!*) dinner to the whole Congress, at the Holborn Restaurant, on the Thursday night, and the managers of the Toynbee Hall gave a supper to

the foreign delegates on the Wednesday night, to which the Parliamentary Committee were invited, but were unable to accept the invitation. We felt that a brief report of some impressions of this international event was due to the trades who composed the last Congress, and who delegated us to represent it. In consequence of the correspondence being very large, and most of it in foreign languages, the work of organising the Congress was exceptionally heavy. It is quite safe to say that such a pressure on the office has never been known since the formation of the committee, twenty-one years back. Yet we hope, and believe, that our heavy home correspondence and general work has not been neglected to the detriment of the interest of the trade. We are, yours truly,

G. Shipton (chairman), E. Harford (vice-chairman), H. Slatter (treasurer), J. Mawdsley, W. Crawford, T. Birtwistle, J. M. Jack, W. Inskip, J. Inglis, J. Swift, Hy. Broadhurst (secretary).

## REVOLUTIONARY CALENDAR.

WEEK ENDING DECEMBER 31, 1888.

23	Sun.	1789. Heine born. 1864. Bronterre O'Brien died.
24	Mon.	1795. Trial of Michael Maguire for high treason. 1883. Arabi leaves Egypt an exile. 1887. Strike on Philadelphia and Reading Railroad.
25	Tues.	Christmas Day. 1066. Inauguration and election of William the Conqueror at Westminster Abbey. 1676. Sir Matthew Hale died.
26	Wed.	1825. Revolutionary rising of several guard regiments against accession of Nicholas to the throne ( <i>Decembrists</i> ). Sentences: death, 5; hard labour, 88; banishment, 18; enlisted as soldiers, 9.
27	Thur.	1867. Fenian attack on Fota Martello Tower. 1880. Trial begins of Parnell and others for "conspiracy to prevent tenants from paying their rent."
28	Fri.	1795. Trial of John Leary for high treason. 1870. Marshal Prim shot at and fatally wounded.
29	Sat.	1834. T. R. Malthus died. 1883. Col. Soudeikin and his chief assistant found dead.
30	Sun.	1870. Death of Marshal Prim. 1878. Henry Vincent died. 1884. Socialist League founded.
31	Mon.	1857. Sepoys blown from guns. 1874. Ledru Rollin died. 1882. Gambetta died.

*James Bronterre O'Brien.*—This greatest of the Chartist leaders was probably the most honest and widely informed of all social reformers who have put their faith in the sublime blessing of a paternal government, acting in the interest of "the people." That no coercive government, acting through frail mortal agents, can possibly be an honest servant of all its constituents is one of those eternal truths which men are learning by sad experience. O'Brien was unfortunately a lawyer, and poisoned from the start with a lawyer's religious reverence for "legal" methods. The wonder is, however, that O'Brien was able as an outsider to so educate himself and to educate others in the secrets of the social shackles of the wage-slaves. O'Brien was born in Ireland in 1802, and died in London. To him, more than any other individual, the newspaper press owes its present freedom. He suffered imprisonment and ostracism, and the only powerful democratic newspaper to-day in Great Britain which has the remotest claim to be anything but a wolf in sheep's clothing, so far as the workers are concerned, practically owes its foundation and all its inspiration to O'Brien. It is a satire on human fancy that, although Irishmen are above everything else devoted to political and social science, by far the greatest man as a politician and social philosopher Ireland ever has or is ever likely to produce, is almost unknown even among his fellow-countrymen, while swarms of Irish place-hunters and spouters, creatures of the hour, have their names on every tongue and consider themselves enshrined in "history." Yet thoughtful men, honestly seeking for solid intellectual food on social subjects, will keep enshrined as that of a giant memory the name of James Bronterre O'Brien.—L. W.

The following note was omitted last week through want of space:

*The Ghost of the Czar.*—A report circulated in St. Petersburg that the ghost of the late Czar had been seen during the night in Kazan Cathedral. It had come out of the sanctuary and had proceeded to light the candles upon the high altar. It had then turned towards the body of the church, and said, "My son, come to me; thou shalt meet with the same fate as thy father." The next night a sentinel was placed on guard inside the cathedral, and it is said that he witnessed the same apparition and was afterwards found half dead with fright. It is very improbable that this miraculous event could have happened anywhere else but in Russia, where the dim twilight of ancient superstition still lovingly lingers. One wonders whether the awful apparition was the effect of the great events which disturb men's minds, an adventurous Nihilist, or a somnambulant priest whose nightly slumbers were disturbed by an indigestible supper. Probably the latter hypothesis is the correct one, as we are not aware that his late majesty, before his translation to heaven by scientific agency, knew much of priestly duties, in which the ghost appears to have been an adept. Will the prophecy fulfil itself, I wonder, and thus add another authentic apparition to the list of the Psychological Society?—D. N.

NOTE.—The Revolutionary Calendar has now completed a year in the columns of the *Commonweal*. During the latter part of the time, the notes upon the events recorded in it have suffered from the pressure of unforeseen events. It will be again issued weekly in the *Commonweal* throughout the coming year, and advantage will be taken of the fact to perfect it in all ways as far as possible, and to prepare for its issue in a volume of handy size as an almanack and calendar for 1890. As will be remembered, the nucleus of the calendar was compiled by comrade Tom Muse of Carlisle; with his consent, I assumed the editorship and set to work to add dates and secure contributions. In so doing I have received constant and valuable aid from comrades Dave, Shore, Thaykovsky, and Withington, who have all promised to continue their co-operation. Further announcement will be made shortly.  
H. H. S.

SAME HERE.—In New South Wales, a rioter is one who strikes against long hours, low wages and industrial slavery, and passes, his time in hooting scabs. An industrious and honest working man, is one who works when others strike, and loafs when others work; and who always assists the down-trodden capitalist to defeat the tyrannical unionists.—*Radical*.



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

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

- CLUB SECRETARY.—We shall be pleased to insert notices of your lectures regularly if you send them in time. We make no charge.
- O. F.—The "White Terror" was that which followed the restoration of the Bourbons in 1815, when the clericals and reactionaries took a wild and sweeping revenge.
- S. F.—"Selections from the Poems of Alex. Petöfi," translated by Henry Phillips, jun., Philadelphia (privately printed), 1885; 12mo. "Translations from Alexander Petöfi," by Sir J. Bowring, London, 1886; 8vo. "Gems from Petöfi and other Hungarian Poets," W. N. Loew; New York, 1881; 8vo. None of these contain any of his revolutionary poetry.
- S. M.—Warren Hastings, Governor-General of India, was tried by the peers of Great Britain for "high crimes and misdemeanours," the taking of bribes, etc. The trial lasted 145 days, covering seven years and three months; beginning February 13, 1788, ending with his acquittal April 23, 1795. Sheridan's was chief among the great speeches delivered in the course of it.
- S. C. H. and J. S. R.—Replies next week.

Periodicals received during the week ending Wednesday December 19.

<b>ENGLAND</b>	Chicago—Knights of Labor	<b>ITALY</b>
Freedom	Vorbote	Turin—Nuova Gazzetta Operaia
Die Autonomie	Die Fackel	Rome, L'Emancipazione (daily)
Justice	Herald	<b>SPAIN</b>
Labour Tribune	Detroit—Der Arme Teufel	Barcelona—El Productor
London—Freie Presse	San Francisco Arbeiter-Zeitung	Madrid—El Socialista
Montrose Review	Coast Seamen's Journal	<b>PORTUGAL</b>
Norwich—Daylight	Valley Falls (Kan.)—Fair Play	Lisbon—O Protesto Operario
Postal Service Gazette	<b>FRANCE</b>	Porto—A Revolucao Social
Railway Review	Paris—Cri du Peuple (daily)	<b>GERMANY</b>
Rochdale Observer	Le Parti Ouvrier (daily)	Berlin—Volks Tribune
Social Demokrat	La Revolte	<b>AUSTRIA</b>
The Union	Le Proletariat	Wien—Gleichheit
Worker's Friend	Le Coup de Feu	Brunn—Volksfreund
<b>NEW SOUTH WALES</b>	Lille—Le Cri du Travailleur	<b>HUNGARY</b>
Hamilton—Radical	St.-Etienne—La Loire Socialist	Arbeiter-Wochen-Chronik
<b>INDIA</b>	<b>HOLLAND</b>	<b>ROMANIA</b>
Banking—Behar Herald	Hague—Recht voor Allen	Jassy—Municipal
Madras—People's Friend	<b>BELGIUM</b>	<b>DENMARK</b>
<b>UNITED STATES</b>	Ghent—Voortuit	Social-Demokraten
New York—Der Sozialist	Liege—L'Avenir	<b>SWEDEN</b>
Truthseeker	Antwerp—De Werker	Malmö—Arbetet
Alarm	<b>SWITZERLAND</b>	Stockholm, Social-Demokraten
Baecker Zeitung	Arbeiterstimme	<b>NORWAY</b>
Workmen's Advocate	Geneva—Przedswit	Kristiania—Social-Demokraten
Boston—Woman's Journal		
Liberty		

TALK AND ART.

THE ART CONGRESS (or whatever is the proper name for it) at which I assisted last week, may easily be made a mark at which to shoot shafts of ridicule. The crowds of lion-worshipping ladies, the many worthy artists set up to speak about an art which is above all things a matter of the instructed eye and deft hand; and many of them into the bargain but poor speakers, in all senses of the word (small blame to them for that same, since above all things their craft is of *doing*). The bands of idle busy-bodies; the stock phrases bandied about by people who, if questioned about them, would have been able to give but a sorry account of their meaning; and which phrases, when repeated to a reasonable person for the fiftieth time, became at last difficult to reply to with the amiable grin expected on the occasion instead of an outburst of the fury within him. All this the outward manifestation of the set of fashion towards "earnestness" in the minor arts is discouraging enough, and I thought I discerned in the faces of my Socialist friends whom I met there some of the shame-facedness which I myself felt. Nor did I wonder that the "manufacturers" lay low under the storm of open denunciation and implied censure and scorn which was the leading feature of the Congress: nay, I had an uncomfortable sensation, as though I could feel them chuckling at our expense, as if they were saying, "Well, after all, this fine gathering for talk, and all its materials, including the well-fed, well-clothed, well housed artists who are abusing us, have passed through our hands before they got here, and by no means unfruitfully for us. You also, our friends the artists, are our slaves, though your tether may be somewhat longer than that of our factory hands; nor do we much heed your talk, for it and your Congress and your village industries do us

no harm on the one hand, and are rather good for trade on the other. In short, we are the masters of the situation, and you cannot help it; and indeed the greater part of you would be very sorry to help it if you could, and sacrifice your comforts to disturbance in the present and severity of life in the future."

That at first seemed to me to be the mocking echo of our talk at Liverpool; and no doubt not one cog or fly-wheel will be displaced in that horrible South Lancashire by all the murmuring sea of talk. Yet after all even this set of fashion against commercial production on one side of it, and the silence of the manufacturers under it, are tokens of the sickness of society and the change drawing near: an epoch whose system is healthy and flourishing does not protest against and is not conscious of any loss which it suffers from the necessary process of that system; it accepts without murmur the gains which the system has brought about, and only thinks of fresh gains to be obtained by the perfecting of the process which has been found necessary to the conditions of life of the passing day. Nor, in spite of their chuckling, are the manufacturers in as good a position as they boast themselves: we know that. They are driven by necessity to find work for the demon which they have created, and which threatens to eat them up. Perhaps it is the knowledge or suspicion of this fact that keeps them silent under the attack of the artists. Else one would have expected to have seen many utterances like a clever letter published the other day in the *Manchester Guardian*, the writer of which told the artists roundly that it was their business to paint and not to talk (meaning, of course, that they should forget that they, scrubs as they are, are citizens), taunting them with wrapping themselves up in the past and not heeding the present world-grief (he used the German word), and reminding people that a spinning-jenny was a much more important thing than a carved chest or an illuminated manuscript.

All this sounds at first sight like common-sense, and even seems to have some elevation of aim in it; but after all it is but clap-trap. Let us forget the grievance of the humbug and hypocrisy that always hangs itself on to every movement that shows discontent with the present, and see what it is that the artists are aiming at, those of them who are in earnest. Their aim, instinctive or conscious, is to make everybody an artist; whereas the aim of the *Guardian* letter-writer (signing himself "P.") is to make everybody a "manufacturer" or a manufacturer's "dependent." To him the spinning-jenny is glorious, not because it produces yarn which the public can use, but because it produces "hands" whom the manufacturers can use; so no wonder that "P." wants the artists to glorify the modern world-grief, since it is the system which he and his live by and have created. "P.'s" aim is to realise a world for the manufacture of market-wares—i.e., manufacturers' profits—made without the will of the makers and in the teeth of their miserable toil.

And what for? That Manchester may be made. And why should Manchester be made? That market-goods bearing a profit may be made. What a lamentable vicious circle! But the artists' aim is that all men should be artists. Folly! cries "P.," and perhaps also some of our readers. But wait a little! What is an artist? A man who works at useful work that is fit for him and according to his own will. Therefore the artists are right in their aim; for when work is so done the world will be happy, but not before. Here is a worthy aim indeed; whereas "P." and his brethren have no aim, nothing more than an instinct for going on living at the expense of the workers.

I say again, in wishing to make all people artists, the artists are absolutely right, whatever follies they may be entangled in while they are still unconscious of their aim and its meaning. But those of them who are worth anything will not long remain unconscious of their aim. They see through the hypocrisy about the world-grief, with which the Philistine tries to sentimentalise filth, stink, and hideousness; their senses as human animals have led them on the right road so far at least as to demand beauty and interest in life for themselves at any rate, and they will soon find out that they cannot have this except by means of the co-operation of the labour that produces the ordinary wares of life; and that co-operation again they cannot have as long as the workmen are dependent on the will of a master. They must co-operate consciously and willingly for livelihood, and out of that free co-operation will spring the expression of individual character and gifts which we call art. Then those spinning-jennies which so affect "P.'s" soul will be used for producing yarns which we want, and not yarns that we only want to sell.

WILLIAM MORRIS.

NOTICE.

Subscribers who find a red mark against this notice are thereby reminded that their subscriptions have expired and must be renewed before the New Year if they wish to continue to receive *Commonweal*.

ENGINE-DRIVERS' HOURS.—What does Colonel Rich mean when, in his report on the collision at the Subway Junction of the Great Western Railway, he presents to the Board of Trade the hours of duty of the engine-driver in such a form as he has selected? He says the driver commenced work at 4.45, but was not working between 9.50 and 12.37 p.m., 1 and 2 p.m., 2.30 and 4 p.m., 4.55 and 5.55 p.m. At 7.13 p.m. he came into collision, but Col. Rich declines to say that he had been on duty 14½ hours, as he had been, simply because between the hours mentioned above the man was not running a train. Is Colonel Rich so ignorant of railway matters as to believe that in those intervals he has quoted the driver had nothing else to do but twirl his thumbs or lie on his back? If he is so credulous as to believe such things, the fact is to be deplored that one holding such a position as he does should be so easily gulled.—*Railway Review*.

## THE SOWER.

JAMES RUSSELL LOWELL.

I SAW a Sower walking slow  
Across the earth, from east to west;  
His hair was white as mountain snow,  
His head drooped forward on his breast.

With shrivelled hands he flung his seed,  
Nor ever turned to look behind;  
Of sight or sound he took no heed;  
It seemed he was both deaf and blind.

His dim face showed no soul beneath,  
Yet in my heart I felt a stir,  
As if I looked upon the sheath  
That once had clasped Excalibur.

I heard, as still the seed he cast,  
How, crooning to himself, he sung,  
"I sow again the holy Past,  
The happy days when I was young.

"Then all was wheat without a tare,  
Then all was righteous, fair, and true;  
And I am he whose thoughtful care  
Shall plant the Old World in the New.

"The fruitful germs I scatter free,  
With busy hand, while all men sleep;  
In Europe now, from sea to sea,  
The nations bless me as they reap."

Then I looked back along his path,  
And heard the clash of steel on steel,  
Where man faced man in deadly wrath,  
While clanged the tocsin's hurrying peal.

The sky with burning towns flared red,  
Nearer the noise of fighting rolled,  
And brothers' blood, by brothers shed,  
Crept curdling over pavements cold.

Then marked I how each germ of truth,  
Which through the dotard's fingers ran,  
Was mated with a dragon's tooth  
Whence there sprang up an armed man.

I shouted, but he could not hear;  
Made signs, but these he could not see;  
And still, without a doubt or fear,  
Broadcast he scattered anarchy.

Long to my straining ear the blast  
Brought faintly back the words he sung:  
"I sow again the holy Past,  
The happy days when I was young."

## LETTER FROM AMERICA.

How depraved American journalism is may be seen from the following paragraph I clipped from the New York Herald (italics mine): "The heaviest sorrow of his life has fallen upon General William Tecumseh Sherman, for his beloved wife, whose hopeless illness was announced exclusively in the Herald, died yesterday morning at half-past nine o'clock."

The delegates to the Knights of Labour General Assembly at Indianapolis have gone home. More than likely this will be the last conference of any importance. The seceders, under leadership of Thomas Barry, will meet in a few weeks in Chicago and draw up a constitution and declaration of principles for an improved society. I believe this new organisation will meet same fate as one Joseph Buchanan and some previous seceders started also in Chicago about one year ago—that is, it will die pretty speedily. In the declaration of principles, Barry will lay special stress on the eight-hour day, the abolition of child labour, the regulation of female labour, manual training, and factory and shop inspection. He will denounce the antagonism of the Knights of Labour to the trades unions. The local assemblies will be independent, acknowledge no general executive board, and pay no tribute to general officers. The organisation is to be secret in the same sense as the Knights of Labour. The chief novel feature, however, is said—and here the cloven foot is shown—to be the active interest the new organisation will take in politics, and Barry will use either Democrats or Republicans to gain his ends.

In my last letter I predicted a general onslaught on organised labour, but I never supposed the bosses would act so cynically as they have done during the last week. The Brewery Working-men's Protective Association (ale and porter brewers) of New York had boycotted David Stevenson and Co., on account of employing rats. The Employers' Association resolved to sustain the boycotted firm. The Protective Association threatened a general strike of the fifteen hundred employés. The bosses resolved to discharge any employé who would not pledge himself to stop paying dues to his union so long as it is engaged in a boycott. They advertised for men in want of permanent employment, and 1,400 immediately offered. Their names and addresses were taken. Promptly during the dinner-hour each boss assembled his men and required each one to pledge himself as stated. With the exception of perhaps a dozen men, all the employés agreed to the terms proposed. The bosses at once met and resolved—

"Whereas all our present employés have this day pledged themselves not to contribute to any organisation which is engaged in forcing a boycott; and whereas we have accepted this pledge in good faith; therefore be it resolved that upon receiving sufficient evidence that any man in our employ has broken this pledge he will be immediately discharged."

Jay Gould's nerves may be unstrung, but his condition, apparently, does not prevent him pursuing his old game of robbing the public in grand style. He has developed a scheme for concentration which bids fair to be the

marvel of the nineteenth century. Perhaps in no branch of trade or industry has competition been so bitter as between the different railroads. Yet Jay has found the way for union. It is not a trust in name, but a trust in fact. The inter-State commerce law forbids the railroads to unite as a trust or to form a pool; but Jay Gould has found, to use the words of Russell Sage, his henchman, "a way to evade that law." Another equally candid railroad-magnate says, "The railroad managers have succeeded in beating around the inter-State commerce law." But to the point. From the best information now available the railroad mileage of the United States is estimated at 152,781. Jay Gould, C. P. Huntington, Charles Francis Adams, and others, have been in conference for weeks, and the result has been a great combination to include all the lines between Chicago and the Rocky Mountains. The roads who consent to join are—Atchison, Topeka, and Santa Fe, 8,000 miles; Burlington and Missouri River, 2,753; Burlington, Cedar Rapids, and Northern, 1,046; Chicago, Burlington, and Quincy, 2,063; Chicago, Burlington, and Northern, 442; Chicago, Rock Island, and Pacific, 4,000; Chicago and North-Western, 4,383; Chicago, Milwaukee, and St. Paul, 5,669; Chicago, St. Paul, and Kansas City, 800; Chicago, St. Paul, Minneapolis, and Omaha, 1,354; Colorado Midland, 221; Central Iowa, 636; Chicago and Alton, 1,000; Denver and Rio Grande, 1,474; Denver, Texas, and Fort Worth, 800; Fremont, Elkhorn, and Missouri Valley, 1,351; Illinois Central, 2,600; Minneapolis and St. Louis, 600; Missouri Pacific system, 6,000; Northern Pacific (part of), 1,000; St. Louis and San Francisco, 1,457; Union Pacific, 6,392; Wisconsin Central, 700; Wabash (part of), 956; Southern Pacific (part of), 1,200. Total principal systems, 65,997 m.

Three propositions were presented to the conference—one providing for a division of traffic, another for a division of earnings, and a third for a "clearing house." It is understood that the last plan was accepted because the other two were likely to bring the roads interested into conflict with the inter-State commerce law. Under the "clearing house" arrangement, there is to be an executive board of three. One is to be chairman of the "clearing house," and the other two are to be known as vice-chairman of the freight department and vice-chairman of the passenger department. The object of the "clearing house" is—

"(a) To secure complete reports of all competitive traffic carried by either of the parties hereto between points west of a north and south line drawn through Chicago and Milwaukee on the east, St. Paul and Minneapolis on the north, the State of Colorado and the territories of New Mexico and Wyoming, all inclusive, on the west, and the State of Kansas on the south. (b) To prescribe the rates, rules and regulations which shall govern in the conduct of the passenger and freight traffic as aforesaid, and insure their strict maintenance by all members. (c) To prescribe the character of the service and the conveniences which shall be offered the travelling and shipping public."

It is expected that rates will go up at once in consequence of this arrangement about 25 to 50 per cent.

The wholesale butter-dealers have formed a trust, and the price of butter has been raised within the last ten days from 1s. 1½d. to 1s. 10d., or a sudden increase of 8½d. a pound.

The trial of John Hronek has come off in Chicago, and he has been sentenced to twelve years' imprisonment. It is the same old story, and Bonfield has not even thought it worth while to introduce new methods. State-Attorney Longenecker appeared for the prosecution, and a Mr. Goldzier for the defence. The "trial" began on November 27th in the Court of Judge Collins. Longenecker explained that Sevic, Chapek, and Chleboun had been granted separate trials to enable Chleboun to turn informer. Chleboun testified that he met prisoner at the house of an Anarchist; afterwards he was a frequent visitor at Hronek's house. The last Sunday in May, Hronek said he had missed a chance to kill Bonfield, and showed him about ten bombs. Bonfield here produced a tin can about 5 inches high, covered with a pretty paper and labelled "Cure for Rheumatism." Bonfield said the can contained dynamite of enormous strength, and the jury got the cold shivers. Hronek, continued Chleboun, said he wanted to kill Bonfield, Gary, and Grinnell. Hronek told him he wanted to do the killing himself, and after he was hung he wanted him (Chleboun) and Chapek to avenge his death. When Cleveland was last in Chicago, Hronek would have thrown a bomb under his carriage if a man called Schneider had not prevented him. Hronek had confessed having thrown the bomb at the Haymarket meeting. Some Bohemian detectives gave similar testimony. For the defence Hronek was put on the stand. He denied Chleboun's story *in toto*; he said he never had had any confidence in him, and always believed him to be in police pay. As regards the empty bomb-shells found in his house, he said, a man called Karafiat had given him a box in charge. Karafiat is now in Europe. The defence put about 50 of Chleboun's acquaintances on the witness-stand, who all gave him a very bad character. Many of them declared they would not believe him even under oath. He was a man who never could tell the truth. The jury returned a verdict of guilty. The jury was out for about an hour, and then could only agree to a compromise, many of the jurymen being in favour of a longer sentence.

Hronek is as innocent as a child. The whole affair reduces itself to this: Bonfield wants to make his position safer by always "saving" the Commonwealth of Illinois. He got on to this man Chleboun through the good services of an unprincipled lawyer named Fisher. Chleboun knew Hronek, and had also heard of a mysterious box left by Karafiat at Hronek's house. Taking this as a basis Bonfield constructed the whole case. There is only one witness of importance—an informer; a person whom most of his acquaintances knew to be a confirmed incurable liar, and yet his testimony is taken to send a human being for twelve long dreary years to incarceration. However, we are living in a free country!

Newark, N.J., December 3, 1888.

HENRY F. CHARLES.

RAILWAY TYRANNY.—"We wish," says the *Railway Review*, "that the official in charge of the locomotive department at Grantham, Great Northern, would endeavour to act with a little more consideration towards those who are placed under his supervision, as by doing so he would not only render their lives a little more endurable, but would gain for himself a small modicum of respect, which by his present attitude towards his men he forfeits. Fines and other punishments for petty offences have been grievances for some time now at Grantham, and we have frequently been requested to refer to them. The latest infliction is that of multiplying the punishment for one offence, seeing that now all men who are fined have to sacrifice what becomes due to them as a coal premium. The originator of such a shabby proceeding has himself to thank for any ill-feeling that springs up against him in consequence of his action." That is all right so far as it goes, but are not the shareholders responsible for the ill-doings of their tool?



## THE LABOUR STRUGGLE.

BRITAIN.

Sheffield and Rotherham ironworkers expect another advance shortly under the arbitrator's award.

Derbyshire miners are getting along well with their new organisation; they are feeling the effects of standing aloof hitherto.

In response to an application for an advance by the stokers in its employ, the Wolverhampton Gas Company has conceded 2s. per week.

The Brechin mill-workers resolved, at a meeting on Saturday night, to use all legal means to secure the advance of wages demanded.

**WELSH MINERS.**—Six hundred men, employed at Battisfield Colliery, Bagillt, Flintshire, struck work on Tuesday in consequence of a wages dispute. This is the third strike within that number of months at the same colliery.

**WAGES IN IRELAND.**—Lady Aberdeen says the deepest depth of the sweating system is touched by the Donegal worker. The knitters of Donegal are paid from 1½d. to 2d. a pair for long socks; 1½d., or 2d. at the outside, for a day's work; 14d., if we include Sunday as a working day, for a whole week's toil.

**CARPENTERS' STRIKE.**—The carpenters employed in the Grangemouth dockyard, struck work Dec. 17th, and state that it is on account of the masters breaking an agreement made with them the other week, viz., not to employ joiners at carpenter work. The men on strike number thirty, and are members of the Trades' Union.

**LYE CLAY MINERS.**—There is a movement among the clay miners in the Lye district for an advance of wages. The men engaged at one important firm have ceased working owing to their application not being granted, and others are expected to follow their example. The men work under charter-masters, the rate of pay being according to the bulk of clay got.

**SHORT TIME IN THE COTTON TRADE.**—At a meeting of the Master Cotton Spinners Association of Bolton and district, held in Manchester on Tuesday 11th, it was resolved to run the mills only three days a week. The decision, which will affect many thousands of operatives, is the outcome of a dispute between the employers and workmen as to the quality of material supplied.

**SCOTCH COAL TRADE.**—At a private meeting held at Glasgow on Wednesday 12th, the Lanarkshire Coalmasters' Association agreed to advance their colliers' wages an additional 5 per cent. from the 15th January. This makes the total advance since October last 12½ per cent. The Fife and Clackmannan miners determined, Thursday 13th, to strike unless they received 10 per cent. advance.

**GLASGOW BAKERS.**—At a mass meeting of bakers held at Glasgow on Dec. 15, Mr. John Hayworth, President of the Baker's Federal Union, spoke of the need that existed for action, as he had met a man the other day who worked 86 hours a week. A motion was agreed to unanimously pledging all "to continue the present agitation until, by establishing a uniform hour in the morning, the trade as a whole may enjoy the rights of which they have for years been deprived."

**CRADLEY HEATH CHAINMAKERS AND CO-OPERATION.**—On the 12th inst., Cuninghame Graham, M.P., and Mr. Mahon, Secretary of the Labour Union, waited, at Dudley, on the Counties Trade Federation to explain a co-operative scheme for the Black Country chainmakers. The scheme was to borrow money from the Government at a minimum rate, erect factories, take tenders, and dispense with middlemen. The Federation agreed that the scheme was practicable, and proceeded to discuss it as workmen.

**CUMBERLAND MINERS' WAGES.**—At a meeting of the Cumberland Coal-owners' Association and the miners' representatives, held at the Commercial Hotel, Workington, on Thursday 13th, after a long discussion, it was agreed that an advance of 5 per cent. be given from the 10th inst. to the January audit, 1889. Should the audit allow a greater advance, the miners are to receive more; but should the audit give less, no reduction to be made till the April audit, at which time the wages will be paid on a sliding-scale average.

**THE WALSALL CHAINMAKERS.**—Application has been made by the men in connection with this trade for an advance in wages. At a meeting on Friday last (Dec. 14), replies were received from eight masters, four of whom expressed their willingness to give an advance if others would. The other replies stated that the application was premature, the state of trade not warranting an advance at present. The men contend that trade has improved, but that under it they are getting worse off. Ultimately it was resolved to appoint a deputation to meet the employers as early as possible in the new year, and that the secretary should write to the employers asking them to meet the deputation.

**HORSE NAIL MAKERS.**—The employers in this industry a short time ago decided to advance wages of operatives 3d. per 1,000, consequently the strike, which was general, soon terminated. The advance was given on condition that all employers paid the same. In one or two cases the whole of the men were not allowed to resume work, the employers refusing to pay the advance except on orders that were required. This, it was feared, would lead to another general turn out. This has now been avoided by the last of the employers sending for his workmen on Saturday last, and giving out iron at the advanced price. The operatives began work Monday. The workmen have now formed a union, and joined the Midland Counties Trades' Federation.

**UNION OF BURNLEY MINERS.**—Friday 14th, a large and enthusiastic mass meeting of Burnley miners was held with the view of forming a Union in the town. The President of the Lancashire Miners' Federation said that miners here, who number six thousand, had not dared to hold a public meeting for fourteen years, but during the last few weeks three hundred had joined the Union. Several of these had been discharged by their employers, but the matter would be brought before Parliament. The 10 per cent. advance had been refused in Burnley. The following resolution was unanimously passed: "That this meeting rejoices in the great amount of success which has attended the efforts recently put forth to organise the miners of Burnley like their fellow-workmen in other parts of Lancashire. We deeply regret the unfair action of the managers at the several collieries in discharging, and thus boycotting, about sixteen colliers for no other crime than joining the Union. Believing as we do that an intelligent Union is a means of self-protection, necessary to get miners their just rights, we hereby determine to press on with the work of organisation, and not to rest satisfied until we have got perfect freedom of action."

**COLLIERY DISPUTE AT GREASBRO'.**—The Old Parkgate Colliery has been set down owing to the dispute about the appointment of a checkweighman, and a fresh method of sorting the coal in the pit being introduced by the manager. The men have all along been indifferent as to unionism and organisation. During the recent agitation for an advance, they gave notice for 15 per cent., finally accepting 10 per cent. Since then a great change seems to have come over them. They have all, or nearly every one joined the association, and because there is no convenient place near the colliery where they can hold their meetings, they have allied themselves to the Carr House branch of the Yorkshire Miners' Association. They have not hitherto had a checkweighman. The men say they are now required to pick out all the hards from the softs in the pit, and receive no extra price for it. This, the men say, is giving them 10 per cent. with a vengeance. A number have received summonses for damages in laying the pit idle.

**DEDUCTION OF FINES FROM WAGES.**—In the House of Commons on Friday 7th, Mr. Bradlaugh asked the Home Secretary whether he could communicate to the House the opinion of the law officers of the Crown with reference to deductions from wages as "fines" when such deductions are other than the stoppage of unearned wage, and whether he would issue a circular to the inspectors of mines and factories giving instructions on that point. The Attorney-General, who answered the question, said: I have no objection to state that, in the opinion of myself and of the Home Secretary, deductions from wages as "fines" other than the stoppage of unearned wage are illegal. Of course, I ought to say that the facts of each particular case would require examination. The *Birmingham Post* comments: It is scarcely necessary to point out the great importance of this pronouncement. Fines are decreed for specified acts of misconduct, and are enforced by deductions from wages, in a very large proportion of factories in Birmingham and throughout the country. The legality of deducting fines from wages has, it is true, always been contested by the trades unions; but we believe no clear decision from a superior court has ever been obtained, and the almost invariable practice of magistrates in cases brought under the Employers and Workmen's Act of 1855 has been to confirm all such deductions from wages. After this declaration by the law officers of the Crown and by the Home Secretary, the practice of the magistrates will probably be reversed, and fines, if inflicted, will have to be recovered in some other way. At any rate the attention of the working classes will everywhere be directed to the fact that they are entitled to all the wages they have earned without any deduction. The pronouncement will be received with great satisfaction by trades unionists; and, there can be no question that in many factories systems of fines, pushed to an undue extent, and rigorously enforced, have been made the instruments of great hardship and tyranny.

### "SOCIETY."

"WHY, yes. It cannot be disguised. There are at Chesney Wold this January week, some ladies and gentlemen of the newest fashion, who have set up a Dandyism—in Religion, for instance. Who, in mere lackadaisical want of an emotion, have agreed upon a little dandy talk about the Vulgar wanting faith in things in general; meaning, in the things that have been tried and found wanting, as though a low fellow should unaccountably lose faith in a bad shilling after finding it out. Who would make the Vulgar very picturesque and faithful by putting back the hands upon the Clock of Time, and cancelling a few hundred years of history.

"There are also ladies and gentlemen of another fashion, not so new but very elegant, who have agreed to put a smooth glaze on the world and to keep down all its realities. For whom everything must be languid and pretty. Who have found out the perpetual stoppage. Who are to rejoice at nothing, and be sorry for nothing. Who are not to be disturbed by ideas. On whom even the Fine Arts attending in powder and walking backward like the Lord Chamberlain, must array themselves in the milliners' and tailors' patterns of past generations, and be particularly careful not to be in earnest or to receive any impress from the moving age.

"Then there is my Lord Boodle of considerable reputation with his party, who has known what office is, and who tells Sir Leicester Dedlock with much gravity, after dinner, that he really does not see to what the present age is tending. A debate is not what a debate used to be; the House is not what the House used to be; even a Cabinet is not what it formerly was. He perceives with astonishment, that supposing the present government to be overthrown, the limited choice of the Crown, in the formation of a new Ministry, would lie between Lord Coodle and Sir Thomas Doodle—supposing it to be impossible for the Duke of Tooodle to act with Goodle, which may be assumed to be the case in consequence of the breach arising out of that affair with Hoodle. Then, giving the Home Department and the Leadership of the House of Commons to Joodle, the Exchequer to Koodle, the Colonies to Loodle, and the Foreign Office to Moodle, what are you to do with Noodle? You can't offer him the Presidency of the Council, that is reserved for Poodle. You can't put him in the Woods and Forests, that is hardly good enough for Quoodle. What follows? That the country is shipwrecked, lost, and gone to pieces (as is made manifest to the patriotism of Sir Leicester Dedlock) because you can't provide for Noodle.

"On the other hand, the Right Honourable William Buffy, M.P., contends across the table with some one else that the shipwreck of the country—about which there is no doubt; it is only the manner of it that is in question—is attributable to Cuffy. If you had done with Cuffy what you ought to have done when he first came into Parliament, and had prevented him from going over to Duffy, you would have got him into an alliance with Fuffy, you would have had with you the weight attaching as a smart debater to Guffy, you would have brought to bear upon the elections the wealth of Huffy, you would have got in for three counties Juffy, Kuffy, and Luffy, and you would have strengthened your administration by the official knowledge and the business habits of Muffy. All this, instead of being as you now are, dependent on the mere caprice of Puffy.

"As to this point, and as to some minor topics, there are differences of opinion; but it is perfectly clear to the brilliant and distinguished circle, all round, that nobody is in question but Boodle and his retinue, and Buffy and his retinue.

"These are the great actors for whom the stage is reserved. A People there are, no doubt,—a certain large number of supernumeraries, who are to be occasionally addressed, and relied upon for shouts and choruses, as on the theatrical stage; but Boodle and Buffy, their followers and families, their heirs, executors, administrators and assigns, are the born first actors, managers and leaders, and no other can appear upon the scene for ever and ever."

CHARLES DICKENS in 'Bleak House.'

## INTERNATIONAL NOTES.

## FRANCE.

As our readers are aware, we do not care a fig for parliamentary methods and tactics, and electioneering at large is considered by us as mere humbug and dodgery; but at the same time, in this column of "notes and record of events" we have only to deal with facts, not with theories. As such, we chronicle this week the election of General Cluseret as representative of the Var Department, a completely agricultural district, in the French Assembly of Deputies. His election is all the more worth noticing, because it clearly shows the more and more revolutionary character of the French provinces. The bourgeois of the Var Department resorted to all sorts of means, good and bad, in order to defeat the Socialist candidate, and yet it was all in vain. Cluseret, the peasants were told, is a revolutionary by profession—the worst kind of man; with him the doctrines of international Socialism would enter the Chamber, exclaimed the *Temps*, the biggest of all bourgeois papers; his return meant "violent revolution" and "revenge of the Commune," and so on. The Opportunists, the Radicals with Clémenceau at their head, the Possibilists—all did their utmost against him; the whole governmental and administrative machinery was set at work to beat him; the Boulangists throw their best forces against him in the battle. At last they contested even his eligibility, he having been at war with Garibaldi against the Bourbons of Naples and afterwards against the slaveholders in America, losing thereby his nationality as a French citizen. In spite of all that, and solely because he was put forward as a revolutionary Socialist and an ex-member of the Commune, he won the contest. And on the very same day, in the Ardennes Department, another ex-member of the Commune, J. B. Clément, was shamefully beaten, not because he had been a "Communist," but because he had morally ceased to be one since he joined the "Possibilist Socialists," who seem to go more and more hand in hand with the Floquet-Ferry gang of sham-Republicans.

## GERMANY.

We shall soon have a monster trial for secret conspiracy at Elberfeld. No less than one hundred Socialists are to be tried on that indictment, and it is said that the proceedings will last for three months. There has never before been such a gigantic judicial farce in Germany. Several hundred witnesses, male and female, will come forward. The preliminary instruction of this forthcoming trial commenced on April 4, and concluded on Nov. 21. Several of them were then set free on bail, amounting to 10,000 marks. A considerable number of the accused having wives and children, the Socialists thought it their duty to collect funds for their support, but the magistrates, no doubt thinking that it would do them good to let them starve somewhat before sending them to prison, hurriedly got out an order preventing any collection being made. Such magistrates are not even scoundrels, they are simply beasts, and there will come a time when such beasts will be remembered by our German friends.

Last week, in connection with the above-mentioned trial, a thorough search was made at Dresden, at the houses of the two Socialist deputies, Bebel and Singer, who are already comprised in the list of witnesses. Perhaps the authorities thought that they would find something important, which might have enabled them to raise their position of witnesses into that of accused. But it appears they were completely disappointed.

## BELGIUM.

Strikes are going on in the Hainault province, increasing in some places, decreasing in others, but on the whole affect a rather serious character. In fact, it cannot be foreseen what to-morrow may bring us: the workers may at once recommence toiling for mere starvation wages, or a violent and desperate insurrection may be the result, and a very natural one too, of the numerous black meetings that are held day after day. We do not intend to record to-day, as we started doing last week, the new spots where strikes have broken out, or the numerous dynamite attempts that have been made here and there; we possibly may have to consider these events in our next issue under a somewhat different light to what many people perhaps think, and if so, we shall speak plainly. For the time being, some fifty or sixty men have been sent to prison, the Attorney-General of Brussels, Van Schoor, and the Administrator of Public Safety (i.e., the head of the Belgian detective department), Gauthier de Rasse, are on the spot, a thing which has never been seen or heard of before, and their agents, known and unknown ones, act under their personal supervision. We only wish to say now to the Belgian miners at strike that it will be very wise for them to be more prudent than ever and to watch very closely the various sorts of people they are dealing with in the numerous meetings and other manifestations they are now engaged in.

The open-air propaganda is carried on very lively in a way in Belgium. The Brussels burgomaster has prohibited meetings altogether; the mayor of Laeken, a suburb, also; that of Ixelles, another suburb, has allowed them to be held and even protects the meetings; and so it goes on in the various suburbs, the silly magistrates prohibiting and the wise ones admitting the public gatherings. Comrade Verrycken speaks at Laeken on the revision of the Belgian Constitution; is at once stopped by the police and charged by the disapproving magistrate with obstruction or what not. Then he walks along for half an hour or so and reaches Ixelles, where he speaks on the very same subject, amidst the general applause of the audience, including the approving mayor, who listens very attentively to our comrade. At Huy, near Liège, another Socialist has started open-air speaking and the mayor there fails to see anything wrong in it; at Liège, the burgomaster, a most liberal-viewing man, issues a decree based on a law enacted August 4th, 1790, and forbids all speechifying! On the whole, open-air meetings will be held everywhere, and the magistrates will soon be defeated.

## ITALY.

Our comrade Paolo Valera, who has been sentenced in Italy to several years of imprisonment, and has since lived in London as a political refugee, will shortly issue at Milano a pamphlet entitled 'Lasciatemi passare' (Let me pass through!), which is likely to create a great deal of sensation in Socialist circles, and perhaps also some ill-feeling. He intends therein to persuade Socialists convicted for political offences to ask for pardon from their respective governments, in order, as he takes it, that they might again be enabled to devote themselves to Socialist work and propaganda in their own country. Having been compelled to live far away from Italy for a considerable time, he seems to have come to the conclusion that Socialists

are hardly useful workers in the cause as soon as they have left their native land. We may further discuss his views when we have read his pamphlet; but in the meantime we know comrade Valera well enough to predict that he will hardly himself take advantage of his proposal. His intentions, we are certain, are good enough; but we know that hell even, as the saying goes, is paved with good intentions. V. D.

After the strike of the silkworkers of Varese and Como, the town of Lecco in the same province had its turn. On the 3rd inst. all the female silk-spinners struck work for shorter hours and an increase of wages. Their demands give a very sad illustration of their wretched condition, more impressive than any words could convey. They asked a franc (i.e., tenpence) for a working day of ten hours and continuous employment all the year round. Great excitement prevailed. The women diverted the water of the Gerenzone, which supplies the motive-power of several mills, and marched with flying banners through the town. The masters on their part declared every concession impossible, and called for protection. Police and troops were drafted into the town, and after these preparations for a free and friendly settlement of the dispute, a benevolent mayor—like in the case of Como—intervened as peacemaker. After a wrangle of several days, the starving workers accepted the following conditions: 12 hours' work in autumn, winter, and spring, 13 the three summer months, for a daily wage of tenpence.

The strike of the journeymen bakers of Venezia has ended with a defeat of the men, thanks to the intervention of the authorities.

One of the measures towards the solution of the social question, so boastfully announced in consequence of the royal visit to the Romagna some time ago, has at last been brought forward in the shape of a police law for the regulation of emigration, or better, for putting emigration agents under police supervision. Comrade Costa asked in Parliament whether that was redeeming the pledge of the Government? Not regulation of emigration was wanted, but the removal of the causes of the evil. If, he says, in the province of Ravenna the emigration has not taken greater proportions, it is because the Socialists in this province advise the workers not to ask bread and work from America, but from their own country. The cultivation of immense barren plains like the Agro Romano and the Tavoliera di Puglia would give bread to millions. But, he exclaimed, you have not the money to undertake the cultivation, you will answer me. You squander it in distant enterprises and in armaments which drive the nation into a dishonourable war, that is condemned by the public conscience!

Whilst the Government thus make a lame show of protective legislation for the working classes, they are most carefully engaged in the brutal repression of the labour movement. In Florence our comrades Cioci and Clementi, the editor and the publisher of the suppressed paper *La Questione Sociale* have been condemned to eighteen months' imprisonment and to a fine of 1,800 francs each. At Carrara fifteen Anarchists were brought before a middle-class jury for "seditious cries and rebellion"—that is, resistance to the police. Nine of them were found guilty and condemned to imprisonment from four to five years. "E pur si muove!" H. SCH.

## THE SOCIALIST LEAGUE.

OFFICES: 13 FARRINGDON ROAD, E.C.

The Offices of the Socialist League will be open for the sale of *Commonweal* and all other Socialist publications from 8.30 a.m. to 9 p.m. every day except Sunday. The Secretary will be in attendance from 10 a.m. to 9 p.m. daily.

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

**London Members' Meeting.**—The next monthly meeting of members will take place on Monday, Jan. 7, 1889, at 13 Farringdon Road, at 9 o'clock sharp.

**Branch Subscriptions Paid.**—1888: Clerkenwell and Leicester to December. Notice to Branch Secretaries—Please remit to Central Office your Branch Capitation fees as soon as possible. A list of Branches in arrears will shortly appear.

**Notice.**—All letters on League business, except those intended for Editors of *Commonweal*, to be addressed to me. No other person is authorised to sign any official communication. FRANK KITZ, Secretary.

## REPORTS.

CLERKENWELL.—H. Davis lectured last Sunday on "Anarchist Communism v. Social Democracy" to crowded and attentive audience. A very interesting discussion followed. 25 *Commonweal* sold, besides other literature.—B.

FULHAM.—On Tuesday evening, back of Walham Green Church, Sampson (S.D.F.), Hall, Groser, and Smith addressed a fair meeting. Sunday morning, opposite the Railway Station, Hall spoke for an hour to an excellent audience. Fair sale of *Weal*. In the evening, outside our rooms, Hall and Davis spoke, and succeeded in obtaining a good audience for Sparling, who, inside, lectured on "The Leprosy of Politics." Several questions asked and some discussion followed.—S. B. G.

HAMMERSMITH.—Good meeting at Latimer Road Sunday morning by Maughan, Catterson Smith, and Dean; choir assisted. At Welje Road in evening, Lyne, jun., Maughan, and Catterson Smith spoke to good audience. Choir sang "No Master." At Kelmescott House, Mr. de Mattos lectured on "Socialism and Political Economy."

ABERDEEN.—At indoor meeting on 10th inst., Leatham lectured on "Materialism and Transcendentalism." At Castle Street on Saturday night, good meeting addressed by Aiken and Barron, the latter satisfactorily disposing of questions at the close.—P. B.

GLASGOW.—Sunday at 5, good meeting as usual at Paisley Road Toll, where Glasier and Joe Burgoyne spoke. Our own members mustered well. 2s. 4d. collected. At 7 o'clock we held a short open-air meeting at the Co-operative Stores, Morrison Street, where Downie spoke with unusual vigour to an unusually small audience.

IPSWICH.—On Thursday, Murphy lectured on "The Church, what Effect it has upon the People," J. Thomas in chair; good discussion followed. On Sunday, a debate took place between Read and Murphy, "Can Parliament set aside the Law of Supply and Demand?" Goodhouse in chair.—J. T.

NORWICH.—Thursday, Mowbray continued series of lectures; subject, "Life and Times of Edward III." Swash took the chair. Sunday afternoon short open-air meeting in Market-Place, audience small owing to inclement weather. Sunday evening usual lecture not held in Gordon Hall; a conversational meeting held by a few members.

LECTURE DIARY. LONDON.

Bloomington.—This Branch is now actively working. Socialists resident in this locality should send their names in at office to 13 Farringdon Road. Clerkenwell.—Hall of the Socialist League, 13 Farringdon Road, E.C. Sunday December 23, at 8.30. Free Concert by Members and Friends. Fulham.—8 Effie Road, Walham Green. Committee meetings are held on Sunday evenings at 7 o'clock. All members are earnestly requested to Sunday December 23, at 8 p.m., G. Berlew (Fabian), "Socialism and its Rivals." Hackney.—Secretary, E. Lefevre, 14 Goldsmiths Sq., Goldsmiths Row, Hackney P.O. 1. Hammersmith.—Kelmescott House, Upper Mall, W. Sunday December 23, at 8 p.m., William Morris, "Equality." The series of Wednesday lectures will be resumed early in January; further notice will be given. Hoxton.—12, Basing Place, Kingsland Rd. Business meetings of this branch are held every Friday evening at 9 o'clock. London Fields.—All communications, etc., to Mrs. G. G. Schack, 26 Cawley Road, South Hackney. Merton.—Club-house, 3 Clare Villas, Merton Road, Singlegate. Lecture on Sunday evenings at 8.30. Mile-end and Bethnal Green.—95 Boston St., Hackney Road. North London.—Business meetings held at 6 Windmill Street, Tottenham Court Road, on Friday evenings. All members please turn up, without fail, to appoint a new secretary, on Friday next, December 21st. Important. Walworth and Camberwell.—This branch is now in working order. Friends in this locality are earnestly invited to co-operate, and send their names in. Committee meetings every Monday, 7.30 p.m., at 3 Datehelor Place, Church St., Camberwell Green. Whitechapel and St. Georges in the East.—International Club, 40 Berner Street, Commercial Road. Meet for urgent business Friday next at 8 o'clock sharp; hoping secretary will turn up.

PROVINCES.

Aberdeen (Scottish Section).—Secretary, P. Barron, 14 Ann Street. Branch meets in Oddfellows Hall on Monday nights at 8. Choir practice at 46 Marischal Street on Thursday evenings at 8. Bradford.—Read's Coffee Tavern, Ivetgate. Meets Tuesdays at 8. Carnoustie (Scottish Section: Forfarshire).—Meeting every Tuesday, at 8 p.m., in the Carnoustie Restaurant. Samuel Wilson, Secy. Dundee (Scot. Sect.).—Meetings every Sunday in the Trades Hall, opposite Tay Bridge Station. Edinburgh (Scottish Land and Labour League).—35 George IV. Bridge. Meetings for Discussion, Thursdays at 8 p.m. Galashiels (Scot Sect.).—J. Walker, 184 Glendingning Terrace, secy. Gallatown and Dysart (Scottish Section: Fife).—Meet every Tuesday at 7 p.m. in Gallatown Public School. Secretary, A. Paterson, 152 Rosslyn St. Glasgow.—84 John Street. Reading-room (Draughts, Chess, etc.) open 10 a.m. till 10 p.m. daily. Weekly meeting of members on Thursday evenings at 8. French Class meets every Sunday at 11. SPECIAL—Soiree, Concert, and Dance on Hogmany Night, to bring in the New Year, Waterloo Pillar Hall, at 7.30. Revolutionary songs in English, French, and German. Tickets, 1s. 3d. Ipswich.—Pioneer Hall, Tacket Street. Meets on Sunday evenings. Kilmarnock.—Secretary, H. McGill, 22 Gilmour St. Branch meets on every alternate Tuesday. Leeds.—Clarendon Buildings, Victoria Rd. and Front Row. Open every evening. Business meeting Saturdays at 8 p.m. communications to T. Paylor, Leicester.—Hosiery Union Offices, 11a Millstone Lane. Fridays at 8 p.m. Norwich.—Sunday, at 8, Gordon Hall. Monday, at 8, Meeting in Gordon Hall. Tuesday, 8.30, Members' Meeting. Wednesday, at 8, Educational Class. Thursday, at 8, Lecture by Mowbray, subject "Life of Copernicus the Astronomer"; tickets 1d. each. Friday, at 8.30, Meeting in Gordon Hall. Saturday, 8 until 10.30, Co-operative Clothing Assoc. Oxford.—Temperance Hall, 25 1/2 Pembroke Street. Wednesdays, at 8.30 p.m. Walsall.—Lecture Room, back of Temperance Hall. Mondays at 8 p.m. West Calder (Scottish Section).—Sec., Robert Lindsay, West Calder.

All persons who sympathise with the views of the Socialist League are earnestly invited to communicate with the above addresses, and if possible help us in preparing for the birth of a true society, based on equality, brotherhood, and freedom for all.

OPEN-AIR PROPAGANDA. (Weather permitting.)

SUNDAY 23. 11.30...Latimer Road Station ...Hammersmith Branch 11.30...Regent's Park ...The Branch 11.30...Walham Green, opp. Station...The Branch 3.30...Hyde Park ...The Branch 3.30...Victoria Park ...Davis 7.30...Broad Street, Soho ...The Branch 7.30...Clerkenwell Green ...The Branch 7.30...Weltje Rd., Ravenscourt Pk ...Hammersmith

Tuesday. 8.30...Fulham—back of Walham Green Ch. ...Branch

EAST END.

SUNDAY 23. Leman Street, Shadwell 11 ...Nicoll. FRIDAY. Philpot St., Commercial Rd. 8.30...The Branch. PROVINCES.

Aberdeen.—Saturday: Castle Street, at 7 p.m. Glasgow.—Sunday: Glasgow Green at 2 p.m.; Paisley Road at 5.30. Ipswich.—Sproughton, Wednesday evening. Westerfield, Thursday evening. Needham Market, Sunday morning and evening. Leeds.—Sunday: Hunslet Moor, at 11 a.m.; Vicar's Croft, at 7 p.m. Norwich.—Sunday: Market Place, at 11 and 3.

BRYANSTONE WORKING-MEN'S CLUB AND INSTITUTE, Broadley Terrace, Lisson Grove.—Rev. S. D. Headlam. Sunday Dec. 23. St. JOHN'S CHURCH, HAMMERSMITH.—Rev. F. L. Donaldson, M.A. (Special Sermon), "The Renewal of Society." Sunday Dec. 23, at 5 p.m. CHELSEA BRANCH S.D.F., Pelham Rooms, Kimbolton Row, Fulham Road, S.W.—Sunday Dec. 23, at 8 p.m., W. L. Phillips, "Labour and Socialism." BERNER STREET CLUB.—On Saturday December 29, Mr. Gould, of the Limehouse Branch S.D.F., will deliver a lecture—"Will Parliamentaryism help to bring about the Social Revolution?"

NORTH HACKNEY RADICAL CLUB, 83 Church Street, Stoke Newington.—Sunday Dec. 23, at 8.30, Mr. G. Langley, "Is War Beneficial?" The Mitcham Branch is about to be reconstituted. All desirous of helping in the work of the S. L. in and around Mitcham, Merton, and Streatham should communicate with comrade J. Campbell, 98 Wellfield Road, Streatham.

LEICESTER.—A course of lectures on "Socialism, its Aims and Principles" is being delivered in Leicester Secular Hall. The fourth lecture will be delivered on Sunday Dec. 30 by Sydney Olivier—subject, "The Moral Aspect."

THE SOCIALIST CO-OPERATIVE FEDERATION.—The Committee will meet at the house of S. Oliver, 139 Trafalgar Street, Walworth Road, on Saturday Dec. 22 and Dec. 29, at 7.30 p.m., to receive subscriptions and enrol members. Friends in South London particularly requested to be present.

SOUTH LONDON.—Friends who will help to establish a Branch of the Socialist League in South London will please place themselves in communication with C. Henze, 41 Bolton Street, Thomas Street, Kennington Park, S.E., or by letter to H. Hopkins, 17 Gairloch Road, Shenley Road, Peckham, S.E.

SOCIALIST LEAGUE LITERATURE.

- Chants for Socialists. By William Morris. . 1d Organised Labour: The Duty of the Trades' Unions in Relation to Socialism. By Thomas Binning (London Society of Compositors). . 1d The Commune of Paris. By E. Belfort Bax, Victor Dave, and William Morris. . 2d The Aims of Art. By Wm. Morris. Bijou edition, 3d.; Large paper, 6d. The Rights of Labour according to John Ruskin. By Thomas Barclay. . 1d The Tables Turned; or, Nupkins Awakened. A Socialist Interlude. By William Morris. In Wrapper . 4d. The Manifesto of the Socialist League. Annotated by E. Belfort Bax and William Morris. An exposition of the principles on which the League is founded. . 1d Useful Work v. Useless Toil. By William Morris. . 1d "All for the Cause!" Song. Words by William Morris; Music by E. Belfort Bax. 4to, 4 pp. 6d. per dozen, 4s. 6d "Vive la Commune!" Cartoon by Walter Crane. Best paper. . 2d Mrs. Grundy (Cartoon). By Walter Crane. Fine hand-made large paper. . 6d.

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# THE COMMONWEALTH

## The Official Journal of the SOCIALIST LEAGUE.

VOL. 4.—No. 155.

SATURDAY, DECEMBER 29, 1888.

WEEKLY: ONE PENNY.

### NOTES ON NEWS.

MR. GLADSTONE'S answer to the unemployed was, I suppose, what the writers of the vague and quite desperately polite letter to him expected. If they did not expect such an answer they should have written a less vague letter to him, in which case they would have had no answer at all, or a very curt one. After all, the answer drawn from that venerable dodger is meant to amount to little more than staining white paper with a black pattern. There is, however, something more in it, which may fairly be translated from Gladstonian into English thus: "Unemployed, what should I know about them? They are not my business. Parliament might—but no, they have something better to do than bothering themselves about the poor of London. So look here! I will call it 'local' matter just to make you know your proper places."

The old gentleman has either quite made up his mind to ignore the fact that there are people who are discontented with the present state of society, and have learned by study of their own dreary conditions of life to know *why* they are discontented, and *how* they can alter the said dreary conditions; or else (and that really seems to me possible) he is genuinely quite ignorant of what Socialism is, and what its claims are.

One thing the unemployed may be quite sure of, to wit, that the governing classes are quite determined to do nothing for the workmen out of work except at the expense of the workmen in general. They would not if they could, and they cannot if they would, as long as the present system, that of capitalist and wage-earner, lasts. It is true that some Government, Tory-Democrat or Radical-bitten-by-Socialism, may make a show of it in a desperate attempt to win popularity, but all they can do as long as "society" is owned by the monopolists, is to shift the burden from one group of workers to another. Unless competition keeps down the wages of the mass of the employed to a bare subsistence wage, the capitalists of the country will be "ruined," that is, will cease to employ; and this glorious arrangement can only be kept going by dint of the capitalists holding in hand a large reserve army of labour. As that is absorbed into the active ranks of labour, the capitalists will be driven to fresh marvels of organisation, and fresh machinery to cheapen "muscular labour" still more, and so remain masters of the situation.

The other day we had news that at Zanzibar, which for 25 years had been free from capital punishment (*alias* judicial murder), the Sultan had begun to imitate the foul deeds of English and American courts of "justice" by striking off the heads of four of the "natives." Great indignation was expressed in our papers about this outrage, and surely this anger was but due against the wretched tyrant who was such a fool as to copy the customs of civilisation.

But what now? Who is the civilised English Government copying now?—Zenghiz Khan or Tamerlane? Scarcely even these; for these destroyers had their ideas stirred and their blood heated by the atmosphere of personal war and violence in which they lived, and at worst they were no hypocrites. But our black-coated, smug-visaged, dinner-party-giving, go-to-church "scourges of God," who have not even the spirit to plead for themselves that they *are* curses and must act after their kind, who can one liken them to? For the sake of what one cannot even call a whim—for the sake of one knows not what, they must slaughter a number of innocent persons whom they are pleased to call "the enemy."

Consider too that this Massacre of Suakim, whatever the Gladstonian party (equally guilty with the others) may say, will be heartily applauded by the average Englishman. Nay, it will be considered by the politicians who are now governing us as a stroke of good luck which will help to stay their failing fate, and will probably win them a seat or two of those that are agoing in the electoral scramble. This is the morality of the English nation, of which we have heard so

much! Indeed, I admit that it is caused more by rank stupidity than by malicious scoundrelism; though there is an element of that in it also.

"The enemy"—Yes; if they are the enemies of such a nation as ours there must be some good in them I think, since commercial patriotism has brought us to this pass. Yet, indeed, once more it is no great wonder that the rich men who are callous to the murder of misery at home should be callous to the murder of battle abroad.

A meeting of the unemployed held some days ago, at which a resolution was passed calling on the Government to set on foot relief works, was stated by Reynolds to have been held under the auspices of the Socialist League. By the instruction of the Council, the Secretary wrote to disclaim this, as the Socialist League holds that the present system necessitates the existence of an army of unemployed, and that no palliative will get rid of it; and that any attempt that a capitalist government might make to satisfy the claims of the unemployed would mean nothing more than helping labour at the expense of labour. This disclaimer was accompanied by the Manifesto on the subject published by the Council, Oct. 29, 1887; but we are sorry to say Reynolds has not inserted the letter, and thereby has refused to correct its inaccurate statement. W. M.

Mr. Gladstone seems rather sore on the subject of election promises. No wonder; no gentleman seeking the suffrages of the "free and independent electors" has made more, which he has unfortunately been unable to keep. The references to the past labours of the Liberal party, "during the last fifty years, in setting free both capital and handicrafts of all kinds both from much undue taxation and from restraints devised for the benefit of special interests at the cost of the people at large," might form a subject for laughter to the gods.

"These efforts," the honourable gentleman further informs us, "have resulted, not in a uniform, but in a very general and a large improvement of the condition of the working community." What! are there, then, no sweaters' dens? no women compelled to sell themselves for a night's lodging? no East-end filled with swarming misery? How is it, then, that with all these beneficent labours of the Liberal party that in this great city alone there are 179,000 starving men crying for "work or bread"? Here are some questions for Mr. Gladstone to answer.

But "the cares and labours of the House of Commons embrace the whole empire." That is, our capitalist masters are too busy butchering "blackmen" to trouble themselves with "a case of local even though acute distress." Is this so, Mr. Gladstone? Well, the "local though acute distress" may trouble the House of Commons if it does not take care, for the day will come when the starving will resolve to starve no longer. Then the House of Commons and respectable politicians may look out for squalls.

What a sham is capitalistic philanthropy, whether it finds expression in charity mongering or in the mild State Socialism of the modern Act of Parliament! Some time ago there was a great fuss made concerning a new Act of Parliament which, according to its admirers, would protect the poor man's small belongings from the clutches of the rapacious house-farmer.

Would you be surprised to hear that this Act is a complete sham? At Marylebone Police-court last Monday, Thos. George, a broker, was summoned before Mr. De Rutzen for seizing the tools and bedding of a poor tenant contrary to this Act. It appears, however, from Mr. De Rutzen's decision that a bedstead is not "bedding," and also that if a landlord openly defies this Act of Parliament he incurs no penalty by so doing. Delightful, isn't it? I wonder if a man who did not belong to the propertied classes helped himself to anything that wasn't lawfully his own, whether the law could find no punishment for him? But against the propertied classes law is powerless. It was only instituted to keep their slaves the workers in want and misery.

D. N.

John McNeill—"the Scotch Spurgeon"—in preaching the other day at Edinburgh, said "Yes, I am learning that men are often better off when they drink and lust." I am almost persuaded to remark that he will pursue his learning farther and acquire a knowledge of the "other things," and so realise the real cause which leads men to "drink and lust." According to his own confession he does not see the truth as through a glass darkly, and if he has taken a reflective turn of mind, we may hope that, if he has not lost his "learning," he will join comrade Glasse and "come over and help us."

There is another remark which Mr. McNeill made in that sermon which Socialists will be able to appreciate, viz., "Oh, how angry the Church gets sometimes, and how splendidly she plays the devil's part." When we reflect on what the Church has hitherto done to perpetuate the present devilish self-seeking system of society, as being of divine origin, and to frustrate the first request of the Lord's prayer, "Thy kingdom come on earth," we will agree for once with Mr. McNeill in saying "how splendidly she plays the devil's part."

But will Mr. McNeill choose "the better part," and flee the danger of coming under the thrall of "the devil's part"? That is a point, I fear, upon which he has yet to decide. He says himself, "My danger is that when I get down from this pulpit, and enter again the sweltering hell of the world, I shall not care to rescue in an unofficial way a perishing soul." That is wherein the real danger lies. Unless he can step out of the official order of "doing it unto the least of them," he will never be able to do the freedom and force necessary for doing anything but to convert "the sweltering hell of the world" into an "earthly paradise."

G. McL.

## EDUCATION: WHAT IT IS, AND WHAT IT SHOULD BE.

TALKING on this matter in the 'Commonwealth,' Laurence Gronlund says that before troubling our minds about the education of the young, we should see that all children "had roast-beef and plum pudding, warm clothes on their backs, clean linen to their bodies, comfortable shoes to their feet, and warmth and light at home." And truly, when one perceives a member of that uniform gentry with the tall hat scouring through our lanes and alleys, heedless of danger to the aspiring headgear, in hot pursuit of dirty and unkempt, ragged and bootless urchins, majestically threatening them in order to make them attend on their A B C, their reading, writing, and arithmetic, one can't help reflecting that surely the most urgent wants of these children are not of the kind that writing and arithmetic can supply!

When Mr. Dick was consulted as to what should be done with little David Copperfield, who was standing before him all tattered and bespattered after his long walk from London, that gentleman gravely answered—I should wash him. An enlightened public opinion, however, regarded Mr. Dick as somewhat crazy, and we have little reason to think that public opinion has receded from that position. Doubtless, then, this is very tangible ground on which to rest an objection to what is popularly called "education"—viz., that until we had devised some method or methods whereby we could in some humane way feed, clothe, and in all ways comfortably provide for the little ones, this of what we call *educating them* could very well be left in abeyance.

While entirely endorsing this view, and also fully recognising the utter impossibility of such a scheme entering the domain of "practical politics," in our present dilapidated condition of society, still an attempt to assist the formation of right conceptions on this matter of education might not be quite profitless. In his 'Lay Sermons and Reviews,' speaking on this subject, Professor Huxley likens the world to a chess-board, and our life to a game of chess; and the metaphor is good, understanding the pieces to mean the "phenomena of the universe" and the rules of the game to be the "laws of Nature." Indeed from first to last "education is the instruction of the intellect in the laws of Nature, under which name I include not merely things and their forces, but men and their ways; and the fashioning of the affections and the will into an earnest and loving desire to move in harmony with those laws." His more recent utterances, however, show the Professor in a more unsocial and less scientific light, and his "game" has degenerated into the vulgar scramble of commercial competition. We are not now playing a divine game with a "calm strong angel who is playing for love and would rather lose than win"; but with our Continental neighbours who are menacing British supremacy in the world-market! A very poor "game" now, at which we must improve our manipulating in order to beat the Germans or the French hollow. Has our Professor no compassion for the French or the Germans after we have driven them to the wall? Poor devils! they are neither better nor worse than ourselves.

This new reading of Professor Huxley's definition has indeed been the accepted model in principle and practice of what we have been accustomed to call "education." Brutal and unscientific in conception, and brutalising in results, it is still the highest a competitive state of society can think on this subject. Nor has education been designed to enable only nation to conquer nation,—with individuals throughout the infinite complexities of life the game is being played; among a limited number for the prizes of social position, respectability, mountains of wealth that they may go to the devil worth so many millions; among an almost unlimited number to whom these things are hope-

lessly unattainable, the very equivocal prize of getting off with your life!

In plain truth, what we have been calling education is an entire misnomer, and in point of fact we have simply no education at all—at least, *officially recognised*. Nature has her own way of *educating and developing* what of native ability she imparts to her offspring; but then "native ability" being quite a relative term, these may under favourable circumstances, such as "impetuous haste of competition," "every man for himself," turn out to be mere craftiness and designing knavery, in the infinitely varying forms known to a commercial age. Dame Nature wears an imperturbable face in regard to all our definitions and interpretations of her secret—simply saying Very well, while she calmly affixes her rewards and encouragements, her pains and penalties, in strict accordance with their truth or falsity. Our interpretation of the secret has been that it is a game, and our schooling is framed to the end that we should win, or attain to some kind of "success" by getting on in the world, and amass wealth, money. The prizes being thus disgustingly gross, the higher qualities of human sympathy and brotherliness can be dispensed with, and the other qualities of antipathy substituted. With the weapon we have given her—namely, Competition—Dame Nature subjects us to a rigorous process of searching through and through, discovering and bestowing her motherly care and nourishing attention on all those qualities which are most likely to enable us to *circumvent our neighbour*. All the qualities of cunning, of envy, of covetousness, greed, jealousy, hypocrisy and cowardice, simulation and dissimulation, are sharply detected, soothingly nourished and strengthened, wisely drawn out and directed to the end that we become proficient in the Art of Circumventing our Fellows. Though "*Officially unrecognised*," our education is being not only not forgotten, but is superintended by the unerring vigilance of Natural Law.

What we are pleased to call our "Educational System," in its methods and results resembles the manufacture of sausages: the bags are stuffed with dead meat, and the boys are stuffed with dead vocables. It is entirely without any intelligent human plan or aim—unless, indeed, the object of getting the Government grant, by bundling the pupil through the Standards, can be called an intelligent human aim. Our school system makes us pretentious to a sense of the fitness of things—it is entirely oblivious of the fact that *we are not all alike*; of the fact of infinite varieties of disposition, aptitude, capacity. The sausage process discerns only variety of dimension in the bags—some hold less and others more. In such a process of indiscriminate cramming it is quite palpable that many learn much for which they have absolutely no use, while they learn nothing of what they most need. A right education would enable us to know of what use we were in the world to ourselves and our fellows; would teach us to *do*, what to do and how to do it; but, instead, our youths when they leave the school are just as wise in this respect as when they entered it. They can figure, write a good hand, and give accurately the dates of several battles; but of what capacity for work, and of what kind, nature has endowed them withal, they are without knowledge. Now we can hardly call that "education" which does not at least assist us in discovering the proper employment of our energies. Not until our "education" is "finished" does education, strictly speaking, begin, when our boys are pitched into the world among a bewildering multitude of pursuits to discover what they are fitted for. One tumbles into a carpenter's shop; another into a blacksmith's, not because they were in all ways best suited for each other, but because they happened to fall there.

As will be observed, I am speaking of the schooling we accord to our drudges or "working classes," and I don't know that much more is required by drudgism than it gets in this kind. Indeed, what more is required? It is not as if it was intended for a "career"; for other equipment the due amount of physical strength is alone needed. The carpenter might as easily have been a blacksmith, and the blacksmith a carpenter; but with "careers" it is different! True, indeed, so long as a class is bred for the exclusive purpose of performing the "drudging," the head need not be consulted further than to render the hands more nimble. For the rest, all that his "education" has left to the poor drudge is mere animalism—in the exercise of which it is little wonder if he sometimes excels in brutishness the lower animals. Ply him with arithmetic and technics, says our professor, and for the rest, nature will look after the survival of the fittest. Undoubtedly writing, arithmetic, and theoretic technics develop cunninger workmen, but for this no workman with a spark of manliness can have either admiration nor gratitude, given to him, as it is, the better to subserve the ends of a designing capitalist class. Reading, on the other hand, is vastly more important, and if it does not *make* in any real sense, for the present, it somewhat *mars* the comfortable arrangements of our complacent commercial classes. Reading makes revolutionists: it introduces the drudge to Books, and their marvels excite his thirst; they reveal to him the essential dignity of man, and he slowly erects his head; they inspire respect for human *worth*, and arouse contempt for the fortunate inferior to whom he is compelled to cringe; they exalt his hopes while they purify and enlarge his desires. For this we can be grateful. Books can make him feel there is not a hard-handed son of toil but has a soul in him, was made too in the likeness of God and is the equal and brother of all men. They excite his wrath, and inspire indignation at the entirely arbitrary arrangements of society which have concealed from his vision all notion of dignity, shut him out from all possibility of realising his manhood.

DANIEL McCULLOCH.

(To be continued.)

## MATTHEW ARNOLD, AND "A MAN'S A MAN FOR A' THAT."

A RECENT reviewer in the *Spectator* has been commending Matthew Arnold's criticism of Burns' "A Man's a Man for a' that." Mr. Arnold was of the opinion that the sentiment of that song did not express the real feeling of Burns, but rather an affected feeling. "The accent of high seriousness, born of absolute sincerity," is, he says, lacking in it. "Surely if our sense is quick, we must perceive that we have not in these passages a voice of the innermost soul of Burns; he is not speaking to us from those depths, he is more or less preaching." That there is "preaching" in "A Man's a Man for a' that" may be admitted; but surely the preaching is sincere enough, surely it came from his "innermost soul." It may be true that Burns did not always practice what he preached—that his own conduct did not always accord with the sentiments expressed in the song—that he rather liked sometimes to meet lords and receive recognition and patronage from persons of rank, in whom "honesty" and "sense" were far from being conspicuous characteristics; but what would become of the race if poets and moralists preached in accordance merely with the thoughts and instincts which inherited and acquired habits have fostered in their nature, instead of in accordance with the purer conviction of what is just and right, which observation and experience have impressed upon their minds? Preaching, whether in prose or verse, is a noble function, provided it is true and its application to life possible. Socrates preached, Christ preached, John Ball preached, Bruno preached, Sophia Perouskaia preached, and Albert Parsons preached; and who shall say their preaching was not sincere? They devoted their lives and died in testimony of their sincerity—and we have yet to learn a higher standard by which to judge sincerity than that. Yet, it would be taking, I fear, rather too exalted an estimate of the character of even these martyrs, to suppose that—despite their self-sacrifice—their own immediate selfish impulses did not frequently war with their ideals. Their glory is, that their sincere conviction of what was true and just, triumphed over their latent animal and habitual instincts, and inspired them to do and die for their fellows.

Matthew Arnold is not, I think, the best guide in the matter of sincerity; for there has seldom been found a man having such a clear perception of religious and social error, who so sweetly ordered his own conduct that he might not disturb error or inconvenience himself. An atheist by conviction, he was a churchman in practice; in perception a social reformer, in personal disposition a Tory. The wine of his thought was so diluted with the water of his own ineptitude for personal initiative, that it has passed through the minds of his countrymen without stimulating them to a single honest impulse to forswear falsehood—a single brave endeavour towards social or intellectual freedom.

The significant fact about Burns is, that his poetical impulse lifted him above the plane of the grovelling instincts of his time—above, it may be, his own prejudices and ambitions, and caused him to see, dimly perhaps, through the black night of the passions, purposes, and conventions around him, the truth of human equality and brotherhood; and inspired him to give strong and manly protest against the meanness and inhumanity that surged in the sea of human strivings amid which he lived.

So too, it is with Socialists; they are made of the same clay, have the same selfish impulses, the same anti-social dispositions as other folk; but they have been constrained to look beyond their own circumscribed cravings and prejudices, and to regard rather the weal of all, in which, they truly perceive their own personal desires and wants—rightly interpreted—will be best subserved. A Socialist cannot practice Socialism to-day; neither can he feel or think as he believes men should feel and think if society were rightly arranged. His merit is, that he discards the vicious inclinations inherited from his animal origin as being the best to be fostered and made permanent in the race; and seeks instead, that the more humane and social tendencies which have grown unconsciously in the hearts of men, and ever and anon assert themselves, shall be set free and encouraged, and if possible made supreme and universal. If Mr. Arnold means by the "voice of the innermost soul" the beseechings of our deeply implanted self-love and acquisitiveness, then we who are Socialists to-day, do not sing "A Man's a Man for a' that" with any more "absolute sincerity" than Burns did. We are no doubt as ready as was Burns to seek the patronage and favour of the rich and noble, and as liable as he to violate in our daily conduct the principle of the brotherhood of man; but we trust we are sincere, as we believe he was sincere, in despising the nature that prompts us to do these things, and in fervently wishing that "honest worth o'er a' the earth may bear the gree"—and until then, preferring poverty to dishonesty, and obscure toil to rank and wealth maintained by plunder. And this is what most thoughtful men would designate "the accent of high seriousness" and the "voice of the innermost soul."

It is true the song is neither mournful nor grave, but mournfulness and gravity are not necessary adjuncts of seriousness. Burns himself referred to the production as a "vive la bagatelle" and professed it had no poetical merits. This fact may have misled Mr. Arnold. Poets are notoriously poor judges of their own poetry—they distrust the merit of what comes easily and rapidly from their brain, and over-estimate the value of their more highly constrained and artificial productions. There were reasons, however, why Burns at the time might not wish the song to be regarded as a serious poetical effort.

The hopes excited by his connection with men of rank had proved illusory, and his worldly prospects were dreary in the extreme; and he feared lest the song might be accepted merely as a proclamation of personal chagrin and vindictiveness.

The sentiment of "A Man's a Man for a' that," did not, however, represent a merely momentary or adventitious feeling of the poet's mind. It was ever constant and strong within him. In many other songs and poems it finds passionate and even more complete expression. It recurs again and again in his letters to his friends. Many of these utterances display such a clear comprehension of social injustice and so strong an aspiration for social equality, that, if their authorship were unknown, the capitalistic reviewer of our day would no doubt set them down as the "wild ravings of some mad revolutionary whose reason has been subverted by the incomprehensible economics of Marx, and whose feelings have been unstrung by the dying shriek of the Commune of Paris."

Tested even by his own conduct, the "sincerity" of his "preaching" was strongly exemplified. Despite the fact that he had occasionally to submit to the conventions of his time and yield to the constraints of his own position, no other man in Scotland, in his own day or since, more bravely asserted in practice the principle of "A Man's a Man for a' that" than he himself did. His gratification at receiving the attention of lords, professors, and literary magnates did not long survive his discernment of their commonplace and mean instincts, and the artificial glamour of their society. He sacrificed preferment rather than disguise his political principles; he remained poor rather than act dishonestly or toady to privilege and favour.

To "A Man's a Man for a' that" is largely due whatever little sturdiness and spirit is left in Scotchmen to-day, and we as Socialists are reaping some of the fruit of its "preaching."

Let Socialists sing it, for even they have need of its manly sentiments to straighten their backs sometimes. Nor need we quibble over its celebration of poverty. He is a dullard who does not recognise that poverty is almost the invariable lot of honest toil and manly and generous conduct now, as in the days of Burns. Poverty is no virtue, but it is hardly possible to be virtuous without being poor. And while that is so, shall we not sing:—

"What tho' on hamely fare we dine,  
Wear hoddin grey, and a' that;  
Gie fools their silks, and knaves their wine,  
A man's a man for a' that!  
For a' that, and a' that,  
Their tinsel show, and a' that,  
The honest man, though e'er sae poor,  
Is king o' men for a' that!"

J. BRUCE GLASIER.

## CORRESPONDENCE.

S. H. C. (Cleckheaton) writes:

I should be much obliged if you would inform me through the medium of the *Commonweal* the name of the publishers of the English translation of Karl Marx's work on Socialism, and title of same.

'Capital: A Critical Analysis of Capitalist Production.' Translated from the 3rd German edition by S. Moore and E. Aveling. Sonnenschein, 1887. 8vo.

Also if there is any book which treats of Trade from its earliest commencement. I once read an account of a book which described trade as beginning through the needs of exchange of commodities between hostile tribes, but I do not know the name.

ANDERSON (F.)—'Historical and Chronological Deduction of the Origin of Commerce.' London, 1764, 2 vols. fol. 'Supplement.' London, 1789; 1 vol. 4to.

CRAIK (G. L.)—'History of British Commerce from the Earliest Times.' Knight, London, 1844. 3 vols. 12mo.

DELMAR (ALEX.)—'History of Money in Ancient Countries from the Earliest Times to the Present.' Bell and Sons, London, 1885. 8vo.—'Money and Civilisation; or, a History of the Monetary Laws and Systems of various States since the Dark Ages, and their influence upon Civilisation.' Bell and Sons, London, 1886. 8vo.

GILBERT (J. W.)—'Lectures on the History and Principles of Ancient Commerce.' London, 1847. 14mo.

LEVI (LEONE)—'History of British Commerce and of the Economic Progress of the British Nation, 1763-1878.' Murray, London. 2nd. ed., 1880. 8vo.

LINDSAY (W. S.)—'History of Merchant Shipping and Commerce.' Sampson, Low; London, 1874-5. 4 vols. 8vo.

MACPHERSON (D.)—'Annals of Commerce.' London, 1805. 4 vols. 4to.

YEATS (J.)—'Growth and Vicissitudes of Commerce,' and 'Technical History of Commerce.' Philip, London 1887. 8vo.

Also, 'Encyclopedia Britannica' under "Commerce," "Exchange," "Money," etc. Delmar's books would be most likely to be useful.

J. S. R. (Marykirk, Montrose) asks:

Would you kindly inform me as to the following matters: (1) Who is publisher of F. Engels' Work on the 'Condition of the English Working Classes' (translation)?

William Reeves, 185 Fleet Street, London, E.C.

(2) Could you recommend me a French Socialist weekly, stating the rate of subscription and the address of the publishing office? Cheapness, other things being equal, is a consideration.

La Revolte, 180 Rue Mouffetard, Paris. 7f. per ann.

THE CITY FATHERS.—Aubrey tells of Sir Miles Fleetwood, who was Recorder of London when James came into England, and made an oration to the City, wherein he said:—"When I consider your wealth I do admire your wisdom, and when I consider your wisdom I do admire your wealth."





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

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

*As all articles are signed, no special significance attaches to them because of their position in these pages. None to be taken as more than in a general manner expressing the views of the League as a body, except it be so explicitly declared by the Editors. Rejected MSS. only returned if a stamped directed envelope is forwarded with them.*

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T. S.—Will be used.

*Periodicals received during the week ending Wednesday December 26.*

<b>ENGLAND</b>	Chicago—Knights of Labor	<b>SWITZERLAND</b>
Justice	Vorbote	Arbeiterstimme
Labour Tribune	Detroit—Der Arme Teufel	<b>SPAIN</b>
London—Freie Presse	Fort Worth (Tex.)—South West	Madrid—El Socialista
Norwich—Daylight	Milwaukee (Wis.)—Volkblatt	Seville—La Solidaridad
Railway Review	St. Louis (Mo.)—Die Parole	<b>PORTUGAL</b>
Telegraph Service Gazette	Coast Seamen's Journal	Lisbon—O Protesto Operario
Social Demokrat	<b>FRANCE</b>	<b>GERMANY</b>
Worker's Friend	Paris—Cri du Peuple (daily)	Berlin—Volks Tribune
<b>NEW SOUTH WALES</b>	Le Parti Ouvrier (daily)	<b>AUSTRIA</b>
Hamilton—Radical	La Revolte	Brunn—Arbeiterstimme
<b>INDIA</b>	Le Proletariat	<b>ROMANIA</b>
Bankipore—Behar Herald	Lille—Le Cri du Travailleur	Jassy—Municipal
Madras—People's Friend	<b>HOLLAND</b>	<b>DENMARK</b>
<b>UNITED STATES</b>	Hague—Recht voor Allen	Social-Demokraten
New York—Der Sozialist	<b>BELGIUM</b>	<b>SWEDEN</b>
Freiheit	Ghent—Vooruit	Malmo—Arbetet
Truthseeker	Liege—L'Avenir	Stockholm, Social-Demokraten
Volkzeitung	Antwerp—De Werker	<b>NORWAY</b>
Jewish Volkszeitung	<b>ITALY</b>	Kristiania—Social-Demokraten
Baecker Zeitung	Rome, L'Emancipazione (daily)	<b>WEST INDIES</b>
Workmen's Advocate	La Humanera	Cuba—El Productor
Boston—Woman's Journal		

## FRANCE, THE PAPACY, AND THE REVOLUTION.

THE French Government appears to be doomed to make mistakes in its relations to the Papacy and the Revolution. Whatever party is in power, whatever the name or the form of the Government, each and all seem to feel or to recognise some kind of obligation to protect or uphold the Papacy. That such should be the case is lamentable, not only for France herself, but because it tends to complicate the great questions of the day, and to place France in a false position. We all look to France as the centre of the revolutionary movement; we all hope to see her take the lead in the holy war for the emancipation of humanity, for the regeneration of human society. But between the Revolution and the Papacy there is eternal war; between them there can never be peace. And in the great struggle for which the despots are arming, for which the nations are preparing, and for which the oppressed of every land are hoping, the Papacy will be the centre and the rallying cry of all the reactionary elements in the European conflict. High above even the Imperialism of Germany rise the lofty pretensions of his holiness of Rome. Those pretensions can never be recognised by any European Government. They can never be realised except by destroying the last vestiges of human liberty.

One of the greatest crimes France ever committed, and at the same time one of the most fatal of all her mistakes, was the assassination of the Roman Republic of 1849. Herself a Republic, and recognised by all the leading Governments, yet France, at the appeal of his holiness to the Catholic Powers, must needs destroy the Republic of Rome, must needs drown the newly-won liberties of the Roman people in the blood of Rome's defenders.

Of all the revolutionary movements of 1848-9, that of Rome was the most successful, and promised to be the most beneficial. So oppressed had been the people by the implicated despotism under which they had groaned for centuries, so disgusted were they with the priestly tyranny by which for ages they had been kept in bondage, that the revolution was hailed and accepted by the great mass of the population. When, in the early days of February, 1849, the Constituent Assembly met at Rome, which Assembly had been elected by manhood suffrage in Rome and the States of the Church, one of its first decrees was the deposition of the Pope as a temporal prince. The vote of the deputies was all but unanimous, 139 to 5. That decree was followed by the formal adhesion of the municipalities, elected under the old Papal régime, 263 in number. The population was unanimous. There were no elements of discord, none for the reaction to play upon; and nothing was left for his holiness but to appeal to external brute force to re-instate him on his blood-stained throne.

That Austria, Spain, and Naples should respond to the appeal of his holiness was to be expected; but had France thrown the shield of her protection over Rome as she did over Belgium in 1830, the Republic of Rome would have been safe. The French Government chose to play the part of the assassin against the liberties of Rome; a fatal blunder which helped the reaction throughout the Continent and the triumph of Imperialism in France in the shape of the Third Empire. And the butcheries in Rome and in the rest of Italy were followed by the massacres of December.

The executions in Italy were terrible. After the people had been crushed in the Legations, after they were disarmed and every means of assistance destroyed, 208 were executed at Bologna, 24 at Simgalia, 5 were shot at Rome by order of the French, and 44 by order of the Sacred Council. For the whole of Italy these executions reached a total of 6,649.

But what were the deeds of the French to prepare the way, to make it possible for the arch-hypocrite to re-ascend his throne of blood? Their ammunition being exhausted, Garibaldi and his heroes had to give up the defence of Rome on the 3rd of July. On the 4th, the French entered the city, and the same day established a council of war for political offences. On July 5th they dissolved all the clubs and suppressed public meetings. On the 6th they dissolved the National Guard; on the 7th they disarm the people, and on the 14th they suppress all the newspapers. These measures in Rome were soon followed by similar measures in France itself. The deeds of the bloodthirsty order-mongers are everywhere the same. The reaction triumphant is everywhere heartless and cruel, and the Papacy is the incarnation of the principle of absolute despotism. It is the remembrance of those deeds on the part of France, and being face to face with the claims and pretensions of the Vatican, that has driven, and will drive Italy into the arms of Germany. Much as the people of Italy may regret it, much as the people of France may deplore it, Italy is bound to seek safety and security for her unity and independence.

Here is work for the friends of the Latin race, for those who wish to break the Triple Alliance, who seek to promote the union of France, Spain, and Italy. Let France break once and for ever with the Papacy; let her cease to recognise, directly or indirectly, the monstrous claims and pretensions of the Vatican, and Italy will soon cease to rely upon the arms of Germany.

The revolution is universal, because resting on a principle that is universal in its application. The Papacy, resting on the principle of despotism, and the Revolution—the principle of equal liberty, of eternal justice—are the extremes of the world-wide controversy that has existed for ages, a struggle that will cease only when the Revolution is everywhere triumphant. Being universal the Revolution is international, and the right of initiative is wherever there is the requisite unity, energy, and devotion. It belongs to France, to Spain, to Italy, to Germany, to Austria, to Russia, to England—to wherever the elements of success are strongest.

The revolution wars against tyranny wherever it exists, against despotism wherever found, whether in the Church or in the State, in the laws or the institutions. It recognises neither the pretensions of the Papacy, the claims of Imperialism, nor the prerogatives of royalty. It recognises neither the aristocracy of birth nor the aristocracy of wealth. In all the States of Europe we have yet to conquer political freedom, to combat political tyranny.

But the revolution is social as well as political. Henceforth, every revolution that is not social and economical will be tricked away by political parties and for party purposes. We may war against the Church, we may war against the State, we may combat the tyranny and corruption so prevalent in both, but we must go beyond these. In all the more civilised nations, the social and economical conditions render absolutely necessary the reconstruction of society itself.

Let us not shut our eyes to the complicated nature of the impending struggle in Europe. The revolutions failed in 1848-9. Let us hope they will not fail in 1889-90. And let us hope, too, that France will cast to the winds of heaven the Papacy, with all its corruption and all its pretensions, and that she will grasp hands with Italy in the name of the revolution, for the freedom and elevation of humanity.

J. SKETCHLEY.

### NOTICE.

Subscribers who find a red mark against this notice are thereby reminded that their subscriptions have expired and must be renewed before the New Year if they wish to continue to receive *Commonweal*.

“Where the men and women think lightly of the laws; where the populace rise at once against the never-ending audacity of elected persons; where the citizen is always the head and ideal; where children are taught to be laws to themselves—there the great city stands.”—*Walt Whitman*.

In political affairs, the most critical and dangerous moment to the popular party is that which, for that party, ought to precede a complete and final triumph. It is at such a moment that the enemy is too much despised, and the popular force is over-rated. We are disposed to rely on our friends and on half-converted enemies, not upon the only safe resource—our own exertions.—*Daniel O'Connell*.

But I almost think we are all of us ghosts. It is not only what we have inherited from our father and mother that walks in us. It is all sorts of dead ideas, and lifeless old beliefs, and so forth. They have no vitality, but they cling to us all the same, and we can't get rid of them. Whenever I take up a newspaper I seem to see ghosts gliding between the lines. And then we are, one and all, so pitifully afraid of the light.—*Henrik Ibsen*.

## TO DOMESTIC SERVANTS.

FRIEND,—This is your "Evening out," or your "Sunday out," isn't it? Then you actually get, once a fortnight, or once a month, a whole evening, or a whole Sunday afternoon, free to yourselves? Isn't that so? And the rest of your time? Ah no, you are not free then. You have sold the rest of your time to your mistress, and for all but just this afternoon or evening, you are hers; not your own.

One would think she must be very busy, to want you all the week, and even Sunday mornings. But no; on Sunday mornings you must cook the dinner, make the beds, clean the door-step, while she is in church. Now either she must be more wicked than you, or else she doesn't care whether you are wicked or not, so long as she finds dinner all ready; or, which is most likely, she doesn't think Church necessary, and only goes to kill time. If so, one can scarcely see why she shouldn't now and then kill time by cleaning the step, or polishing the grate, and let you go to church, or for a walk. But she has got some silly idea that it is degrading to do this work, and forgets that what is degrading for her is just as degrading for you; and that if it would make her tired, she carelessly tires you out every day.

Then week-days it is just the same. Whilst you are wearing yourself out with hard toil from morning till night, doing her work for her, she longs for something to do; but she will not help you, because she wants you to feel that you are hers, and that she is "superior" and you "inferior." She may be kind and well-intentioned; but she doesn't understand that you are just as good as she is, and that you have faculties as good as her own for enjoyment, if only you had the chance to exercise them.

Here then is this woman idle and extravagant, yet rich: meanwhile your mother at home works hard and would be so glad of the help you could give; yet she is so poor in spite of all her work, that she has sent you to sell your time to help another woman do nothing.

Your mistress's children have a governess, or are sent to some expensive and fashionable school. All sorts of pleasant enjoyable things they have a chance to learn. They have plenty to eat, (happy if not too much), and their clothes are so numerous and costly as to be an encumbrance to them. At home your little sisters and brothers are left to themselves;—their school-pence can ill be spared, sometimes only by cutting short their dinner; and you know better than anyone can tell you what shifts your mother is put to to keep their clothes sufficient for them. At night your father comes home tired out; and if you should chance to go home, there is no room for you in the crowded cottage; the cost of what you eat is a consideration to them; and they are relieved when you are gone. You find that your home is broken up for you; and you know that your little sister must go too, as soon as she is allowed to leave the school.

What a difference between your family and your mistress! Yet you feel that you are really as good as she is: but you have been kept down and are ignorant of the cause of it, besides of much else you would like to know.

And then, to come back to this short holiday of yours. You have to be in quite early, and perhaps to give an account of yourself. Probably your mistress really means well by you in this. But how is it that she thinks harm might come to you, and so keeps you prisoner? You know only too well. It is because many men have to toil so hard, and are so poor, that they are ignorant of true happiness (never having had the chance to learn) and of the goodness and sacredness of womanhood. And there are others (whom perhaps your mistress meets in the drawing-room) so ruined by the idle pampered lives they have led, that their blood is corrupt for want of honest exercise; and in their miserable state they care nothing for your honour. Contrast these idle rich men with your over-worked father, and then ask: "How is it that the idle are rich, and those who make all things are poor?"

If you and your friends would learn how all this unhappiness arises, how your masters unjustly claim the shops and fields in which your fathers and brothers and sweetheart work, and how the money you see the rich waste has been kept back by them out of the working-people's wages; if you would understand this, we Socialists ask you to join us. For your fathers' and mothers' sake, for the sake of your little brothers and sisters, and (when you get married) of your own children, in order that they may not have to undergo the sorrow and drudgery which is your lot, but may grow up and have health and leisure and pleasant learning. We invite you to help us.

Come to our meetings on your "Sundays out," and bring your brothers and sweetheart with you; get all you can to join us, and learn how all this poverty and inequality may be ended; teach your young sisters and brothers at home, so that, when the chance occurs, we may be numerous enough to overturn this wrong and wretched state of things, and begin a new way of life, in which the welfare and happiness of all shall be the aim of each; and Freedom with good Friends every day, instead of the "evening out," shall be the Rule for all, and not the Exception as it is to-day. G. S.

For surely it is the test of every divine man—and without it he is not divine or great—that he has fire in him to burn up somewhat of the sins of the world, of the miseries and errors of the world. Why else is he there?—*Thomas Carlyle.*

Your nobles are nothing but rich men inflated with empty traditions of insufferable, because unwarrantable, pride, and drawing substance from alliance with the merchant class. You worship your so-called aristocracy perforce in order to preserve an ideal of contrast to the vulgarity of the nation.—*George Meredith*

## THE STARVING POOR OF OLD ENGLAND.

(REPRINTED BY REQUEST.)

Tune—"Union Jack."

LET them brag until in the face they are black,  
That over oceans they hold their sway,  
Of the Flag of Old England, the Union Jack,  
About which I have something to say:  
'Tis said that it floats o'er the free, but it waves  
Over thousands of hard-worked ill-paid British slaves,  
Who are driven to pauper and suicide graves—  
The starving poor of Old England!

Chorus—

'Tis the poor, the poor the taxes have to pay,  
The poor who are starving every day,  
Who starve and die on the Queen's highway—  
The starving poor of Old England!

There's the slaves of the needle, and the slaves of the mine,  
The postmen and sons of the plough,  
And the hard-worked servants on the railway line,  
Who get little by the sweat of their brow.  
'Tis said that the labourer is worthy his hire,  
But of whom does he get it, we'd like to enquire;  
Not of any mill-owner, or farmer, or squire.  
Who grind down the poor of Old England!

Old England's a dear native land in its way,  
For those who have plenty of gold;  
They thieve all the land on the sides of the way,  
And heap up their riches untold:  
'Tis dear to the rich, but too dear for the poor  
When hunger stalks in at every door;  
But not much longer these evils we'll endure,  
We the working-men of Old England!

## DOING GOOD.

Now that the season of the year specially devoted to family reunions, merriment, and sympathetic displays to our less fortunate brothers and sisters, has come round again, every Socialist is reminded of the hollow shams by which the ignorant and the poor are deluded into contentment with their unfortunate lot.

What mean these charitable appeals to the benevolent, with which all the London bourgeois papers team? Some rich old maids, harbouring the delusions which their training and associations have implanted in them, whilst contributing their guinea to some benevolent (?) fund, doubtless have a feeling that they have done some good. They would even feel a somewhat sanctified happiness if present on the occasion when those guineas which they subscribed were transformed into viands and placed before their guests, some of whom perhaps have not partaken of a substantial meal for months. But how that happiness would vanish if some famished guest at the repast, some victim of our sham society, some worker denied the right to live by labour, were to tell them that but for him and his comrades in distress, they would not even be in the position to contribute their guinea to enjoy the pleasure of witnessing the misery which they and theirs have produced.

It is pretty well time that these benevolent and charitable persons got to understand their relations and responsibilities to society. Doubtless many of these good people would deeply regret the losses of opportunity of "doing good" which they would sustain by a Social Revolution. They have some vague idea that the wicked Socialists are trying to abolish poverty, and then when there are no poor there will be no scope left to them for doing good, for they have no other conception of doing good. But can this ever be? Can there be social equality? Why, we have it on the undisputed authority of holy writ, "The poor ye have always with you." The only argument that would convince such people would be to make them the guests at charity dinners. If they only observed the precepts of holy scripture, they would sell all they had and give to the poor. The tables could thus be easily turned. A. BROOKES.

THE LAW AND LIBERTY LEAGUE.—The first annual meeting of the Law and Liberty League was held on Saturday, 15th, and the report for the year and the balance-sheet were presented. The report showed a notable record of work done. In announcing the release of the last of the Trafalgar-square prisoners—with the exception of poor George Harrison—the secretary was able to say that every man, on his liberation from prison, had found his home safe, and his dependents cared for during his absence. Not one home had been broken up, nor one wife or child suffered want. A very large number of cases were reported, in which legal advice and assistance had been given. Thus an action had been brought against an employer who had dismissed an apprentice; £30 damages were recovered, and the father had repaid the costs advanced by the League. A summons issued against a firm that had dismissed a labourer without notice had obtained a week's wages for the labourer, and stopped the attempt to introduce a system of dismissal without notice. Compensation had been obtained for a mother whose son was killed by an accident. A broker had been compelled to pay three times the amount of illegal charges levied. Illegal hours had been stopped in one factory, fines in many, and so on and on through a long list. All legal advice given by the League is given free. Where gross injustice is being committed against the very poor, assistance has been given to bring the cases into court so far as its funds have permitted. With a little more financial assistance its work might be greatly extended. The balance-sheet showed an expenditure of £1,132, and a debt remaining of £170. Until this debt is discharged the League cannot undertake any further financial responsibilities, but it is hoped that sufficient subscriptions will come in from the public to enable it to continue its modest work as poor man's advocate. The greater part of the work which it originally took in hand being now successfully completed, it was thought well to revise its constitution, and to devote its resources chiefly to the task of rendering legal assistance to the poor, and thus enabling them to resist injustices inflicted on them in consequence of their defencelessness. Subscriptions and donations to the League will be gratefully acknowledged if forwarded to Annie Besant, hon. sec., 34, Bouverie-street, E.C.

## INTERNATIONAL NOTES.

## BELGIUM.

The strikes in the mining districts are momentarily over. The legitimate demand of the workers would have unavoidably resulted in an increase of wages, if the struggle had only lasted for a fortnight longer under normal circumstances, but those who had a strong interest in the defeat of the strikers, have once more resorted to base and vile means in order to compel them to resume work. Under the present conditions of affairs, when the demand for coals is at the highest pitch, and the price therefore day after day increasing, a miners' strike, simultaneously breaking out in the four coal districts, would have certainly resulted in the victory of the workers, and one big strike being won, would have done more for the furtherance of Socialism in those regions than six months', or perhaps one year's propaganda work, by meetings and speeches. That, the government seem to have been aware of, for they have immediately set themselves at work in order to transform the workers' contest into a kind of a criminal dynamite plot. The great mass of the public were manifestly sympathetic to the miners, and fully recognized the legitimacy of their claims; therefore the government did all they possibly could in order to create a strong reaction against them, by making people believe that all these miners were wicked men, capable of all sorts of attempts, and actually engaged in using dynamite against the so-called "property" of their masters. In fact, some twelve or fifteen dynamite explosions occurred in the Centre district, without causing any harm to individuals or damaging property at all; but the hand of the *agents-provocateurs* was so evidently visible in these deeds that not one serious person has had for one single moment the idea of accusing the strikers of having used these explosives themselves. But of course the Attorney-General, Van Schaer, who by the way is also a good friend of the German authorities, affected to believe that the strikers were guilty of using dynamite, and he ordered all the delegates of the Chatelet Socialist Congress, where the general strike was resolved, to be arrested. None of those delegates has had anything to do with explosives of any kind; everybody knows that very well, but nevertheless these comrades are to be tried for the "crime of having destroyed or tried to destroy public and private property, by means of dynamite," and so on. The real *provocateurs* are completely free and walk about unnoticed by the police authorities. For this time, the government have managed to cause fifty or sixty Socialists to be arrested, who will be convicted for the dynamite-throwing that others have done; but there might come such an emergency, that the workers, thwarted by their governments, would use all means, even dynamite, to get rid of their exploiters, and who should then dare to condemn them?

## SWITZERLAND.

The readers of the *Weal* know that on May 11th last the Federal Council issued that now famous circular to the Swiss authorities, in which they called their attention to the "Socialist propaganda" made chiefly by foreigners. The result was that the Swiss workers at once started an organisation of their own. The various cantonal authorities, in pursuance of the above-mentioned circular, have now set to work and organised in their respective cantons what is termed the "political police department." One of the "secret instructions" addressed by the Council of Aargau to the police force of that canton has found its way through the press, and it shows very clearly what old Helvetia, acting under Bismarck's provocations, has done with her free institutions. The document runs as follows:—

## "SECRET INSTRUCTIONS CONCERNING THE DUTIES OF THE POLITICAL POLICE.

"1. The cantonal police authorities have to gather very carefully all doings which occur in their respective divisions and have regard to the internal safety or to the international relations of the country. Without further orders, they have to report to the Department of Justice and Police on all such occurrences, and on the authors of such doings.

"2. They have to watch especially all public and private gatherings, as also all papers and other publications wherein questions as to the political or social organisation of Switzerland and of other countries are discussed. They have to report on each of these meetings and to take care that each one of these prints should be regularly sent to above-named department.

"3. As regards these meetings and publications, the cantonal police divisions have to report carefully names, origin, profession, means of existence, antecedents of the persons most actively connected therewith. In the same way they have to report in the case of foreigners whose means of subsistence are unknown, or whose presence may for other reasons become dangerous to the safety of the country.

"4. As often as one such person leaves the canton, and moves to another, notice of such removal is to be at once given to the police authorities of that canton. All reports to be sent in regularly once a month, and, for such cases as may occur, immediately, to the above-named Department of Justice and Police, through the police direction of the canton."

These "secret instructions" were issued June 15th of this year, and pretty near transform "free Helvetia" into a kind of Prussian province in a state of siege.

## AUSTRIA.

The Austrian Socialists have now made their final arrangements towards the convocation of the first Congress to be held on Austrian soil, since the exceptional anti-Socialist laws have been put into force. The Congress, to be held from December 30th, 1888, to January 1st, 1889, will take place at Hainfeld, in Lower-Austria (St. Pölten-Leobersdorf) and the following subjects will appear on the agenda-paper: 1. Manifesto of the Social-democratic party in Austria; 2. On political rights; 3. Labour legislation and Social reform; 4. The Socialist Press; 5. Relief question; 6. Trades' Unions' organisation; 7. Labour parliament; 8. Popular education.

The last number of our Austrian colleague, *Arbeiterstimme* (Voice of the People), which is published at Brünn, has been confiscated by the authorities.

The composers' strike at Vienna has ended by the victory of the workers, their claims having been fully recognized by the masters. This result is chiefly due to the admirable solidarity shown by all the composers, and especially by the female workers.

## HOLLAND.

The Socialist cause is progressing very favorably in Holland; in nearly each large town and in many country places, the propagandists are numerous and devoted, and the comrades generally support with all their power the Socialist paper which is their official organ: *Recht voor allen* (Right for all). The result of it is that the paper, increasing in subscribers, is able also to increase its publication. It was started as a small weekly, but soon came out

twice a week, and since about six months has been issued three times weekly. It now announces that, to begin with January the 1st, it will be published as a daily paper. Comrades here should take example of this, and likewise support the *Weal* by all means in their power. V. D.

## ARGENTINE REPUBLIC.

The strike at Buenos Ayres on the Southern Railway has ended in the contractor's acceding to the demand for an increase in wages of over one-half, under pressure of the loss caused by the strike, but has been immediately followed by a strike at Sola station to compel the company to allow, in paying their wages, for the depreciation of gold. One of their meetings has been attacked by police and soldiery armed with sabres and remingtons. After a smart affray, in which some of the combatants were wounded, a large number of the strikers were arrested. At Villalonga, the labourers have struck successfully for an increase. 122 foundrymen have also struck, but their employer is holding out, promising only to increase the wages "of those who deserve it." The men are naturally averse to taking such terms.

## SPAIN.

At Sabadell there has been so prolonged a crisis in the labour market, that a large number of workers a few days ago started for the Argentine Republic, in the vain hope of escaping the sordid and lifelong scramble for existence they were subjected to at home. How far their hope is likely to be realised they will find when they are landed amid the labour troubles that affect the New World as well as the Old. At Valencia the locksmiths are organising themselves, and making an active propaganda for the purpose of forming a strong society to resist the encroachments of their employers. The shoemakers of the same town are engaged in the same task, as their employers are trying to lower wages. M. M.

METROPOLITAN PAUPERISM.—The weekly return of metropolitan pauperism shows that the total number of paupers relieved in the first week of December was 99,831, of whom 59,721 were indoor and 40,110 outdoor paupers. The total number relieved shows a decrease of 2,728 on the corresponding week of last year, an increase of 3,753 over 1886, and 5,586 over 1885. The total number of vagrants relieved on the last day of the week was 1,250, of whom 1,077 were men, 152 women, and 21 children under sixteen.

It is a familiar example of irony in the degradation of words that "what a man is worth" has come to mean how much money he possesses; but there seems a deeper and more melancholy irony in the shrunken meaning that popular or polite speech assigns to "morality" and "morals." The poor part these words are made to play recalls the fate of those pagan divinities who, after being understood to rule the powers of the air and the destinies of men, came down to the level of insignificant demons, or were even made a farcical show for the amusement of the multitude.—George Eliot.

COTTON TRADE.—Macclesfield weavers are still out; no sign yet of giving in on either side.—The Earley weavers' strike ended in an advance of 3d. a cut. At New Mills the employers have conceded the advance asked for, and so averted a strike.—The operatives at Cinderhill Mill, Castle Street, Todmorden, complain very strongly about extra work, and a fortnight's notice to leave has been tendered by the weavers unless the master improves matters. There are 450 looms in the shed. The spinners at the same place came out on the 13th inst., the cause also being extra work, about which they had previously complained. They remained out for that week, but resumed operations on the Monday morning, on the understanding that Mr. Barker would improve matters. He made a similar promise to the weavers.—At Bolton short time has been enforced by the employers in consequence of the dispute with their employes, and they threaten a general lock-out if the latter do not soon give in.

The Durham Salt Company (limited) will be worth keeping an eye on. It is just being formed, and its prospectus is worth preserving. It purposes in the first place to purchase from the present holder 1000 acres of land in Durham, worth about 30s. an acre agricultural value. Underneath this barren soil, however, nature has deposited a layer of salt 100 feet thick, and so the vendor, instead of claiming £150 for his land—its true value—claims, and is to receive, £168,000. Nor is that all. He is to receive in future a royalty of 1s. for each ton of salt extracted, and 8d. per ton on coal. First he sells his land for 1000 times its value, but actually reserves the right to levy blackmail on it for all time coming, or at least as long as the salt deposit holds out. This is not theft, but business! Then the Durham Salt Company (limited) with a charming simplicity tell us that they propose to charge a profit of 12s. per ton on the salt they make, and as they propose making 2000 tons a week this will amount to £31,000 a year, or 36 per cent. on the capital invested. I am quoting literally from the report, and neither adding to nor taking away. Who has to pay for all this? First the workers, whose wages will be 6d. an hour; next the consumers, who will have to pay three times the value of all the salt they purchase. Who would not be an individualist?—*Miner*.

HAMMER AND TONGS.—Gladstone at Limehouse and Salisbury at Scarborough have been abusing one another in hollow political fashion, and trying to outbid each other for the support of the "people," or so much of the people as are on the voting lists. For the rest of humanity the smug, selfish place-hunters have no care. After all is said, what do either offer? They both talk a great deal about the working man and what is best for him, and each has his bit of advice. What does it all amount to? Nothing. Neither Salisbury nor Gladstone can teach the working man anything worth knowing. The working man already knows the essential thing, that is, how to work. All either Salisbury or Gladstone can teach is to know how to steal. Now this is not useful knowledge. The working man is learning by long and bitter experience that it does not pay to toil on eternally in a false position in the hope of at some future time being able to plunder his fellow workers, and so escape toil himself. This is the Salisbury and the Gladstone doctrine in bald fact, divested of all word-juggling. These two schemers may abuse one another to their heart's content, but when they appeal to the workers it is enough to pin them down to their hard doctrines. Ask either of them what he is after, what will he do? Will he make one single idle parasite of the commercial scheme become of necessity an honest producer? Not they! They only are scheming and shuffling to ease the commercial robbery in such places as it has made too scandalous festers; but every idler is to be continued, and every toiler to be plundered as of old.—L. W.



## LETTER FROM AMERICA.

ENGLISH Socialists will remember Sir William V. Harcourt's famous saying: "We are all Socialists now." Well, this phrase has decidedly been improved upon over here. In an interview with a reporter, Congressman Anderson is made to say, ". . . I mean Jay Gould. He is, in my opinion, the greatest Communist in the United States." We, the revolutionists, are glad to get any convert, but I guess we will have to draw the line at Jay.

Talk about evictions in Ireland! There are more evictions in any one of the leading cities of the United States than in all Ireland together. Last week about 1,000 settlers were evicted on the Des Moines railroad lands. On the 5th inst., writs were issued for the eviction of 2,000 squatters near St. Paul, Minn. The squatters are very poor, and some of them have lived on the land as long as 20 years. They have seen their children grow up in the shanties built by their own hands, in the midst of their little gardens, and they are in consequence in a very "ugly" frame of mind, as the capitalistic press puts it, at the idea of being evicted just before a hard winter. Probably the constables will meet with armed resistance; I hope so.

T. B. Barry, the seceder from the Knights of Labour, has issued a manifesto to the working-people of America, calling upon them to join his new organisation, The Brotherhood of United Labour. "In taking this step," he says, "I am not doing so for the purpose of fighting the Knights of Labour or to gratify any personal ambition, but for the sole purpose of establishing honesty in and placing the labour movement on a decentralised basis." The cardinal principles of the Brotherhood of United Labour will be, to use Barry's words:

"Land, currency, and transportation reform as beneath all the social questions of our time. These three are of primary and universal importance, and are now agitating the great minds of the world.

"First—The right of man to the use of the earth.

"Second—The taking from usurers and Shylocks the right to control our currency.

"Third—The government ownership of the means of transporting persons, freight and intelligence, and the taking of those engines of human happiness out of the hands of stock gamblers and speculators, and operate them for the benefit of producer and consumer.

"While seeking a settlement of those questions we shall labour for ameliorative terms, such as the reduction of the hours of labour to eight per day, the prohibition of child labour, the abolition of the contract system in the employing of convicts, abolition of the central system in national, State and municipal works; prohibition of foreign labour under contract; the purification of our politics through the adoption of the Australian system of voting."

This programme is merely a rehash from the Knights of Labour platform, and it is not expected that Barry will meet with much success.

On the 4th inst., shortly before the dinner hour, the following notice was posted at the entrance to the Philadelphia and Reading railroad machine shops at Reading, Pa.:

"From December 5, working hours will be as follows:—From 7 a.m. to 12 m.; from 1 p.m. to 4 p.m.; making eight hours per day.

"E. J. SANDT, General Foreman."

This notice was also posted at all the company's shops along the entire line. Naturally there will also be a proportionate reduction in wages. The order will probably continue in force for several months, and more than 25,000 men will be affected. This action may be termed: Introducing the eight hours day with a vengeance!

Telegram of the 5th of December:

"Most of the engineers on the Montana Union Railroad are on strike because of the discharge of three of their number by the master mechanic. The strike greatly interferes with the working of the copper mines at Anaconda, M. T."

Telegram of the 6th of December:

"The strike on the Montana Union road has been settled in favour of the men, but in return the manager of the great Anaconda, the largest copper works in Montana, has received orders to close down the smelter and mines until next May, throwing 1,800 men out of work."

The Pottsdown Iron Company are asking (!) their nailmakers to accept a 25 per cent. reduction in wages, and they will open the factory.

The Secretary of the Treasury has issued his report. The income of the United States amounted to 379,266,074 dollars, and the expenditure for the government to 259,653,958 dollars, leaving a surplus of 119,612,116. Of this surplus 83,084,405 dollars were utilised for a reduction of the public debt, leaving 36,527,710 dollars in cash in the treasury for which absolutely no use could be found!

The Federated Association of Miners and Mine Labourers and District Assembly 135 Knights of Labour, the two rival national orders of miners, met in joint session on the 5th December in Columbus, Ohio. In spite of speeches made by T. V. Powderly and other leading Knights of Labour, the joint convention decided to form a new and independent organisation. District Assembly 135 had a membership of about 20,000, of which 10,000 left the Knights of Labour at the first meeting of the joint session. The remaining members are expected to follow suit pretty quickly. It was decided that the name of the organisation should be the National Progressive Union of Miners and Mine Labourers; that it shall be an open organisation; and that the officers shall be a president, two vice-presidents, a general secretary, financial secretary, and treasurer, and a general executive board, consisting of seven members, of which the president and general secretary shall be members *ex officio*. The salary of the president is to be 1,200 dols.; vice-presidents, 900 each; general secretary, 1,000; the financial secretary, 900. The vice-presidents will act as organisers. The first part of the constitution sets forth its aims and objects, which are pretty much the same as those of all other trades unions—viz., reducing the hours of labour and raising the wages. The coal-fields are divided into districts. The legislative body of the new organisation meets in February. The head-quarters are at Shawnee, Ohio.

The arguments of counsel pro and con in the suit of the people of the State of New York (read, Claus Spreckels, jr., the western sugar king) against the Eastern Sugar Trust, were heard in court last week. The lawyers are instructed to have their briefs ready by the 22nd inst., and the judge will make his decision probably soon after new year.

The fire insurance companies of New York are talking of organising a "clearing house"—that is, of forming themselves into a trust.

The Federal Grand Jury returned indictments against J. A. Bowles (the informer), J. A. Bauereisen, and Thomas Broderick, the so-called dynamite conspirators against the property of the Chicago, Burlington, and Quincy

Railroad. The three were taken to Geneva, Ill., where the trial began on the 4th inst. Two days were wasted in "picking" a jury. It is the same story over again as in the trials against the Chicago martyrs and against Hronek. An informer tells a tale (Bowles in this case) how he has been persuaded to join the conspiracy and how he refused to act. His testimony is taken as unimpeachable, and no matter how many witnesses to the contrary the defence can produce in court, it is all of no avail. I certainly expect also a conviction in this case. The trial will be continued this week.

Congressman Oates, a member of the Immigration Committee, has introduced into the House of Representatives a bill of which the following is an extract:—

"Section 1 provides that no alien shall be admitted into the United States who is an idiot, insane, a pauper or liable to become a public charge or who has been legally convicted of felony or other infamous crime, or who is a polygamist, Anarchist, or Socialist, or who is affected with any loathsome or contagious disease, or who has entered into contract to perform in the United States any labour or service for any person, firm, company, or corporation; or who comes upon any prepaid ticket, or who is furnished with the money to pay passage upon a promise, understanding, or agreement to repay the same by labouring for any person, etc., after arrival within the United States, excepting skilled labourers as are now allowed to be imported under existing law."

"Section 4 provides a tax or duty to be levied on each alien coming into the United States, except those in the diplomatic or consular service of foreign governments and such as come for travel, amusement, instruction. . . .

"Section 5 provides that any alien who desires to immigrate into the United States to reside therein or to become a citizen thereof, and not to become a labourer therein for a limited time, with the intention of returning, shall, three months prior to his embarkation, obtain a certificate from the United States Consul or diplomatic representative stationed nearest the place of residence of such person, showing that he is not of the classes prohibited in the first section; but such certificate shall not be conclusive evidence nor shall it relieve the master or other officer in charge of the vessel, railroad train, or other carrier from the performance of any and all other duties required by him by law relating to such passengers."

O, what a blessing it is to live in a free country!

Newark, N.J., December 10, 1888.

HENRY F. CHARLES.

## THE FATHERLAND.

LOWELL.

WHERE is the true man's fatherland?  
Is it where he by chance is born?  
Doth not the yearning spirit scorn  
In such scant borders to be spanned?  
O yes! his fatherland must be  
As the blue heaven wide and free!

Is it alone where freedom is,  
Where God is God and man is man?  
Doth he not claim a broader span  
For the soul's love of home than this?  
O yes! his fatherland must be  
As the blue heaven wide and free!

Where'er a human heart doth wear  
Joy's myrtle-wreath or sorrow's gyves,  
Where'er a human spirit strives  
After a life more true and fair,  
There is the true man's birthplace grand,  
His is a world-wide fatherland!

Where'er a single slave doth pine,  
Where'er one man may help another,—  
Thank God for such a birthright, brother,—  
That spot of earth is thine and mine!  
There is the true man's birthplace grand,  
His is a world-wide fatherland!

## THE SOCIALIST LEAGUE.

OFFICES: 13 FARRINGTON ROAD, E.C.

The Offices of the Socialist League will be open for the sale of *Commonweal* and all other Socialist publications from 8.30 a.m. to 9 p.m. every day except Sunday. The Secretary will be in attendance from 10 a.m. to 9 p.m. daily.

**London Members' Meeting.**—The next monthly meeting of members will take place on Monday, Jan. 7, 1889, at 13 Farringdon Road, at 9 o'clock sharp.

**Branch Subscriptions Paid.**—1888: Clerkenwell and Leicester to December. *Notice to Branch Secretaries*—Please remit to Central Office your Branch Capitation fees as soon as possible. A list of Branches in arrears will shortly appear.

**Propaganda Fund.**—F. Sturt, 6s.

**Notice.**—All letters on League business, except those intended for Editors of *Commonweal*, to be addressed to me. No other person is authorised to sign any official communication. FRANK KITZ, Secretary.

## REPORTS.

**BROAD STREET, SOHO.**—A short meeting was held at this station last Sunday. **CLERKENWELL.**—The usual Sunday evening meeting was held, when Brookes and Cores spoke.

**VICTORIA PARK.**—Good meeting on Sunday, addressed by Davis and Charles. 24 *Commonweals* sold. 2s. given for unemployed, which has been sent on to the secretary of S.D.F.

**ABERDEEN.**—At indoor meeting on Monday, article on "Scaring the Capitalists," read by Leatham, served to introduce a lengthy discussion. No meeting held at Castle Street on Saturday owing to wind and rain. On 18th, Leatham, by invitation, went to debate under auspices of Woodside Parish Church Guild, the question being "Ought the Land to be Nationalised?" His speech was from a Socialist standpoint, yet it was better received by the crowded assemblage than any of the others. As an indication of how things are going, it may be mentioned that 60 voted for and 13 against land nationalisation, many abstaining from voting.

(Several late reports are unavoidably crowded out.)

## LECTURE DIARY.

## LONDON.

**Bloomsbury.**—This Branch is now actively working. Socialists resident in this locality should send their names in at once to 13 Farringdon Road.

**Clerkenwell.**—Hall of the Socialist League, 13 Farringdon Road, E.C. No lecture on Sunday Dec. 30.

**Fulham.**—8 Effie Road, Walham Green. Committee meetings are held on Sunday evenings at 7 o'clock sharp. All members are earnestly requested to attend. Sunday December 30, at 8 p.m., R. Catterson Smith, "What is Liberty?"

**Hackney.**—Secretary, E. Lefevre, 14 Goldsmiths Sq., Goldsmiths Row, Hackney Road.

**Hammersmith.**—Kelmescott House, Upper Mall, W.

**Hoxton.**—12, Basing Place, Kingsland Rd. Business meetings of this branch are held every Friday evening at 9 o'clock.

**London Fields.**—All communications, etc., to Mrs. G. G. Schack, 26 Cawley Road, South Hackney.

**Merton.**—Club-house, 3 Clare Villas, Merton Road, Singlegate. Lecture on Sunday evenings at 8.30.

**Mile-end and Bethnal Green.**—95 Boston St., Hackney Road.

**North London.**—Business meetings held at 6 Windmill Street, Tottenham Court Road, on Friday evenings.

**Walworth and Camberwell.**—This branch is now in working order. Friends in this locality are earnestly invited to co-operate, and send their names in. Committee meetings every Monday, 7.30 p.m., at 3 Datchelor Place, Church St., Camberwell Green.

**Whitechapel and St. Georges in the East.**—International Club, 40 Berner Street, Commercial Road.

## PROVINCES.

**Aberdeen** (Scottish Section).—Secretary, P. Barron, 14 Ann Street. Branch meets in Oddfellows Hall on Monday nights at 8. Choir practice at 46 Marischal Street on Thursday evenings at 8.

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

**Carnoustie** (Scottish Section: Forfarshire).—Meeting every Wednesday, at 8 p.m., in the Carnoustie Restaurant. Samuel Wilson, Secy.

**Dundee** (Scot. Sect.).—Meetings every Sunday in the Trades Hall, opposite Tay Bridge Station.

**Edinburgh** (Scottish Land and Labour League).—35 George IV. Bridge. Meetings for Discussion, Thursdays at 8 p.m. A Social Meeting will be held in 35 Lothian Street, 3rd January, at 7 p.m. All Edinburgh Socialists and their friends are invited. Tickets, 6d.

**Galashiels** (Scot Sect.).—J. Walker, 184 Glendinning Terrace, secy.

**Gallatoun and Dysart** (Scottish Section: Fife).—Meet every Tuesday at 7 p.m. in Gallatoun Public School. Secretary, A. Paterson, 152 Rosslyn St.

**Glasgow.**—84 John Street. Reading-room (Draughts, Chess, etc.) open 10 a.m. till 10 p.m. daily. Weekly meeting of members on Thursday evenings at 8. French Class meets every Sunday at 11. SPECIAL—Soiree, Concert, and Dance on Hogmany Night, to bring in the New Year, Waterloo Pillar Hall, at 7.30. Revolutionary songs in English, French, and German. Tickets, 1s. 3d.

**Ipswich.**—Pioneer Hall, Tacket Street. Meets on Sunday evenings.

**Kilmarnock.**—Secretary, H. McGill, 22 Gilmour St. Branch meets on every alternate Tuesday.

**Leeds.**—Clarendon Buildings, Victoria Rd. and Front Row. Open every evening. Business meeting Saturdays at 8 p.m. communications to T. Paylor, Leicester.—Hosiery Union Offices, 11a Millstone Lane. Fridays at 8 p.m.

**Norwich.**—Sunday, at 10 a.m. sharp, a Special Committee Meeting; all members are requested to be present. At 8, Lecture in Gordon Hall. Monday, Gordon Hall open from 8 p.m. Tuesday, at 8.30, Members' Meeting. Wednesday, Gordon Hall open from 8 p.m. Thursday, at 8, Lecture by Mowbray, subject "Irish Federation, its Aims and Objects"; tickets 1d. each. Friday, Gordon Hall open from 8.30 p.m.; Members' Meeting. Saturday, 8 until 10.30, Co-operative Clothing Association.

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

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

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

All persons who sympathise with the views of the Socialist League are earnestly invited to communicate with the above addresses, and if possible help us in preparing for the birth of a true society, based on equality, brotherhood, and freedom for all.

## OPEN-AIR PROPAGANDA.

(Weather permitting.)

SUNDAY 30.

11.30...Latimer Road Station...Hammersmith Branch  
11.30...Regent's Park...Mainwaring  
11.30...Walham Green, opp. Station...The Branch  
3.30...Hyde Park...Cores  
3.30...Victoria Park...Nicoll  
7.30...Broad Street, Soho...The Branch  
7.30...Clerkenwell Green...The Branch  
7.30...Weltje Rd., Ravenscourt Pk...Hammersmith

Tuesday.  
8.30...Fulham—back of Walham Green Ch...Branch

## EAST END.

SUNDAY 30.

Leman Street, Shadwell 11 ...Davis.

## PROVINCES.

**Aberdeen.**—Saturday: Castle Street, at 7 p.m.

**Glasgow.**—Sunday: Glasgow Green at 2 p.m.; Paisley Road at 5.30.

**Ipswich.**—  
Sproughton, Wednesday evening.  
Westerfield, Thursday evening.  
Needham Market, Sunday morning and evening.

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

**Norwich.**—Sunday: Market Place, at 11 and 3.

**BERNER STREET CLUB.**—On Saturday December 29, Mr. Gould, of the Limehouse Branch S.D.F., will deliver a lecture—"Will Parliamentaryism help to bring about the Social Revolution?"

The Mitcham Branch is about to be reconstituted. All desirous of helping in the work of the S. L. in and around Mitcham, Merton, and Streatham should communicate with comrade J. Campbell, 98 Wellfield Road, Streatham.

**LEICESTER.**—A course of lectures on "Socialism, its Aims and Principles" is being delivered in Leicester Secular Hall. The fourth lecture will be delivered on Sunday Dec. 30 by Sydney Olivier—subject, "The Moral Aspect."

**THE SOCIALIST CO-OPERATIVE FEDERATION.**—The Committee will meet at the house of S. Oliver, 139 Trafalgar Street, Walworth Road, on Saturday Dec. 29 at 7.30 p.m. The half-yearly Members' Meeting will be held at 13 Farringdon Road, E.C., on Saturday January 12, at 8 p.m. Members please bring or send subscription cards for audit.

**SOUTH LONDON.**—Friends who will help to establish a Branch of the Socialist League in South London will please place themselves in communication with C. Henze, 41 Bolton Street, Thomas Street, Kennington Park, S.E., or by letter to H. Hopkins, 17 Gairloch Road, Shenley Road, Peckham, S.E.

International  
Working-men's Educational Club,  
"Zur Morgenröthe,"  
23 PRINCES SQUARE, CABLE STREET, E.

ON SUNDAY, DECEMBER 30, 1888

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## Theatre, Concert, and Ball,

To commence at 7.30 p.m. prompt. Programmes, 6d.

Programmes can be obtained at the above Club; Berner Street International Club; F. Kitz, 13 Farringdon Rd.; or from secretaries of metropolitan branches of the S.L., etc.

## LA REVUE SOCIALISTE.

EDITED BY BENOIT MALON.

8, Rue des Martyrs, Paris.

## SUMMARY OF THE DECEMBER NUMBER.

"The End of the Year," B. Malon; "Essay on Scientific Socialism," P. Argyriades; "Svetosar Markowitch and Serbian Socialism," B. Malon; "Auguste Comte's Positive Politics," H. Aimel; "Socialist Pamphlets of Lassalle to the Berlin Workers"; "Bill for Regulation of Work-hours," H. Aimel; "Cadastral Revision," De Roz Maria; "About Deism," E. Raiga; "Socialist Anthology," Daniel Stern, Thomas Hood, Turatti; "Socialist Movement in France and Abroad," M. Favergeon; "Review of Books," G. Rouanet and E. Fourniere.

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## SOCIALIST LEAGUE LITERATURE.

**Chants for Socialists.** By William Morris. . . 1d.

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

**The Commune of Paris.** By E. Belfort Bax, Victor Dave, and William Morris. . . 2d.

**The Aims of Art.** By Wm. Morris. . . 6d.  
Bijou edition, 3d.; Large paper, 6d.

**The Rights of Labour according to John Ruskin.** By Thomas Barclay. . . 1d

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